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The glocal as scale and provocation in Hungarian Studies

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ABSTRACT:
This introduction reconstructs the arguments of the editors and contributors of a thematic cluster of the Hungarian Studies Yearbook that focuses on the possible methodological uses of the glocal both as a scale and as a methodological challenge for contemporary Hungarian studies.

Keywords: glocal, global, local, regionalism, hybridization, Hungarian studies

The 2020 volume of the Hungarian Studies Yearbook proposes to promote original research that studies and interprets the crossroads of the local and the global within Hungarian studies. The focus entitled" The glocal as scale and provocation in Hungarian Studies" wishes to explore the historical and contemporary forms of the various, open-ended, complex encounters of local knowledge, norms, content, and global frames, expectations, matters.

We were open to search questions reflecting on the shifting notions and borders of this type of multi-layered literary, linguistic, ethnographical, anthropological *glocality* that often reshapes the known forms of both the local and the global and results in novel, hybrid or surprising patterns that can reflect both on the nature of Hungarianness and the global. We also welcomed contributions that articulated the way local and global phenomena recycle one another and foreground the notions of the local, Hungarian, Transylvanian, Hungarian studies, spreading, transmission, and scale in this specific framework. Submissions that chose to reflect on the status and narratives of Hungarian studies told from various local positions or the comparative viewpoint of multiple disciplines and scales were also welcome.

This resulted in a vibrant and challenging cluster of original papers that bring together a wide variety of research from Hungarian literature, linguistics, and anthropology, focusing on the intersections of the global and the local. Nevertheless, these articles do not only foreground the glocality of Hungarian literary, linguistic, ethnological, and anthropological phenomena but also ask their readers to contemplate the complex intellectual routes these meetings, crisscrossings, recyclings of texts, ideas, phenomena lead to. While tackling these issues of glocality in a wide variety of ways, all of our authors perceive the glocal as a framework of rich potentialities that can reformulate Eastern and Central Europe's relationship to global and Western European phenomena. From this specific angle, Eastern and Central Europe are not just at the receiving end of global phenomena, but a place where scholarly, cultural, and artistic knowledge is creatively and enthrallingly created and re-created, resulting in intricate cultural, artistic, and scholarly patterns.

"In the debate which had been going on at least since the *Berlinische Monatschrift* posed the renowned question in 1784, i.e. "was ist Aufklärung?", "what is enlightenment?", the processes of intellectual history tagged as Enlightenment also contained indirect and direct statements on the issue of violence. In Central and Eastern Europe from the outset, and in the West at least from the French revolution on, the issue of violence became a key point of Enlightenment in that on the one hand, Enlightenment is undoubted "man's emergence from his self-imposed nonage," as Kant put it; it was as a result of this that everything based on the assumption of authority or pure faith was ridiculed; thus, several proponents of Enlightenment thought that the predestination of authority positions should be replaced by authority based on merit." – sets the focus the argumentation of Gábor Vaderna, the well-known Hungarian literary historian of classical Hungarian literature. But his article is not an old-style narrative of how influences of canonic Western Enlightenment gain terrain at the Easternmost borders of Europe, but a brilliant argument of the way Dániel Berzsenyi, a well-known Hungarian poet of the late Enlightenment, uses, embeds, and recycles various sources of the global Enlightenment and classical tradition, forges a compelling and robust vocabulary to immortalize and uplift the local memory the participation of the Hungarian noble armed forces in the wars against the French. Vaderna opens up the intersection of the social discourse upon war and the discourse on the patriotic wartime virtues of the poem so as to reflect on the cleavages between their perception of the historical situation and their ideas on eternal virtue.

In his "Practices of Colonization in Regional Literary Histories," the eminent Hungarian critic and literary historian Ferenc Vincze spots German and Hungarian literary history writing in Romania. His article applies, reinterprets, and refines the idea of colonization by placing it in the unusual context of the canonic literary-historical discourses on Hungarian and German literature from Romania. His argument

aims at recuperating the intellectual history of the way these literatures were defined, constructed, delimited, labeled, especially after WWII., focusing primarily on those interpretive and institutional gestures that resemble colonialization and self-colonialization. Vincze opens up a substantial future discussion on how acts of periodization, naming, labeling, and territorialization of the German and Hungarian literature from Romania have played a paramount role in complex processes of identity formation and self-identification. His analysis also calls attention to the history and forms of silencing and self-silencing present in these institutional and interpretive phenomena. Thus, the paper opens up the accounts of these literatures' inner cleavages and the enthralling relationships of these cleavages with a social and intellectual history of the different forms of locality, regionalism, nation-building, and state-formation in Hungary and Romania. The article pleads for a transnational and intercultural perspective that would make visible the blind spots of the Hungarian and German literary histories from Romania. Still, it is also an appeal to a rediscovery and interpretation of the crisscrossings and intercultural spaces of these literatures.

Imre József Balázs traces the local Romanian reconfiguration of the Gorky Institute in his *The Sovietization of Creative Writing in Romania. The Role of the Mihai Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism (1950–1955)*. The short-lived institution was created alongside its local counterpart from the GDR as a promising tool for reorganizing Romania's cultural elite. The paper traces back the glocal version of literary and cultural Sovietization and the Romanian fifties' institutional effort to create obedient authors, literary and cultural specialists. The School was part of the deep change of elite that also aimed to transform ethnic minority literary and media fields. The luxurious living conditions at the Bucharest-based institution, the promise of social and cultural emancipation for the selected participants enhanced the future political control over literary and cultural production. The paper sensitively foregrounds both the institutional microhistory and the School's insider subjective perception, constructing a convincing case study of the Eastern European ideological use of the creative writing schools that tried to impose a new social order.

"The Glocality of the Acta Comparationis Litterarum" is part of a monographic project that aims to rediscover and write a complex transnational history of the first journal of comparative literary studies, the Összehasonlító Irodalomtörténelmi Lapok / Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum (1877–1888). Levente T. Szabó, a scholar of comparative literary studies and Hungarian literary history, revalues the most-cited and most widely circulated essay of the groundbreaking journal, *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* (*Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur*). The programmatic text of the journal has usually been interpreted in the global frame of the emerging new discipline of comparative literature and has been contextualized exclusively with transnational references from Goethe to Matthew Arnold, and

from Georg Brandes to various Western European instances. Thus perspective also implied a hidden vision on literary and cultural innovation; even when innovation and pioneering methods seemed to come from Eastern Europe, their source was always traced back to the West, suggesting a steady West-East direction of the innovative ideas. The article proposes a revision of this perspective by arguing that the ideas of autonomy and freedom associated with the emerging discipline in the "Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur" is both a reflection of the Humboldtian ideal of academic integrity and the recycling and reframing of this ideal in the local debates on the status of the university professors and disciplines, the relationship of the state with the universities. This complex interplay of the local and the global underpinned the way the founders, the "Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur" and several other programmatic texts overused and overemphasized these notions and cemented them as the foundations of the future of comparative literature. This was the complex glocal ecosystem they imagined for the most progressive forms of humanities, especially for the comparative method in literary studies and (Romantic) poetry.

"Digital Genealogy – From personal histories to settlements history" written by Anna Fenyvesi demonstrates how methods of digital genealogy can be used to trace personal histories in innovative ways to uncover potentially significant details of settlement history where information in historical sources is scarce. A mid-18th century Roman Catholic settler and his family in Szentes, a small town on the Great Hungarian Plains is used as an example to show that the use of digital methodologies has opened up new perspectives in many branches of humanities and social sciences, doing possible research that would have been impossible previously. Researching in online databases allows for genealogical inquiry unhampered by traditional limitations of genealogical research ranging from the trivial (such as the opening times of archives) to the complex (such as searching for larger geographical territories like counties or whole regions and longer time-spans). Genealogical research unbounded by geography and time can provide more farther-reaching results than traditional, pre-digital research. It can also yield information that opens up new vistas in settlement history research where traditional sources and exact information are missing. Even though the results presented in this research allow us to retrace the steps of the ancestors of a prominent Szentes peasant family by only two decades, the method outlined in this paper can be successfully used to uncover pieces of information that contribute considerable detail to the settlement history of places whose early modern social history may be as undocumented as that of Szentes.

Another study brings us back in time by presenting loanwords and expressions referring to hues in the old Hungarian language: "Loanwords and Expressions Denoting Hues in Old Hungarian" written by Emese Fazakas. This paper relies mostly on data collected from the *Historical Dictionary of Hungarian Language from Transylvania* (SzT.), and it also

uses data from the *Hungarian Etymological Dictionary* (TESz.). It focuses on the etymology of terms denoting hues and aims to present reasons for naming and using these loan color terms. Besides, the study investigates whether these terms appearing in old Transylvanian texts were loanwords, loan expressions or they were simply used as a result of linguistic interference. Among the analyzed fifteen words that name shades of white and black, yellow, brown, green, and blue, only one has an unknown origin. Three of them are borrowed from Romanic languages, one comes from Latin, and there is a hue name of presumably Slavic origin. There are several terms of German origin, loanwords entering Hungarian at different ages. Four words, compounds, could be the result of linguistic interference. In addition, there are two wandering words that came to the Hungarian language through the German language and an international word that also might have come directly from German. Most of the terms analyzed entered Hungarian as color names. There are only a few words that later became color terms in Hungarian. The word that came from Slavic languages is a problematic one: if *zelenik* 'green' is interpreted as a color name, and one assumes that in Slavic languages it is an occupational name and does not refer to a color, then this word is used as a color name only in the Hungarian text cited; however – having only one historical data – the author presents its doubts about this interpretation. In order to express a wide range of hues, each language community not only creates its own terms but borrows words, expressions, terms, as well. The borrowed terms arrive in the borrowing language as color names, or the borrowing community starts to use them as such. It is interesting to see how these loanwords integrate or not into the already formed system of a specific terminology.

The paper entitled "Two Relative Contact Phenomena in the Language use of Hungarians in Transylvania" written by Attila Benő discusses two relative contact phenomena in the case of Hungarian in bilingual, non-dominant context: the preference of analytical linguistic variants and non-standard plural forms. The used data come from two sociolinguistic surveys conducted in Transylvania (in 1996 and 2009), surveys carried out with the participation of a representative sample of speakers. The hypothesis that Romanian-dominant bilingual speakers tend to exhibit relative contact phenomena to a larger extent was supported with respect to these two issues. The results show that the occurrence of these phenomena is determined both by the language competence of the dominant language and by the regional characteristics of the bilingualism, and the results also confirm the possibility that the spoken-language properties under discussion are relative contact phenomena. The correlation between choosing the non-standard forms and Romanian language skills are proven as well. A preference for analytical structures and non-standard plural forms can be seen in the case of those participants who deemed themselves to have greater Romanian language skills and use Romanian more frequently. The difference in terms of preference for analytical structures between participants living

in the diaspora and those living like a local majority in their region is also significant: those living in the diaspora had a higher tendency to choose the analytical structure. Similarly, the preference for non-standard plural forms shows a correlation with religious denomination: members of the churches that provide religious ceremony exclusively in the state language (Orthodox, Greek Catholic) were more likely to choose the non-standard plural form

Noémi Fazakas and Blanka Barabás choose to present how one has to reinterpret research methodology if researchers are forced by circumstances. The paper entitled "Reinventing Linguistic Ethnographic Fieldwork During the COVID-19 Pandemic" discusses the methodological implications of an ethnographic linguistic research project in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. Starting from pertinent definitions of linguistic ethnography and interpretations of the field, the authors offer a demonstration of the process in which this particular participatory research project was faced with the fact that the field became unavailable and inaccessible for the non-local participants. The project entitled *Language revitalisation, socialisation and ideologies among youth living in the Csángó Students' Halls* started in January 2020. At that time, the team struggled with the usual problems an international and interdisciplinary research group faces: different academic backgrounds, different takes on the issues on hand, different fieldwork experiences, and the most important of all: a commitment to participatory research and all its intricacies. Participatory projects were set in motion, dates of further meetings were set. Then the pandemic hit, and every step had to be reorganized. The paper gives a methodological overview of the difficulties of doing linguistic ethnographic research with this particular case in mind in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The authors consider that one of the most substantial outcomes of moving their research online is the new dimensions of approaching the field itself, bringing further nuances to their future ethnographic interpretations and the aspects of participatory research. All of the above consolidate their understanding of such emerging research fields, where computer-mediated communication facilitates practices of remembering and being "there" without actually being there.

László Kürti's *"Do You Want to Be Krampus?" Santa Claus, Globality and Locality of Christmas Tradition* is a wide-ranging closing anthropological analysis of our focus on glocality. Bringing together an impressive array of global examples against a solid Hungarian and Eastern European background, Kürti argues that Christmas traditions can be perceived as a complex interplay of homogenization and particularism. According to the author, the fusion of native and transnational traditions leads to both a new sense of locality and a novel, hybridized, deterritorialized reality that fuses growth and globalization.

The papers of this thematic focus relocate Hungarianness and offer a new scale to view Hungarian culture, literature, linguistic and cultural phenomena. We hope that this scale and perspective would open new scholarly bridges both inside and outside Hungarian and area studies. On behalf of the editorial committee of the HSY, as the editors of this thematic issue, we would like to express our sincerest gratitude for the generous support of the Hungarian Studies Yearbook to our permanent academic sponsor, the Kolozsvári Akadémiai Bizottság (KAB), the local representative of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

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Will to Language, Culture, and Power. Dániel Berzsenyi and his Martial Poetry

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ABSTRACT:
In his article "Will to Language, Culture, and Power" Gábor Vaderna investigates different discourses of violence in early 19th-century Hungary. According to Norbert Elias, violence has not disappeared from modern society but the individual has transferred the institution, opportunity, and protocols of violence to the state. There are also aesthetic consequences of this process. The question is whether institutionalized violence was a tool of power to stabilize modern societies or rather it was in fact a threat to aesthetic beauty. From the analysis of a poem by the Hungarian poet, Dániel Berzsenyi (1776–1832), written in wartime, Vaderna concludes that the Central European noble classes perceived a tension between the eternal virtue and real history. The exercise of power, the possession of violence and the nation-building potential of culture were closely intertwined in their political language.

Keywords: martial poetry, violence, civilizing process, aesthetics of power, insurrection

(taming violence)

Steven Pinker's scientific bestseller, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: The Decline of Violence in History and its Causes* was published in 2011. The author, a cognitive psychologist, located "better angels" mainly in the individual. These are empathy, self-control, moral sense, and reason – all buzzwords of the age of the Enlightenment. However, Pinker asserted much more than what Norbert Elias had said before. As it is well-known, Elias captured the process of civilization in the increasing control over affect (and thus over violence). For him, external pressures

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were replaced by forms of self-regulation, resulting in the creation of modern states possessing the monopoly of violence. In Elias' analysis, violence has not disappeared from society, but the individual has transferred the institution, opportunity, and protocols of violence to the state (Elias, *The Civilizing Process;* cf. Esser, "Figurationssoziologie…"). Pinker is much more optimistic: according to him, there is a decreasing amount of violence in the life of modern mankind, and in general, the project of the Enlightenment has not finished yet, although there have been deflections acting as a counterforce, such as great wars or genocides. According to Pinker, we may perceive that there is more violence around us, because our communication is increasingly advanced, and we talk more about the topic (which is actually a proof of decreasing violence). Whether modernity has created increasingly sophisticated forms of violence (as Michel Foucault and his followers think, for example) or violence is increasingly foregrounded in discourse because it is crowded out from more and more areas in modern societies, I will not decide here (cf. Macfarlane, Harrison, *The Justice and the Mare's Ale*; Stone, "Interpersonal Violence in English Society, 1300–1980"; Sharpe, "The History of Violence in England. Some Observations"; Stone, "The History of Violence in England. Some Observations. A Rejoinder"). In any case, the interpretation of the data listed by Pinker and the all-enlightening "facts" have by no means been settled.

A potentially more important circumstance for us is that both Elias, whose theory of civilization is still debated today, and Pinker, who poses as the present-day apostle of positive social utopias, presumed a direct relationship between the individual and society: although the two are of course not completely the same for them due to their mutually hypothesized nature, they also function as mirrors for each other. They both roam the field of social psychology, where the individual's behavioral patterns come together in social formations. (In this respect, the only difference between the two authors is that Pinker has radicalized Elias' descriptive theory.) Elias claims that civilization is nothing but a sum of systems of behavior and gestures, and thus it does not equal culture itself. The "culture" of a society may include many different behavioral patterns (for example, at the beginning of nineteenth century, public executions were held in even peaceful times in Europe); however, in order for civilization to develop, the individual's stoic self-restraint is necessary. At the same time, aggression does not disappear in the process of civilization, according to Elias, instead, its physical practices are replaced by gestures and symbols (Elias, "An Essay on Sport and Violence").

Based on the above, it is not surprising that the literature on Elias has mostly researched the heterogenous Freudian roots of the theory (Linklater, Mennell, "Norbert Elias, the Civilizing Process"; Grubner, "Kultureller Narzissmus"). However, if we look at the period under observation, i.e. early modernity, interesting parallels also appear between Elias' theory and the self-descriptions of the period. Lisa Hill has taken

this the furthest by seeing a direct relationship between the early modern reception of ancient philosophy, especially by Adam Ferguson, and modern sociology, i.e. Georg Simmel, Norbert Elias, Lewis A. Coser, Max Weber, and Karl Marx ("Eighteenth-Century Anticipations of the Sociology of Conflict"). In any case, this warrants the consideration that the self-restraint of pre-modern men can be equally derived from the Stoic ideal of the "public man" (i.e. from the ancient traditions – cf. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*) and from the spread of the bourgeois family model. However, this is only seemingly a paradox: there is a similar vision of history behind the heuristic civilizing narrative of Scottish Enlightenment and the observations of the cognitive psychologist of the modern era. Accordingly, history is a kind of progress from barbarism towards culturalism (whatever culturalism may mean today), from hunting-gathering through shepherding and agricultural social forms to commercial bourgeois societies (whatever bourgeois may mean here – Brewer, "Adam Ferguson and the Theme of Exploitation"). Where Elias still diverts from the civilizing model of Scottish Enlightenment is the separation of culture and civilization: in this sense, Elias is not a successor of enlightenment any more.

In the debate which had been going on at least since the *Berlinische Monatschrift* posed the renowned question in 1784, i.e. "was ist Aufklärung?", "what is enlightenment?", the processes of intellectual history tagged as enlightenment also contained indirect and direct statements on the issue of violence. In Central and Eastern Europe from the outset, and in the West at least from the French revolution on, the issue of violence became a key point of Enlightenment in that on the one hand, enlightenment is undoubtedly "man's emergence from his self-imposed nonage", as Kant put it (Kant, "What is Enlightenment?"; the original: Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?" 481); it was as a result of this that everything based on the assumption of authority or pure faith was ridiculed; thus, several proponents of enlightenment thought that the predestination of authority positions should be replaced by authority based on merit. On the other hand, replacing the outdated pre-modern thought patterns also meant the transformation of the structure of power. It was obvious in the debates on reason and science that new authority was also accompanied by new power, even if it had a different structure than the power structures of the earlier representative public sphere. We could also summarize the paradox of this duality by saying that the proponents of liberty and equality could only liberate themselves and their fellow men through violence. Notice how neutral Kant's definition cited above is: "Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit." Man had self-imposed the previous darkness, from which he somehow emerges. However, Kant spends fewer words on practical implementation: if all goes well, our emergence from immaturity will happen automatically. What this speech avoids and hides is that the road to freedom is paved with the everyday practices of violence (Reemtsma, *Vertrauen und Gewalt*

532–537). (All this emerged in the Eastern part of Europe poignantly: while enlightened-absolutist rulers boasted their erudition for all to see, they built a centralized state that wanted to rule over its subjects rather than liberate them. As Ernest Gellner remarked ironically about the transformation of ideas into concrete political action: „There is the rub: how do you modernize your army without producing Decembrits?" see "The Struggle to Catch Up" 14.)

The debate escalated around modern forms of violence when the French revolution transplanted the indirect, discursive forms of violence into practice. The result is well-known; the shock of European *philosophe*s was widespread. Edmund Burke's graphically depicted scenes are well-known, where a band of cruel ruffians and assassins rush into the almost naked queen's chamber, pierce the bed with a hundred strokes of bayonets and poniards, and the royal family has to suffer through assorted humiliations. Burke does not hesitate to make a direct connection between brute force and philosophical reasoning:

> On the scheme of this barbarous philosophy, which is the offspring of cold hearts and muddy understandings, and which is as void of solid wisdom as it is destitute of all taste and elegance, laws are to be sup-ported only by their own terrors and by the concern which each individual may find in them from his own private speculations or can spare to them from his own private interests. In the groves of their academy, at the end of every vista, you see nothing but the gallows. (*Reflections on The Revolution in France* 64.)

In fact, this is when violence became one of the big questions of self-awareness of modernity on the one hand (can we constrain violence? do all intentions to improve society inevitably end in aggression? how do the sophisticated forms of violence undermine the illusion of containing violence?); on the other, Burke also touches upon the aesthetic dimension of violence: namely the sight of a scantily clad queen fleeing brings up the question of the relationship between beauty and ugliness. Burke distils the queen almost into an allegory of beauty ("It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles, and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision." Ibid. 63.), and when this beauty is dredged out of her bed, it is actually the disgusting, the hideous, the ugly that overcomes her. Yet being overcome is not a struggle between equals: brute force defeats refinement. Of course, Burke was later often criticized for the pathetic scene (since he himself could not have been there) and its evaluation (the figure of hyperbole is almost a parody of itself). However, the significance of the fact that in his reflections on the French revolution, Burke saw and depicted philosophical, aesthetic, and ethical dimensions together, and he did

so by floating the threat of violence both in the scenes depicted, the political-philosophical problems he raised, and the method and rhetoric of the depiction is undeniable (Furniss, *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology* 138–163).

(coalition wars and the Kingdom of Hungary)

Hungarian soldiers fought in the coalition wars against the French from the outset in 1792 as part of the imperial and royal army. Beyond this, more substantial Hungarian armed forces were mustered four times (1797, 1800, 1805, 1809). Article 1741:63. regulated the legal conditions of this. Accordingly, it is the ruler who could muster the noble uprising and insurrectionist forces, but only if the imperial armed forces cannot hold the enemy back and the country is in direct danger. This is why the institution of insurrection fundamentally served self-defense purposes, and it was surrounded by the odium of protecting the homeland. It is not difficult to see that in the age of mass armed forces, an untrained army recruited from noblemen could have been quite outdated. This may be one of the reasons why in the contemporary reception of insurrection, the role of individual virtue gained serious importance, as did emphasizing the fact that patriotic enthusiasm may be what can overcome the enemy (Kecskeméti, *La Hongrie et le reformisme liberal* 271–292).

Insurrections later gained a bad reputation: in the end, the Hungarian troops could not really demonstrate any victories, although Hungarian noble banderia also participated in the united troops of the Monarchy – thus both the successes and the even more numerous failures, as well as the ultimate victory was shared with the imperial army (Wertheimer, *Ausztria és Magyarország…* passim.; Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy* 226–230; Judson, *The Habsburg Empire* 89–102). The notoriety of Hungarians' military performance was mostly due to the connections between the last big noble uprising and the lost battle of Győr/Raab (14 June, 1809). The quick depreciation of the heroism of the wars against the French is due to three different circumstances. First, beyond heroism/valor, money also depreciated. While the shock caused by the states of war that followed each other in waves could not be controlled, the country's economy also faced a significant crisis. This also put the losses due to the state of war in a somewhat different perspective (Mérei, "Magyarország gazdasága…"). Second, while the political structure proved to be enduring (H. Balázs, "La noblesse hongorise et les Lumières"; Szijártó, "The Unexpected Survival of the Dualism of King and Estates"), the method of organizing military troops that had seemed to be working during the French wars was finished for good by the second decade of the nineteenth century. Thus, it might have seemed as if the military failure had also provoked the reorganization of the army. What is more, it may have turned the outdated image of the noble uprising into a cornerstone of the political identity of the

following political generation: this is how the defeat at Győr/Raab could have become a symbol (or parody) of the political problem of conservatism. Finally, from the four uprisings the first three dissolved without any military events. The defeat of the fourth uprising could also have seemed bigger in retrospect, because it had been preceded by increasing anticipation.

However, it is also a significant fact that in terms of the politics of memory, the French wars and the participation of the Hungarian noble armed forces constituted a kind of turning point for the contemporaries. In other words, for them, participation in the wars against the French somehow became an *event*, and they also wished to immortalize its characteristics as an event. Never before had so many poems, pamphlets, articles, and news items circulated around a single topic at the same time as in then. This *memory boom* meant the simultaneous application of several cultural techniques, what is more, these techniques were quite new – and even if the historical agents used gestures of the politics of memory known from earlier times, they produced them in a format renewed in terms of technique, content, or medium (cf. Császár, "Az utolsó nemesi felkelés az irodalomban"). A spectacular example among these gestures was the affair of the monument erected in memory of the fallen *heros* of Zemplén county. Not only because well-known historical figures developed the design, i.e. politician count József Dessewffy and writer Ferenc Kazinczy, but also because the completed product (a carved column with inscriptions) can also be interpreted as a proposal for the localization of a type of monument that had not been present in the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary (Dessewffy, Kazinczy, *Vélemények*).

But what was the cause of this *memory boom*? It had partly historical and partly media-related reasons – more specifically, the coincidence of these generated the never before seen glut of gestures in the politics of memory. This was the era after the politically frustrated period of Joseph II, when the reparation of the relationship between the Hungarian noble estates and the king was at stake. The ruler needed the help of the Hungarian estates (he needed to convince them about taxes and conscription), while the Hungarian estates received an opportunity to repair their battered national self-esteem. Thus, settling the Hungarians' position within the empire could resurface after 1790 (Balázs, "Absolutisme éclairé – noblesse éclairée"; ibid., "Joseph II et la Hongrie"). What is more, the developments in France were just as shocking for the Hungarian estates as they were in other parts of Europe. The fear of revolt on the part of the ruler and the estates was a common point which strengthened the aulic characteristics of noble patriotism during these decades. (It also may be no coincidence what an astonishing cult of an enlightened absolutist Napoleon emerged in Central Europe after his ascendancy. Not only did it speak to the myth of the invincible general, but it also symbolized a possible route to overcoming fear. For the cult of Napoleon see Hughes, "Clothing the New

Emperor"; for the cult of Napoleon in Hungary see Kosáry, *Napoleon et la Hongrie*.) It was in this historical environment that the new media conditions could be exploited as efficiently as possible. The 1790s saw one of the biggest upswings in Hungarian pamphlet literature – these mostly debated political positions, although many other questions could also be raised. During this period, many different media products were launched – some of which expressly took on reporting on military news, so information about the war arrived every day in an unprecedented way (Vaderna, "Language, Media and Politics in the Hungarian Kingdom between 1770 and 1820"). Finally, the boom in printing opened up to new forms of exhortation. Masses of insurrectionist songs were created during this time (or previous songs were transformed for this purpose), and a significant proportion of these was also printed. Besides the masses of anonymous poets, more and less renowned names cropped up as well. Of course, all this is a rather multifaceted discoursive space divided into several subcultures, and the opinions voiced and the social practices used here do not necessarily point in the same direction.

(a Hungarian poet in wartime)

Dániel Berzsenyi (1776–1836) lived in the Western counties of the Kingdom of Hungary during the beginning of the nineteenth century, and that is where he wrote his poems. He only published his monumental odes containing lofty images and hyperboles and conveying majestic aesthetic experience decades later, in 1813; however, these poems reveal much about the poetic representation of war and violence. He also wrote some poems about the insurrection, and he steadily produced texts during the coalition wars. War might have been his everyday experience: troops marched across his estates; at first, he could sell his crop at a good price, but later his money depreciated. His martial poems are pervaded by the pride of patriotism: he saw the following of the ancient constitution in the tradition of the noble uprising, which ensures the freedom of the country. (Of course, he identified the country with the noble estates.) There was a war and Berzsenyi, although with his own paradoxes, reacted to the big debates of his era on violence. The model of development for culture and civilization was very important for him; however, he did not apply a neat version of politeness to the Hungarian situation, but, as it so often happened in Central Europe, he combined it with other types of political language (the language of the ancient constitution or republicanism). He addressed the aspects of violence that destroyed culture on multiple occasions, although as a good patriot he also supported protecting the homeland, acquired through blood, by means of further sacrifices. Of course, for him culture also meant gaining, building, and ruling the monopoly of violence – which would sound strange in other places, but this is a completely legitimate position in this region. With him, this did not contradict the aristocratic

models of spreading culture. Finally, the *power* of Berzsenyi's poetic language (or in another, more critical approach: its excessive pathos) is often mentioned. For him, language was not the territory of violence in the sense of aggression; at the same time, the performative potential of his rhetoric made it possible to dominate discussions, and so it did have something to do with violence.

In the following, one example will be examined to show how Berzsenyi pictured the relationship between violence and culture.

(mythology, history, event)

At the beginning of 1797, the French troops made substantial advances, which also made it possible to attack Vienna. Francis I called the Hungarian noble uprising to arms on 8 April, 1797. The estates of Vas county gathered on 15 April, 1797 under the open sky, in the court of the Szombathely episcopal palace, to discuss the consequences of the state of war. They decided to arm the banderium, which consisted of 2,000 infantrymen and 1,000 horsemen (*Magyar Hírmondó* 11.31 [18 April, 1797]: 470–471). On 2 May, the horsemen were already gathering in Szombathely, for the time being under the leadership of lord-lieutenant prince Lajos Batthyány (*Magyar Hírmondó* 11.37 [9 May, 1797]: 556.). Prince Miklós Esterházy was still in Pápa in June and oversaw the gathering of the banderia of Veszprém county (*Magyar Hírmondó* 11.47 [13 June, 1797]: 556.). By the end of August the different banderia united around Szombathely. We can read about the parade of the county troops in the *Magyar Hírmondó [Hungarian Herald]* newspaper in detail. The anonymous correspondent commented on what he saw the following way: "In light of their upstanding behavior, prince Esterházy, their district general, issued ten kreuzer from his own to every private and twenty kreuzer to every junior officer, so they can have fun. His Highness the Prince encouraged the Veszprém infantry troops in the same way for their good behavior, distributing the deserved reward in the form of money. Unless there is any obstacle, we will have a big maneuver again on the last day of August." (*Magyar Hírmondó* 12.18 [1 September, 1797]: 294.) The soldiers did need to be appeased with some payment, considering that the promised military operation was cancelled, and after some time spent waiting around, the troops were disappointed to be eventually disbanded. Of course, Berzsenyi's odes knew nothing about this failure.

Berzsenyi wrote his ode for the occasion of the Szombathely encampment in 1797: *Herceg Esterházy Miklóshoz (To Prince Nicolaus Esterházy)*. The stake of the ode is how to find language for lawful violence. To paraphrase the problem a little: how can you find a language for legitimizing violence (its deontological ethics) where some kind of linguistic violence forces the historical characters to commit violence for

the sake of the community? And does the order of discourse contain the deontological ethics of power and violence?

Let us first see the text. On the left side I present a modern transcription of an 1808 manuscript copy of the poem, while on the right side I present a prose translation (Manuscript Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, M. Irod. Lev. 4r 44. sz. 119r–120r. The critical edition of the œuvre: Berzsenyi, *Költői művei*):

Herceg Eszterházÿ Mikloshoz.	**To Prince Nicolaus Esterházy**
[1] Pannon legelső embere, támasza! Elődeidnek fegyvere népeket Győzött, s hazánkért számtalanszor A viadal mezein csatázott.	Foremost man of Pannonia, her own support! The weapon of your ancestors destroyed peoples and it has fought for our homeland on the battlefield countless times.
[2] Ők voltak a harc vérzivatarjain S a béke napjain bölcs vezetők, atyák, Kormányra termett őrszemekkel Szélveszeket zabolázva tartók.	They were the wise leaders and fathers on the days of rains of blood of battle and days of peace, who cast protective eyes on the helm and reined in the windstorms.
[3] Mely áldozat volt a vezekényi harc! Bús tisztelettel könnyezi a magyar Négy bajnok Esterházy véres Porba kevert ajakit s halálát.	What sacrifice the Vezekény battle was! With sadness and respect, the Hungarians mourn the bloody lips of the four victorious Esterházys mixed in with the dirt and their death.
[4] Láttam te benned buzgani véröket S orcádra öntött nemzeti lelköket, Láttam szemed villám sugárát S ősi dicső vasadat kezedben.	I saw their blood gush within you and their national spirit glisten on your face, I saw the lightning ray of your eye and your ancient glorious metal [your sword] in your hand.
[5] Rémülve megszűnt a fene háború; Int a kegyetlen tengerek Istene Képével a forró haboknak, S eltűnik a Pelagus dagálya.	The ruthless war ended in a dreadful way; the God of the ferocious seas faces and beckons the hot waves, and the flood of Pelagus disappears.
[6] Szép a borostyán, s győzödelem szekér, Szép a vitéznek sebhelye homlokán, Félisten, akit nimbuszával A hatalom s tudomány ragyogtat.	The amber and the triumphal chariot are beautiful, the scar on the valiant's forehead is beautiful – he is a demigod, whose glory is illuminated by power and art.
[7] Minden nagy és szép, melyet az óvilág És e jelen kor mívei közt csudálsz, Héró, dicsősség, fényes ország, A tudomány gyönyörű gyümölcse.	All is great and beautiful that you admire among the creations of the ancient world and the present time, *heros*, glory, a rich country, the beautiful fruit of art.
[8] Ez hozta Mennyből földre az isteni Szikrát, ez oldott a butaság alól. A bölcs Athénát s győzhetetlen Róma fejét ez emelte égre.	This is what has brought the divine spark from Heaven down to Earth, this is what has saved us from folly. This is what has raised wise Athens and the head of invincible Rome to the sky.

[9] Nézd a virágzó Gallia népeit S Nelson hazáját, – rettegi a világ Ez ész s erő két nagy csudájat, S hirdeti napkelet és enyészet.	Watch the peoples of thriving Gaul and Nelson's homeland – the world fears these two big miracles of reason and power, and this is what the East/sunrise and the West/decay announces.
[10] Hát nemzetednek mért fakad oly soká A rég ohajtott laurus? – ezer nemes Vállvetve törtet, s gátokat ront, Ah, de acél hegyek állnak ellent.	Oh why does the long-desired laurus take so long to spring for your nation – a thousand noblemen push forward shoulder to shoulder, destroying all obstacles, but, alas, the steel mountains resist.
[11] Téged, hatalmas herceg, az istenek Fő polcra tettek, véreidet segéld, Vidd a dicsőség templomához: Ajtaja zára lehull előtted.	You, mighty prince, the gods have placed in the highest rank, help your flesh and blood, bring it to the temple of fame: the lock of its door will drop in front of you.

When we start reading the poem, we can find one of the best-known narratives of the historical self-identification of Hungarian nobility at the beginning:

> Pannon legelső embere, támasza!
> Elődeidnek fegyvere népeket
> Győzött.
>
> [Foremost man of Pannonia, her own support!
> The weapon of your ancestors destroyed peoples.]

Here a reference is made to the historically continuous tradition of noblemen sacrificing their blood for their homeland as the direct descendants of their settler ancestors. And this tradition obliges noblemen (in this case Esterházy): he has to conform to the tradition that sees the guarantee of a nation's future in a stoic ethics that sacrifices the individual's interests for the sake of the community. Of course, what kind of legacy the past puts on the present, as a kind of difficulty, is far from clear. Here Berzsenyi, in line with the classical perception of time in Hungarian patriotic poetry, places the glorious past and the losses of the past next to each other. Victory is mentioned first (first stanza), then the Esterházys appear as the keepers of peace (second stanza), and finally, the losses appear in a harmonic structure (third stanza). Meanwhile, the Esterházys also rise up when the wise leaders and fathers rein in the windstorms. In this stanza, Berzsenyi refers to Boreas, the ancient northern wind: he took Orithyia, the beautiful daughter of king Erechtheus, because the king of Athens did not want to give her hand to him in marriage. One of the following kings of Athens, in order to placate Boreas, who was still seething later, built the tower of the winds in his honor. (The most widely known version of the story: Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 6,675–721. See also Pausanias, *Description of*

Greece, 5,19,1.). In this allegory, the wisdom leading to peace belongs to the Esterházys: they are the ones who can rein in the wild windstorms. So the historical example in the following stanza is also placed in the following mythological light: this is how the four Esterházys fallen in the battle of Vezekény become mythical figures themselves. (After the battle of Vezekény – today: Veľké Vozokany, Slovakia –, in 1652, the Esterházy family organized a spectacular representative funeral: this is how they expressed their loyalty to the Habsburgs and their family's power among the Hungarian nobility.)

The "victorious battle – peace – lost battle" sequence may be an innocent parallel, but it also may include the necessary progress of all historical peoples' lives. It is about the organic metaphor that imagines the fate of the nation as a parallel of a person's life, and it extends this narrative pattern to almost all more ambitious historical narratives. Of course, for this, Miklós Esterházy's figure should also include this history, more specifically, the history of his family, and more broadly what the history of this family includes, i.e. the history of the nation. The four Esterházys who died a heroic death in the battle of Vezekény become the same as the Esterházy who is Berzsenyi's contemporary, who will thus be obliged to follow his ancestors who took on martyrdom, even to their deaths.

The three life phases in the first three stanzas can also be read as potential mirrors of Miklós Esterházy's fate. However, in the specific wartime situation which the title specifically locates in space and time, it is not the same at all which of the three possibilities will eventually prevail. The fourth stanza announces the interplay of the specific situation and the dimension of deontological ethics that is elevated to the mythological space: in this case "I saw" can both mean literally that Berzsenyi indeed saw Esterházy, but also how he manifested in the "national spirit" and "the lightning ray of your eye"; and the "ancient glorious metal" again both contains the historical agent appearing in the specific historical situation as well as the *heros* emerging from the mythology of the past. Concerning the latter, the historical agent's task is to grow into the *heros* created (imagined) in the past. This growth is served by what can be called the violence of language. In the next few stanzas, Berzsenyi flashes a series of analogies in the philosophy of history, while it is unclear throughout if the "I saw" leading in the train of thought is a description of the specific situation (in which case Esterházy's elevation is nothing but some kind of flattery) or if this "I saw" already signals the Neoplatonic *exaltatio*, a transcending of the natural order that is only possible for the poet (in which case the following are rather fantasies or visions).

The fifth stanza, which envisioned the end of the "ruthless war", could both be a vision running into the future (the wars against the French will end sooner or later) and the narrative pattern of the mythical tradition at the same time. Berzsenyi combined two mythological stories: a Greek and a Latin one, both only indirectly. He specifically

mentioned Pelagus. This name probably came to him in connection with the story of the flood of Deucalion: in the Greek myth, Zeus wanted to destroy the world with a flood because Lycaon, Pelagus' son, had served him human meat for dinner (Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca,* 3,3,1; Pausainas, *Description of Greece,* VIII,2,1; the most widely known version – but Pelagus does not appear here: Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 1,230–415). The other element of the story that Berzsenyi refers to is well-known: it comes from the beginning of Virgil's *Aeneid*, where Neptune calms the frenzied waves, thus saving Aeneas' life (Virgil, *Aeneid,* 1,125–156). However, this scene, stripped of its context, is left on its own to some extent: it is impossible to know if Esterházy is the same as Aeneas, who is adrift on the waves of the sea, looking for a new homeland, or if the calming of the sea only signals the beginning of a new, more peaceful period (and the Virgilian scene is only flashed as an aside). It is unclear if Aeneas-Esterházy is a founder of this better era (i.e. if Aeneas' future, which the reader obviously knows, is implicit in the image) or if the new era will necessarily come (and Esterházy's glorious military achievement, which he is yet to accomplish, will lead to it).

The following stanzas do not help decide the dilemma, either. Berzsenyi piles images on top of each other; however, the logical relationships between these images remain unclear. Beauty and greatness appear at the conceptual level, but we cannot find their definition. Thus, the amber, the triumphal chariot, the scar on the valiant's forehead, the *heros* who is becoming a demigod, the victor, glory, a rich country, and the beautiful fruit of art are all beautiful and great. He actually only reveals that

> Minden nagy és szép, melyet az óvilág
> És e jelen kor mívei közt csudálsz.
>
> [All is great and beautiful that you admire among the creations of the ancient world and the present time.]

This "all" is what he lists. However, whether there is an order of values among these, or, if one follows the next in chronological order – we do not learn anything about that. In effect, it is in the unity of battle and art that Berzsenyi was looking for in the parade of images. As he stood in the flood of the ocean with the image of the "god of the seas", i.e. as he bravely faced the frenzied waves, obviously it is also Esterházy's duty to do the same. However, when these waves overcome him, he is obliged to filter the beautiful and the great from this commotion. Power and art are not present here as a dichotomy but next to each other – and they obviously need to manifest in Esterházy. At the same time, the flood of the sea of images (following the analogy of the tides of the ocean) does not seem to be quieting, instead it flows pathetically for a few stanzas. This flood goes back to the situation at the beginning of

the poem (i.e. that the troops are gathering in the middle of a war, and Esterházy has to lead them).

The eighth stanza elevates the poem to the perspective of world history. Namely, in world history, it is power and art that "illuminate" – Athens is obviously an example of art, while Rome is rather an example of power; however, it is probably not too much to assume that both big empires were built on art and power. (Incidentally, there is another reference left on its own here – this time about Prometheus, who donated art to people.) The two imperial capitals appear in a positive sense here: the history of these cities is an example of the alignment of beauty and greatness, art and power.

In the following, it is from this abstract, both historical and mythical perspective which in any case was far from the ongoing war, that the poem switches back to the specific situation of reciting the poem. Berzsenyi first takes a look at the situation from the European horizon of the French wars, followed by the Hungarian situation. The nineth stanza clearly shows the connections between art and power that flashed from a mythical perspective above; however, here the two big empires are already contemporary France and Great Britain:

> Nézd a virágzó Gallia népeit
> S Nelson hazáját, – rettegi a világ
> Ez ész s erő két nagy csudájat,
> S hirdeti napkelet és enyészet.
>
> [Watch the peoples of thriving Gaul and Nelson's homeland – the world fears these two big miracles of reason and power, and this is what the east/sunrise and the west/decay announces.]

Gaul and Nelson's homeland are the modern-era analogues of Athens and Rome. Berzsenyi also attempts here to subtly refer the duality of art and power (the two great miracles of reason and strength) back to the dilemma of birth and decay. Namely "napkelet és enyészet" can also mean 'from East to West', i.e. that these two empires, which are otherwise fighting each other, are recognized all over the world; on the other hand, he describes the West with the noun "enyészet", which quite obviously plays on the possibility of 'decay'.

Three layers are posed on top of each other in the poem: the tenth stanza is the one to jerk the train of thought back to Hungarian reality. He expresses this in the form of a contrast: the nation does not obtain glory even though a thousand noblemen (i.e. the army led by Esterházy) are fighting for it. However, in light of the above, it is not clear on what scale this battle is taking place: the Hungarians are fighting a mythological battle (mentioning *laurus* may refer to this), fighting in a perspective of world history (the culture and power of Athens and

Rome), or are the troops gathering in the Szombathely camp trying to climb "the steel mountains"?

It is in this tripartite division where Esterházy appears in the eleventh, final stanza, and the ethical dictate of sacrificing for the homeland prevails in these three perspectives both at the same time and separately. "You, mighty prince, the gods have placed in the highest rank" – here is the mythological perspective; "help your flesh and blood" – here is the historical perspective (the history of the family obliges), as well as the reference to the specific situation. The topos of the "temple of fame" can thus be invoked here: it can unite these three dimensions, as well as absorb the alignment of culture and power presented by Berzsenyi. (The Temple of Fame has become a *topos* of the European literature after Alexander Pope, see Bennett, *Chaucer's Book of Fame*.)

As we have seen, power and violence are closely linked in Berzsenyi (they are virtually synonyms in this poem). The other side is culture (what is art and reason here). However, these two spheres of existence do not contradict each other, instead, whoever also has a privilege in the other dimension of existence can keep the power to themselves. Speech about strength, when it takes place in a poem, necessarily uses the language of culture, although even in this case, it allows space for power. Berzsenyi solves this by having a basic historical narrative (history is analogous with organic life), but the individual possessing power and culture (here: Miklós Esterházy) can place himself in the common force field of myth, history, and reality. Power can thus elevate the individual from historical necessity and make him a mythical *heros*.

(power and violence)

Modernity demands the minimization of violence from the future. From the future, because it cannot contain it in its own present (Reemtsma, *Vertrauen und Gewalt* 182–184). For Berzsenyi, it is not so much the legitimization of violence that is the question but its essence. He shows the noble-estate image of military virtues, which so frequently recurred in the insurrectionist patriotic poetry of the beginning of the nineteenth century, both in a mythological and a world history perspective. Possessing strength and power through virtue not only points to the individual's epic heroism, but it also suspends the perspectives of temporality in that the historical agent (here: Miklós Esterházy) assumes the timelessness of virtue. This is where the stake is in Berzsenyi's martial poetry: can the agent existing in time switch to an atemporal form of existence? The poem under analysis gives an affirmative answer to this question. However, the Napoleonic wars forced the poet to re-evaluate. In 1805, he wrote several odes in which he only sees it possible to bridge the temporal rift through an apocalypse that converts everything into the present. The fate of the nation, the essence of virtue (its possession or abandonment) can also stay open as a dilemma, because violence and

power are not the privileges of the pre-modern individual anymore but a function of the linguistic-discursive achievement of modern societies.

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Practices of Colonization in Regional Literary Histories

Space Creating Processes of German and Hungarian Literary History Writing in Romania

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ABSTRACT:
The discourses on 20th century Eastern European regional literatures are predominantly determined by the use of terminology and interrelationships of national and ethnic literatures, which originated in social and state organizational embeddedness. Besides, the majority–minority relation is significantly present in the discourse on these literatures, with this relation representing a – sometimes implicit, sometimes explicit – approach of colonization. If ethnic (or minority) literatures are not only examined as opposed to national (or majority) literatures, it might occur that ethnic literatures themselves often resorted to practices of colonization when describing the literary context. This paper aims at examining the processes of literary history writing of German and Hungarian literatures from Romania, and by looking at them from a transnational perspective, identifying the in-between space where the mutually oppressive spatial practices are eliminated.

Keywords: regional literature, national literature, colonization, post-colonialism, transnationalism, in-between space, German literature from Romania, Hungarian literature from Romania

When it comes to regionality in Hungarian or German literature and culture in the second half of the 20th century (especially in the period between 1945 and 1990), there is a list of phenomena whose conceptual terminology puts them in the reference scope of Hungarian and German literature beyond the borders. These terms appeared in the 20th century, i.e. are products of the era and significantly contributed to the way in which regionality is used in discourses on Hungarian or German literature as well as on literatures in certain areas. At the same time it is worth considering that these terms are not born in a void, but have a long tradition, and before pointing out their similarities and differences, I intend to explore these traditions. In the process of their coming into existence, some fundamental spatial and

space creating practices can be detected; in tackling these categories, this paper approaches the terms, more specifically the literary history writing of non-Romanian literatures from the creation and operation of spaces as well as their symbolism. Besides, examining the construction of Hungarian and German literatures in Romania from a comparative point of view hypothetically might lead to removing these constructions from the discourses of national literatures, making it possible to examine them from a more comprehensive, regional aspect. Moreover, this comparison might evoke the theoretical background of postcolonialism as a possible point of view in the analysis. As Gertrud Szamosi puts it, "Central European history carries the promise of a multi-layered metahermeneutical interpretation, as our world is rather rich in interpretative networks composed of interwoven acts of mutual colonization".[1] (Szamosi, *A posztkolonialitás* 418)

While the (re)identification processes of the above mentioned regional literatures were taking place in the 1960s and 1970s in terms of literary history writing, theoretical approaches pointed out – in this very period – that the points of view of spatiality became more significant. As Michel Foucault, who is considered to be one of the forerunners of the spatial turn, pointed out: "The present age may be the age of space instead. We are in an era of the simultaneous, of juxtaposition, of the near and the far, of the side-by-side, of the scattered." (Foucault, *Different Spaces* 175)

For Foucault, this statement is connected to revisiting the relationship of space and time, and in the text – as the quotation indicates – synchronicity has more emphasis as opposed to diachronicity. All that points out that besides synchronicity and conjunction, it is a system of interrelationships pictured as spatial, a constellation of individual items that is becoming slowly the focus of attention. Space and spaces were not only revisited in terms of relationships and as a network of links, but simultaneously the question arose how space and space come into existence and what representational processes are displayed. (Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*) The criticism of orientalism mostly connected to Edward Said (Said, *Orientalism*) is closely linked to that, and so is postcolonial theory, which "can be seen as an indirect criticism of eurocentrism based on the political and economic domination of space as well as of the distinction between centre and periphery." (Dánél, Vincze, "Tér" 182) The questions that appear along with these tendencies are more and more determined by the operations of space creating practices, about which Michel de Certeau says "Space is a practiced place" (Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* 117), and therefore, emphasizes usage and action (and how it is done).

1 All the citations from works not published in English are my translations. F.V.

The Ideology of Periodization

If we look at Lefebvre's premise and look at space as part of a creative means as well as a product of social practice closely related to cultural power relations, space will always have a physical as well as social component. (Hallet, Neumann, "Raum und Bewegung in der Literatur" 14) In the literary histories examined here, spatial terms started to be used, which can easily be identified as the products of spatial practices, and it can also be seen that these methods and the spaces constructed by them have social references. The source texts of my analysis are two literary histories of a well-known period of Hungarian and German literatures from Romania, which offer an overview of these regional literatures from the end of WWII to the 1970s or 1980s based on a set of aspects. The Hungarian literary history was written by Gusztáv Láng and Lajos Kántor, and the work was published first in 1971 (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom*), and in 1973 for the second time with the title *Romániai magyar irodalom 1944–1970* (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom*),[2] [Hungarian literature from Romania 1944–1970]. The author of the German literary history is Peter Motzan; his book, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik nach 1944* (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik*) [German Poetry from Romania after 1944] came out in 1980, and offered a narrower scope than that of the Hungarian work, focusing on the phenomena of poetry. The reason why these works were chosen for analysis can be found in their reception history, as while Kántor and Láng's work became part of the pivotal literary history ("Spenót") [Spinach] (Béládi ed., *A magyar irodalom története*), published as a series by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, moreover, the final text was written as an assignment from HAS,[3] and later reached the status of a "founding text" in terms of the conceptualization of Hungarian literature "from Transylvania" or "from Romania" (Balázs, "Histories" 53), Cristina Tudorică's book on the last period of German literature from Romania partly reproduces the structure of Motzan's work (Tudorică, *Rumäniendeutsche,* 7–62) and becomes a major point of reference in other comprehensive works. (Weber, *Rumäniendeutshe?* 7–11)

2 In the following I refer to the 1973 edition as Kántor–Láng.

3 See: "For the (immediate) history of the book and the launch of the work, I must recall a meeting in Budapest: György Bodnár, senior associate of Institute for Literary Studies of Hungarian Academy of Sciences sent me a message, so we sat down for a face-to-face conversation. […] He told me that there is an ongoing project, a comprehensive historical overview of Hungarian literature in the institute. […] The institute's plan is to write a comprehensive overview examining the period between 1945 and 1970, and they count on me to write the part about Hungarian literature in Romania. After a short consideration, I answered on the spot, that I would be able to do this with Gusztáv Láng, but of course, I needed to talk to him. Returning to Cluj, we talked it over with my friend, Guszti Láng, got back to the contact, divided the genres and authors between ourselves – and wrote the manuscript." (Kántor, "Láng-dosszié" 27)

It is striking that the forewords of both books offer a precise and detailed explanation for the regional term used in the title, and it is also noteworthy that both works clearly indicate – as early as in the title – the starting point of the overview. The difficulty of the title as well as the social and political referentiality is demonstrated by the difference between the two editions: the scope is from 1945 in the first edition, whereas it starts from 1944 in the second one.[4] This difference highlights the change in the Romanian political conditions during WWII, i.e. Romania who had been fighting alongside Germany until 23rd August 1944, changed sides on that day by order of King Michael, which marks the beginning of a new era in Romanian history. As Neagu Djuvara puts it: "because we had lost the war against the Soviets, we were now forced – despite promises of protection from the Allies – to adopt a regime imposed by Moscow." (Djuvara, *A Brief* 405) The clear mark of the starting point of the literary historical overviews as well as the title correction in the second edition of the Hungarian work clearly indicate the fact that the practice of setting up periods in literary history writing was influenced by social and political events. It is no coincidence that the epochal distinction in the titles of the two literary histories indicates 1944 as a starting year, which is the beginning of the new social setting. This temporal mark of the beginning of literary history suggests a spatial perspective as well, in the sense that the starting point of a literary-historical overview is decided by neither immanent or aesthetic features, nor literary historical ones, but is based on an ideologically determined starting point in history, i.e. the re-establishment of the Romanian nation state. The choice of time in these literary histories is also interesting because at this point the perspective of colonization can be detected, if Djuvara's claims in the above quotation is confronted with the view of history in the texts examined. While the starting date of Hungarian and German literary histories (even if not by choice) is interpreted as a liberation from national socialist influences and interests, Djuvara's words indicate the forthcoming suppressing Soviet power. In that sense it might be claimed that the colonialized status of Romanian society does not change, it is only the colonizer that is different. Moreover, setting an exact point in time is closely related to setting the space, as the date (23rd August 1944) does not only mark Romania's change of sides, but the development of the territorial integrity of Romania. A territorial concept of space can be detected here, about which Doris Bachmann-Medick says: "It coincided with conception of space rooted

4 "The date of 1945, indicating 'the liberation' refers to Hungary; this led to one of the police reports, beacuse our 'liberation' was on 23 August 1944. The person, who pressed charges and the 'authority' did not consider the fact that the next change of power only took place In Transylvania in October – but regardless, literature does not follow socio-political changes day by day, week by week (as much as it does, of course). So 1945 is the real milestone, or at least more realistic, than 1944. The publisher did not object, so we didn't either, so the title of the second edition changed." (Kántor, "Láng-dosszié" 27–28)

in the nation-state, with a view of space and place as static 'containers' of cultural traditions that, during the rise of the nation-state, confined culture to a national space with territorial borders." (Bachmann-Medick, "Spatial Turn" 219) How this idea of container manifests in the practices of regional literary history writing will be examined in the following, with a close eye on Kántor and Láng's as well as Motzan's literary histories.

Before I focus on the terms by looking at the attempts of definition in the forewords, it is just as important to mention once again the emphasis placed on the time frame, as it cannot only be interpreted as historical reference but has spatial relevance as indicated above.

The structure of the two literary histories in terms of time is orientative and similar, and so is the spectacularly unfolding, somewhat implied contrast. The first three bigger chapters of Kántor and Láng [Prelude; Life of Literature; Literary Publications, Literary Criticism, Literary History] are indicative and serve as an overview. The chapter titled *Prelude* looks at and summarizes the period before 1944 after a short introduction with a starting point of 1919, the year which found the Romanian society within new borders – after the unification of 1st December 1918.[5] In this respect Transylvanian Hungarian literature which was considered to be a prelude to Hungarian literature from Romania existed between 1919 and 1944 and it is summarized by this literary history. The opening sentences of the following chapter ("In the development of Romanian society 23rd August 1944 brings a major turning point. Leaving Hitler's alliance and joining the fight against fascism means the victory of democratic, antifascist forces in the life of the country, and literature also carries the promise of enfolding humanist or revolutionary endeavours" (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 27) clearly reinforce the assumption evoked by the title, i.e. the starting point was chosen based on (socio-)political considerations. In this respect, highlighting the temporal aspect of the structure of Kántor and Láng's work, it might be claimed that it contrasts the prelude, the old era between 1919 and 1944 with the new era after 1944, and deals with the birth of Hungarian literature from Romania in the latter one. The parts following the three introductory chapters examine the poetry, prose and dramatic works of the era after 1944, and are followed by a bibliographical addition by Andor Réthy, which comprises almost half of the book.

The structure of Peter Motzan's literary history is similarly organised. After the Vorwort [Foreword] introducing the six big chapters, the next part focuses on the history of literatures in German in the Romanian territory (*Deutschsprachige Literatur im rumänischen Raum*) [German-language Literature in Romanian Areas], and it is followed

5 See: "The extraordinary creation of Greater Romania in December 1918 was the embodiment of a centuries-old dream of the Romanian people: to be united, from the Banat to the Dniester." (Djuvara, *A Brief* 370)

by the critical commentary on poetry (*Rumäniendeutsche Lyrikreflexion,* 1944–1979) [Reflections on German Poetry from Romania, 1944–1979] and an analysis of German poetry from Romania in the period between 1919 and 1944 (*Rumäniendeutsche Lyrik,* 1919–1944) [German Poetry from Romania, 1919–1944]. The chapter following the foreword, which reflects upon the historical events of German-speaking culture in the region, marks the exact date of 23rd August 1944 twice: first with regard to the new establishment and the German population,[6] and later with respect to the approximation of German and Romanian culture.[7] Besides the dates and therefore periodical segmentation, the fourth bigger chapter (*Rumäniendeutsche Lyrik,* 1919–1944) starts with a quotation from Stefan Sienerth, which places the 1918 unification in the centre along with the hope that the life of the German-speaking population would turn for the better.[8] As we could see in Kántor and Láng's literary history, here also the opening lines of the chapter on the era indicated in the title of the book[9] highlight the periods by marking the exact date, which not only divides, but contrasts the idea of literature, literary politics and the social setting with those of the previous era.

Both the Hungarian and German literary histories apply similar practices in terms of structure as well as periodization. The dividing points in time are 1919 as well as 23rd August 1944 in both works which mark the beginning of new eras. It is true for both dates that neither

6 See: „Nach dem 23 August 1944 forderte die Situation der deutschen Bevölkerung ein entschlossenes, aber aich taktvolles Vorgehen seitens der neuen Regierung, da jene der Nazipropagande besonders stark ausgesetzt gewesen war." [After 23 August 1944 the status of the German population required decisive but tactful actions on behalf of the new government, as this group was strongly influenced by the Nazi propaganda.] (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 21)

7 "Es ist einleuchtend, daß nach dem 23. August 1944 eine stärkere Annäherung an die rumänische Literatur stattfand." [Clearly, after 23 August 1944 there was an increased interest in Romanian literature.] (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 31)

8 See: „'Gleich nach der Vereinigung Siebenbürgens mit dem Altreich (also nach 1918) glaubte man allgemein, die Bildung einer relativ starken deutschen Minderheit in Rumänien und die verlockenden Versprechungen des bürgerlich-gutsherrlichen Regimes würden jedwelche nationalen Zielsetzungen überflüssig machen'". [After Transylvania's unification with Old Romania (i.e. 1918) it was generally believed, that there would be a strong German minority in Romania, as well as the attractive promises of the bourgeois-gentry regime would make all nationalistic endeavours unnecessary.] (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 56)

9 See: „Die antifaschistische und antiimperialistische Revolution vom 23. August 1944 leitete die soziale und nationale Befreiung Rumäniens ein, führte zum Sturz der Diktatur Ion Antonescus und zum Abbruch der Beziehungen mit Hitlerdeutschland." [The antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of 23 August 1944 led up to the social and national liberation of Romania, and led to the collapse of Ion Antonescu's dictatorship as well as cutting ties with Hitler's Germany.] (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 84)

reflects the conventional dates of the world wars, but they mark events[10] that are clearly linked to the happenings of the birth of the Romanian state power or its integrity.[11] Although forced to do so, the authors of regional literary histories did include the establishment's ideological interpretation of history in the periodization of literatures identified as Hungarian literature from Romania and German literature from Romania, somewhat indicating and demonstrating the eagerness of the colonizer to influence the way in which the topic is handled. Besides, there is a clearly contrasting element in both literary histories when it comes to structure: the literature of the era after 1944 is described as a contrast to the earlier period, as exceeding it and distancing from it: both Kántor and Láng as well as Motzan outline the literary events between the two world wars, and their interpretation is conveyed from the viewpoint of the succeeding chapters dealing with the horizon of and developments leading to the present.

Establishing Concepts and Constructing Spaces

The publication of the two literary histories may be seen as pivotal points in the literary history writing of the region, because the two works are not simply a summary or overview, but they might be treated as attempts for definition, which involve the important practice of renaming or changing terms. I do not claim that the terms indicated in the titles ("Hungarian from Romania" and "rumäniendeutsch" [German from Romania]) appear here for the first time in connection with these literatures, however, as comprehensive literary histories these works are the ones that take stance as literary histories for the first time,[12] i.e. as significant works worthy of attention in literary studies.

10 It can be seen from Lucian Boia's words that the uncertainty around the dates is produced by the spatial aspects of the birth of the new Romanian state. See: „Învinsă, Austro-Ungaria s-a sfărâmat, iar din ruinele ei s-au recompus noi alcătuiri politice. Bucovina s-a unit cu România în noiembrie 1918, iar Transilvania la 1 decembrie, prin votul unei mari adunări româneşti convocate la Alba Iulia. […] Tratatele de pace (cu Ungaria, la Trianon în 1920) au consfinţit modificările teritoriale, nu fără dificultăţi însă în ce priveşte trasarea graniţei de vest a României." [The defeated Austria-Hungary was crumpled, but new political formations arose from its ruins. Bukovina united with Romania in November 1918, and Transylvanian on 1 December on grounds of the Romanian national assembly gathered in Alba Iulia. (…) The peace treaties recorded the territorial changes (in 1920 in Trianon with Hungary), not without difficulties in terms of the Western border of Romania.] (Boia, "Cum s-a făcut" 95–96)

11 Imre József Balázs's periodization suggests uncertainty as well: "Hungarian literature from Romania" is born around 1918, at the time of the occupation of Transylvania and/or the national assembly in Alba Iulia; and in terms of international law, in June 1920 with the Trianon Peace Treaty" (Balázs, "Szótáralapítás" 16)

12 Pál Sőni's university handbook mentioned in Kántor and Láng's work is probably not treated as significant due to its university textbook nature. See: (Sőni, *A romániai magyar*)

The first sentences of Kántor and Láng can be viewed as a gesture of legitimization: "the temporal and spatial borders of Hungarian literature from Romania are ready-mades of history. Its date of birth is 1919, its geographical home is Romania." (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 5) In terms of the physical borders, it is the territory of the state that determines the geographical and geopolitical borders of this literature, so Romania is the birthplace of this literature. The earlier name for the literature born here ("Transylvanian Hungarian literature") is excluded from literary history with this gesture, and it is done so with the following justification:

> Its cradle, its more specific home is Transylvania (which kept its central role in the life of this literature) and the neighbouring parts, but as early as the thirties, Gábor Gaál felt it appropriate to change the word 'Transylvanian' for 'Romanian' in order to acknowledge the high number of Hungarians outside of Transylvania throughout the country and also because he felt that the issues of national existence were inseparable from the fundamental questions of the whole of the Romanian society. (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 5)

Here Transylvanian was omitted as an earlier attribute of Hungarian literature, and one of the reasons for omission, as the authors point out, is the fact that this Hungarian literature is written all over Romania, and not just in the area of historical Transylvania. In terms of location the contextual extension also means that the phrase "from Romania" serves the identification of this literature better than "Transylvanian", which is more restrictive in this context and in this sense. Besides, the justification also suggests that the definition of the literature is controlled by social considerations, as it is further elaborated later what is mentioned in the introductory part of Prelude.

Besides the geopolitical borders of the nation state, the authors attempt to outline the "intellectual" borders, by which they mostly mean Romanian social reality, reflected in this literature, as "it responds to it, it is determined by this reality". (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 5) The "intellectual" borders are not only explored from the point of view of social embeddedness, as when the introductory text says that "it is sameness of 'political and social conditions' that connects Hungarian literature from Romania to Romanian literature; the peculiar features of Hungarian literature from Romania which are characteristic of the time and place were carved by the same imperatives of history that formed the whole of Romanian culture" (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 5), so this claim also suggests borders and border crossing from the perspective of simultaneously existing literary systems. In other words "the best works of Romanian and Hungarian

literature from Romania are credited on the same or similar aesthetic and political grounds" (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 5), so the extension of the "intellectual" borders can be seen as an attempt to create a mental space, the geographical and geopolitical frames of which are specified by the Romanian nation state. Ultimately all this represents "the geographer's major ideational and ideological 'discourses'" (Soja, "Thirdspace" 266), as Edward Soja puts it, and is covered by the concept of Secondspace, a way in which authors think and write "about this text and about geography", and how they represent it. (Soja, "Thirdspace" 266) While the introduction of the literary history defines the entity as "Hungarian literature from Romania" with regards to Romanian literature and social environment, the reference to tradition includes Hungarian literature in the explanation of the term, which "is given all the values of national literature as a heritage, from a standard language of literature to a set of values formed by tradition." (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 6)

Hungarian literature from Romania is defined with respect to two national literatures and in the space of the in-between, as it differs from one in terms of language, whilst in terms of social environment from the other.[13] In that sense it is demonstrated that a new definition is born not only as part of the dichotomy, but the literary history evokes and imprints trichotomy on the definition, one which shapes the discourse on the topic just by its very existence.[14]

13 See: A „*romániai magyar irodalom Románia 1919 utáni területén kialakult magyar nyelvű irodalom. Társadalmi meghatározója a romániai társadalmi valóság, valamint a romániai magyarság kisebbségi, illetve 1944 utáni nemzetiségi helyzete. Mindkét vonás megkülönböztető a magyarországi irodalomhoz viszonyítva, amelyhez azonban a nyelv és a kulturális hagyományok tágan értelmezett közössége fűzi.*" [The Hungarian literature from Romania is literature in Hungarian developed in the post-1919 territory of Romania. It is socially determined by Romanian social reality, as well as the situation of Hungarians as a minority, and after 1944 as an ethnic group. Both features distinguish it from literature in Hungary, which it is also connected to by the language and shared cultural traditions in the broad sense.] (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 7) [Emphasis in the original work.]

14 The work published in 2018, which we have already cited was co-written by Lajos Kántor and Gusztáv Láng, and it highlights the problem of the definition of literary history in the seventies. As Gusztáv Láng puts it: "The definition which I do not intend to quote here marks two definitive factors of Transylvanian – in general and minority – literatures. One of them is the social, political context they exist in. It is the question, idea and existence of the much-debated concept 'from Romania'. The other factor is its nature bound to Hungarian literature, and this connection is ensured by the same language and – as we used to say as if from Dodona, aimed at the censor – by the shared nature of literary traditions in the broad sense. I claimed that this definition is no longer valid today, I must say with some satisfaction that it has run a nice course; […] What do I think is still problematic about it? It is not whether these two factors exist or not, because these are facts, and facts do not need justification. The problem is – and that is what my explanation and other later ones suggest – that the co-existence of these two factors result in some kind of emulsion. We must come to recognize […], that these two factors do not complement each other, moreover, they might be contrasting." (Láng, "Séta" 16)

At this point, we must examine the relationship of the "new" definition with tradition, more specifically, its two distinguishable and closely related aspects. When looking at the present or the recent past (the period from 1944), the effects and expectations of literary politics can be seen clearly, but the narrative and emphases of the literary history also apply all that in order to describe the past, i.e. the text marks the past, somehow ideologically colonizing the earlier period (1919–1944) by the very act of using the term. Kántor and Láng's book mentions in the very first paragraph in connection with Gábor Gaál, the editor of *Korunk,* that he "felt justified to change the attribute 'Transylvanian' to 'Romanian'. (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 5) Certainly, it is no coincidence that the editor of *Korunk* (considered to be a rival of *Erdélyi Helikon* or *Pásztortűz*) was quoted by the authors, and nor is it an accident that in the chapter on literary history writing and critical comments Gábor Gaál's profile as an editor, critic and literary historian is the most detailed (Edgár Balogh who was known for his ties to the left wing could also be mentioned here as having a detailed description. Kántor and Láng's book refers to Gaál's 1937 article in *Korunk* which goes: "It is hasty to talk about Transylvanian Hungarian literature. Not because there is no Hungarian literature in Transylvania. There is. It is hasty because Transylvania is just a part of Romania. There is a great number of Hungarians outside of Transylvania". (Gaál, "Transzilvániai-e" 214) It also says:

> Transylvania is a historical concept. It is an old Hungarian category of the estates, with a solid meaning and clear outlines. An honourable realm of Hungarian cultural tradition. But only a tradition. A concluded, finished, unrevivable scope of cultured Hungarians. This Transylvania ceased to exist a long time ago, it didn't use to exist even before the change of power, and since then the category not only failed to be reborn, but has been disintegrated for good. (Gaál, "Transzilvániai-e" 214)

It can be seen that by referring to Gaál's text, the authors of the literary history highlight his gesture of trying to find a new term as early as in the 1930s (i.e. from the point of view of the work), before 1944, in other words, within an earlier political regime. The ideological practice of literary history reveals itself, if we make note of literary historian György Kristóf's much earlier work of literary history published in 1924, which – for the first time – draws attention to the tension between the attributes "Transylvanian" and "Romanian" in terms of the problem of space:

> Let us not speak of Transylvanian literature, but examine Hungarian literature from Romania. Let us not think about the life of Transylvanian literature, but

> about organising Hungarian literature in Romania. The attribute 'Transylvanian' excludes, forgets or considers everything alien that is outside of the geographical territory and spirit of old Transylvania. Hungarian from Romania includes everything that is Hungarian in this country […] (Kristóf, "A romániai" 287)

Certainly, when it comes to György Kristóf, it must be noted that his early proposal for the term is not independent from his affiliation with his institution – as György Gaál's lexicon entry says: "from April 1922 he is the acting substitute lecturer of the Romanian university in Cluj, from 1926 a permanent teacher, lecturer of Hungarian language and literature, the only Hungarian university professor from the region at the time." (Gaal, "Kristóf" 265) Besides, he was an editor of *Cultura,* a quadrilingual journal, which was launched in 1924 in Cluj, and was cancelled the same year due to lack of state funding. (Mikó, "Cultura" 311) The journal that published articles in French, Romanian, Hungarian and German – as Imre Mikó writes in his paper originally published in *Korunk* in 1965 – can be placed next to "the joint publication of Sámuel Brassai and Hugó Meltzl's, *Összehasonlító Irodalomtörténelmi Lapok* (Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum) launched in 1877" (Mikó, "Közös" 122), and it can be seen as a successor of this journal and with a purpose of nationalities in Romania […] learning about each other." (Mikó, "Közös" 123) Certainly *Culture* was not free of political considerations, either (involvement of League of Nations after WWI), as its editor was Sextil Puşcariu, "who was a permanent member of the League of Nations delegation in Romania at the time". (Mikó, "Közös" 122)

If the aim of Kántor and Láng's literary history had been to identify the earliest appearance of the term and its use as a definition, Kristóf's text could (also) have been set as an example in the introduction, as Gábor Gaál's piece published in *Korunk* was born much later, and it could not be perceived separately from the ongoing debates of the time on the function and tasks of literature. In this respect, highlighting Gaál's text and the detailed profile of the editor later rewrites and replaces the emphases about the period between 1919 and 1944 retrospectively. Besides, outlining the institutional background of György Kristóf also indicates that highlighting Kristóf's text would have possibly evoked some aspects of tradition that would not have served beneficially from the point of view of literary politics.

Peter Motzan's literary history does not set out to provide an overview of the whole of German literature from Romania, as the title indicates, it only examines the history of poetry between 1944 and 1980, but the author clarifies in the foreword that the subject is to be defined and the development of this literature in the 20th century is to be looked at. (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 7–9) That essentially indicates

there had not been a comprehensive work about German literature from Romania, which would have recorded the debates and concerns around the attempts for definition in terms of identity that took place in the sixties and seventies. Before Motzan's literary history, Gerhard Csejka who is considered to be the one who introduced the term, pointed out in 1971 that German literature from Romania defines itself as opposed to two national literatures, i.e. he examines it in a clearly identifiable state of the in-between. (Csejka, "Eigenständigkeit") Therefore, Motzan's definition had its prelude, which repeatedly referred to the changed socio-political conditions as well as the new framework of a nation-state.

The title of the second chapter – *Deutschsprachige Literatur im rumänischen Raum* [Literature in German in the Romanian space] displays a gesture of space construction, and prepares the introduction of "German literature from Romania". With the first sentence, this literature is defined: „Die zeitgenössische rumäniendeutsche Literatur ist die Literatur der mitwohnenden deutschen Nationalität in Rumänien." (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 10) [Contemporary German literature from Romania is the literature of the German nationality living together in Romania.] In what follows, the text elaborates on the meaning of the phrase "mitwohnend" [living together], and cites Eduard Eisenburger's text (Eisenburger, "Von unserem Werdegang" 265–266) – "living together" in the sense that an ethnic group lives together with other nationalities or ethnicities in the same area. However, the text does not proceed as one would expect reading the phrase "living together", i.e. it does not define its subject in relation to other nationalities, but cites Eisenburger as well as the writer Alfred Kittner, and comes to the conclusion that "German literature from Romania" is not born out of a homogenous tradition, but is a unification ["Zusammenschluß"][15] of various, culturally different groups of people who share the same language. This is the point where the chapter title becomes meaningful as highlighting this threefold tradition clearly indicates that literary history writing distinguishes between German-speaking communities in historical regions and therefore their literatures too. The rhetorical structure of the text is noteworthy, as it speaks about the unity of three literatures that had been treated as different and separate. Later it gives a comprehensive account of the cultural and historical tradition of these three regions and then it examines them in detail. Therefore, the chapter title writes itself onto the above mentioned three regions with a significant space constructing move, moreover, it overwrites these regions' connection to the establishment, although it does that very similarly to colonization: the clear distinction between the various territories

15 See: „'Das, was wir heute rumäniendeutsche Literatur nennen, ist aus der Vereinigung dreier Ströme entstanden: der deutschen Dichtung des Banats, Siebenbürgens und der Bukowina.'" [What we call German literature from Romania today, is born out of the unity of three streams, the literatures of Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina.] Alfred Kittner is quoted in (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 10)

that belong to the Austro-Hungarian Empire disappears, and they are dissolved in the Romanian space – more specifically, in the Romanian nation state. At the same time it must be noted that while tradition is demonstrated throughout the logics and argumentation of the text from the perspective of unification or revealing colonization, it still fixes these regions, their traditions and – last but not least – their linguistic differences. That kind of description of Germans from Romania reappears later, i.e. this one serves as an example – for example in Cristina Tudorică's book quoted earlier. (Tudorică, *Rumäniedeutsche* 18–27)

As the historical and cultural tradition of these regions is mentioned, Peter Motzan places the linguistic differences of these groups in focus. Besides, the author points out another significant difference: the problem of the difference between spoken and written language. The spoken language variants of the Swabians in Banat, Transylvanian Saxons and Germans in Bukovina are naturally different from each other. However, not only this or these oppositions are important, the intercomparative perspective includes the German dialect spoken in the German-speaking nation states, with its similarities and differences: while Transylvanian Saxon is significantly different, Swabian in Banat is much closer to them (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 25), Motzan says; in terms of German in Bukovina the connecting link is "Austrian-German", with reference to Karl Kurt Klein. (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 25) Due to the linguistic relationships as described above written language is determined by these, and Motzan does not exclude the effect of the Romanian linguistic context, which is strongly present in the linguistic definition of the so-called "German literature from Romania".

The Romanian-speaking context is examined in the chapter on internal and external influences, from (mainly) the perspective of literary political practices involving Romanian–German translations published in books or journals. Motzan points out that while this has a significant impact on the representation of Romanian literature in the pan-Germanic language area, it is unavoidable that Romanian literature has an impact on the development of German literature from Romania in terms of either themes or poetic form. (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 31) Besides the Romanian language and social context, the connection with German ethnic literatures (not treated as one unit to be a point of reference), considering their traditions once again creates a manifold in-between position: on the one hand some kind of German-speaking unification or synthesis of the culturally and linguistically different regions (Banat, Transylvania, Bukovina), in other words an intersection of sets, and on the other hand as a phenomenon between Romanian literature (and social context) and German literatures, and therefore it has or can have the features and characteristics of both. While Romanian literature has an impact when it comes to translations, the relationship with German and regional German ethnic literatures is demonstrated well in the quotation below:

[…] so darf man schlußfolgern, daß die Traditionsbildung durch die Stärke exogener Einflüsse erschwert wurde. Rainer Maria Rilke stand Wolf Aichelburg näher als Eduard Schullerus, zwischen Paul Celan und Irene Mokka sind die Analogien evidenter als zwischen dieser und Hans Diplich, Anemone Latzina fühlte sich eher von Bertold Brecht als von Adolf Meschendörfer angezogen, nicht Hans Kehrers, sondern Marin Sorescus Texte entsprachen dem Lyrikverständnis Richard Wagners. (Moztan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 35)

[(…) therefore, we might conclude that the making of traditions was made difficult by strong external influences. Reiner Maria Rilke is closer to Wolf Aichelburg than Eduard Schullerus; the analogies between Paul Celan and Irene Mokka are more evident than between Celan and Hans Diplich, Anemone Latzina belonged more to the circle of Bertold Brecht than to that of Adolf Meschendörfer, and Richard Wagner's approach to poetry resembles not Hans Kehrer's but Marin Sorescu's texts.]

It is quite clear that the construction of German literature from Romania is represented in a spatial arrangement, which places it between two literatures (Romanian and German-speaking) in terms of the impacts. Moreover, it seems evident that the concept itself is used in a collective sense due to the structure of Motzan's text to indicate the literature of culturally different German-speaking groups of people in Romania.

A Promise of an In-between Space

When comparing the space constructing actions of Kántor and Láng's as well as Motzan's literary histories, it can be claimed that in both cases the literature discussed is to be found in the in-between, and this medial nature is formed fundamentally with respect to two national literatures. However, due to one of the poles which is Romanian literature and its social context, the concepts are imprinted by literary and mainly (social) political aspects, as "Romanian social reality" (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 7) appears a significant – integrative – element, which determines the development of literature as an economic, political and state organisational environment. (Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik* 10)

There is a display of significant colonizing gesture, which is also connected to the appearance of the term "Romanian". While it might be less perceivable in the Hungarian literary history, as "only" the attribute "Transylvanian" is changed, the introduction of the German literary history makes this phenomenon more significant due to its own tradition. When the phrase "German from Romania" stands in front of the given literature instead of Transylvanian Saxon, Swabian from Banat or German from Bukovina, it not only unifies, but eliminates the spatial

markedness of these literatures, in fact, it eliminates the earlier status of being bound to space, and designates the arrangement of a different space. All that becomes highlighted in terms of language when it comes to German-speaking literatures, because – as I mentioned in relation to Motzan – the attributes did not use to signal territorial boundedness and regions but the language variant of that context, which (to use Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's phrase) became deterritorialized. (Deleuze, Guattari, *Kafka* 16–17) An interpretative attempt when looking at Kántor and Láng's work with an eye on the German literary history highlights the act of colonization in the phrase "Hungarian literature from Romania" as well as the elimination of the earlier historical region.

Also looking at the two literary histories from each other's horizon, makes the interpretation open to the act of silencing both in literary and (evidently) political sense. Both literary histories represent a bipolar social context that can be seen as of dual nature, and the literary scene is presented to the reader as a predominantly bilingual space: in Kántor and Láng's work it is Hungarian–Romanian and in Motzan's it is German–Romanian. Peter Motzan uses (and interprets) the idea of "living together" (mitwohnend) many times in the introduction, Kántor and Láng do not set out to do so in the chapter of the status of literature and phrasing, only later; they make a short digression in connection with András Sütő in terms of the birthplace of the writer: "in this heterogeneous village with Romanian and Hungarian population he learned the rules of living together, the necessity of people with different mother tongues respecting each other." (Kántor, Láng, *Romániai magyar irodalom* 194) While the Hungarian literary history only deals with the situation of the Hungarian population and their literature as ethnic literature, the German one elaborates the idea of "living together", but fails to name another ethnicity or their literature as a potential aspect in the social and literary context. The comparative analysis of the two literary histories points out that works displaying similar colonization practices seem to ignore and remain silent about the very presence of another ethnic literature, while defining the identity of their own literature and emphasizing their own traditions. In this sense the act of silencing itself and placing it into one of the poles described above can also be interpreted as an act of colonization, because the two literary histories construct a social and literary space that altogether can be described as intercultural. This space constructed as intercultural can be seen homogeneous from the perspective of the ethnic group, as in the in-between as well as on the periphery there is only one ethnic literature: either German or Hungarian. When Homi Bhabha says that postcolonial approach "[a]s a mode of analysis, it attempts to revise those nationalist or 'nativist' pedagogies that set up the relation of Third World and First World in a binary structure of opposition" (Bhabha, "The Postcolonial" 173), and the claim about revision is valid in this case, as a contrast of the two literary histories eliminates

majority–minority or centre–periphery displayed as binary oppositions. It is by the very act of comparison that the gesture that colonizes the periphery or minority position can be identified and eliminated, which conceals the heterogeneous and hybrid nature of the in-between space. In this sense the colonised is seen as colonizer.

It is no coincidence that Edward J. Soja quotes Bhabha when speaking about thirdspace: "For willingness to descend into that alien territory […] may reveal that the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an *inter*national culture, based on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*."[16] The alien territory in this case is the very space, the characteristics of which are concealed by Hungarian and German literary histories and which can be revealed only by their comparison, by implementing a transnational perspective and approach.

The outlines of an "in-between space" [Zwischenraum] appear, which – to quote Sigrid Weigel: "establishe[s] [itself] as the leading theory within minority discourse. Forging a counter-discourse, however, should not proceed from a vantage point that opposes cultures, but from one situated in-between." (Weigel, "On the 'Topographical'" 191) The counter discourse is aimed at eliminating not only the national–national or national–ethnic discourse sets in terms of the above literatures in Romania, but the gestures of colonization which reveal the logics of homogeneous minority spaces in an earlier sense or that of mapping based on silencing or exclusion. All that has a great significance, because the German and Hungarian literary history writing after 1990 remains to partly use the earlier colonisation practices – even if along the lines of different logics and the rearrangement of traditions (without present considerations). In terms of German literature, the practice of extension or expansion of cultural and literary space remains within the national perspective when it comes to South-eastern European German or South-eastern German literatures, similarly to Hungarian literary history writing, which is not moved out of that, either by the gesture of eliminating the local or regional attributes of "Hungarian literature beyond the borders" with no respect to this in-between space.[17] Ignoring this in-between space also means discarding the counter-discourse, which would create a fertile presence for new perspectives, transnational

16 Bhabha is quoted by (Soja, "Thirdspace" 275)

17 It is necessary to mention the Romanian literary history edited by Eugen Simion, which has a dictionary format, and tackles heterogeneity in terms of space, which heterogeneity is due to the literatures in various languages that are born in the area of Romania. The various entries (e.g. *Literatura în limba germană în spațiul românesc* [Literature in German in Romanian space], *Literatura în limba idiș în spațiul românesc* [Literature in Yiddish in Romanian space], *Literatura în limba maghiară în spațiul românesc* [Literature in Hungarian in Romanian space]) demonstrate the linguistic and cultural difference and indicate the dominance of a national space in this form. See: (Simion, *Dicționarul* 745–743). [The entry with Hungarian relevance was written by Imre József Balázs.]

and transcultural approaches. As Andreas Herzog put it in words twenty years ago when referring to one of Motzan's later papers (Motzan, "Die Szenerien" 73–102): "instead of keeping in contact with the linguistic mother country or cultural nation, more attention should be paid to the comparison of literatures in the immediate surroundings." (Herzog, "'Transkulturalität'" 33)

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The Sovietization of Creative Writing in Romania. The Role of the Mihai Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism (1950–1955)

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ABSTRACT:
Within the paradigm of socialist realism, one of the means of introducing new models of producing literature in Romania and other neighbouring countries was the Soviet idea and practice of literary training. In the Romanian context, the Mihai Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism from Bucharest was intended to produce the new, young generation of writers that would articulate the new system of values. Reports about the School show that the social origin of the students was carefully monitorized, and ethnic diversity also played a role in the process of the sovietization of the whole Romanian literary field. The personal level of experiencing the cultural and political practice of the School shows the possibilities and also the limitations of the project. The paper examines the history of the School through official party documents and also personal accounts, in order to analyze the particular strategies and also the difficulties of adapting certain Soviet institutional models within the Romanian context.

Keywords: *creative writing, cultural shift, literary training, Mihai Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism, socialist realism*

Socialist realism as an adapted literary paradigm

Intellectual labor came to be seen in post-WWII Romania, after entering into the period of socialist realism, in terms of physical labor, the common denominator being that of production: this view established in the cultural field the principle of the writer as worker among

workers.[1] Therefore writers, critics, painters all talked about the "five-year plans" of their own after 1948. But another necessary step besides this paradigmatic shift of reconceptualizing intellectual labor consisted of making the East European poets the "engineers of human souls," just as they were in the Soviet Union. The social origin of an author was not enough to legitimize his or her works: writers had to become able to design in detail the fiction of the communist utopia. They needed specific training to be able to do this—therefore the institutional organization of literature became more and more important. Lucia Dragomir argues convincingly that the "implantation" of socialist realism into the Romanian context meant first of all a reorganization of the Romanian literary field through creating new literary institutions like the new Writers' Union, the new press, the literary circles and a new educational system. (Dragomir 9) This is an important example of adapting a globally relevant paradigm into a national or rather regional cultural field.

The idea and the practice of literary training in Romania, as in other socialist countries, was modeled on the pattern described in Evgeny Dobrenko's book *The Making of the State Writer*. (Dobrenko) In 1950, the Mihai[l] Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism was created in Bucharest, following the model of the Gorky Institute from Moscow. (Later, in 1955 another such Institute was founded in Leipzig, GDR.) The students admitted to the School of Literature lived together, in isolation from the outside world; they were supposed to leave the School only with the purpose of documenting the new reality, and this, too, only in groups and in an organized way; and through their texts they were expected to describe and promote the fiction of communist Romania.

As such, creative writing programs were not a product of the new socialist reality. The very idea of such workshops as a core of educational process can be linked to the American principles of progressive education in the 1920s and the 1930s. (McGurl 87) After the fall of communism the director of the Leipzig Institute for German Literature mentioned among his models the Maxim Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow, but also the Iowa Writers' Workshop. (Haslinger) Writing parallel histories of Eastern and Western creative writing programs could be an enlightening endeavour. However, because our case study refers for now to an institution that existed for a relatively short period of time, the comparative analysis here will be limited only to the similarities that were promoted by the founders of the institution themselves — similarities between the Mihai Eminescu School and the Gorky Institute. The conflicts within the School will also be discussed

1 In the Soviet Union this terminology was already at work during the thirties. Evgeny Dobrenko quotes Mayakovsky's *In the Poetry Workshop* that uses the very term 'production,' and discusses Soviet handbooks where writers are described as using tools just like shoemakers do. (Dobrenko 2000, p. 297–301.) A similar process can be documented in the GDR, see David Clarke (2006, p. 90).

in connection with similar types of conflict documented at the Institut für Literatur Leipzig.

The methodology of the present study is adapted to the characteristics of the topic and of the researched period. Studying the institutions of the Stalinist period should be based besides official documents related to institutional activity also to materials that reveal the everyday life and attitudes of people attending such institutions. The first type of sources is represented in my article by documents coming from the Communist Party Archives, "Secția de Literatură și Artă" (Department of Literature and Art), in the subordination of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party being responsible for the management of the School. The documents referring to the activity of the School in this archive were published during the postcommunist period. (Mocanu) It is essential however to document also material and opinions that could circulate only within the "secondary public sphere", specific for Eastern European countries. (Jones 382) Memoirs, interviews are necessary for such research not in order to provide facts about the projects and objectives of the authorities, but rather to provide facts about the lived experience of the school life, and pieces of information that had no chance to enter the official, primary public sphere of the period.

The School in Party Documents

According to the official documents, the Mihai Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism from Bucharest was founded in order to train young writers and literary critics with roots in the working class, to offer them a Communist education and to bestow upon them the necessary knowledge to create a new type of literature, serving the working class. (Mocanu 209) In the Romanian context, the more specific goal was to produce a new generation of writers that would make the contribution of "fellow traveler writers" of bourgeois origin irrelevant, so that the generational shift was intended also as a cultural shift. The idea of a "young writer" meant therefore much more than just a difference in age. (Selejan 158–234)

The young generation's loyalty to the new regime seemed easier to achieve, so young people and the emerging social classes were groups that the new, communist power could rely on. Reports about the School show that the social origin of the students was carefully monitored, and the gradual growth of the workers' percentage among them was considered as a success of the institution. A report written in 1954 speaks of 46,15 % of the students coming from either proletarian or poor peasant families, or families of intellectuals – quite a change compared to the 35,38 % at the time of the creation of the School (Mocanu 210).

As far as the organization of the School is concerned, a report written in 1954 offers the following information: the School was created

in 1950, the duration of the courses being 1 year in 1950/1951 and 1951/1952. Beginning with the academic year 1952/1953, the students were recruited for 2 years (Mocanu 209). In 1954, the School had a total of 58 students, 26 of them being first year students and 32 of them being in their second year of study.

At first, the selection process of the students did not include an entrance examination, being based only on recommendations of various political or cultural organizations and on reports concerning their involvement in social and political activities. When discussing a similar method of the selection process in the GDR, David Clarke argues that this recommendation meant also that the students of the Lepzig Institute were expected to return after completion of their studies to take up a cultural function at the institution that recommended them – maintaining a strong relationship between the fields of "production." (Clarke 90)

Later on, in the Bucharest case, a requirement for recommendations from professional organizations like the Writers' Union or editors of different literary magazines was introduced. Besides this, the applicants also had to take an entrance exam (Mocanu 211).

In spite of some students' reported success on the literary scene, some organizational problems could not be solved although in the autumn of 1953 a new director, Petre Iosif was appointed. As a consequence, the reports written in 1953 and 1954 already mention the recommendation of transforming the School into an institute of higher education with 4 years of study – in fact, this transformation was actually carried out in 1955, the School being incorporated into the University of Bucharest.

The School's curriculum covered: Romanian grammar, Russian grammar, Marxism-Leninism, literary theory, history of Romanian literature, history of Russian literature. Besides these, there were creative writing seminars, taught by professional writers to small groups of 7-8 students. In 1954, the disciplines were slightly changed, made to resemble a university curriculum. The subjects now included the history of the Soviet Communist Party, the history of Romania, dialectical and historical materialism, introduction into the theory of literature, history of Romanian literature, history of Russian literature, Soviet literature, history of universal literature, theory of literary genres, introduction into linguistics, grammar of contemporary Romanian language, Russian grammar, history of literary language (Mocanu 209).

The reports themselves, as well as the reorganization, both indicate that the ruling power was not fully content with the activity of the School. Criticism was voiced at the official level, in the reports, but also unofficially, by the students themselves, as their memoirs suggest. An inside report on the School's general atmosphere showed an "improper" attitude towards the literary traditions of bourgeois decadence. This attitude (described in detail in the books of memoirs related to the experience of attending the School) shows that the young Romanian writers still saw the older generation of writers as models that tended to

shape their mentality but also their lifestyle and behaviour. The reading of interwar modernist Romanian authors like Tudor Arghezi, Ion Barbu, George Bacovia, or Sergei Esenin's melancholy poems testify to a certain autonomy in the literary tastes of the students (Mocanu 200–201). Apparently the main objectives of the School – to create obedient authors who prefer socialist realism to all other literary currents – had not yet been achieved by 1953. Worryingly, an all too independent thinking was demonstrated by Nicolae Labiş, the best known young poet among the students of the School. (Mocanu 214–215). This type of nonconformist attitude is analysed within the institutional framework of the Leipzig School as an inherent paradox that implies a "Nischenöffentlichkeit", an opportunity for an inner space for free debate which on the other hand cannot go fully public. (Clarke 91–92)

To identify a general pattern behind the criticized aspects, we have to consider the question of available human resources. In Eastern European countries of the period the lack of qualified and reliable specialists was a general issue. (Scheibner 54, 246) According to the reports concerning the School, members of the teaching staff were either not fully qualified for their jobs according to the reports, or their main position was outside the School, at other literary institutions like literary magazines, the Writers' Union or at the university.

An important role was assigned in the reports to newly trained leaders coming from Moscow: it was hoped that their presence would make the necessary transformations possible. In 1954, it was expected that Petre Iosif, the current director of the School, would concentrate his activity exclusively on the matters concerning the School, with no other obligations within the Writers' Union, and at the same time, George Toma Maiorescu, then in his final year at the Gorky Institute in Moscow, was to become an associate director of the School (Mocanu 217). In her article about transferring the Soviet models of organizing culture and politics into Romania, Lucia Dragomir identifies the prototype of "cultural ideologists" – militants of the clandestine Romanian Communist Party either imprisoned in Romania for their activities, or forced to emigrate to the USSR, returning to Romania only after the Second World War – as the key figures of this transfer. Their role, as she argues, was chiefly organizational, they never produced a corpus of critical or literary works of their own. (Dragomir 320) The recruitment of the new managers of institutions continued during the 1950s according to the same logic, via Moscow, with the Maxim Gorky Literary Institute being an important source for recruiting new staff. (Kántor 12)

From the official reports we may conclude that the deficiencies in the activity of the School were mainly caused by organizational issues and lack of human resources. However, when analyzing the following personal narratives about the School experience, we may find additional reasons that contributed to the failure of introducing the model of the Gorky Institute.

Personal Narratives about the School

The most detailed description of the everyday life in the school is offered by Marin Ioniță, who published *Kiseleff 10: the Writer Factory* in 2003 and in a second edition in 2011. (Ioniță) Although Ioniță had not previously enjoyed the reputation of an established writer, his book of memoirs, first published when the author was 74, was a genuine success, and it is one of the main sources for an analysis of the School's activity, however subjective it may be.

In many ways, living in the building of the School, at Kiseleff street Nr. 10, was a privilege, at least for some of the students. They inhabited a sort of artificial reality, a fictional world that was isolated from the rest of Bucharest. For Marin Ioniță, the three regular meals with rich white bread and additional snacks, the general atmosphere and the living conditions seemed a luxury, compared to what he had left behind in his small hometown, Găiești, and in the house of his peasant family. (Ioniță 35). The price he himself had to pay for this luxury was submitting to the excessive control over the students, who were obliged to live in the building of the School even if they were residents of Bucharest.

It appears, however, that there were indeed some interesting, motivating courses at the School. Ioniță mentions attending guest lectures given by outstanding professors of the University of Bucharest like Tudor Vianu, or classes of George Călinescu at the University. Creative writing seminars were taught by established writers—in Ioniță's case, Petru Dumitriu. One exercise that Ioniță remembers was the following: he received a copy of the novel *Gobseck* by Balzac, with the last chapter of the book sealed with glue. After reading the book, the student had to "finish" the novel as he deemed best (Ioniță 53). This example shows that the practical side of writing was not neglected in the training process, offering real possibilities for talented students to develop their writing skills. There was, however, an excessive amount of theoretical and political reading material to work through, as Ioniță recollects.

Another student of the School in the period 1950–1951, Dumitru Micu, also published a series of articles about his personal experiences at the School.[2] He offers individual portraits of the teaching staff and directors, and also describes his personal relationships with his colleagues. Of special interest are his references to "Cluj group identity," which was remarked upon both by professors and students on his track. Although the "Cluj group" was rather heterogeneous (two graduates of the Faculty of Letters, two students of the same Faculty, a student of philosophy, a journalist and a worker) (Bîlbîie 355), they were perceived in the following terms:

> "At the School, peer groups were formed that took no notice of principles of hierarchy. At first, these ties

2 The series of articles (*Școala de literatură* / The School of Literature) originally appeared in the literary magazine Literatorul, in 1994, issues 20–37. They were republished in the notes of Bîlbîie 355–378.

> were superficial, based more or less on shared dormitories, but later they came to be associated with elective affinities of an ineffable nature. At the two extremes of this range of groups there were the 'workers' and 'those from Cluj.' (…) 'Those from Cluj' would have preferred not to form a specific group, (…) but the fact that the majority of them were intellectuals, having therefore a certain type of education, made them appear different, (…), and some of the students recruited from factories or building sites saw in them, without any reason, 'gentlemen' that were only capable of despising 'hammermen.'" (Bîlbîie 365–366)

This gives another dimension to the stratification of the student groups at the School: what marked some of them as 'different' was not just the level of their education and their background, but also the region they came from. Micu recounts how some students were singled out because of their accents or dialects – a tendency which the students themselves apparently welcomed, as it allowed them to become more individualized within the 'melting pot' of the School. (Bîlbîie 368–370) Micu's account complements Ioniță's comments on the 'privileged' status of the students as he notes that, besides the stipend that all the students received, those who had worked prior to being admitted to the School continued to receive half of their salary throughout the period of their studies. (Bîlbîie 356)

Minority Reports: Koch, Panek, Portik

The presence of minority students who were 'marked' by their accents, or who were native speakers of other languages, is relevant because it broadens the variety of sources for studying the history of the School. Thus, Iosefina Koch, of German origin, recalled in 1952 in a magazine article published in the literary magazine Tînărul Scriitor her difficulties of studying in Romanian, and her gradual, slow integration into the Romanian literary field. She recalled how frustrating it was to be able to understand but a small portion of the material at first, but also how proud she was when by the end of the first term she could understand Eminescu's poems just as easily as verses of Goethe and Schiller. The article obviously makes use of the politically correct clichés of the mutual understanding of nationalities in communist Romania, advertising a transcendence of national and cultural boundaries. (Bîlbîie 198–199)

Iosefina Koch's testimony, and also the consistent (but not proportional) presence of Hungarian minority students in the School show that in this respect, too, this institution was envisaged as a symbolic mirror of the multi-ethnic Romanian society. Recruiting new, reliable authors who could promote the intended transformations in minority

media in Hungarian and German language was also an objective for the Party leaders charged with monitoring the cultural field.

Although a full record of students of the School is still missing, we know about at least three important students of Hungarian nationality who attended the School: József Hornyák (1950–1951, an author of several volumes of short stories), Zoltán Panek (1951–1953, award-winning author of novels, short stories and volumes of poetry) and Imre Portik (1952–1954, a journalist, best known for his close friendship with Nicolae Labiș, and his book of memoirs dedicated to Labiș).

Hornyák, who came to the School as a journalist, and was already an insider of the Hungarian literary milieu in Cluj, did not dwell in his later interviews on his time at the School, although he published an article in the literary press of the time about his first impressions at the school. (Hornyák) From Dumitru Micu's accounts we know that he stayed in the same dormitory with other students from Cluj, and he seemed to keep a distance from his peers (Bîlbîie 373), possibly, like Iosefina Koch, because of language difficulties. Zoltán Panek, who later on became a major novelist of Hungarian literature from Romania, discussed his experience related to the School from the perspective of an already established literary author in a late memoir. He felt he had to defend the idea of literary training itself. Let us not forget that this text was published in 1996, during the years of postcommunism when ideas of aesthetic autonomy prevailed in the literary discourse, and the literary institutions of the fifties generally had a bad reputation:

> "I have never understood the stupid grin on the face of a well-known literary critic when he heard about the 'school of writers.' Beforehand, in America there was a college where writers of pop songs were trained. Oh yeah, that's quite different… I believe that you can and you should learn things from anyone, anywhere, under any circumstances. Mihail Sadoveanu said at the opening ceremony of the School: 'the number of writers graduating from this school will not differ from the number of writers that we admitted to study here.' This was because the students were recruited on the basis of their previous publications and after an interview – so the students were more or less well-known young writers already. The training staff at the University of Bucharest was not better than ours at all! We met almost all foreign authors coming to visit Romania in separate discussions, we attended theatre shows, concerts, we visited factories and the countryside for documentation. The School itself and our college was located in a beautiful building of Bucharest. (…) I soon became a trainee at the department of literary theory at the school. But the

> truth is that I would have agreed happily to this adventure even under different circumstances—I would have left happily to work on the fields in China for example, because I had just been drafted into the Romanian army, and most of my military service was still ahead of me." (Panek, "Soha jobb/kor")

As we can see, the image of the School is rather positive here—of course, we can feel behind it the self-confidence of an author who, during the decades that came after his graduation, participated in the neomodernist renewal of Transylvanian Hungarian literature, and who, as he was writing these words, was looking back at a successful literary career. While attending the School, minority students were allowed to, and expected, to produce their own literary works in their mother tongue, although they attended the same courses as their Romanian colleagues. Panek's poem *Coborîștea* (Descent), for example, was published in the internal literary magazine of the School, *Anii de ucenicie* (3/1952) in translation. Panek's accounts about his school experiences are constant in their positive attitude – in 1952 he praised the school in an article because of the opportunities it offered to its students to meet foreign writers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, but also from Finland or Denmark. (Panek, „Külföldi írók")

Another valuable source material about the School is Imre Portik's posthumous volume written in Romanian, dealing chiefly with his memories about Nicolae Labiș, whom he met at the School. (Portik) Imre Portik's pieces of poetry, published in *Anii de ucenicie*, were, like Panek's works, translations from Hungarian. The translations were made by Horia Aramă[3] and Nicolae Labiș.[4]

Portik's testimony sheds light on the students' interest in the works of "bourgeois decadence" which was one of the points of criticism in the official reports discussed above. From his account we know that Labiș was a frequent visitor to the home of a second-hand bookseller who provided him with books that were not available either in bookshops or in public libraries of the period because of their "dangerous" contents. The volumes bought by Labiș were often simply pre-war editions of classics like Eminescu, available from the communist press only in selected editions. Portik even recalls meeting at the bookseller's place the members of the teaching staff who explained to their students that they were looking for materials that were simply not available even at the university library. Around these chance meetings there was always an aura of conspiracy, some of the books bought by Labiș having been later confiscated by the School management. (Portik 25–31)

Portik's friendship with Labiș began in the School, but it did not end there, the two of them remaining in close contact and visiting each

3 Portik Emerik, *Stalin,* Anii de ucenicie nr. 3, May 1953.

4 Portik Imre, *Ostașului sovietic*, Anii de ucenicie nr. 3, May 1953.; Portik Imre, *Drum*, Anii de ucenicie nr. 6, May 1954.

other also after the graduation from the School. While Portik became a librarian in the Transylvanian countryside, Labiș pursued his literary training at the University (though he never completed it). Labiș's training projects made Portik compare the usefulness of the School and of the University: "Our School, as an institution of art training, helped us develop the skills that were necessary for creative activity. All the courses we took served this goal, while at the department of Philology, everything was geared to training future professors." (Portik 154–155) Portik even ventured into an inventory of the writers who had been through the respective programs and went on to develop a notable career. His conclusions were that among the young, well-known authors graduating between 1951/1954 from the School of Literature there were 15 poets, 9 novelists, 1 literary critic, while among those graduating from the university there were 10 poets, 12 novelists, 9 literary critics. (Portik 154) However subjective this data may be, the image that Portik offers seems trustworthy if we compare them to general critical remarks of the official reports.

We can conclude that seemingly subjective accounts can add important elements to the image of the School's activity. The lifestyle of the students, their intellectual and social background and the implication of all these at the practical level show exactly what kind of effort would have been needed to transform these individuals into the „new men" needed by the communist regime.

The School of Literature integrated into the university structure

The most detailed account of how the School was integrated into the structure of the University of Bucharest, was offered by Stela Covaci (Ivănescu–Covaci), who was a student of philology in the autumn of 1955, when the School (by then already called the Institute of Literature and Literary Criticism) was dissolved as a separate institution and integrated into the University:

> "In that year, the Mihai Eminescu Institute was made into a section within the Faculty of Philology, this section being called 'The Section of Literature and Literary Criticism.' A group of some 25 or 30 future writers joined the university, each of them attending one of the three workshops of creation: prose, poetry and literary criticism. I was an aspiring poet, eager to know the new peers, so I asked for a transfer from the section of Romanian literature to their programme, for the second year of study. (…) I shared the bench with Labiș, and had a great time with him when Brătucu [the creative writing teacher] asked us to

> come up with completely unrealistic plans, promising not only to deliver "artistic production" on schedule, but also to "overfill the norm." Labiș's plan looked like this:
> – one piece of heroic epic in verse (about Vasile Roaită [a Romanian proletarian hero]), proposed deadline: 1st December 1955
> – two pieces of dramatic poems inspired by the history of underground fighters. Deadline: 1st October.
> – five socialist-realist poems. Deadline… etc." (Ivănescu–Covaci 241–242)

In the university, Covaci, Labiș and the others continued their bohemian lifestyle already known from the narratives of Ioniță and Portik – and implicitly, their resistance to the models imposed on them by the School. (Ivănescu–Covaci 244–245) Another student who was transferred to the University from the Institute was Paul Goma, who later became an important member of anticommunist opposition in Romania. In the interviews he gave Lucia Dragomir, he spoke about the rigorous entrance requirements in 1954: this was the year when the School became an "institute." His favourite professor was Tudor Vianu (Dragomir 318) – the same one who was admired by Marin Ioniță. He was expelled from the university in 1956 for anticommunist activity.

As part of the university structure, the Section of Literature and Literary criticism soon lost its special character and left no other memorable traces in the history of Romanian literature. (Bîlbîie 207)

Conclusions: Failure or Mission Completed?

In his monograph about the institutions of young Romanian literature in the fifties, Radu Bîlbîie speaks about a "failed experiment," (Bîlbîie) but he does not offer an explanation for how and why this institutionalization project failed. In fact, in his book, the dissolution of the School is seen in itself as a failure.

Although the Mihai Eminescu School of Literature did not belong initially to the Romanian system of higher education institutions, it had a precise role to fulfill. The new, Communist power needed a new generation of intellectuals and writers to support its goals. The initial training period within the School was one year precisely in order to accelerate the generational shift. The changes within the training structure show however that a greater connection to the higher education system was considered necessary. (Mocanu 209.) The gradual growth of the program meant also a more precise adaptation of the Gorky Institute model, where the curriculum was designed for two years from the beginning. (Dobrenko 342.)

From the official Party documents and from the personal narratives we have seen that organizational issues resulted from the lack of human resources, but also unforeseen elements of the training process (like the students' bohemian behaviour and personal attachment to literary models outside the school) made this effort a partial failure. The main arguments in favour of the failure of the School would be: 1. unresolved differences in the students' previous training level, and huge differences in their integration into the society after graduation; 2. organizational problems, lack of staff, lack of discipline; 3. talented "problem children" at the School – Nicolae Labiș etc., who did not accept all the rules that the directors of the School tried to impose.

We cannot claim to have among the graduates of the School the majority of the masters of Romanian postwar literature either—in this sense, as the data presented by Evgeny Dobrenko shows, the history of the Moscow Literary Institute is far more successful. (Dobrenko 342) However, we should reconsider the short history of this institution also from the perspective of its short-term objectives. Once accessed from this point of view, the School can be seen as at least a partial success. There emerged, after all, a new, "reliable" generation of writers, graduates of the School, with jobs at the Writers' Union, literary magazines etc., and the generational change facilitated a reorganization of the political elite. In this period, young writers were seen by many as capable of taking on the role of "fellow-traveler writers" like Mihail Sadoveanu, Tudor Arghezi and other masters of Romanian literature of the interwar period.

It seems that young writers were important for the regime, but the Mihai Eminescu School of Literature and Literary Criticism was not the only way to "produce" them. Most probably this is the main reason why this project was finally abandoned, and the control over the literary production was carried out in Romania through other institutions: universities, the monopoly of literary magazines and publishing houses, censorship, and literary circles for younger people, where literary debates continued to flourish during the next decades.

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The Glocality of the Acta Comparationis Litterarum. Local Interpretations of Educational Freedom, Coercive Innovation and Comparative Literature[1]

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ABSTRACT:
The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature (*Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur*) is the most often-cited essay of the first international journal of comparative literature, the ActaComparationis Litterarum Universarum. The article proposes a revision of the generally established explanations of this pioneering text, and traces back the microcultural genealogy of the idea of freedom and autonomy associated with the emerging modern discipline of comparative literature in the essay. In this new intellectual framework both the essay and its broad horizon are interpreted as a glocal interplay of recycled and enthrallingly reinvented transnational ideas.

Keywords: Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum, Hugo von Meltzl, Sámuel Brassai, history of comparative literature, transnational, academic freedom, *Lern- und Lehrfreiheit,* autonomy of the universities

There is a long and outstanding international tradition of dealing with *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* (*Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur*) as *the* programmatic and especially the most representative text of the first international journal of comparative literary studies (cf. Berczik, "Lés débuts hongrois"; D'haen, *The Routledge Concise History*; Fassel, *Hugo Meltzl*; Damrosch,"Rebirth of a Discipline"). Of course, this has as much to do with institutional inertia of perpetuating the only major text from the ACLU that has had English translation (Damrosch, *The Princeton Sourcebook*) than with a series of other considerations. The figure of Hugo von Meltzl was overemphasized as the sole "founding father", suggesting that it was his Western European

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peregrination and his Germanness (including the Western character of the language in which he wrote) that should be considered decisive in founding a seminal literary journal and establishing a methodology for emerging global comparative literary studies against / to the backdrop of parochial Eastern European or local knowledge (Fassel, Horst. "Hugo Meltzl von Lomnitz"). That is one of the reasons why this text has always seemed more substantial than a series of other essays that could have been similarly spotted as programmatic and representative.

To name just a few such texts; the very first introductory 1877 essay of the ACLU, written in Hungarian and authored by both of the founders, including the unworthily forgotten Sámuel Brassai, the acclaimed doyen of the founders (cf. T. Szabó, "À la recherche…"). But essays like *Zur vergleichenden Aesthetik der Lyrik* by Meltzl, *Cannizzaro. In solitudine. Carmine vol. I. Zur vergleichende Lyrik* by Ig. Em. Wessely, the blurb of the ACLU from January 1879 signed by the coeditors (Brassai, Meltzl, "Összehasonlító Irodalmi Társulat"), *Zur vegleichenden Geschichte der Philosophie* by Brassai. Or should we forget other major texts that are not in the ACLU, but precede it, recur, and are seldom echoed by the founders from 1877 to 1888. One of these is the 1876 university public lecture of Meltzl published under the title *A kritikai irodalomtörténetírás fogalmáról* (*On the notion of a reflexive literary history*), critically commenting upon the (German interpretations) of (the notion of) literary history from the sensitive position of the recently oppointed professor of German studies (Meltzl, *A kritikai irodalomtörténet*). A similar seminal text cited many times in the ACLU is programmatic essay of Brassai on translation as a method of comparativ literature, entitled *Aesthetische Kritik als Beitrag zur Theorie der Horaz-Übersetzungskunst* (Brassai, *Aesthetische Kritik*). This was published originally in the ACLU, but republished as part of the much lesser known comparative literary series entitled *Fontes* that collected a series of text meant to be foregrounded by the founders of the ACLU. And should we take into consideration the not-so-famous, but extremely important calls for the launch of the first international association for comparative literature or the calls for thematic collections of comparative literary thesauri?

All these texts are formally or in a figurative sense programmatic since they capture in a certain moment the essence of what the founders and / or the collaborators of the first international journal of comparative literature thought about the fundamental methodological tendencies to be followed. Of course, leaving them aside was also a typical pars pro toto gesture in a situation where few collections of the ACLU were available and the multilingualism of the journal proved to be highly perplexing for the comparative literary profession. But it is clear that the overpresence / predominance of a single text, selected by Wellek more than half a century ago to represent the ACLU was also a kind of methodological globalism.[2] We came to automatically associate the ACLU to

2 On the interpretive problems of methodolodogical nationalism, see: LEERSSEN 2006.

the global literary and cultural scene even when part of the explanations would or could have linked the journal (also) to the local. Based on this often-cited fragment, the Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum seemed a successful intellectual flight of a cosmopolitan founder, namely Meltzl, from the local constraints to global problems, places and solutions, and less a journal that is a proactive response to and embedded in local institutions. Since we are used to imagine the geographical and geopolitical flow of innovation and disciplinary knowledge from the West to the East, and less from the East to the West, for many the ACLU seemed a mainly global phenomenon consituted against the parochialism of the East or the local cultures, therefore it seemed to ask for global explanations.

Therefore, let me relocate both *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* (*Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur*) and its usual interpretive contexts by positioning it at the interface of the local and the global literary cultures. In my view, *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* (*Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur*) is a *glocal* text that is able to show the complex and often suprising negotiation of the journal among the various levels and forms of knownledge from the most local to the extremely transnational.

The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature and those key texts I mentioned earlier, view comparative literature as discipline-in-the-making, an in-between area of knowledge without stable borders, above the practical and useful disciplines that can and are used to certain purposes, and thus lose their freedom that leads to higher truths. For instance, not only *The Presnt Tasks* begins with a fierce criticism of all the literary, artistic and scholarly knowledge that is too applied and useful (including for nation-building practices), but the very first, introductory essay of the Acta Comparationis, the famous open lecture of Metzl on the notion of critical literary history, or several essays of Brassai. And it is telltale that even though Meltzl was appointed professor of German studies in 1872 (and later, in the 1890s, of French and Italian studies), some of his major conflicts with Budapest-based Germanist and some of his colleagues were related to his criticism of German studies. He often accused his own discipline of not being independent, being a kind of *ancilla nationis* as *The Present Tasks* and the similarly famous introductory essay label it.

That is why he called the discipline he taught *critical literary history*, and from 1877, *comparative literature*. The term comparative literature itself in *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* has the aura and vision of disciplinary autonomy and open-endedness arising from social freedom and independence, and the avoidance of any type of practical usage and subalternation. So the term itself is not a neutral one at all, but channelled and fuelled by extremely strong and well-focalised feelings and presuppositions. Usually this term from the ACLU is contextualized and linked immediately to Goethe, Schlözer and all the comopolitan and Western European literary contexts and heritages that

suggest the ACLU chose this – and only this – common (Western) European scholarly playground when Meltzl introduced the term (cf. Kerekes, *Lomnitzi Meltzl Hugó*). And yes, this common scholarly playground is evident; *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* speaks of the precarity of the term in the global literary scene and proudly accentuates that the Hungarian coining of the term is one of the first in the world, the references to Goethe and Schlözer are recurrent.

But these does not explain everything, and especially not the notion of autonomy (and freedom) used in connection with comparative literature. Why were these notions (that pop up exclusively in the articles, essays and comments authored by Brassai and Meltzl, and never in the texts of the most frequent collaborators, like E. D. Butler from London, specialized in Central and Eastern European languages and literatures, the multilingual Sicilian translator Cassone, the first Italian translator of Petőfi, the Provencal writer, Fréderic Mistral, later Nobel-prize winner, the famous Icelandic literary figure, Thorsteinsson from Reykjavik or the protofeminist Dora d'Istria. On their turn, all of these collaborators speak about comparative literature, but none of them would stress those elements the founders are recurrently speaking about when they define their scholarly framework. So what is with this obsession of autonomy based on freedom and alt he other elements associated with the emerging discipline of comparative literature by the founders?

Coercive innovation, the recycling of academic freedom, and the programmatic essay of the first journal of comparative literary studies

To answer the question posed earlier, we have to do what methodological globalism rarely does: i. e. go local. (What I call methodological globalism is a counterpart of methodological nationalism. And if methodological nationalism implies that national literature can be explained from inside the national frame[3], methodological globalism usually explains through global cultural tendencies, categories and labels, and the transnational flow.)

So, let us go local. When in September 1885 Ágoston Trefort, the Minister of Education relocated Ede Wertheimer, professor of the Academy of Law from Szeben / Sibiu / Hermannstadt, the body of professors at the Faculty of Humanities were suprised and angered.[4] They articulated their protest in the name and through the vocabulary of the *freedom of teaching and learning* and framed it as an offense towards the autonomy of the university. They explicitly fronted the Minister in a semi-public letter that was even harsher and more resolute than the

3 On methodological nationalism and its criticism, see Leerssen

4 57/1885–1886/BTK, The Archives of the Kolozsvár University. The archival material of the Faculty of Humanities, National Archives of Romania, Cluj Branch

decision of the council of the Faculty preceding the letter.[5] „The decision of Your Excellency – they wrote – is disquieting for our community since it sets a dangerous precedent for the future infringements both of our academic freedom, and the little, but still existing autonomy of our university." The Faculty of Humanities also pressed for a common university-level decision, picturing a dark future "when similar suprises may occur" unless immediate action is taken.[6]

This vision of academic freedom was based on the generalities of an 1872 law. But the heated debate arund the notions of academic freedom and the autonomy of the university suggests that these were axiomatic concepts, and the intervention of the Minister brought to the surface all the things hidden, unspoken and taken for granted in Kolozsvár / Cluj/ Klausenburg.

This debate and conflict with the Minister was not an exception in the life of the university in the 1870s and 1880s. In April 1886, after the suspension and removal of Grigoriu Silași, the chairholder of Romanian linguistics and literature (T. Szabó–Zabán, *Dokumentumok*), the Minister appointed Grigoriu Moldovan to the chair. Even though almost the whole body of professors kept a distance from the former professor Silași charged with a seditious act against the Hungarian state, all of them constested the way the new professor was appointed without the consultation of the Faculty of Humanities, and interpreted this as an assault against the autonomy of the university. "[T]he Faculty of Humanities can consent to no measures that would harm the principles of the position of university professorship and the freedom of teaching and learning" [7] – said one of the most influential professors of the period.

Neither of the debates came as a surprise since the midst of the 1880s brought a much-constested ministerial suggestion to introduce a disciplinary procedure regarding the university professors. This led to an outcry of most of the faculties since they experienced the proposed new procedure as an ethical stigma and a deep ethical crisis. They evoked that the University of Budapest needed no such a procedure in his long history, and not even the absolutist government tried to introduce one. University professors „may not allow the violation of their rights […] The Faculty of Humanities considers that there is no need of a disciplinary

5 The Faculty of Letters decided to protest against the decision, stressing that the minister did not ask their oponion beforehand. They also forced their new colleague to discuss the details of his disciplines with all the faculty having more or less similar specializations, while deciding that the new member of the community was not a full professor, but only an „adjunct" who could not take part at the regular meetings and decision-making.

6 121/ 1885–1886/BTK, The Archives of the Kolozsvár University. The archival material of the Faculty of Humanities, National Archives of Romania, Cluj Branch

7 328/1885–1886/BTK, The Archives of the Kolozsvár University. The archival material of the Faculty of Humanities, National Archives of Romania, Cluj Branch

procedure. There is no freedom of research without the independence of the position of university professorship." – went the indignation of Meltzl and his colleagues.

And even when they were forced to sketch a document, they sticked firmly to the view that it should not be vexatious: „a disciplinary action triggered against an innocent professor could lead to irreparable moral damage. While the obligations of the other types of civil servants are clearly regulated, there is no such a set of rules that describes accurately the duties of the university professors. […] There is room for uneasiness if we look at the possible involvement of the party press in cases of public scandals, and therefore this may lead easily to dragging someone's reputation in the mud without any hope of a future moral reparation in case he proves innocent. […] We also object to the suggestion that enables a disciplinary action against colleagues who become physically or mentally challenged. Such cases could have been and could be solved without filing an official indictment." – argued the professorial body against a first sketch of the document conaining the new rules and regulations (T. Szabó–Zabán, *Dokumentumok*).

It is obvious that academic freedom and the autonomy of the university became notions that, in the 1870s and 1880s, underpinned and framed university professorship, teaching, research at the newly founded university of Kolozsvár. For local university staff and students, academic feeedom became a useful conceptual and practical framework in interpreting and assessing a series of problems, from the strengthening of the symbolic status of university professorship at a new and underfinanced "provincial" university to the interpretation of the role the state came to play in a new educational system.

The notions of freedom and autonomy employed in these debates were deeply embedded in the huge changes of the 1870s and 1880s that led to the emergence and control of the state in the whole field of education. And while the 1868 reform of the primary school system was greeted wholeheartedly as a much-awaited and modern transformations that offers solution to the integration of the whole young population into the modern Hungarian nation, the later reforms that focused on the tailoring of the secondary and higher education, led to huge dilemmas and debates. What should the role of the state be in the management and control of these insitutions? What kind of employer is or should the state be, especially in the field of higher education? What should be the relationship between state-funded and -controled education and the educational institutions that are under the tutelage of the Churches? How should the secondary education be crafted; what happens with the humanities, especially with the obligatory presence of Latin and Greek in the schools? Are these part of a general culture, or should they be partially/completely elkiminated? (cf. T. Szabó, "Gyulai Pál görögségideálja…") How many universities should Hungary have and what is the ideal form of their financial background? What is the administrative, financial and symbolic

status of the second Hungarian university, the Kolozsvár-based one, founded in 1872? What is the role of the Minister and the Ministry Education, and what is he entitled to do in relation with the universities? All these questions were new and vital in the successive legal and administrative transformation of the Hungarian educational system that produced deep traumas and fierce debates on innumerable educational and social issues. These debates had many vocabularies and conceptual frames (Rüegg, *A History of the University…*), educational freedom (Lehr- und Lernfreiheit) and the autonomy of the university being (only) one of these.

The University of Kolozsvár used the vocabulary and frame of university autonomy and educational freedom to construct a strong professional ethics. That is why these notions pop up in various circumstances regarding the alleged social and professional roles of the university professors and their institution. First and foremost, they were recycled and reinterpreted to debate the growing precarity of the university intellectuals at an underfinanced university. The swift establishment of the second Hungarian university, the financial and administrative underplanning of the future of the institution, the postponement of the state investments into (new) university buildings, university hospitals and university library up till the 1890s, opened up huge cleavages between the central government and the local university, and reinforced the idea of university self-governance.

Secondly, the framework of academic freedom was an answer and conceptual tool of the local university staff to face up to and interpret the two decades of the Hungarian educational reform that broke the hegemony of the only Hungarian university, but also brought about major changes in the role the state played in the educational field. The eroding of the educational right and privileges of the major historical Churches and the reinvention of the state as *the* major player in the elementary and secondary education was greeted by many as a sign of modernization, even though the professinalization and homogenization of the curriculum, the creation of new types of schools and educational structures led to more questions than answers. But the fiercest debates came when universities and university professors felt the state went beyond the bounds of its rights. Sometimes, the Ministry of Education seemed to be more than the guaranty of lawfulness for them. especially when trying to make decisions that were against the standpoint of the local professors and university institutions.

Therefore, the emergence and appeal to the vocabulary and conceptual toolkit of university meritocracy, professional autonomy, the freeedom of learning, teaching and research was both the consequence and at the origin of these structural educational changes and very practical issues. It is no suprise that this vocabulary recurred and organized the way the newly established university of Kolozsvár / Cluj imagined *(local) knowledge-production* and *scholarly innovation* including innovation in the literary field.

As we already saw, the major debates at the university of Kolozsvár / Cluj/ Klausenburg in the first years after the foundation were linked to the self-definition of the university and to the role and duties of the newly appointed university professors. On the one hand, the university was a newly established one with poor infrastructure and neglected financially by the Hungarian goverment in the first decades after 1872. This led to bitter anti-Budapest criticism directed also agains the only other Hungarian university, of course, the Budapest-based one with long and established traditions. On the other hand, this was one of the reaasons why the new university defined itself against its "Western" counterpart, and responded to the ironic comments on its provincialism with finding in its own *niche*. The programme speeches of the first two rectors not only imagined Transylvania as the land of excessive freedom (of course, with an ironic blink towards the other Hungarian university, which seemed to have not only much more money, but also much more rules, regulations and conventions), but made out of this imagined history a duty for each and every professor of the university – subtly forcing them to innovate. Innovation and provocative thinking seemed to be the keywords and a potential trademark for the newly established institution in the vision of its first rectors. One of them quoted even Brassai when he said in his programme speech at the beginning of the university year: "The whole modern culture and scientific progress is based on the idea of the free cultivation of the sciences and on free education […] Excessive credit should be given to the individuality of the professors. Innovation is the key to win our race with other universities. '– uttered the first rector of the university, addressing to the students along the same line of thoughts: 'use the opportunities fully […] to try not only to have a look at the sciences, but also to improve your knowledge to perfection so as you should finally become the upholders and specialist of the sciences, and future chair-holders of our university."

So the newly established university of Cluj/Kolozsvár/Klausenburg conceptualized and reinterpreted its *alleged periphery* as an *excessive freedom* to innovate. This coercive pressure of innovation on the chair-holders and the reinterpretation of periphery made possible a structure of the curriculum that revolutionized the humanities' disciplinary frame: it contained several avant-garde disciplines that were to appear much later at European universities. Just to recall two of them that are of special interest to us: comparative literary history and (comparative) ethnography.

This local context of excessive (*paradoxically, even forced*) freedom of innovation as the answer of the periphery to reinvent and reconceptualize itself as a potential centre sheds a new light not only on why the founders conceptualized comparative literature as a progressive, bold, open and global discipline, even the most free and open-ended of all, but on many other aspects of the story. This can be the explanation why the founding of the new journal wes greeted by the university, while harshly criticized by Budenz, the chair of German studies at the

University of Budapest. And this is why the founders and the disciples of the two founders took it seriously disciplinary innovation when they periodically announced new and new new disciplines (like comparative ethnology) or methods (like the potential innovative usage of the phonograph in comparative literature). And this could explain also many decisions or gestures of the founders.

Brassai, the first to teach Hungarian national history in Hungarian at the Unitarian College in 1844, after the language reform found way to his former project to teach comparative linguistics, and Meltzl, the youngest professor of the university, felt free to step outside the borders of German studies. All of these seem not to have been possible, either at the University of Budapest, or at any other older university with strong disciplinary traditions and more well-defined borders of the university chairs, not stressing the academic freedom in matters of teaching and learning.

But there is a new twist of the local component of this history. Research, in the sense of systematic investigation in order to reach new and innovative conclusions was a fairly new idea in the Hungarian university system of the 1870s. It was exactly in the year of the establishment of the new, the second Hungarian university and Brassai and Meltzl's appointment to professorship to this university when the Hungarian parliament discussed, juridically framed and canonized the notion of educational freedom. Of course, the legal framing of this idea and term, and also the fierce debates on it show that these idea had already been present in the institutional and scholarly Hungarian world – of course, not independently from highly debated and interpreted mid-nineteenth century ideas and terms like the freedom of press and the freedom of speech. But on the other hand the need to instutionalize and guarantee them through state-level laws and regulations suggests that it was something new to be asserted or to be regulated. For the state the main question was whether universities were allowed to apply *Lehr und Lernfreiheit* (the freedom of teaching and learning) *ad litteram*. For instance, were professors completely free to establish their curricula and,methods? But then what about the chosen future profession of the students (especially the public professions) that cannot be properly targeted should the professor decide to go against the expectations of the state on what a proper state professional should know and do? Should the idea of the *Bildung* of the students be stronger or the expectations of the different professions? And how should and could be the independence of the professors assured? Were consistent salaries enough to offer them the autonomy the ideal of Lern and Lehrfreihet needed? And what about their failures? How to measure when they fail to innovate properly if *Lehrfreiheit* is interpreted in a completely radical way. To cut a long story short, the fierce discussions on the freedom of university-level education articulated not only the ideal of the *autonomous modern intelectual,* but also the idea of the *autonomy of scientific research*, the dilemmas on the interdependence of innovative research and

teaching, and last, but not least, they raised serious questions regarding the rople of the universities. What was their role in society? What did their alleged independence mean?

It is enthralling to follow how the university of Budapest resisted in implementing the majority of these ideas, and how the tiny and underfinanced university of Kolozsvár not only implemented them immediately, but also interpreted them sometimes in a most radical way.

Let me recall just one such situation intimately linked to the Acta Comparationis. In 1884 the first public interethnic conflict broke out at the University of Cluj. Grigoriu Silași, the acting dean was provoked and an information was brought in against him by radical Hungarian students since he allegedly taught Romanian language and literature for Romanian students *in Romanian* (T. Szabó–Zabán, *Dokumentumok*). In spite of his protest, he was immediately suspended by the Ministry of Education, and after almost two years of uncertainty and precariuosness, he was dismissed from service without any chance of retiring on old-age pension. Meanwhile, it was Meltzl and the *Acta Comparationis* that gave commissions for several translations to him, which was not only a practical, but also a highly symbolic gesture. All the other professors thought Silași was a nationalist figure who had gone too far in supporting his students' actions against the Hungarian state. But when the secretary of state for education wanted to replace him with a "loyal" Romanian, Gergely Moldován, as we already saw, the whole faculty resisted the state and petitioned the ministry referring to their radical interpretation of *Lernfreiheit*, the autonomy of the universities and freedom and autonomy of the university professor as public intellectuals to even criticize the state and its policies. Moreover, Meltzl reinterpreted and reframed the idea of academic freedom *against* his own colleagues when he tacitly refused to interrupt his relationship with his suspended colleague and implicitly supported Silași to continue publishing in the Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum.

So the borderless freedom and the autonomy of comparative literature as potrayed in the *Present Tasks of Comparative Literature* and elsewhere was not just the original Humboldtian or German idea of *Lern- and Lehrfreiheit,* but a locally embedded and powerfully interpreted concept that had both global and local resonance. The founders of the ACLU took it over, recycled, reinterpreted, recharged and reintoduced it into a complex cultural, institutional and literary ecosystem that resonated to the way they perceived their *glocal* scholarly goals.

If viewed not only from the perspective of the global, but also from viewpoint of the local, the ACLU is at the crossroads of many such entangled histories (Werner–Zimmermann, *De la comparaison*; Werner–Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison") full of surprising repinterpretations that reveal the many layers of global literary and cultural modernity behind its vision(s) of comparative literature. Let me show in a nutshell one of these entangled histories and radical reinterpretations

that would open up another important notion used in *The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature*.

Ethnography is a key-word of many texts in the ACLU – at first sight it seems to allude to a truly transnational form of cultural nationalism in nineteenth century, to Volkskunde as the depository of national essence, and spirit that preserves historical knowledge and forms of ethnicity. But for this type of ethnology and folklore only one's one pure folklore is truly important. From this perspective, one can and should not share two or more traditions at once, or one's shared tradition should always be purified (even diachronically), and kept away from other etnic or national traditions. In Romantic European nationalism the recurrent question is always vindincative, asking who has purest, the earliest, the most beutiful, most intangible, most authentic *text and tradition* that can prove the superiority of that ethnic tradition.

The founders of the ACLU, and especially Meltzl experienced this in a completely other way. For them global literary flow could be understood only through the reconstruction of the multiplicity of direct or indirect contacts and similarities among various literarry cultures. From this perspective all the languages and literatures are equal, since the disappearance of even the tiniest one could lead to the impossibility of understanding the global networks (T. Szabó, "The Subversive Politics"). The most local is indispensable in understanding the complexity and beauty of the global. There is a mutual interedependence in this system also because for the founders of the ACLU the masterpiece is always a result of this flow, so any missing piece of the puzzle would diminish the chance of its emergence or our chance to understand it. From this perspective, for this type of comparative literature, ethnography is always comparative ethnology, since it is always interested in the *foreign*, the *belittled*. Just one example for this radical reinterpretation of Romantic ethnography: the essay I am discussing, recalls many "small" languages and cultures that are considered extremely important to be analysed and preserved. One of them is the Romani, a language without nation, without Romantic type of linguistic standards, spoken by legally outcast communities in the nineteenth century. For Meltzl and his diciples, like Anton Hermann or Heinrich Wlislocki, the Romani languages and communities became crucial scholarly case studies for comparative literature. ACLU had a foundational role in shaping an idea of anthropological/ethnological fieldwork for the sake of preserving and reviving "endangered languages and literatures" and literary cultures without a nation or state. But all of these interesting and influential figures of the ACLU semmed to reframe ethnography exactly in the glocal logic of university freedom. While this type of ethnography had no chance to be included into the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Budapest, Meltzl put pressure on his own university and colleagues to accept the foundation of the first such ethnographical department in Central and Eastern Europe. It was his idea and initiative that his former disciple and collaborator at the ACLU, Anton Hermann

to be invited as a chair of this department of *comparative* ethnography that revolutionized ethnocentric national ethnography of his time.

The Present Tasks of Comparative Literature (*Vorläufige Aufgaben der Vergleichenden Litteratur*), the much-cited programmatic essay of the ACLU framed and transposed the fascination with Goethe's view on comparative literature with the musch-disputed and recycled concept of academic freedom of the local scholarly world. Therefore, the text created an ethos of early comparative literature by stressing the freedom of research in the face of various nationalisms and utilitarian usages of the humanities, and imagining literature and the study of literature as a form of social freedom. The view of the founders, Meltzl and Brassai on university self-governence inforced this idea of professional independence, and resulted in a vision of comparative literature free from political and economic constraints. For them, comparative literature came to equal the ideal discipline of the humanities, a research field that was the epitome of the *free university* and *Humboldtian Bildung*. This leads to a series of new enthralling questions, from the curriculum and teaching methods of the founders of the journal to the alleged disciples of Hugo von Meltzl and Sámuel Brassai or to the lose network of the local university students around the ACLU, not to speak about the innovative afterlife of the first international journal of comparative literature in the local literary and cultural field. The *glocality* of the Acta Comparationis is essential since it opens up a whole new agenda of reasearch that spots on the complex relationship between the microcontexts of the journal and its global and transnational horizons.

The *Acta Comparationis Litterarum Universarum* has mainly been interpreted as a cosmopolitan journal with cosmopolitan founders even though the founders often criticized cosmopolitanism. It had usually been thought as a journal with a truly global frame, and less attention has been payed to the local. But it is not only the local from Kolozsvár/Cluj/Klausenburg that can be extremely interesting and telltale in this type of narrative. My broader proposal is to rethink the way the founders and the collaborators negotiated their locality with others', and how all of them negotiated the transnational and global, but also one other as part of the transnational and global. From this angle the ACLU is neither a local, nor a global phenomenon for me, but an interface of these; a *glocal medium* and its complexity is intimitely linked exactly to this identity. This is a state of truly being in-between many languages, literary cultures, geo-cultural layers, and being both overwhelmed and fascinated by it.

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Digital Genealogy

From personal histories to settlements history[1]

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ABSTRACT:
This paper demonstrates how methods of digital genealogy can be used to trace personal histories in innovative ways to uncover potentially significant details of settlement history where information in historical sources is scarce. It uses the example of a mid-18th century Roman Catholic settler and his family in Szentes, a small town on the Great Hungarian Plain, at a time when mass migration into this region was happening from overpopulated regions of the Kingdom of Hungary. Records of the settlement history of the town are meagre at best, but this important aspect of social history can be supplemented through meticulous research into the Family Search genealogy database.

Keywords: digital genealogy, migration, settlement history, Hungary, 18th century, Szentes.

1. Introduction

The use of digital methodologies has opened up new perspectives in many branches of the humanities and social sciences, making possible research that would have been impossible previously. The same is true of genealogical research, which has become fundamentally transformed by the innovative means of researching in online databases, allowing keyword searches as well as access to vast repositories of records from a multitude of places all in the same database.

1 Dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Erzsébet Aradi (1909–1996).
I want to thank my colleagues at the University of Szeged, ethnographer László Mód, for his generous advice, suggestions, and help regarding ethnography in general and ethnographic literature in particular, as well as historian Hajnalka Tóth, for numerous discussions of 18th century Hungary in the past year and a half. I greatly appreciate archivist Edit Takács's assistance in providing feedback on the earlier version of this paper and her gracious encouragement of my work. I am thankful to Ralph Reindler for meticulously and lovingly perfecting the English of this paper. Any errors or shortcomings are entirely my own responsibility.

The best known such database is the Family Search database made available by the eponymous nonprofit organization and website (familysearch.org) operated by the Church of Jesus Christ and the Latter-day Saints (informally known as the Mormon Church) in the United States. After free registration, the website provides access to 8 billion names, 3.2 billion digital images, and 490,000 digital books compiled on the website.[2] From the point of view of genealogical research, probably the most important sources are the digitized copies of church and civil registers of births, marriages and deaths collected at the site. The records for present-day Hungary[3] are available fully for the church registers, and partially for the civil registers, kept since October 1896 in Hungary, with the period of accessibility varying from place to place. This allows for genealogical inquiry unhampered by traditional limitations of genealogical research ranging from the trivial (such as the opening times of archives) to the complex (such as searching for larger geographical territories like counties or whole regions and longer time spans).

Genealogical research unbounded by geography and time can provide much farther reaching results than traditional, pre-digital research, and, as I will argue below, can also yield information that opens up new vistas in settlement history research where traditional sources and exact information are missing, as is the case, for instance, with the 18th century repopulation of a number of towns on the Great Hungarian Plain. Meticulous use of and search in the church registers can provide all-important details that will reveal a bigger picture like the tiles of a mosaic.

In this paper, I aim to show, through the example of the earliest known paternal ancestor of my own paternal grandmother and his family, who were among the earliest Roman Catholic families to settle in the town of Szentes, how tracing the personal histories of 18th century Hungarian peasant settlers can contribute to and shape our understanding of processes of settlement history otherwise lacking historical documentation.

2. Historical background

As a result of over 150 years of the Ottoman Turkish occupation of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary between 1541 and 1699, the area of the Great Hungarian Plain, which was under direct Ottoman control, became largely depopulated through continuous warring and the subsequent flight of the local populations. Finally, under the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Ottomans ceded much of the area occupied by them to the Habsburgs, and the Great Hungarian Plain also became

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FamilySearch; date of access: October 23, 2020.

3 The availability of the records varies from country to country, e.g. records for present-day Hungary and Slovakia are amply available, whereas those for present-day Romania are not.

part of the Habsburg Empire like northern and western Hungary beforehand.

The Great Plain contained most of Hungary's arable land, which was largely unused by the 18th century, and thus became an inviting destination for peasants in the fairly overpopulated northern region of Hungary and Transylvania, for ethnic Hungarians and minorities alike. In numerous instances, the new landlords, many of them granted land by the Habsburg court, organized the settling of German-speaking settlers from Austria, Southern Germany, and Saxony on their new lands. In the course of the 18th century, migration of massive proportions, aided by a six-year tax exemption for new settlers under Law 103 of 1723, brought thousands of people to the Great Plain, more than doubling the population of the country to around 9.5 million by the late 18th century.

The town of Szentes, a few kilometers east of the Tisza river and about 50 kilometers north of Szeged, was settled from the early middle ages, and first mentioned in a charter in 1332 (Labádi 2003: 10), and gaining the designation of a market town (*oppidum* in Latin, *mezőváros* in Hungarian) in 1564 (Labádi 2003: 14). The population of the town converted to Calvinist Protestantism at the very beginning of the Reformation, in the 1540s (Labádi 2003: 13). Szentes underwent considerable growth in its population in the 18th century as a result of the sociohistorical processes discussed above. In addition, the town found itself in a favorable economic position in the 1710s, when it was made the center for the distribution of provisions for the Habsburg forces that were still engaged in keeping the Ottoman Turks out of southern Hungary. The 1715 census of population recorded 230 families, estimated to total about 1,380 people (Sima 1914: 189), all of them peasants, and all of them Calvinist Protestants. By 1759 the town's population totaled 7,503 people, 5,883 of them Calvinists and 1,620 Roman Catholics (Kováts 1928: 260).

Historical sources do not offer much information on where the new settlers of the town came from in the 18th century, especially what the source of the town's new Roman Catholic population was. In connection with the latter, László Sima's 1914 history of Szentes mentions only that the settlement of the first group of Catholics was initiated by Franz Dominik Harruckern (1696–1775) after he became the landlord of the town following the death of his father in 1742: "they were of German origin, primarily craftsmen" (Sima 1914: 226; my translation), differing from the local Hungarian Calvinist peasant population in their mother tongue, religion, and way of life. Allegedly, they did not like the marshy local air either and soon turned their backs on Szentes. After that, Hungarian Catholics settled in the town: "the settling of migrants from the foothills of the Mátra mountains was much more successful, they were hard-working and thrifty, excellent Roman Catholic people" (Nagy 1928: 91; my translation). There is no information on where exactly these Hungarian speaking Roman Catholics came from or how,

i.e. in an organized fashion, in larger groups or in smaller family units. The "Migration" chapter of the eight volume series *Magyar néprajz* [Hungarian ethnography] argues that peasants – essentially, serfs in Hungary at the time – migrated in family units:

> "Perpetual serfs had to flee, and they risked that their landlord would find them and have them brought back. Their basic interest and instinctive conspiracy prevailed when no more than a few families left a village at the same time, and even they did not stick together. The fear of being forced back then explains that settlers, who became 'serfs free to move'[4] on the land of their new landlord, rarely settled for good at the first place they ended up in. Moving several times diminished the chance of the fugitives being found." (Sárkány and Szilágyi 1988–2002: 832, my translation)

As we will see, the principles of moving in family units and moving several times prevails in the case study under discussion as well (supplemented with occasional personal motivation).

As for the geographical origin of the Hungarian speaking Roman Catholics of Szentes, the only pointer is the above-mentioned phrase "from the foothills of the Mátra mountains" (*mátraaljáról*, in the Hungarian original). The designation *mátraalja* refers to the southern foothills of the Mátra, a mountain range of the North Hungarian Mountains, a roughly rectangular area about 50 kilometers east to west, from Eger to Gyöngyös, and about 30 kilometers to the south of this line. It constituted the middle section of Hungary's historical Heves County and was historically populated by Roman Catholic Hungarians speaking the *palóc* dialect of Hungarian.[5] Linguistic evidence cited by linguist Antal Nyíri, a native of Szentes, also pointed to the fact that the dialect of Szentes's Roman Catholic community, which historically inhabited the neighborhoods *alsópárt* and *kisér* south of the town center exhibited some features of the Northern Hungarian *palóc* dialect (Nyíri 1977: 75).

Exactly where in the Mátraalja region the Roman Catholics of Szentes originated from is unclear. However, methodical searches of 18th century registers of baptisms can take us closer to answering this question, as I will demonstrate through the example of the Aradi family of Szentes below.

3. Parish registers in Hungary

The keeping of parish registers to record baptisms, marriages, and deaths, was mandated in the Roman Catholic church by the Council

4 *Szabad menetelű jobbágy* in Hungarian.

5 https://www.arcanum.hu/en/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-neprajzi-lexikon-71DCC/m-732AC/matraalja-73363/

of Trent (1545–1563), and, in Hungary, by the Synod of Nagyszombat in 1611. Archbishop of Esztergom Péter Pázmány made registers compulsory in Hungary in 1625. Record keeping, however, only began in earnest after the expulsion of Ottoman Turks in the late 17th, early 18th century, with great differences as to their start: the Roman Catholic parishes began regular registers in Gyöngyös in 1654, in Csongrád in 1704, in Hódmezővásárhely in 1724, and in Szentes in 1750. The right to keep parish registers was granted to the Protestant churches of the Habsburg Empire by Joseph II as part of his policy of religious tolerance in 1785 – although some Calvinist churches in Hungary started the keeping of registers much earlier, e.g. in 1712 in Kecskemét, and in 1741 in Szentes. Whenever the keeping of registers began in a particular town, copies of the registers are found in Family Search from the start.

The greatest advantage for research into data in registers provided by the Family Search database is that parish registers of baptisms are indexed: the main data, such as the names of the newborn and their parents, and the place and dates of birth and baptism are transcribed and made searchable. Even though the transcriptions of Hungarian names contain many errors (due to the fact that the volunteers who made them clearly did not have proficiency in Hungarian),[6] the fact that these data are searchable revolutionizes genealogical research, since instantaneous searches beyond one parish or town, extended to a whole county or country, can be carried out. This opens a new avenue of research for settlement history as well, as I demonstrate below through the example of a prominent Roman Catholic family of serfs in Szentes.

3. The Aradi family of Szentes

The Aradi family was a populous and prominent family of serf in the Roman Catholic community of Szentes in the second half of the 18th and first half of the 19th century. They were relatively wealthy, a fact documented amply in historical records preserved in the Szentes archives: according to local tax census data from the 1760s and 1770s, they owned extensive numbers of farm animals; two members of the family are listed as recipients of leased land in 1775; and no Aradi is included in the list of the "needy", drawn up by the town's council in

6 When I searched for my own ancestors in the registers of Szentes baptisms, I saw my own last name, *Fenyvesi*, misspelled at least two dozen different ways (e.g. *Fenysedi, Zenireki, Fenguesi, Fenyuesi, Fenyresi, Fenyarsi, Fenyezsi, Fenysi, Fengvesi, Fenyvasi, Fenysesi* etc.). I was able to discover the less transparent of these misspellings by searching for a Fenyvesi ancestor and their spouse's children by entering in the search fields the spouse's full name and the ancestor's first name only – when the spouse's name was more unique than a very common name, the search yielded the ancestor's children correctly. In July 2019, Family Search made it possible for users to correct errors in the indexing of data, in one baptism record at a time, in a fairly uncomplicated but multi-step process.

1791, or appears in the list of recipients of charitable donation of flour later in the same year.

As is evidenced by the Roman Catholic parish registers, the Aradis already resided in Szentes in 1751, when keeping of the registers began. So much so that the very first entry of the marriage register, dated January 24, 1751, features a Katalin, daughter of János Aradi, marrying Imre, son of Pál Tóth.[7] The first record of a baptism involving the Aradi family is the baptism of Mihály, son of János Aradi and Anna Vesszős (and youngest brother of Katalin Aradi, see below) on September 13, 1751.[8] The first record of an Aradi death documents the passing of the head of the family, János Aradi, at the age of 58, on February 17, 1762.[9] The first register records from 1751 are followed, in the next decade and a half, by several records of marriage (Anna Aradi marries István Tóth in 1754,[10] Péter Aradi marries Anna Janó in 1761,[11] in 1762 by the then widowed Anna Aradi remarries, becoming György Sebők's wife,[12] while János Aradi marries Katalin Csányi,[13] in 1765 Erzsébet Aradi marries János Félegyházi Török,[14] and, finally, in 1768 Márton Aradi marries Katalin Soós[15]), of baptism (in 1758 Mihály is born to János Aradi and his wife Judit,[16] whose last name is not recorded, and their record of marriage is not found in the Szentes register either; and the above mentioned young couples produce numerous children born), and deaths (in 1760 János Aradi's wife Judit dies at the age of 19)[17]. These young Aradis – Katalin, János, Anna, Péter, Márton, and Erzsébet Aradi – may possibly be the children of János Aradi and Anna Vesszős and older siblings to their young son Mihály, born in Szentes in 1751, but this cannot be proven on the basis of the Szentes register records: for instance, no parents are named in the marriage entries except Katalin's (which is in line with the other entries in the Roman Catholic register

7 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9SC-Y?i=5&cat=3540
8 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939X-SY9Z-XB?i=10&cat=3540
9 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-2T5V?i=15&cat=3540
10 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9S5-2?i=7&cat=3540
11 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9SD-Z?i=11&cat=3540
12 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9S2-K?i=12&cat=3540
13 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9S2-K?i=12&cat=3540
14 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9SZ-W?i=14&cat=3540
15 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9SJ-F?i=18&cat=3540
16 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939X-SY9Z-P9?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AXXC4-P7P
17 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-2TRD?i=13&cat=3540

of marriages at the time, only few of which noted parents of the marrying parties), and no register entries concerning the Aradis contain any reference to the place of birth or origin of family members.

However, a search for the name of the (supposed) father, János Aradi in the Family Search database for Heves County for the time period 1730–1745 yields the following of his children:

> Tarnaméra Roman Catholic register:
> Rozália:[18] daughter of János Aradi and Anna Tóth, residents of Zsadány, baptized May 7, 1731.
> János:[19] son of János Aradi and Anna Vesszős, residents of Zsadány, baptized March 5, 1737.
>
> Zsadány Roman Catholic register:
> Péter:[20] son of János Aradi and Anna Vesszős, residents of Zsadány, baptized July 16, 1742.

A record-by-record examination of the Tarnaméra registers shows that János Aradi is first mentioned in 1729, as godfather (along with Anna Tóth as godmother) to András, son of Tamás Juhász and Katalin Gere, residents of Zsadány, baptized on November 21, 1729.[21] The last entry in the Tarnaméra and Zsadány registers[22] is the Zsadány register of baptisms, where he is mentioned as godfather again on March 31, 1743, along with Anna Vesszős as godmother, to János, son of János Tapody and Katalin Mészáros.[23] A search for the entire Heves County for the period after 1742 shows no trace of any children born to János Aradi anywhere. His own birth is nowhere to be found in Heves County either: although registers in the county were kept only in Gyöngyös and Feldebrő before 1711, his birth is not recorded in either.

In sum, János Aradi lived in Zsadány between 1729 and 1743, where he first had his daughter Rozália born to him and his wife Anna Tóth, then sons János and Péter born to him and his second wife Anna Vesszős.[24]

18 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-XS9N-T9?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AXCLX-SYT

19 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-XS9F-RY?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AXCL6-PB2

20 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-XF8X-4?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AV4K9-BYN

21 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-XS9N-D8?i=50&cc=1743180; Based on this record, it is reasonable to suppose that János Aradi was born no later than 1711, since he was likely at least 18 years old when he became a godfather.

22 The keeping of registers began in Zsadány in November 1737, with records concerning Zsadány residents being kept in neighboring Tarnaméra before then.

23 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-XFZB-G?i=17&cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AV4K9-BTD

24 No records of either marriage were found in the Tarnaméra register, even though record keeping in Tarnaméra began in 1722.

No search of the Family Search database for the period of 1743 to 1750 for Csongrád County (of which Szentes is part) yields records of children born to János Aradi and Anna Vesszős subsequent to the birth of their son Péter. However, a search for the same period for Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County brings up three children born to them in Kiskunfélegyháza:

> Márton:[25] baptized October 5, 1744
> Márton:[26] baptized October 5, 1745
> Erzsébet:[27] baptized October 6, 1748

The Aradi couple appears in the register in Kiskunfélegyháza already before the birth of their son Márton in October 1744, as godparents to István, son of András Káló and Anna Deák, baptized on December 9, 1743,[28] whereas on January 6, 1744, Anna Vesszős is listed as godmother to Erzsébet, daughter of Mihály Tóth and Ilona Tompa.[29] After the birth of Erzsébet Aradi in October 1748, they again appear as godparents in the Kiskunfélegyháza register of baptisms to Anna, daughter of András Rádi and Anna Deák, baptized January 6, 1749.[30]

Beyond parish registers, János Aradi also appears in the list of house owner new residents in Kiskunfélegyháza in 1746 (Mezősi 1974: 356), but he does not make the list of new landowners, apparently due to his quarrelsome character:

> "Residents who disturbed the peace of the village by leading scandalous lives or thievery were 'suspended'. If the convicted person showed intention to improve, he was promised the possibility of being given land. One warrant reads as follows: 'Not considering János Aradi's previous bad counts, upon his many implorations, he is allowed to continue to reside in our settlement, given a garden on lease to make money, if one is found, but after this, if as much as a chicken or anything else is found taken by force, he will be suspended'." (Mezősi 1974: 358; my translation)[31]

25 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-XLG3-Z?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AX68K-6X2

26 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-XL2P-G?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AX68K-P29. Márton Aradi, born in 1744, likely died as an infant. It was a widely used practice at the time in Hungary to give the name of a child who died as an infant to a child born later into the family, especially if this name had family relevance.

27 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-XL2F-N?cc=1743180&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AX68R-7S6

28 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-XL2F-L?i=6&cat=442626

29 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-XL2F-L?i=6&cat=442626

30 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9398-XL26-4?i=19&cat=442626

31 The source of Mezősi's quote is the minutes of the Kiskunfélegyháza Council meeting I. 16. 1, from February 10, 1748.

To summarize then, the Aradi family left Zsadány sometime after their godson János Tapody's baptism in late March 1743, and settled in Kiskunfélegyháza before István Káló's baptism on December 9, 1743. Then they moved to Szentes sometime between Anna Rádi's baptism in early January 1749 in Kiskunfélegyháza and their daughter Katalin's marriage in January 1751 in Szentes.[32]

Of the young Aradis who moved to Szentes, János, Péter, Márton, and Erzsébet are attested as the children of János Aradi and Anna Vesszős, while Katalin is proven to be János Aradi's daughter (in the record of her marriage).[33] Thus, Katalin is likely the oldest child of the family to move to Szentes: if we suppose that she was at least 16 years old at the time of her marriage in 1751, then she was born in 1735 at the latest. János Aradi's daughter born in 1731 from his first marriage, Rozália, seems to have moved to Kiskunfélegyháza with her father and step mother: at the age of 16, she married Pál Danóczy on May 28, 1747,[34] with whom she subsequently had at least two children. In the case of Anna Aradi marrying István Tóth on November 24, 1754, the marriage record does not make reference to her father's name, but she was likely a member of the same Aradi family. If we suppose that she was at least 16 when she got married, then she was born in 1738 or before then, when the family was still living in Heves County (although the record of her death on April 26, 1765, in the register[35] puts her age at 26, which would indicate her birth year to be 1738 or 1739).

The extended Aradi family of Szentes were made up of the descendants of János and Márton, from among János Aradi and Anna Vesszős's children – they are the two sons who were given 1 and 3/8 units of land when the arable lands in Szentes were leased in 1775 under Empress Maria Theresa's Urbarium (Sima 1914: 313). The other two sons of the family, Péter and Mihály did not have descendants in Szentes: Mihály lived and died in neighboring Hódmezővásárhely, and his descendants lived here too, while Péter died at the age of 29 in 1772, and three of his six sons are documented to have died in Szentes as infants, while the other three did not marry or have children in Szentes, according to the parish registers.

The members of the Aradi family occupied a better than average place in the peasant community of Szentes in the late 18th and early 19th century, as signaled by a number of indicators. The most significant of these is probably the fact that they occupied positions in the town council: the oldest son of the first Aradi couple, János Aradi (1737–1794)

32 They likely arrived in Szentes in the fall of 1750, if we assume that Katalin Aradi's marriage to Imre Tóth was preceded by at least a few months of acquaintance.

33 No other resident of Szentes has the same last name at the time, i.e. Katalin is the daughter of the János Aradi in question.

34 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C3MJ-V9Y6-2?i=7&cat=442626

35 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-2T5Z?i=18&cat=3540

served as a juror on the town council in 1792 (Sima 1914: 352), while his son, another János Aradi (1773–1849) served as deputy head of the council a quarter century later, between 1818/19 and 1821/22 (Sima 1914: 434). Despite being a serf, János Aradi's (1737–1794) grandson (through son Mihály) János (1792–1865) married the daughter of local nobleman András Fridvalszki, Anna, on November 10, 1811.[36] Their relative wealth is well documented in various local tax censuses over the years, and is also indicated by the fact that three members of the family are listed among the serfs who suffered the greatest losses when farm animals were killed and crops destroyed in a cataclysmic summer storm on June 21, 1815 (Sima 1914: 444–445). In all, this event and a devastating flood the following year ruined the livelihoods of 212 serfs: the list of "flood and storm casualties" includes Mihály Aradi (1758–1818) and his oldest son, István Aradi (1782–1846), as well as the former's younger brother, József Aradi (1764–1827). Beyond their social and economic welfare (or lack of it), the Aradis left a mark on the material culture of Szentes by raising and maintaining a roadside cross, a typical feature of historical rural Hungary, in a move fairly rare for serfs (Major and Mód 2005: 34–36). The cross known as the "Aradi cross" (Zsíros 1990: 87) was erected in the late 18th century on the outskirts of town. The storm victim Mihály Aradi included this in his last will, left on the day before he died, February 7, 1818: "I leave 100 forints for the re-erection of the cross on the bank of the Veker stream".[37]

4. From personal histories to settlement history

The example of the Aradi family of Szentes demonstrates that digital genealogical research into each individual family can uncover an important piece of the settlement history of a town. If more family units like the Aradis are traced through meticulous research in the Family Search database, potentially more pieces of the process of the 18th century resettlement of towns in the Great Hungarian Plain, or for that matter, elsewhere, can be uncovered to form the metaphorical mosaic.

The earliest registers of a given town or village can be researched to find the couples who had children there, to see if perhaps they had had children born and registered somewhere else earlier. The combination of the two unique names of the parents should yield useable hits (unless both parents' last names were very common). Through uncovering personal settlement routes, perhaps the settlement history of a given

36 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1S-K9S4-P?i=86&cat=3540. After the Kiskunfélegyháza fiasco, not a single member of the Aradi family features in the index of the records of the county court proceedings at any point until the end of the preserved records in 1850.

37 In the original: "Veker parton lévő kereszt fának ujjonnan leendő fel állítására hagyok egy száz forintot" (Mihály Aradi's will: MNL, CSML, Szentes, V. 102. A, Szentes Város Tanácsának Iratai, (k) Végrendeletek).

town can be reconstructed, at least partially, or at least given important pointers to the characteristics of the process.

Such research is clearly hampered by a number of difficulties. The errors in the index of the Family Search database, coupled by spelling variants of names (such as *Aradi* vs. *Arady*, *Vesszős* vs. *Veszős* vs. *Veßős* in register entries concerning the Aradi–Vesszős married couple) and clerical errors in the original documents (such as the pitfalls involved in locally unusual names such as, for instance, the spelling of *Fridvalszki* in Szentes registers as *Frivóczki*, *Privóczki*, *Priróczki*, *Probóczki*, and *Krivóczi* etc.) make the process of such research frustrating, and its results sometimes dubious. Exactly when register keeping began in a given town or village also directly determines the outcome, since if no registers were yet kept in a place that settlers came from, there will obviously be no written trace of their births either.

5. Conclusion

Tracing and finding the earlier born children of the János Aradi's children has provided crucial evidence for uncovering where this early Roman Catholic settler in Szentes and his family came from and how. Meticulous research in the Family Search database has shown that János Aradi and his wife Anna Vesszős moved to Szentes (Csongrád County), together with their children, in 1749 or 1750, after roughly half a dozen years in Kiskunfélegyháza (Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County) in the 1740s, following about a dozen years in Zsadány (Heves County) in the 1730s and early 1740s. We now know that their move from Heves County to Szentes was carried out neither quickly nor in one step but over half a dozen years and via Kiskunfélegyháza in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. Due to the limitations of register keeping in Hungary at the time, neither spouse's origin (e.g. their place[s] or times of birth) are known.

Even though these results allow us to retrace the steps of the ancestors of a prominent Szentes peasant family by only two decades, it is my firm belief that the method outlined in this paper can be successfully used to uncover pieces of information that contribute considerable detail to the settlement history of places whose early modern social history may be as undocumented as that of Szentes.

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Loanwords and Expressions Denoting Hues in Old Hungarian

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ABSTRACT:
The study presents loanwords and expressions referring to hues in the old Hungarian language. It relays mostly on data collected from the *Historical Dictionary of Hungarian Language from Transylvania* (SzT.), and it also uses data from the *Hungarian Etymological Dictionary* (TESz.). A number of studies have been written about the Hungarian colour terms presenting usage and distribution, yet only few of them dealt with their etymology and their historical usage. The present paper focuses on the etymology of terms denoting hues, and aims to present reasons for naming and using these loan colour terms. The study investigates whether these terms appearing in old Transylvanian texts were loanwords, loan expressions or they were simply used as a result of linguistic interference.

Keywords: historical linguistics, the old Hungarian language, colour names, hues, conceptual basis of naming something, loanwords, linguistic interference

1. Introduction

Colours basically belong to our world. People's personal relationship to colours determines how they shape their environment, and there are also culturally bound colours irrevocably written into our consciousness. Colour terminology has stirred the interest of linguists since Berlin and Kay published their study on basic colour terms in 1969. Since then many scholars argued whether their findings about universal restriction on the number of basic colour terms is as universal as they claim. Recent researches (see only Kay–McDaniel 1978, Wierzbicka 1996, Simigné 2004, Kiefer 2007, Papp 2012, Székely 2018 etc.) have shown that, although there are language communities that use only two or three basic colours, they know and use many (non-basic) colour names. As for the origin of these basic colour names, some of them can

have foreign origin, although after a while the speakers perceive them as belonging to their own (basic) vocabulary. As for the etymology of Hungarian basic colour names, one can state that *fehér* 'white', *fekete* 'black', *piros* 'red', *vörös* 'red', *szürke* 'grey' (or their roots) belong to the Ugric and Finno-Ugric strata, *sárga* 'yellow' and *kék* 'blue' have Turkish origin, *zöld* 'green' Iranian (Alan), *barna* 'brown' Transylvanian Saxon and *lila* 'violet' German origin (TEsz., Kicsi–Kiss 2018: 64).

Colour names – as well as every element of a lexicon – can change over time. There are hues that we no longer use today, and there are some in today's usage that were not known centuries ago. Of course, basic colour terms are less exposed to diachronical change, but this cannot be ruled out (scf. Hardin–Maffi 1997, Haynie–Bowern 2016).

The present study does not aim to argue wether the collected data belong to the basic or focal colour terms. This subject is already discussed in literature (Papp 2012, Székely 2018). My aim is to present what loanwords, expressions were used by the Hungarian speaking community (mostly in Transylvania) between the 16th and 19th century to express different hues, and to establish whether these words are real loanwords or they are the results of linguistic interferences. I have selected only those words that were used as colour names on their own, and/or expressions in the case of which there are several problems in establishing their origin, or even meaning.

The analysed data belong to the black and white, yellow, brown, green and blue range.[1] These are the following: *blant* 'blond', *balán ~ balána* 'light, whitish', *balánka* 'light, whitish', *bonta* 'black and white spotted, dappled', *svárcgelb* 'blackish yellow, black-yellow', *samoa* 'chamois, light drab', *drapp* 'drab', *satinóber ~ szatinóber* 'satin ochre', *kastany* 'chestnut', *krispán ~ grispán* 'verdigris', *publikán* 'parrot green', *pápel(krin)* 'poplar green', *zelenik* 'green', *indi(gó)* 'indigo', *ultramarin* 'ultramarine', *lazúr(iom)* 'azurite blue, sky blue'. The historical data are collected from the *Historical Dictionary of Hungarian Language from Transylvania* (SzT.),[2] but – when it is necessary – I use other data, as well.

2. Words of foreign origin denoting colours

2.1. Words of foreign origin within the white and black range

Within the white range, two colour names of foreign origin appear in the 18th and 19th century in Hungarian texts: *blant* 'blond' and *balán* (~ *balána, balánka*) 'light, whitish'. There is another word included in this group: *bonta*, meaning 'black and white spotted/striped'.

1 I discussed the loanwords and expressions belonging to the red colour range in an earlier study (Fazakas 2020).

2 Examples from SzT. are preceded by a date (the year or period when the text was written) and (in square brackets) followed by location, archive number etc. The list of abbreviations can be found in volumes 1, 5 and 14 of the dictionary.

Among the Transylvanian data there is only one on the use of *blant* 'blonde' (1840: Jósa János *blant* haju [DLt 561 nyomt kl.]), which is most likely an interference,[3] the writer including a phonological variantion of the Germ. *blond* in a Hungarian text. Neither the word, nor its variations appear in the Hungarian speaking area.

More common is *balán ~ balána* pair, and its diminutive derivative: *balánka* meaning 'white-haired, whitish, light'. *Balána* and *balánka* appear in the middle of the 18th century:

> 1757: Egy *Balána* bogár szarvu 10 esztendos ŏkŏr szép jo borjával (!) ⎪Egy kiss *Balána* 7 eszt(en)dös unŏ borjával [Pusztasztmiklós TA; EMLt]; 1757: Egj *Balánka* bogár szarvú futtosott 3 es(zten)dŏs[a] [Pusztasztmiklós TA; FRK. – [a]Tehén],

the *balan* variation is recorded in the first half of the 19th century.

> 1833: Hodosi Popa Juvon … 1 Tehen … *balan* Rf. 41 [Torda; EMLt].

Based on the data, this colour name is used specifically as a characteristic of animal hair, especially for cattle. Bartha (1937: 13) – in the first part of her dissertation – states that the colour name *balán ~ belán* has Slavic origin, and it means 'blond-haired (sheep)'. Although, in her glossary (1937: 57) she publishes only Transylvanian data (naimly from Csíkszentdomokos /Sândominic/ and Gyergyó /Gheorgheni/, both currently located today in Hargita /Harghita/ county, Romania), and defines it as being of Romanian origin. In my opinion, the old Transylvanian data are of Romanian origin, on the one hand on the basis of the phonetic ressemblances,[4] on the other hand because there are many Romanian loanwords in old Transylvanian Hungarian related to animal husbandry (cf. only Bakos 1982). Although the Romanian word *bălan* 'blond' was and is used not only for light-haired animals, but also for people (cf. DEX)[5], the Transylvanian Hungarian community names only animals with this word. *Balána* and *balánka* variants can be considered loanwords, firstly because we have several data indicating their presence in Hungarian texts, secondly because *balánka* variant contains the Hungarian diminutive suffixe *-ka* which shows that the Hungarian community already adapted it. As for the

3 "(…) interference can function as an umbrella term for all linguistic phenomena that result from the fact that the bilingual speaker uses more than one language in everyday interaction" (Bartha 1999: 118).

4 The variations cited by Bartha (1937) and used in other parts of Hungarian speaking reagions having mostly the meaning of 'white/blond-haired (sheep)' probably come from Slavic languages (cf. sl. *bělŭ* 'white' – that gave the *belán* variation, and the surname: *Béla*).

5 The Romanian word comes from the sl. *bělŭ* 'white' (DEX).

use of *balán* form, I would rather call it interference, partly because it is (phonetically almost) identical to the Romanian word,[6] partly because the owner of the cattle – judging by his name ("Popa Juvon") – is a Romanian native.

Bonta 'black and white spotted/striped' can be found in a 17th century data in SzT.:

> 1638: Az télben elmúlék esztendeje, hogy az Marosra megyek vala Látám szememmel,hogy ezt az Varga Miklósnét Nagy Miklós az csizmadia Lőrinc háza falához támasztotta vala, ugy bastolja vala. Én még megkiáltám *Bonta* legyen borjútok de alkonyodatkor vala [Mv; MvLt 291. 142a–143b].

This word appears in Hungarian texts already in the 16th century[7]. It can be found in the 19th century written CzF.: *fekete-bonta* 'black dappled, that has black spots', and according to the most recent Hungarian Dictionary, Nszt. it is used nowadays in some dialects (https://nagyszotar.nytud.hu/dictsearch.html?entryid=9897). Bartha's (1937: 33) glossary contains a *bunta* phonetic variation that cannot be found in Transylvanian (historical) data. As for its origin, TESz. states that it is probably of german origin (cf. ENHG. *bunt* 'black and white spotted or stripped'; MHG. *bunt*, Sp. Saxon *bontich*, Tr. Saxon *bainjdech*). As the word is missing from the dialects spoken in the Middle Ages in Transylvania and in Szepes county, the word should have arrived from the Eastern German literary language (cf. the inflected germ. *buntə*). The colour term was used especially for animals, as were the terms *balána ~ balán(ka)*.

2.2. Words of foreign origin within the yellow and brown range

There are five terms in the historical data that refer to shades, hues of yellow or brown: *svárcgelb* 'black-yellow', *samoa* 'chamois', *drapp* 'drab', *satinóber* 'satin ochre' and *kastany* 'chestnut'.

The compound colour name *svárcgelb* (meaning 'blackish yellow', 'black-yellow') can be given from a single text written in the 19th century:

> 1852: Két felé nyilo ajto *Schwartzgelb* Szinŭ [Dés; DLt 923].

The source of the data is the same one that provided us with *blant* 'blonde' discussed earlier. This singular occurence in Hungarian texts suggests that it is a result of language interference: the writer uses a

6 The Hungarian phonetic system does not have [ə] vowel, usually it is changed by [ɒ].

7 Cf. TESz. 1544: "Az bonta *louat*" (OklSz.)"

German word in a Hungarian text. This conclusion is also supported by its spelling.[8]

Samoa 'chamois, light drab; shammy leather (coloured)' can be considered a loanword. It appears in texts from the late 18th and 19th centuries. There is one source in which it is used independently as a colour term:

> 1823: *Schamoa* viseltes karton köntös [LLt Csáky-per 601. L. 1].

In other texts

> 1797: Egy *Sámoa Szin* Kreditor Szoknya vállastol, a vállán ezűst poszomănt [Mv; Told. 19]. 1823: *Schamoa szin* viseltes Merino kŏntŏs [LLt Csáky-per 601. L. 1]

samoa is followed by a noun: *szín* 'colour' showing that one uses it as a colour and not as a fabric name.[9] The literature (Bartha 1937: 59, Földvári n.d.) clearly traces it back to the French 'shammy', 'shammy leather', 'chamois'. The word is still used today, especially in the paper industry (Földvári n.d.).

A hue close to the colour of *chamois*, is *drapp* 'drap, beige', which first appears in the 18th century Transylvanian data:

> 1768: Egy *Drap*: d'or aranyos vég materia szines virágokkal 19 sing [Nsz; TGsz 51].

The editors of SzT. identified it as a colour name (see 'pale hazel'), although probably it is used as a fabric name. It cannot be decided clearly because of the incomplete text and unclear punctuation. I tend to interpret the expression *drap d'or* as a 'golden drab/fabric', therefore *drap* means 'fabric' and not the colour of it, because the Hungarian *aranyos matéria* 'golden fabric' seems to double the French term. This would be supported by the fact that our first reliable data – according to TESz. – is from 1843[10], since the noun *szín* 'colour' beside the word *drap* shows clearly that it is not the fabric but the colour that we are dealing with. The first Transylvanian text containing this compund word was written a few decades earlier

8 Although the spelling is generally not probative, the similarity of the spelling is striking (cf. germ. *schwarz*), the *tz* letters are only a written version of the sound [t͡s]. See the variants of the surname: *Schwartz, Schwarz*.

9 The terms *szín* 'colour' and *színű* 'coloured' are used nowadays as well, even besides basic colour terms, cf. *piros szín* 'red colour', *piros színű* 'red coloured'.

10 Cf. TESz. "1843: A csavargó pecsétes *drap-szin* kabátban … hadakozott karjával (P. Aurora 64: NSz.)"

1807/1818: 16 sing *drap Szin* fáin atlacz [Mv; Told],
see also 1861: vilagos *drapszin* Peruvien fain [Kv; LLt].

Therefore, as with other colour terms, *drap* was primarily a fabric name, and later – based on the characteristic colour of the fabric – it became a colour term. Bartha (1937: 13, 62) considers that it has an English origin, TESz. mentions it as a wandering word.[11] It entered the Hungarian language probably through the input of German speakers. The *drappszín(ű)* 'drap coloured' compound was common at the beginning of the 19th century, and that is probably a partial substitution, translation of Germ. *drappfarbig* and then the first term became independent. However, it could also have originated from the noun *drapp* 'fabric', because this is a common semantic change regarding colour terms (TESz.).

Satinóber ~ szatinóber 'satin ochre' nowadays is a colour name in the orange colour range, but the collected historical data prove that by the end of the 18th century it was used as a pigment or dye, paint name. The only 18th-century source

1789: *Satinober* festék Scatulyástol 1 font és 26. Loth
Rf – xr 17 [Mv; ConscrAp. 26]

comes from a pharmacy's inventory, and clearly refers to paint. The term comes from the German language where it is a compound noun: *Satinocker* (Germ. *Satin* 'silk' and Germ. *ocker* 'the golden ochre colour of the pigment'). However, it is not the term that Hungarian speakers borrowed, but the Bavarian-Austrian variant: *Satinober*.

Kastany 'chestnut' hints at a brownish tinge, and it is present only in one historical source:

1627: Ket *kastany* dolomany [BLt].

The SzT. entry is *kastany*, but it can be also read with an [s] instead of [ʃ]: *kasztany*. Based on its phonetic structure, it can be of German origin (cf. Germ. *Kastanie*). In the Hungarian language area, it occurs only in this single text, therefore it is probable a result of linguistic interference. The word *gesztenye* 'chestnut' comes from a German, more exactly from a Bavarian-Austrian regional variant of the mentioned word: *kestene, kesten* 'chestnut', and in the 13th century it is already present in the Hungarian language, denoting the chestnut tree (TESz.). During the 18th century, in combination with the noun *szín* 'colour' or the adjective *színű* 'coloured', it became a colour name: *gesztenyeszín(ű)* 'chestnut colour(ed)'.

11 Hungarian linguistic literature distinguishes two types of international words. The term *vándorszó* 'wandering word' is used for words that spread orally by successive borrowing, the term *nemzetközi szó* 'international word' is used for words that spread simultaneously mostly by written texts.

2.3. Words of foreign origin within the green range

Based on historical data, there are four shade names in this group: *krispán* (~ *grispán*) 'verdigris', *publikán* 'parrot green', *pápel(krin)* 'poplar green' and *zelenik* 'green'.

Krispán ~ grispán appears in the very first sources having only the meaning 'copper rust'.

> 1558 k.: Chinald vly modon[a] Minth en az elǫttis Mondottam az *grispan* felǫl es ebǫl chinald az vtan az Mynyomoth [Nsz; MKsz 1896. 282 – [a]A görögfejéret]. 1571: Joarany festek Mwhöz valo. Vegy *grispant* loth 1 [Nsz; MKsz 1896. 356]; 1746: Egy papirosacskóban *krispány* [Vargyas U; DanielAd. 255].

As a colour name, it is present from the middle of the 17th century in a compound word: *krispánszín* 'copper rust colour(ed), verdigris'.

> 1651: Egy *chrispani zin* Angliaj pozto zoknia [WassLt 72/2 Vass Judit kel.]; 1683: Vettem három sing kék remeket adtam Lengjel Lászlonak ajándékon … Ull. 3// *Crispán szinből* [UtI]; 1825: Egy *Krispán szinre* festett két felé nyilo záros Almarium [Dés; DLt 595]; 1830: egy *krispán szin* rójtos Nyak keszkenő [Msz; Told. 19]

In the 18th century, *krispánszínű* 'verdigris, copper rust coloured' appears in Hungarian texts:

> 1785: ezen házakban vagynak szép kementzék … *Krispán szinű* joféle nagy Kályhákbol [Kv; Born. XXIb 20/47 Kornis Krisztina conscr.]. 1849: két *krispán szinǔ* aranyazatt Fin'siák | tíz darab *ǔ*veg pallok *krispán szinűek* [Szentbenedek SzD; Ks 73/55]

The word has a German origin (cf. TESz.: "bav.-austr. *grīnšpān, grīšpan, grinšpān* 'copper rust, verdigris', Trans. Saxon. *graišpō.* It arrived in the Hungarian language by multiple borrowings. The older *grispán ~ krispán* variants come from the Bavarian-Austrian language, the newer *gruspán, grünspan* from ENHE. The *g ~ k* duality is a result of a sound substitution"). In the early, 16th century Transylvanian texts the first consonant of the word is *g*, while later the starting consonant is *k*. None of the variants *kirispán, girispán, krüsbán* cited by MTsz. and ÚMTSz. are present in Transylvanian historical data.

The word *publikán* 'colourful-feathered bird', 'parrot' was borrowed by Hungarian speakers in the 16th century, yet one does not know which was the giving language. And it had already appeared as a colour name, as well (TESz.). The SzT. provides us two texts (one of 17th, and one of 18th century) in which *publikán* indicates a colour: 'yellowish-green':

> 1629: Egj *puplican* lancz modo(n) czynalt gemant gjvrv [Gysz; LLt Fasc. 155]; 1743: *Puplican* Sellyemmel, czeruzàval irás utan fejeressel varrott Agjra valo két Parna hajjaival [Marossztkirály AF; Told. 19].

In our other data, the word is joined with *szín* 'colour' or *színű* 'coloured', forming a compound word:

> 1657: Vahion mas egy Pappla(n), kinek az keőrűletj *publican szin* atlacz, az keözepe penigh Aranias tarka materia [Mihályfva NK; JHb XXII/142]; 1776: egy *Publikán színű* nestel prémezett egy arany varrással és kőtőt arany gombokkal úgy egy zőld bársony Nusztal prémezett [Hr]; 1811: egy Ujjas kurta Karako *Publikan szin* [Mv; LLt]

There is also another compound and a phrase that can be traced back to the 16th century: *publikánzöld* 'parrot green' and *zöld publikánszínű* 'parrot-coloured green'

> 1589: Egy dupla taffota[a] *zeold puplican zineő* [Kv; KvLt Inv. I/2. 48. – [a]Szoknya]; 1595: Egj scharlat beo felseo ruha *pupplican zeold* tafotaual bellet f. 55 [Zsombor K; Somb. Sombori László reg.]

These show us that the language community often used the 'parrot' or 'colourful-feathered bird' meaning of the word *publikán*, thus *publikánzöld* 'parrot green', *fűzöld* 'grass-green', *égkék* 'sky-blue' are similarly structured. And the phrase *zöld publikánszínű* 'parrot-coloured green' suggests that the writer of the 16th century text wanted to emphasize the greenish and not the yellowish hue of the colour.

Pápelkrin 'poplar-green' is borrowed from German (cf. Germ. *papelgrün*):

> 1802: *Papel Krin* posztó [CsS].

This usage is due to linguistic interference on two reasons: firstly because it is the only occurence in time, secondly because the word *pápel* 'poplar' is already present at the end of the 18th century as a part of a compound word: *pápelszín* 'poplar colour(ed)' to denote a specific green tinge:

> 1789: Asszony bundájának Nestyit fizette le, más Esztendőn pedig ă Praetendens Asszony *Pápel szin* Bundáját vette [Ne; DobLev. III/658. 5a] | Egy *Pápel szin* Kaput, Lajbli és Nadrág [Mv; ConscrAp. 21]; 1817: A' Prédikáló Székre való világos zöld v. *Pápelszín* Tafota, arany rojtal bé szegett Takaró [Marossztkirály AF; UnVJk].

It is problematic to establish the origin of the last word of this group: *zelenik* 'green'. The context suggests a colour name:

> 1620: Egy vegh *Zelenik* poszto szeltúl f – /13 [KvLt II/69 VectTr 5–7].

The word phonetically matches the Slavic *zelenъ* 'green' adjective. However, this form can only be historically documented in Slovene language (TESz.), and *-nik* of the end of the word is a suffix forming occupational names in Slavic languages. In the old and modern Slovak dialects the occurence of *zelník* 'gardener' is known (https://onomastikion.blog.hu/2012/08/10/zelnik), and *Zelenik* is a common family name even nowadays. Since there is a single source, and it cannot be compared with data from other regions or ages, I assume that *zelenik posztó* from the 1620 tax census is either a 'gardener's baize' or a 'green baize'.

2.4. Words of foreign origin within the blue range

Based on historical data, there are three words of foreign origin denoting a shade of blue: *indi*(*gó*) 'indigo', *ultramarin* 'ultramarine' and *lazúr(iom)* 'azurite blue, sky blue'.

The latest of these to enter the Hungarian language is *ultramarin* 'ultramarine'. It can be first documented at the end of the 19th century with the meaning of 'paint'

> 1881: a mészbe vettem *ultra marint* [Etéd U; NkF].

PallasLex identifies it as a powder of azurite, which is one of the ingredients of ultramarine paint. Bakos (1994) writes about its Latin origin. I consider it an international word, although there is no doubt that the Latin minearological terminology could have had an influence on developing Hungarian terms.

According to TESz. the noun *lazúr* 'lazurite' is a wanderword that can be traced back to Latin roots; however, in the Hungarian language, it comes directly from German (cf. Germ. *die Lasur* 'lazurite', 'sky blue', TESz.). As a type of paint name, it can be traced back to the 16th century, and it had a formal variation: *lazúriom*:

> 1558 k.: Az *lazuriomoth* Igy chinald: Vegy kenesǫth 2 rezth, kenkóueth 3 rezth[a] [Nsz; MKsz 1896. 383. – [a]Folyt. a fels.]; 1679: Indi, Minium, Arany Sárga, *Lazur* … festékek ket fazekben [Uzdisztpéter K; TL. Bajomi János inv. 43]

In the same century, – according to SzT. – it developed another meaning, namely 'azure emanel':

> 1589: *Lazur* vagion Eòzweseggel a ki Niom p. 24 [Kv; KvLt Vegyes I/2. 46 Pekreczy Annának, Dési János ötvös özv-ének lelt.].

It was part of a compound word: *lazúrfesték* 'azurit paint':

> 1670: Az padlast *Lazur festekkel* megh lineaztam ment ra egy font Lazur f 1 [Kv; ACJk 70a].

As an independently used colour name, it can be documented in the middle of the 18th century:

> 1754: *Lazur* Tobák tarto Flor. hung. 5 [Nsz; Told.].

Nevertheless, as a colour name, it is most often present near *szín* 'colour' or *színű* 'coloured' forming a compound word.

> 1743: Egy *Lazur szín* Sellyem Creditor Szoknya [Marossztkirály AF; Told. 19], 1816: *Lazur szin* ŭbberock … 7 Rf [Kv; Born. IV. 41], 1756: A Kis Aszszonyok házába … nagyon az ablakok … melegittetik nagj széllyes *Lazur* vagy fekete' *színű* kivűl fűttő kemenczével [Déva; Ks 92. I. 32], 1848: egy rongyos *lazurszinü* kaput [DLt nyomt. kl].

There are two texts from the 19th century that contain the compound colour name: *lazúrkék* 'azure blue':

> 1831: 38 Sing *Lazur kék* poszto … 114 Rf [Kv; Born. O. Ia]. 1850: Egy *lazurkék*, sárga streifos bársonyripsz lájbli [Mv; DE 2].

Kék 'blue' certainly has a clarifying role here. This phenomenon is interesting, because *lazúr* has been used as a colour name for several centuries already, and the writer of the text considered it important to add the basic colour name to it. This may have happened because the inventory taker was familiar with the *lazúr* word's meaning of 'fabric'.[12]

12 In the 17th century, a type of fabric named *lazúr* was already widespread, as the data prove: 1621: 30xbris 1620 Biro vram, es Tanachi paranchiolattiabol veotte(m) Beòlòny vram, es Machkassy Ferenct vra(m) szamokra Niolcz singh faylandist, *lauzurt* (!), singit p(ro) f 3 [Kv; Szám. 15b/XI. 281]. 1630: Dési János hozot lengiel Országbol 6. fél végh *Lazurt* tt f 9 d – [Kv; Szám. 18b/IV. 58]. Although – more than likely – it was a blue fabric, the old Transylvanian Hungarian texts provide us two attributive phrases: *kék lazúr* 'blue fabric' and *szederjes lazúr* 'blackberry-coloured fabric': 1629: egy *szederjes lazur* pap dolmant, kek bagaziaval bellettet [Kv; TJk VII/3. 171]; 1645: Egy *Kek Lazur* Czapragh kŭrŭl Galannal premezet [LLt Fasc. 125]; 1673: Egi *szederies Lazur* belletlen mente [WassLt Borsai István hagy.].

At the beginning of the 19th century, there is a participle form *lazúrozott* 'blue-painted':

> 1801: Egy Hoszszuko 4 Szegeletű Feketén *Lazurozot* Kredencia [Vargyas U; CsS]; 1810: Egy kékre szinelt (: *Lazurozott* :) jóféle arany tojás kerekségű Frantzia Piksis [DLt 368 nyomt. kl].

The last word of the group is *indi ~ indigó* 'indigo', which – according to TESz. – appears in Hungarian at the beginning of the 17th century. It is an international word that spread in European languages coming from Spanish.[13] It seems that – according to TESz. – the variations present in old Hungarian came from different languages. The direct source of *indigó* could be the German language; the *indi* variant could come from Fr. *inde* 'indigo', the old *indik* form might have its origin in old Germ. *indich* and Lat. *indicum* (TESz.). I consider that, since the Hungarian community was not in direct contact to the French speaking community, it is more probable that the Germ. *indich* and Lat. *indicum* is the direct source of the *indik* variant. Since the *-k* ending might be interpreted as a plural suffix in Hungarian, the *indik* variant disappeared and *indi* remained the main form in the 17th and 18th centuries. The data collected from SzT. show only two forms: *indi* and *indigó*.

The first record mentioned in TESz. was written in 1690; however, there are earlier records in SzT.:

> 1679: *Indi*, Minium, Arany Sárga, Lazur, Latka, Rudni festékek ket fazekben [Uzdisztpéter K; TL. Bajomi János inv. 43]; 1688: Egy Masa jo és kemény *Indi festéktöl* f 12//00[a] … Egy Mása Lágy *Indi festéktől* f 8 [BfR Vect. 19 – [a]A fizetendő harmincad(vám)].

Historical data show that the *indi* variant was present at the beginning the 18th century as well:

> 1711: 1 Font Latka … 4// – … 3/4 Font *Indi* … 2/28 [ApLt 5 Apor Péter inv.].

Indigó variant and *indigófesték* 'indigo paint' compound appear later:

> 1789: *Indico* (!) *Festék* 1 font 11 Loth Rf 5 xr 12 [Mv; ConscrAp. 59]; 1843: A K Monostori Papíros Gyár … által adatik a Haszon bérlő Urnak *Indigo* Tizenhárom lot minden edény nélkűl [KmULev. 2].

13 Spanish speakers took over the Lat. *indicum* 'indigo (dye/paint)'. The name suggests that the indigo dye came from India to Europe. (TESz.)

3. Conclusions

The study analysed fifteen words that name shades of white and black, yellow, brown, green, and blue, which can be considered as having foreign origin in the Hungarian language. Among the analysed words, only one has an unknown origin: *publikán*. It appeared in the 16th century, and primarily referred to 'parrot' or a 'bird with coloured feathers', but soon functioned as a colour name. Hungarian speakers borrowed *balána, balánka* from Romanian, and *samoa* from French. *Ultramarin* comes from Latin, and there is a hue name of presumably Slavic origin: *zelenik*.

There are several terms of German origin. Some of them – *bonta, satinóber, krispán ~ grispán* – are loanwords entering Hungarian at different ages. Four words, compounds, could be the result of linguistic interference: *blant, kastany*, *svárcgelb* and *pápelkrin*. The *balán* variant of the aforementioned *balána, balánka* can also be considered interference. In addition, there are two wandering words (*drapp, lazúr*) that came to the Hungarian language through the German language, and an international word (*indigó*) that also might have come directly from German.

Most of the terms analysed entered Hungarian as colour names. There are only a few words that later became colour terms in Hungarian. Such is the case of *publikán* – the naming process and semantic change is tied to the prototypical colour of the bird. Such is also the case of *kastany* identified as an interference that it is used as a colour name based on the characteristic colour of the chestnut. Similarly, *pápel, pápelszín* is related to a plant. The loanword *krispán*, originally meaning 'copper rust', became a colour term in Hungarian. If we interpret *zelenik* as a colour name, and we assume that in Slavic languages it is an occupational name and does not refer to a colour, then this word is used as a colour name only in the Hungarian text cited.

In order to express a wide range of hues, each language community not only creates its own terms, but borrows words, expressions, terms, as well. The borrowed terms arrive in the borrowing language as colour names, or the borrowing community starts to use them as such. It is interesting to see how these loanwords integrate or not into the already formed system of a specific terminology. The present paper covered only a few terms, yet the analyse of the whole historical corpus could give us more answers to: how, why and when we borrowed colour, hue names, which of them arrived in the Hungarian language because they were fashionable, how long they were used, which of them has disappeared and has been replaced, or stayed and still is used in a similar way. The planned paper will include the findings of cultural history as well, because every community seeks to link colour and shade names to everyday experiences, and to culturally bound things.

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Two Relative Contact Phenomena in the Language use of Hungarians in Transylvania

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ABSTRACT:
The paper discusses two peculiarities of language use generally taken to be relative contact phenomena in case of Hungarian in bilingual, non-dominant context: the preference of analytical linguistic variants and non-standard plural forms. The data come from two sociolinguistic surveys conducted in Transylvania (in 1996 and 2009). The surveys were carried out with the participation of a representative sample of speakers. The 1996 survey was conducted with a quota sample (N = 216 in Romania and N = 107 in Hungary) and the 2009 sample with a representative sample (N = 4058 in Romania). The hypothesis that Romanian-dominant bilingual speakers tend to exhibit relative contact phenomena to a larger extent was supported with respect to these two issues. The results show that the occurrence of these phenomena is determined both by the language competence of the dominant language and by the regional characteristics of the bilingualism. The results confirm the possibility that the spoken-language properties under discussion are relative contact phenomena.

Keywords: contact phenomena, minority varieties of Hungarian, analytic form, non-standard plural usage, sociological variables

1. Introduction

The effects of the state languages in the Hungarian linguistic regions surrounding Hungary manifest themselves not only in absolute contact phenomena (lexical borrowing) that are caused by bilingualism, and are different from the language varieties used in Hungary, but also in grammatical structures that can also be found in the language use of monolingual speakers in Hungary, albeit the frequency of such elements in these surrounding regions is either higher or the context in which they are used is wider: they are used in more language varieties and registers. These peculiarities of language use can be seen as relative contact phenomena because their presence cannot be explained merely

through the effect of the majority language, although this effect also cannot be ignored if the use of said structures is commonplace in the donor language. Relative contact issues differ from absolute contact phenomena in their nature: these structures may be present in a language usage independent of external influence, but the bilingual situation may weaken or strengthen linguistic structures under the influence of contact situation (Lanstyák 2003: 56–57, Benő 2008: 42–43, Nábělkova 2014: 70). The non-standard use of plural forms, the use of analytical structures, the frequency of diminutive forms, and feminization in the language varieties used in these regions can be seen as such relative contact phenomena.[1]

Based on this, we can form the hypothesis that the frequency of the aforementioned phenomena are closely related to bilingualism, and it is possible that speakers who are state-language dominant exhibit these relative contact phenomena to a higher degree.

In my study I present the process of analitization and the use of plurals in the Hungarian spoken in Transylvania based on the 1996 RSS study and the survey conducted by the Institute for Minority Studies in 2009.[2] Previously, I had written about feminization and the use of diminutives using a similar approach (Benő 2016).

2. The prevalence of analytical structures

As it is known, one of the typological characteristics of Hungarian as an agglutinating language is that it is more synthetic than Slavic or Romance languages in which analytical features are more commonplace. The tendency of Hungarian to use more compact structures can also be seen in that it expresses certain concepts using compound nouns more frequently than Indo-European languages (Göncz 1999: 151, Csernicskó 1998: 122, Benő–Szilágyi 2005: 157–160, Péntek–Benő 2020: 282–286). In the context of bi- and multilingualism, the effect of

1 The RSS study conducted by Miklós Kontra in 1996 looked at many different types of relative contact phenomena. For an analysis of these see Csernicskó 1998, Göncz 1999: 146–195, Lanstyák 2000: 200–226, Szépfalusi et al. 2012: 203–224, Fancsaly et al. 2016: 177–195. The crosstabs of the RSS research led by Kontra, Miklós ("The Sociolinguistics of Hungarian Outside Hungary." Research Support Scheme group grant (RSS/HESP No. 582/1995) of the Higher Education Support Programme) were published in *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* (Kontra–Péntek–Szilágyi N. 2010, 2011).

2 In 2009, the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities (http://ispmn.gov.ro) in partnership with the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute and the Max Weber Institute for Social Research conducted a sociological and sociolinguistic survey among the Hungarians living in Romania. The title of the survey was *Demographics, Stratification, Language Use – Second Wave*. The number of respondents was 4058. The data obtained from the multi-tiered survey which used randomized sampling can be seen as representative of Transylvanian adult population (over the age of 18). The survey focused on the linguistic habits and patterns found in multilingual social situations (see also Horváth 2014).

the surrounding languages can manifest itself in the fact that analytical structures can appear with a higher frequency in the Hungarian language varieties found in the regions outside of Hungary than in those found within it. The 1996 survey shows that the speakers of Hungarian who live as minorities judge more frequently analytical structures natural or acceptable than those living in Hungary (Göncz 1999: 173–175). The participants of the survey had to choose between synthetic and analytical linguistic variants in terms of naturalness, familiarity and well-formedness in cases such as *tagdíj – tagsági díj* ('membership fee')*; buszozás – utazás busszal* ('riding the bus')*; hegedül – hegedűn játszik* ('playing the violin')*; szépítkezik – szépíti magát* ('putting on make-up') etc. All of these linguistic variables could be found in all of the regions, but the surveyed minority speakers living in contact situations chose the analytical option on average more often than the speakers living in Hungary. Given that this difference is statistically significant in the case of most questions, it is very possible that the explanation that points to the indirect effects of the official language is correct. In the 1996 study, the answers given by Transylvanian speakers to four tasks were significantly different from the answers given by speakers of Hungary (K_503, K_507, K_603, K_613) (**Table 1**). In the case of all four tasks a greater proportion of Transylvanian speakers judged the analytical structures to be more natural and acceptable than Hungary-Hungarian speakers.

Task	**Acceptance of analytical structure**			**Acceptance of synthetic structure**			**Significance level**	
		Trans	**Hu**		**Trans**	**Hu**	**chi-square**	**p**
K_503 (*tagsági díj/ tagdíj*)	N	137	30	N	78	75	34.9307	0.000
	%	63.6	28.6	%	36.3	71.4		
K_507 (*utazás busszal/ buszozás*)	N	113	21	N	103	86	31.4968	0.000
	%	52.3	19.6	%	47.7	80.4		
K_603 (*légi teret/ légterét*)	N	61	10	N	153	97	15.200	0.000
	%	28.5	9.3	%	71,5	90.7		
K_613 (*szépítette magát/ szépítkezett*)	N	133	21	N	79	84	51.3405	0.000
	%	62.7	20	%	37,3	80		
	Average %	**51.7**	**18.6**	Average %	**48.2**	**80.6**		

Table 1. The acceptance of analytical and synthetic structures by speakers in Transylvania (Trans) and in Hungary (Hu) (data showing significant differences) (1996, RSS-study).

The survey conducted in 2009 in Transylvania also contained a question which gave the options of *utazás busszal – buszozás* ('travelling by bus') (124.1: "Az alábbi mondatpárok közül válassza ki azt, amelyiket

természetesebbnek érzi" – 'Choose from the following sentences the one that you feel is more natural':

Un-om	*már*	*ez-t*	*a*	*sok*	*busz-oz-ás-t.*
be.tired-1SG	EMPH	this-ACC	the	much	bus-VDER-ADER-ACC

Un-om	*már*	*ez-t*	*a*	*sok*	*utazás-t*	*busz-szal."*
be.tired-ISG	EMPH	this-ACC	the	much	travelling-ACC	bus-INS

'I am very tired of all this travelling by bus'.

In this case, 44.2% (N = 1745) of the Transylvanian participants felt that the analytical structure was more natural, and 51.6% (N = 2036) chose the synthetic form (163 participants, meaning 4.2%, chose the option *I don't know*). Therefore, just like in the survey from 1996, this study also shows that Transylvanian speakers have a high preference for analytical structures. If we look at the relationship between linguistic, social and regional parameters, based on the data we can see *regional differences*: more of those living in a diaspora (in the counties of Arad, Máramaros/Maramureș, Brassó/Brașov, Temes/Timiș, Beszterce/Bistrița and Fehér/Alba) found the analytical structure more natural (56.7% [N = 417] compared to those living as a majority in their region – in Székely Land – where 38.3% [N = 492] chose the analytical option). The significance level of this relationship: chi-square = 62.606, df = 2, p = 0.000, N = 3763. We also find a statistically significant difference between the options chosen based on *type of settlement*. Those living in villages chose the analytical structure less frequently: 40.6% (N = 756), whilst 47.4% (N = 988) of those living in cities found the analytical structure familiar (chi-square = 28.114; df = 2, p = 0.000). The relationship between *how well the participant speak Romanian* and how frequently they chose the analytical structure supports the interpretation of analitization as a relative contact phenomenon. The data show that the better the participants' language skills in Romanian, the more natural the analytical form seems to them: 48.4% of those who judged themselves as *perfect* at speaking Romanian chose the analytical structure, and 49.2% of those who deemed themselves *very good* at it chose this option. 44% of those who felt that they *don't know Romanian very well, but they can make themselves understood*, and 36% of the ones who felt that they *mostly understand, and have difficulty making themselves understood* chose the analytical option as more natural. This same percentage for those who felt that they *barely understand a few words* is 32.7%, and for those who do not understand Romanian at all, it is 29% (**Figure 1**).

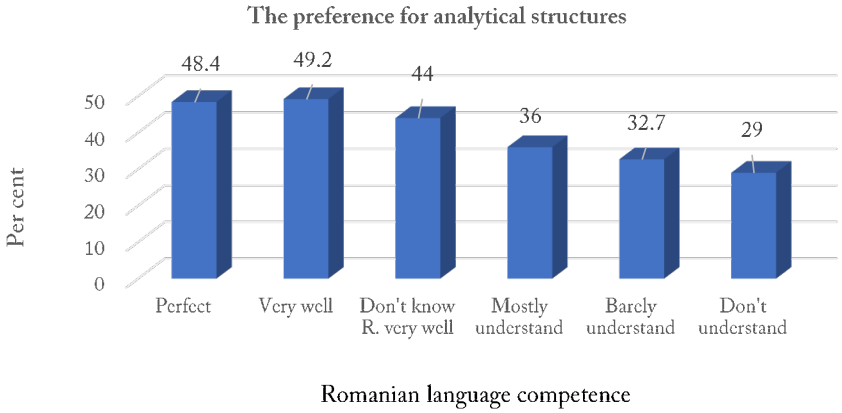

Figure 1. The preference for analytical structures and Romanian language competence

The answers given to the question regarding the language used at home (101.1) also confirm the correlation between the frequency of Romanian language use and the preference for analytical forms. 43.5% (N = 1417) of those who said that they *only speak Hungarian* at home, and 40.3% (N = 73) of those who said they *mostly speak Hungarian* at home chose the sentence that contained the analytical structure. This same percentage for those who chose *half in Romanian, half in Hungarian* is 46.9% (N = 90), and for those who chose *mostly in Romanian* it is 55% (N = 55). The language used at home and the preference for an analytical or synthetic structure shows a statistically significant correlation (chi-square = 175.536, df = 5, p = 0.000, N = 3758).

3. The use of plurals

It is well-known that in the Hungarian standard variety the nouns designating objects comprised of more parts have a tendency to be used in singular form: for example, body parts that come in pairs (*fáj a lába* '(she) has aching foot' [lit. her foot ache] instead of *fájnak a lábai* 'she has aching feet' [lit. 'her feet ache']), fruit- and vegetable names when they mean a category, especially if they come after a quantifier (*sok banán*-SING 'lot of banana' and not *sok banánok*-PL 'a lot of banana') (Göncz 1999: 154, Lanstyák 2000: 213, Péntek–Benő 2020: 299). Usually, the noun is in plural form after the quantifier in the surrounding Indo-European languages. Thus, in Romanian the structure that has the same meaning as Hungarian *sok banán* also contains a plural form: *mult**e***-PL *banan*e-PL.

The Hungarian structures containing the words *sok* ('a lot of'), *kevés* ('few') and *többi* ('other') are especially prone to have a plural noun due to the effect of Romanian in Transylvania. This phenomenon can be observed in the language use of primary and secondary school students as illustrated in the following examples:

„*A* ***többi*** ***testvér-e-i-m*** *még nem jár-nak iskolá-ba.*"
The other-PL sbiling-PX3SG-PL-POSS-1SG yet not go-3PL school-ILL
'My other siblings don't go to school yet.'

„*Minél* ***keves-ebb*** ***baj-ok*** *van-nak, an-nál boldog-abb vagy.*"
More few-COMP problem-PL be-3PL that-AD happy-COMP be-2SG
'The fewer problems there are, the happier you are.'

„*Nagyon* ***sok*** ***dolg-ok-at*** *gyárt-ott-ak, ami szennyez-t-e a levegő-t.*"
Very many thing-PL-ACC make-PAST-PL which pollute-PAST-3SG the air-ACC
'They produced a lot of things which polluted the air.' (Bohonyi 2011: 59)

Both the form of the agreement with the plural noun that is different from the variety used in standard Hungarian, and the unusual use of nouns can be seen as a relative contact phenomenon, given that it does appear in the varieties used in Hungary, but to a much lesser extent than in the neighbouring regions. This might point to the effects of bilingualism.

The RSS-study conducted in 1996 also measured habits of language use in sentences where the participants had to choose whether the singular or plural form seems more natural, and in the sentence-completion exercises they had to decide which form to pick: *Nézd, milyen szép banánt/banánokat árulnak az üzletben.* ('Look, what beautiful banana/bananas are being sold in the store.') *Erzsi néninek fáj… a szív…, Kati néninek meg a láb… is fáj…* ('Aunt Erzsi's heart… hurt…, but Aunt Kati's leg… also hurt…'). A total of 9 tasks were aimed at the study of agreement in the case of plural forms (K_505, K_506, K_511, K_534, K_601, K_604, K_606, K_611, K_626). In Hungary's neighbouring countries, speakers living in a minority situation chose to use plural forms more frequently than the participants who live in Hungary, although the difference is at times small and statistically insignificant. We can hypothesize that this is also a case of relative contact phenomenon, because the speakers who are actively bilingual or exhibit state-language dominance used non-standard plural forms more frequently, as demonstrated by the data from Vojvodina, Serbia and from Southern Slovakia (Göncz 1999: 185, Lanstyák 2000: 214). A somewhat higher proportion of participants from Transylvania chose the plural answer at the relevant questions than the participants from Hungary (on average the proportion of Transylvanian respondents who chose plural forms was greater with 6.35%). A statistically significant difference can be seen in the answers given to the question nr. 611 by the Transylvanian participants compared to the participants from Hungary („Karikázza be az [1]-et vagy a [2]-t, aszerint, hogy melyik illik jobban a mondatba! A fiúk még tavaly jelentkeztek… [1] *tűzoltóknak*, [2] *tűzoltónak* 'Circle [1] or [2] depending on which fits better in the sentence! The boys signed up to be … last year. [1] *fireman* [2] *firemen*'). In this case 37.1% (N = 79) of the Transylvanian participants chose the plural form. In the case of

the participants living in Hungary this number is 15.1% (N = 16). The significance level of this difference is: chi-square = 16.3737, df = 2, p = 0.0000, N = 319). The difference between the answers given at question nr. 506 also shows a significance level close to statistical significance.

K_506: „Az alábbi mondatok közül karikázza be az egyiket, azt, amelyiket természetesebbnek érzi."

Q-506: Out of the following pairs of sentences circle the letter corresponding to the sentences you consider to be more natural sounding.

[1]	*A mai*	*gyerekek*	*attól*	*válnak*	*önzőkké,*
	The today-ADER	child-PL	that-ABL	become-3PL	selfish-PL-TRA
	hogy	*mindent*		*megkapnak.*	
	that	everything-ACC		PVB-get-3PL	
[2]	*A mai*	*gyerekek*	*attól*	*válnak*	*önzővé,*
	The today-ADER	child-PL	that-ABL	become-3PL	selfish-SG-TRA
	hogy	*mindent*		*megkapnak.*"	
	that	everything-ACC		PVB-get-3PL	

'Modern children become selfish because they get everything [that they want]'.

Here 40% (N = 86) of the Transylvanian participants chose the plural form compared to 29.9% (N = 32) of the participants living in Hungary. The significance level of this difference is: chi-square = 3.1350, df = 2, p = 0.0766, N = 322.

In the questionnaire used for the 2009 survey we can also find the following question related to the use of plural forms: „Az alábbi mondatpárok közül válassza ki azt, amelyiket természetesebbnek érzi – 'Choose from the following sentences the one you feel is more natural':

1. Néz-d,	*milyen*	*szép*	*banán-t*	*árul-nak*	*az*	*üzlet-ben.*
Look-IMP-2SG	what kind	beautiful	banana-SG-ACC	sell-3PL	the	store-INE
2. Néz-d,	*milyen*	*szép*	*banán-ok-at*	*árul-nak*	*az*	*üzlet-ben*."
Look-IMP-2SG	what kind	beautiful	banana-PL-ACC	sell-3PL	the	store-INE

'Look, what beautiful bananas are being sold in the store.'

The second option is the non-standard form in Hungarian. 71% (N = 2785) of the participants chose the standard form, and 25.3% (N = 2785) the non-standard form. (146 participants – meaning 3.7% – chose to answer *I don't know*.) The percentage of the participants choosing the non-standard form in the 1996 RSS-study was 12.6% (N = 27).

A correlation can be discovered between the *Romanian language competence*, *the frequency of the use of Romanian* and the preference for standard or non-standard forms. Those who deemed that they speak mostly in Romanian with their friends chose the sentence containing the non-standard plural more frequently than average (37.8% more frequently). The participants who deemed that when they count in their heads, they do so in Romanian half the time or most of the time also

had a higher preference for non-standard plural forms. In the case of the former, 30.9% (N = 60), and in the case of the latter 45.1% (N = 37) preferred the non-standard plural (chi-square = 21.726, df = 4, p = 0.000, N = 3714).What also shows the correlation with Romanian language skills is that 32.9% of those who answered that they switch fairly frequently to Romanian when they are speaking in Hungarian also chose the non-standard plural form.

We can also find a correlation with the level of education. Those whose highest level of education is at a primary or secondary school level felt that the non-standard plural is more natural, on average by 28.8%. That percentage in the case of high-school-educated respondents is 24.9%, and the proportion for the university graduates is 18.3%. (The chi-squared test shows that this correlation is statistically significant: chi-square = 19.871, df = 2; p: 0.000, N = 3794).

The correlation between *religion* and the studied linguistic parameter is also statistically significant (chi-square = 38.236, df = 5; p = 0.000, N = 3614). The members of churches that have Hungarian religious ceremonies (Catholic, Calvinist, Evangelical-Lutheran, Unitarian) were less likely to choose the non-standard option (on average 22.8% of them did), than those belonging to a church that uses the Romanian language (Orthodox, Greek Catholic), where the non-standard option was chosen by 39.3% (**Figure 2**). It seems possible in this case that religious ceremony can also be perceived as a platform for language use, because the churches that have ceremonies exclusively in the state language provide yet another platform for the use of the official language, and thus strengthen the dominance of Romanian in the language use of bilinguals. The case is also linked to linguistically and ethnically mixed marriages, since most of the Hungarian speaking believers belonging to these churches come from mixed marriages.

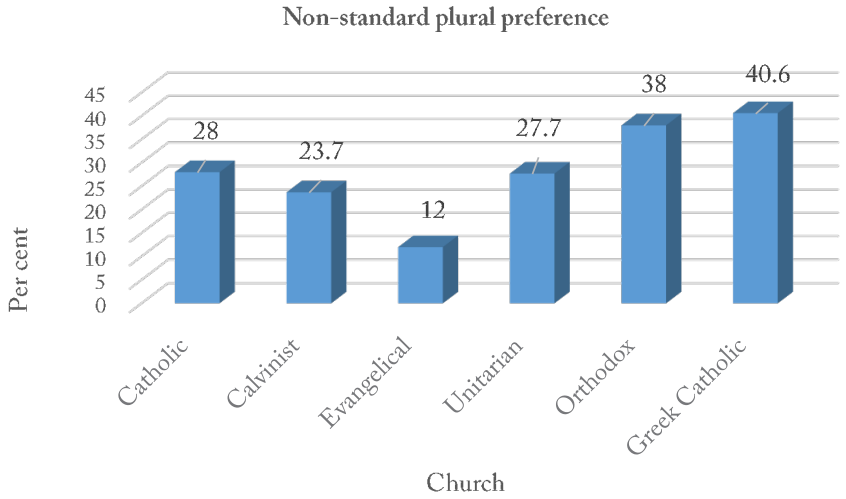

Figure 2. The levels of non-standard plural preference and religious denomination (2009)

4. Conclusions

The results of the study confirm the hypothesis that the preference for analytical linguistic structures and the more frequent use of non-standard plural forms in the regions surrounding Hungary can be viewed as relative contact phenomena, as is the case with feminization and the more common use of diminutives (Benő 2016). The correlation between choosing the aforementioned forms and Romanian language skills points to this. A preference for analytical structures and non-standard plural forms can be seen in the case of those participants who deemed themselves to have greater Romanian language skills and use Romanian more frequently. The difference in terms of preference for analytical structures between participants living in diaspora and those living as a local majority in their region is also linked to this: those living in the diaspora had a higher tendency to choose the analytical structure. Similarly, the preference for non-standard plural forms shows a correlation with religious denomination: members of the churches that provide religious ceremony exclusively in the state language (Orthodox, Greek Catholic) were more likely to choose the non-standard plural form.

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Reinventing Linguistic Ethnographic Fieldwork During the COVID-19 Pandemic[1]

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ABSTRACT:
Our paper discusses the methodological implications of an ethnographic linguistic research project in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. Starting from pertinent definitions of linguistic ethnography and interpretations of the field, we offer a demonstration of the process in which this particular participatory research project was faced with the fact that the field became unavailable and inaccessible for the non-local participants. We argue that moving the research online in this case does not mean a shift to "virtual ethnography" (Hine) or "digital ethnography" (Varis), but provides an example for the research site as an emerging construct which adds to the complexities of ethnographic research.

Keywords: linguistic ethnography, fieldwork, field, Csángó Students' Hall

1. Introduction

When schools were closed due to the coronavirus pandemic in Romania in March, 2020, our research team had just started working on a new project entitled *Language revitalisation, socialisation and ideologies among youth living in the Csángó Students' Halls*. Funding was approved in December 2019, we had a kick-off meeting on January 16, 2020 in Budapest and the following day, seven of us travelled to Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda to start fieldwork. At that time we struggled with the usual problems an international and interdisciplinary research group

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faces: different academic backgrounds, different takes on the issues on hand, different fieldwork experiences and the most important of all: a commitment to participatory research and all its intricacies.

Fieldwork did not go exactly as planned, nevertheless, it seldom does. When we left Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, we knew we had to work on building trust in the local participants, on persuading and assuring suspicious gatekeepers and parents, on exploring the data and on understanding the context. Participatory projects were set in motion, dates of further meetings were set. Then the pandemic hit and suddenly the world came to a standstill.

Our paper gives a methodological overview of the difficulties of doing linguistic ethnographic research with this particular case in mind, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

2. Ethnography, linguistic ethnography and possible digital approaches

It is not our goal to provide an overview of the dynamic relationship between (socio)linguistics and ethnography, nor the epistemological and philosophical shifts that transformed the two fields of study (such as the post-structuralist turn or aspects of glocalisation) and gave momentum to their combination in linguistic ethnography, as many have done this before us (see Rampton, Maybin, and Roberts 2014; Snell, Shaw and Copland 2015). We wish, however, to stress that ethnography today is understood as "far more than a complex of fieldwork techniques" (Blommaert and Jie 2020: 19), being "part of a programme of scientific description and interpretation" (Blommaert and Jie 2020: 19).

According to Rampton, Maybin, and Roberts, "meaning takes shape within social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically" (Rampton, Maybin, and Roberts 2014: 4), while "language appears in reality as performance, as actions performed by people in a social environment" (Blommaert and Jie 2020: 22). These are some of the reasons why linguistic ethnography proved to be the pertinent paradigm for description and interpretation in the case of the research project in question, and not only because of methodological considerations.

As it will be shown later, in the very first months of our project we were forced to expand our scope to the online: what was planned as an offline fieldwork with a participatory approach (although we considered possibilities of integrating online linguistic practices of the pupils in the project) was soon to become a research conducted exclusively online. Therefore, we believe it is imperative to consult the existing theoretical and methodological literature on online ethnography.

During the past two decades, a new body of research has emerged that focuses on the digital approaches in linguistic ethnography,

adjusting themselves "to be able to address these new environments and their influence on communication, social relationships and societies at large" (Varis and Hou 2019: 229). Varis and Hou distinguish two waves in the history of exploring language on the internet and computer-mediated communication: the first wave focused solely on the medium, and thus "data were just conceptualised in isolation" (Varis and Hou 2019: 230) from their discursive and social contexts, and online communication was imagined as being "distinct, homogeneous and indecipherable to outsiders" (Androutsopoulos 2008: 420). The second wave of such research was greatly influenced by "pragmatics, sociolinguistics and discourse studies, emphasising situated language use and linguistic varieties" (Varis and Hou 2019: 231).

Recent studies have stressed the integrated nature of contemporary internet, where digital communication plays an integral part in people's lives (Varis and Hou 2019: 232). In his paper *From groups to actions and back in online-offline sociolinguistics*, Blommaert (2019) talks about the online-offline nexus, meaning that "the online world is now fully integrated with the offline one", where all of our activities are somehow and to some extent affected by online infrastructures. Although we agree that the complexity of any social phenomenon can only be explored in this online-offline nexus, moving our project online intended to access local knowledge in a computer-mediated environment.

3. The presentation of the research project as it was originally outlined

Our research project carried out over a four-year period (2019–2023) investigates how the mostly high-school students living in the Csángó Students' Hall from Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda get along in the Hungarian-speaking environment of a Transylvanian town, how they relate to their Moldavian homes, and how they develop the language and other practices of belonging and differentiation (Bodó and Lajos 2020: 42). The research aims to address the sociolinguistic characteristics of the day-to-day social interactions of the speakers participating in the Moldavian Hungarian language revitalisation programme.

The current project has numerous antecedents as over the last one and a half decade, members of the research team carried out several studies in Moldavia (Bodó 2012; Heltai 2014; Laihonen, Kovács, and Snellman 2015; Bodó, Fazakas, and Heltai 2017; Bodó and Fazakas 2018; Laihonen 2018) and other methodologically relevant projects (Bodó, Kocsis, and Vargha 2017; Bodó, Szabó, and Turai 2019). We view our research as both interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and transsectoral, this latter aspect being realized through the active involvement of local participants in the decision-making processes regarding our research. The novelty of the project is conferred by the fact that researches in the East-Central European region aimed at dismantling hierarchies

between the researcher and the researched by involving those concerned in the academic work are quite rare.

As we have stated above, our project is intended to be a linguistic ethnography; thus, it is determined by the desire to reflect the perspective of its participants. As our objective is to observe the day-to-day interactions of those participating in language revitalisation, we do not intend to create and enforce contexts of language use controlled by the researchers. Therefore, the pupils participating in the research are free to decide when they make recordings of their interactions, whether they hand these over to us fully or partially, or at all. They are also invited to provide their very own insight in interpreting these recordings, that being so, the participants will be the ones to identify language features deemed socially meaningful in the interactions, and to categorise them as belonging to Hungarian, Csángó, Romanian or any other named language.

We also aimed to carry out a research that is participatory in its nature which implies the active involvement of the participants, thus enforcing what Appadurai calls "the right to the tools through which any citizen can systematically increase that stock of knowledge which they consider most vital to their survival as human beings and to their claims as citizens" (2006: 168). We started with the intention of offering space and platforms to the participants to formulate their own interpretations regarding the processes of language revitalisation that influence linguistic identity, shaping this way the academic analyses on the matter.

In the following we aim to reflect on how the original plans of this participatory ethnographic project had to be restructured due to a "participant" we did not take into account: a global pandemic and the resulting political, social and administrative decisions that were made in order to protect the population and mitigate the multifaceted effects of the new coronavirus.

4. Interpretations of the field of research

Blommaert and Jie point out in their guide on ethnographic fieldwork that "the 'field' is a chaotic, hugely complex place" (2020: 13). This is true in our case as well. The ethnographic approach means that fieldwork is "an intellectual enterprise, a procedure that requires serious reflection *as much as* practical preparation and skill" (Blommaert and Jie 2020: 14).

The object of investigation was imagined as spatially and temporally somewhat determinable: in the four years of the project we were to conduct our fieldwork mostly in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda among Csángó pupils who used to attend Hungarian classes in their respective villages in the Moldavian region of Romania, either in schools or as extracurricular activities, classes organised as part of the efforts to revitalise the Hungarian language in those areas.

The group of participants was planned to include non-local participants (the ones with the academic background, what non-participatory projects would call the researchers) and the local participants, pupils currently living in the student halls, the educators responsible with running the institution, as well as any others who the participants were open to include in the group (teachers, parents, pupils who used to be part of the language revitalisation programme but decided to continue their education closer to home and in Romanian, etc.). We were aware of the fact that the group of participants would dynamically change every school year as the pupils who graduated were to leave while new participants would arrive, and we were also open to the local participants' decisions to leave the project and eventually re-join it.

In hindsight, another of Blommaert and Jie's statements proved to be of particular importance to us. According to the authors, "everyday life will never adjust to your research plan; the only way forward is to adapt your plan and ways of going about things to the rules of everyday reality" (Blommaert and Jie 2020: 13) and with the outbreak of the pandemic, Romanian schools were closed and teaching was to be continued online. That meant that the Csángó pupils learning in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda had to move back home, and that the students' halls were also closed. The field as we had conceptualised it, became inaccessible, and in order to fulfil our research obligations we had undertaken, we needed to come up with new ways to come in contact with each other and the field.

Previously planned meetings and workshops of the research group were moved online, and thus the non-local participants of the research project could join regardless of their location. In an effort to stay connected with the research field, we invited a key figure in the administration of the students' hall to take part in these online discussions. Relying on her expertise of the field, we started working on potential online projects which could give some kind of an access to local knowledges, as it became obvious that communication with minors in this context would imply limitations the participants were not able to overcome.

5. Reinterpreting the field in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic

In the spring of 2020 we asked this key figure to connect us with former pupils who used to live in the Csángó Students' Hall in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda during their high-school years. As a result, between May 7 and May 23 we facilitated a number of 8 conversations with a total of 23 participants adding up to 8 hours of recordings.

Reaching out to the former students started with the key figure from the administration making contact, informing them about the project, and asking them to sign up for a conversation in groups of 3 or 4. Once the dates and times of these events were fixed, we emailed each of the

former students providing them with more information about the project, the ethical aspects involved and the fact that two of the non-local participants would join them in these conversations. We wanted to make sure that the non-local participants did not outnumber the local ones, thus in one instance when only one person signed up for a given date, only one of the non-local participants was present. The conversations took place on a secure institutional Google Meet platform, and after the explicit consent of each of the participants, they were recorded via the built-in option of Google Meet. The recordings are stored on the project's Google Drive that can presently be accessed only by the non-local participants.

The former students were asked to talk about their current lives, the circumstances of their decision to move to Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda as high-school students, their lives in this town and their memories of the students' hall. During the conversations we found out that some of them are currently living abroad, we had participants joining from London, Budapest, Germany, France, and from different regions of Romania: university centres, smaller towns and even their respective native villages in Moldavia where some of them live or returned due to the quarantine.

The narratives of their high-school years and their shared experiences opened up new possibilities of interpreting our field of research and urged us to formulate questions regarding this particular case: what is the field? Who and what defines the field? Is it the people? As we have stated above, we were aware of the fact that the group of local participants would dynamically change with every school year. Is it the geographical location or even the building itself? The students' hall is located in a Transylvanian town, however, several different buildings were home to the institution in the past few years, as its permanent location is still being finalised. Is it the institutional context? There have been significant changes in the entities responsible for the maintenance and funding of the students' hall. Is it the social interactions and practices of the participants? Definitely yes, however these can only take place in the particular ideological context provided by the institution itself. Moreover, "locally performed social actions can involve far more people than those actually present locally" (Blommaert and Jie 2020: 137).

Further questions can be formulated regarding the ways in which non-local participants interact with the field: do their homes become parts of the field during an online conversation? Where are the boundaries between the private and the public spheres and does the separation of "the field" from "home" as a tenet of the practice of fieldwork still hold? According to Gupta and Ferguson, "in an interconnected world we are never really 'out of the field'" (1997: 35), and ethnographers need to come to terms with the fact that notions of "here" and "elsewhere" should not be assumed to be features of geography, but "sites constructed in fields of unequal power relations" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 35).

6. Conclusions

With the COVID-19 pandemic, the localities of fields that were taken for granted are indefinitely inaccessible. These circumstances are forcing researchers to reinterpret their notions of the field and to make use of existing methodological knowledge stemming from scholarly work that focuses on the integration of online and offline fields, even though we do not consider our project part of digital ethnography. The evolution of the pandemic and of the measures taken in order to contain it prevented us from carrying out fieldwork as originally planned. As we are also bound by the commitments undertaken in the government-funded research grant, we had no choice but to expand our research online, involving new participants.

With the above in mind, we argue that the conversations we had with the former students can in fact be interpreted as an integral part of the offline fieldwork we started in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda in January. All of the "local" participants in the online conversations used to be part of the context of inquiry: they participated in the language revitalisation programme at home, during their high-school years they lived in a building that was home to the institution at that time, and their social interactions and practices were defined by their new realities and expectations they faced in both their public and private lives.

On the one hand, as the students' hall itself is currently not functioning, the field is equally inaccessible for everyone: it will emerge in the memories of present and past local participants alike, be they students who finished high-school 10 years ago or only last year. On the other hand, it is important to stress that although the conversations facilitated with former students seem to appertain to classical approaches in linguistic ethnography, the non-local participants of the research project decided to continue work with the ones willing to join. We have had several reflexive discussions with two of the former students of the students' hall, who participated in the conversations in May and we are in the process of elaborating two projects reaching out to groups of participants who used to partake in Hungarian language revitalisation processes.

In our subsequent reflexive meetings with the two former students, now participants in our research project, they shared that the conversations we had in May "did not feel like research": one of them said that even though she is in a daily contact with the girls she used to share a room with in the students' hall, they do not usually talk about their lives in Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, and that remembering those years was a definitely positive, nostalgic experience, while the other one (who was actually in the kitchen cooking during our conversation in May) even compared remembering her high-school years to the practice of confessing.

Varis and Hou state that "instead of being predefined, a field emerges in the process of the ethnographer's reflexive engagement" (2019: 234),

and this is one of the most substantial outcomes of moving our research online: what started as a merely methodological issue, resulted in new dimensions of approaching the field itself, further nuancing our future ethnographic interpretations and the aspects of participatory research. All of the above consolidate our understanding of such emerging research fields, where computer-mediated communication facilitates practices of remembering and being "there" without actually being there.

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"DO YOU WANT TO BE KRAMPUS?" Santa Claus, globality and locality of Christmas tradition[1]

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ABSTRACT:
In this paper the author argues that the Christmas holidays, notwithstanding their international standing as a religious and commercial season, are most productively understood as a *glocal* phenomena, a concept intended to link the local with the global in a dialectics of homogenization and particularism. Juxtaposing data from Hungary and Eastern Europe, the author provides an anthropological analysis that highlights the transformative power Christmas traditions and Santa Claus have played in diverse cultural settings since the late twentieth-century. For even the imposition of communist ideology, conceived as a globalizing force, failed to eradicate images of Santa Claus; both his persona and that of his devilish imp, Krampus, survived such ruthless attempts at indoctrination with only the slightest of modifications. In view of its economic and cultural significance, this paper argues in favor of international recognition of Saint Nicholas day, December 6th, as a glocal civil holiday.

Keywords: Christmas, Santa Claus, globalization, local responses, Hungary.

Scholars periodically deploy the linked sites of Santa Claus and Christmas to investigate cultural meanings and their variants (Miller, "Christmas: An anthropological lens" 409–442; Whiteley, *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*). Several historical and anthropological analyses have attempted to anchor these phenomena to globality as instances that integrate historical, social, and economic aspects of late-capitalist cultural experiences (Forbes, *Christmas: A Candid History*; Hauschild, *Weinachstmann. Die Wahre Geschichte*; Miller,

1 A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the conference 'Saint Nicolas et ses Acolytes – Anthropologie des figures hivernales européennes,' Université de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 17 December 2018. I thank the organizers for inviting me, and the participants – especially to Matthäus Rest who offered me invaluable ideas about Krampus-revival -, for exciting discussion. I am grateful to Catherine Portuges for helping me to finalize my original ideas.

Unwrapping Christmas; Nissenbaum, *The battle for Christmas*; Weber-Kellermann, *Das Weihnachtsfest. Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Weihnachtszeit*; Whiteley, *Christmas, ideology and popular culture*). A unique example attesting to the interfusion of local elements with international trends may be found in Inuit (Eskimo) society in which European Christmas traditions are mixed with tribal winter solstice celebrations. Santa Claus's first appearance in 1930 as a white postal apprentice masquerading in front of the tribal assembly must indeed have been quite shocking to native members of the community (Laugrand and Oosten, "Quviasukvik, the celebration of an Inuit winter feast in the central Arctic" 212-213). While Inuits retained the practice of their traditional songs, drum dances, games and dog races, by the late 1930s Scottish whaling jigs and reels became a fashionable trend at Christmas balls.

Another remarkable instance is located in Japan, a country of fewer than one percent of Christian followers, where Christmas has become a conspicuous example of "Western cultural imperialism and a major secular and commercial festivity (Kimura and Belk "Christmas in Japan: Globalization Versus Localization" 326). Japanese families and communities concocted Euro-American elements with no consistency as to their original meanings and connections; "real" Santa Clauses are exported from Norway and Finland to create a memorable consumerist holiday. The Japanese consciously selected the familiar character of Santa with full awareness of his status as outsider and foreigner (*gaijin*); yet his side-kick, the devilish Krampus, has not yet enjoyed the privilege of participating in this glocal tradition.

As these examples suggest, the concept of glocal is not a novel invention, a fact I can assert from personal experience. In the early 1990s, when much discussion took place concerning the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the ensuing capitalist rebuilding of Eastern Europe, myself and my co-editor accidentally 'invented' the concept of 'glocal.' This is what we wrote in the introduction to our book, *Beyond Borders*: "From the clash of the global and local forces in the post-modern and post-communist setting more particularly, we witness the emergence of the new cultural concept: 'glocal' (Kürti and Langman, "Introduction: searching for identities in the new East-Central Europe" 2). Prior to this sentence, we cited a little known article by the Dutch anthropologist Peter Kloos (1936–2000) on globalization and local violence published in 1993 (Kloos, "Globalization and localized violence"), followed by a citation from an insightful essay by the Haitian-American scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1949–2012) on global cultural blending ("Anthropology and the savage plot"). Neither of these fine anthropologists mentions glocal or glocalization as these constructs were not circulating within anthropology at that time. As it was then, we only understood glocal as a breakthrough political transformation sweeping across Eastern Europe with serious consequences for individual and social identities and cultural processes.

Previously, Roland Robertson has described changes that emerged after the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of communism as "glocalization," defined as the interpenetration of universalism and particularism ("Glocalization," 25-44). However, that term was first used analytically by the Belgian geographer, Eric. A. Swyngedouw ("The Mammon quest. Glocalisation**,"** 39-67). In further confirmation of the ontology of glocalization, the concept was actually invented in Japan during the late 1980s to indicate benefit to the world market from the utilization of local (Japanese) business opportunities; "global localization" was abbreviated to yield 'glocalization,' or *dochakaku* in Japanese (Tulloch, *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, 134). Its origin notwithstanding, glocal and glocalization could not, I would emphasize, have transpired without the terms global and globalization.[2] Yet in spite of its longevity in social sciences, globalization as a concept is fraught with contradictions, originally anchored to western capitalist penetration into distant regions of the globe, primarily to counter earlier ethnocentric expressions such as colonialism and imperialism. Since the 1960s, however, globalization has been updated increasingly to mean cultural Americanization. The overwhelming influence of the American media industry is unquestionable in the creation of a mediatized new world culture since the 1980s. But this is only part of the story. As Eric Wolf argues cogently, "we can no longer think of societies as isolated and self-maintaining systems. Nor can we imagine cultures as integrated totalities in which each part contributes to the maintenance of an organized, autonomous, and enduring whole" (*Europe and the people without history, 390).* This view aligns with that of the anthropologist Ulf Hannerz who argues that our one world culture: "is created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory ("Cosmopolitans and locals in world cultures" 37)."

The emergence of glocal ideas, objects and processes requires two or more combined patterns: a fusion of global and locale networks, home-grown or native traditions together with international influences. Locally the timing and meeting points of these systemic forces may at first be rejected, only to be accepted in incremental phases later on. For we know that few 'novelties' are welcomed immediately as people tend to be reluctant to accept—or, for that matter, often abhor -- foreign goods and ideas. Community values, class, ethnic, religious and gender systems may differently and fundamentally influence the process (Sabbar and Dalvand, "Semiotic approach to globalization" 81-82). As the modus operandi matures value judgment may shift from negative to positive. However, conflict between the new and the customary may produce resistance in certain communities and mistrust between elite cosmopolitans and commoners, often igniting counter-ideologies such

2 For a succinct treatment of glocalization from various perspectives see Victor Roudometof (*Glocalization: A critical introduction*) and Neil Brenner *(*"Global Cities, Glocal States").

as nativistic revivals, or back-to-the-roots movements. As Arif Dirlik has noted ("The global in the local" 38-39), there is also the danger that localism may be anchored to hegemonic nationalism and romantic nostalgia for past greatness and cultural traditions that imprison the increasingly global present in the past. As I will demonstrate below with reference to Christmas tradition, international processes and cultural transfers are never even, unidirectional and final. Instead privileging globalization as an abstract universal ideology, we may view glocality as "dialectic between the global and the local. Particular contexts still matter even in an epoch of intensifying globalization; the global and the local interpenetrate, rather than necessarily competing in a zero-sum game" (Robert Holton, "Some comments on cosmopolitanism and Europe" 33). Expressions of hybridization, deterritorialization/re-territorialization, indigenization, and even grobalization (from growth and globalization) have been with us in the past three decades to deal with the issue at hand here. Without doubt, universalization and particularism describe concrete cross-cultural examples as validation, yet the question arises: are these simply different ways of understanding the multitude of international developments that progress at times in unison yet also independently across states and world regions.

In order to unpack the myriad meanings of global-local interplay of that tradition, I emphasize its three analytical concepts in addition to devout piety: familiar context, gift-economy, and mythic panoplies that play out in truly glocal festival milieus. Founded upon the original celebration of a fourth-century wonderworker Catholic bishop, Saint Nicholas, modern Christmas embodies one of the most fundamental and overarching relationships: a multitude of interaction of children and parents, relatives and neighborhood, lay and religious communities, and eventually the state. However, trying to compare Santa Claus to the deeds of the legendary Saint Nicholas may open up a vast field of anachronistic misunderstandings yet local variations in Christmastide both reinforce and challenge these interactions as for example attested by variedly "wild" and "unruly" Austrian Krampus-revival, an invented tradition that in turn influenced American media industry especially cinema (Rest and Seiser, "The Krampus in Austria"). Strangely but not unexpectedly, that carnivalesque winter solstice holiday, when rambunctious youth, dressed in rags and collecting food while frightened others by creating noise and anarchy, has maintained its image of piety, love and tenderness as mainstays of ecumenical family values. As Gary Cross has argued the modern holiday has been tamed from their unruly origins mainly through a process of domestication, whereby the focus of the event has migrated from Lord of Misrule celebration to evoking and maintaining a sense of wondrous childhood innocence (Cross "Holidays and New Rituals of Innocence" 83-120).

The second, most controversial aspect is gift-giving, a ceremonious offering of presents and its reciprocity, items of social bonding, identity maintenance and social stability (Godelier, *The enigma of the gift*, 5;

Sinardet and Mortelmans,"The feminine side to Santa Claus" 124-126; Schwartz, "The social psychology of the gift" 1-11). Whether small or large, provided by close relatives or friends, the millennial custom of gift-giving is anchored to larger economic cycles of production, distribution, and consumption. Yet it is obvious that global commercialization of Christmas season cannot persist without support of the church, and assistance by multinational conglomerations and the state. However, this is not a modern invention, as in German speaking Central Europe Christmas markets (*Christkindlmarkt)* have been an enduring national tradition; in Vienna for instance it survived for more than seven-hundred years (Lock, "Christkind vs. Santa Claus" 69). Despite condemnation of clergy and conservative leaders, furious holiday spending is not simply beneficial for the economy: it creates overspending and causes consumerist gender anxiety about buying and giving specific fashionable items (Sinardet and Mortelmans "The feminine side to Santa Claus"). For instance, one study of children's letters to Santa Claus in the United States finds that over half the requests were brand-specific, with nearly 85 percent of the letters mentioning at least one brand name (Otnes, Kyungseung, and Young "All I Want for Christmas" 183–194). There are obviously age and gender differentiations, girls for example tended to have a wider range of brand requests than boys, who seemed to favor popular items.

Another fundamental aspect concerns myths and popular religiosity balancing as they are on the fine line of rationality/irrationality axis. Those accepting scientific views concerning current mythical beings – such as vampires, zombies or Santa Claus – as ridiculous most likely reject the element of the "sacred" or "half-belief" that are so profoundly interwoven in our daily existence (Campbell, "Half-Belief and the Paradox of Ritual Instrumental Activism"). All this leaves us with perhaps one of the most intriguing questions: how has such a concoction of pagan, sacrosanct, and contentious winter holiday been undergoing constant renewal as a global familiar consumerist Christian popular festivity? How were sordid disguised men, who caused havoc and fright among locals, turned into mild and bizarre characters and presently into digital monstrosities? I concur with the statement of Gerd Baumann who has convincingly argued that rituals not only reaffirm nostalgic social bonds and values but "may equally speak to aspirations towards cultural change" ("Ritual implicates 'Others'" 99). Christmas glocalization entails, first and foremost, selections and choices: ultimately, it is about integrating and challenging local, national and international phenomena.

Growing up in Hungary I remember vividly that we were members of the pioneer movement, a youth organization of political indoctrination existing all over Eastern Europe under communist ideology. One of its mainstays was building a socialist utopia while creating a "happiness culture" (Kürti, "Cold War happiness" 83-84). Socialist education was, no doubt, part of our everyday life but we eagerly awaited the arrival of

December, a month referred to in old Hungarian as "Christmas month" (*karácsony hava*). Actually, December 6 was not an official holiday back then, nor is it considered as such today.[3] It has been one of the quintessential functions of kindergartens and schools to organize the much awaited occasion for children. In those days the state graciously looked away and despite the rather strict communist rule, the population was complicit in celebrating the coming of Santa Claus as a joyous occasion. Yet, there was an important proviso: namely, that we were awaiting not Santa Claus (*Mikulás* in Hungarian) but Father Winter or Grandfather Winter (*Télapó*). So, Father Winter – dressed as usual in his furry red coat, pointed hat, with long beard and mustache, carrying a bishop's crozier – was welcomed sometimes together with his bedraggled, horned accomplice, the Krampus, carrying a broom or a trident. His frightening looks always quieted us down, as if to give credence to Lévi-Strauss' reminder that the Christmas holiday "functions according to a double rhythm of heightened solidarity and exaggerated antagonism" ("Father Christmas executed" 47).

Our world was politically parochial, breeding reverence for our state and family, but not fully constricted. The world of that small town from which I still cherish remnants and perspective, seems far away now, but it was our town's cultural-political landscapes that contributed, as local cultures and communities do, to our ideas and beliefs. Traditions matter, family traditions matter even more and this was not changed dramatically by state socialist Marxist-Leninist doctrine (Mason and Muir "Conjuring up traditions: Atmospheres, eras and family Christmases" 607-629). However, the ideological pressure was there as winter celebration was slightly transformed by communist countries within the orbit of Soviet domination by turning the earlier Austro-German Santa Claus into the Russian Father Winter (Ded Maroz) following dictates from Moscow. Within our family sphere the secular Father Winter and his gift-giving provided the sufficient explanation. Thus, the officially organized festive school occasion was made a bit more cozy and family-centered when you put your clean shoes in the window so Santa would place sweets, nuts and apples (and only those items). Next morning we eagerly ran to see our gifts, sometimes we also received small branches called "*virgács*," a jolly sign that you had not 'behaved' properly the previous year. In more remote and traditional village communities, December 6 was an occasion for sharing and gift-giving to the poor. Often women with faces disguised visited homes where they received small gift packages containing mostly necessities/food. Originally called "Mikulás-walk" (*Mikulás-járás*), the

3 There is no country in which Saint Nicholas' day is a public holiday. December 6 is a public holiday in Finland commemorating the country's declaration of independence from Russia in 1917. Similarly, December 6 is constitution day in Spain, created in 1978. In Hungary, only All Souls' Day, Christmas, New Year's Day, and Pentecost are official religious public holidays. New Year's Day, March 15, May 1, August 20, and October 23 are official civic public holidays.

custom was, by the 1960s, abandoned. A similar tradition remained part of children's folklore connected to nativity play on Christmas Eve, or later during the Easter festivities (Good Friday, Good Saturday). It is referred to as 'noise-making', *kolompolás*), interestingly the two aspects, darkness and noise-making at Easter (tenebrae – extinguishing the candles -, and strepitus – making big noise), are still part of the Western Christian liturgy. Later, as childhood innocence disappeared we often disguised ourselves either as Santa or Krampus pranking children during December 5-6th. To the question 'do you want to be Krampus' we more often than not eagerly agreed, well aware of the endless possibilities of fun and naughtiness.

Diversity sells, as Roland Robertson has aptly claimed, but heterogenous actions, including rituals and symbols, also contribute to the widescale acceptance of the political system ("Glocalization" 29). Aside from the first two decades of state socialism in 1948–1988, ecclesiastical power was unquestionable and dominant in Hungary. By and large citizens obeyed the laws and respected civil leadership and the increasing leading role of religious institution and clergy. It is not the socialist state alone that can be accused of colonizing Christmas, for most political regimes freely alter meanings and trappings of customs and celebrations to suit their own agendas (for a description of Nazi Christmas see, for example, Perry, "Christmas as Nazi Holiday: Colonising the Christmas Mood", 263-289). We do well to remember the infamous statement by Lenin in the early 1920s against the holy day of St. Nicholas:"let the peasants pray to electricity"; or the young pioneers' song:"the smoke of the factory is better than the smoke of Incense." Following the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe in 1945, a war on religion was waged, and with that the mutation of Christmas ensued. Yet, what was interesting is that the day of Saint Nicholas was not obliterated, and the Feast of the Fir Tree (*Fenyőfaünnep*) could not overtake the native name for Christmas (*Karácsony*). Throughout socialism Santa continued to bring small gifts in children's shoes as Father Winter on the eve of December 5th. Unlike these, the Soviet Mrs. Santa and their grandchild, Snegurochka (Snow Maiden) – dubious popular culture characters originating in the 19th century – were never domesticated into Hungarian winter celebration (Piters-Hofmann "Out of the Deep Woods and Into the Light: The Invention of Snegurochka as a Representation of Russian National Identity" 276-291).[4] At the same time, the American Mrs. Santa, or Mrs. Claus, known for making cookies with the elves, caring for the reindeer, and preparing toys with Santa, has been slowly elevated to international fame.

4 It was the Russian playwright Alexander Nikolaevich Ostrovsky (1823–1876) who concocted the character of Snow Maiden from folk tales and 19th century mysticism. His play The Snow Maiden (1873) was turned into an opera by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, a stage production that has since been revered as a unique Russian Christmas feat analogous to the two-act ballet composed by P. I. Tchaikovsky the Nutcracker in the West.

During socialism, Santa Claus/Mikulás did not pose a threat to the establishment; the complex was transformed into an acceptable and an inoffensive anti-state ritual. It would have been misguided on the part of leadership to imagine that the entire medieval history of Christianity could be annulled. Attested by scholarly treatments, twelth and thirteenth-century French religious music dramas depicting miracles of Saint Nicholas (*Ludus super Iconia Sancti Nicolai* by Hilarius, *Le Jeu de Saint Nicolas* by Jean Bodel) have survived in many mummeries and folk plays, splendid glocal examples of vernacular moralizing dramas since medieval times (Albrecht, *Four Latin plays of St. Nicholas;* Millington, "The Truro Cordwainers' Play: a "New" 18th Century Christmas Play;" Ramey, " Jean Bodel's Jeu de Saint Nicolas: A Call for Non-Violent Crusade"). The longevity of the cult of the Byzantine bishop Saint Nicholas is attested by the fact that in Hungary, there are 47 settlements with the name Saint Nicholas (formerly there were more), and the number of churches and chapels whose patron saint is Saint Nicholas has remained at over 150. Some of these (for example Aracs, Tihany, Gyulafehérvár, Szeged) are of considerable medieval, Byzantine origin (Bálint, *Ünnepi Kalendárium* 398). This history points to the religious foundation of the Hungarian state millennia ago when Christianity served a variety of fundamental functions from regulating the lives of citizens to ordering and maintaining seasonal ritual cycles. Communist ideology could not obliterate the long Christmas holiday season, decided originally in 567 by the Council of Tours, as the period between December 25 and January 6 was "declared the twelve days between Christmas and Epiphany to be one unified festal cycle" (Forbes, *Christmas: A Candid History,* 27).

Despite strict choreography and canons, official and popular festivities bred new contexts, forms and ritual activities. Since the elevation of Christianity into a state religion, winter festivals have been continually adapted to the changing sociocultural environment; the courts of the Byzantine emperors of Constantine Vth in the eighth century, and Basileos hundred years later still celebrated Brumalia and the pagan feasts. This lends credence to Lévi-Strauss' notion that: "Very old elements are thus shuffled and reshuffled, others are introduced, original formulas perpetuate, transform or revive old customs" (Lévi-Strauss "Father Christmas executed" 43). Whether remnants of the ancient Roman winter festivals of Saturnalia, Dies Natalis Solis Invicti (December 25, Birthday or Feast of the Unconquered Sun), the Kalends, Brumalia, Parentalia and Lupercalia (mid-February) were actually incorporated into the Christian Christmas-New Year seasonal rituals remains to be detailed, similar to the old Germanic and Fenno-Scandinavian Yule traditions. Investigating this question more than a century ago, Sir James Frazer was also flailing about in the dark, the lack of reference to Santa Claus in his 12 -volume *magnum opus* aptly illustrating the late capitalist success of globalized Christmas (*The Golden Bough*, 9. 237-238).

Christmas in Hungary has mainly been regulated according to prescribed patterns and rituals in accord with the Roman Catholic calendar. The word for Christmas (*Karácsony*) entered the Hungarian language in the 15th century, most likely through religious doctrine and education. Santa (*Mikulás*) and his accomplice the Krampus (*Krampusz*) is of much more recent vintage, originating from mid-19th century Slavic and Austrian middle-class festivals. The exact date of its western European origin, as well as the cultural importation of the festival throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire, has resulted in a "barren controversy" as some scholars have hinted earlier (Toldy"Meddő kísérlet a Krampus eredetének kiderítésére", Katona *Irodalmi tanulmányok;* for more analyses see Hauschild, *Weinachstmann. Die Wahre Geschichte*; Honigman"The masked face"; Rest und Seiser "The Krampus in Austria. A Case of Booming Identity Politics"; Ridenour *The Krampus and the old, dark Christmas*). What is known is that the first mention of Santa Claus/Mikulás can be read in various Hungarian journals and newspapers from the middle of the century. In 1862, for a short period, a Punch-like newspaper was published in Budapest by the name "*Krampuszok*" (Krampuses) edited by Viktor Szokoly. One sketch from the Budapest 'Sunday Times' of 1865 depicts a broom carrying Krampus standing behind Santa Claus. In no time, the bourgeois tradition of Santa/Krampus-walk and the construction of Christmas slowly gained currency throughout the country-side.

Despite regime changes and globalizing cultural influences, the Christmas-New Year religious holiday has remained a two-cycle period (theophany, epiphany); in popular tradition and economically one long Christmas season was created. As is customary, the holiday season begins with the first Sunday of Advent, and celebrations of two saints' days with many folkloric customs (St. Catherine's Day on 25 November, followed by St. Andrew's Day on the 30th of the same month) and Saint Nicholas (December 6), closing with the last feast day of Saint Lucia (December 13). The making and giving of Advent calendars and the Advent wreath as presents, both Protestant inventions, spread throughout Europe, becoming part of popular holiday celebrations by the early 20th century. As an interesting parallel I mention that it was only in 1941 that the US Congress passed a joint resolution to secure the last Thursday of November for the Thanksgiving holiday and in so doing extending the Christmas season to four weeks. In Hungary, as in most of Central Europe, traditionally the second holiday cycle begins on December 6, unlike in current times when supermarkets start Christmas sales by the beginning of November, followed by Christmas and New Year, epiphany – officially the Three Kings Day or 6th of January in Western Christianity (19 January in Eastern Churches). The apex of the celebration concerns the revelation of God incarnate Jesus Christ (or his baptism) with a final phase of Carnival/Shrovetide/Mardi Gras. As in the medieval epoch, today's winter ritual calendar is a period of frantic and boisterous activities with many local flavors after

the first Sunday of Advent, most commonly with the opening of the Christmas fair following Austrian *Kristkindlmarkt* or *Weinachtsmarkt* customs (Carter, "Perchten and Krampusse: Living Mask Tradition in Austria and Bavaria").

And then came the anni mirabiles of 1989–1990, walls came tumbling down, and democracy in various shapes and forms arrived in Eastern Europe. Accordingly, like most former Soviet-bloc states--Hungary entered a new era signaled by religious fervor and new forms of spirituality quickly replacing communist atheism. Contemporary right-wing governmental ideology is the heir to the inter-war era with its religious credo 'God, nation, and family' ("*Isten, haza, család*" – the slogan of the Fidesz-Christian Democratic Peoples Party). Coupled with this new fundamentalism, national myth of past greatness, remembrance of prehistoric empires and ruling dynasties (Scythians, Huns, and Avars), and national homogeneity bespeak cultural longevity and the putative existence of an ancestral terrain, Great Hungary (Kürti, "The plow and the horse: Political turmoil in a working-class district of Budapest", 221-240; "Nomadism and nostalgia in Hungary" 217-246).

Strangely but not unexpectedly, like other Europeans, most Hungarians generally adhere to a secular ethos as only about one-tenth of the population attends church services, primarily on the major holidays of Christmas and Easter (Tomka, *Vallás és társadalom Magyarországon* 301). At the same time, a disproportionally large percentage belongs to alternative religions, quasi-churches or sects adhering to various supernatural or mystic powers. As I have argued previously, after three decades of systemic political change, new non-communist identity has continually been reinvented from pre-war fundamentalist religiosity, mythical heroic tales and even doubtful and recent folkloric traditions (Kürti, "Psychic Phenomena, Neoshamanism, and the Cultic Milieu in Hungary"; Kürti "Neoshamanism, National Identity and the Holy Crown of Hungary"). Increasingly, national and local festivals take on a religious air as symbols of state and ethnonational primordialism reemerge in liturgy and quasi-mythical celebration (Kürti László"Symbolism and drama within the ritualization of the Hungarian parliament" 41-63; Kürti László"Politics of festivals: fantasies and feasts in Hungary" 53-82). In this new religiosity, the family has been privileged as primordial setting for familial, local and national socialization. For this situation, Daniel Miller's observation seems apt: "Christmas plays a crucial role in the objectification of the family as the locus of a powerful sentimentality and devotion" ("Christmas: An anthropological lens" 417).

Observable since the collapse of the Berlin Wall, this new national sentimentality has engulfed Christmas as well: Father Winter (*Télapó*) has been deliberately set aside as its alter ego Mikulás victoriously reemerged. Nowadays, Santa-Mikulás is conspicuous and pervasive and often accompanied by his side-kick Krampus, offering gifts and well-wishes to friends, family members or passers-by on the street or in

shopping malls. Despite its original German-Slavic tradition, Mikulás is the penultimate Magyar patriarchal figure, a process not without the influence of the 19th century American commercialized media image of Santa Claus (Hoegaerts, "Domestic Heroes: Saint Nicholas and the Catholic Family Father in the Nineteenth Century;" Nissenbaum, *The battle for Christmas*). Notwithstanding this globalized success, children's songs have remained true to socialist glocal Christmas musical heritage. One of the most popular starts with the line"Mikulás is here, his coat is made of snow"; its socialist variant was: 'Father Winter is here, his coat is made of snow.' Every Christmas tens of thousands of children are taught to memorize another song, 'Snowflakes are falling, come to us dear Santa' ("*Hull a pelyhes fehér hó"*). The Hungarian composer László Rossa is credited with nationalizing it based on the well-known English song, 'Twinkle, twinkle, little star.' That English tune itself is based on a French children's song ("Ah! vous dirai-je, maman"), a tune also the melody of the well-known 'Alphabet song' and 'Baa, Baa, Black Sheep' known worldwide and utilized by many composers.

Since 1990, the state and local media, often these are the same, wholeheartedly participate together with the high clergy in national Hungarian Christmas beginning with the first Sunday of Advent. It is likely that most countries possess an official Santa Claus house and Hungary is no exception.[5] The small town of Nagykarácsony (Bigchristmas) in western Hungary created its own House of Santa (*Mikulásház*) in 1995. It should be emphasized that the Hungarian settlement was only incorporated in 1952, with only 1300 inhabitants and possessing no (folk) traditions of any kind. Ingeniously, steadfast local elite designed the settlement's coat of arms specifically to relate to Christmas nativity folk play. Uniquely in Hungary, perhaps even in Europe, to the best of my knowledge, it is the only settlement with a manger scene depicted on its coat of arms. To boost local economy, they invite children to write letters to Santa and visit his house from November 17 till December 24 in order to enjoy various shows, programs and concerts; the main patron for the entire festive month is (interestingly) not Santa but a designated governmental official.[6] To meet visitors' demand, the town's invented tradition is unique in Hungary but pales in comparison to the extravaganza of the Joulupukki industry in Finland (Pretes "Postmodern tourism. The Santa Claus Industry" 1-15).

Childhood in the 21st century remains full of mysteries and contested identities and winter delivers its special charms as nature is transformed. The experiences of wintry ecosystems exhibit many similar work routines, behavior and games worldwide, the differences are considerable as well. For children three of the most classic winter activities are snowball fights, building a snowman and sledding. Today shops,

5 For example, in Russia it is Veliky Ustyug, 600 km north of Moscow, in Germany it is Himmelpfort, 90 km west of Berlin, in Finland it is Rovaniemi in Lapland, in Spain it's Alicante, in France it's Andilly.

6 See, the home-page: http://www.nagykaracsony.hu/ (last accessed 02/09/ 2020).

restaurants and bars compete in offering special drinks, dishes, and delicacies available only during the Christmas season. It is not unusual to find bartenders, waiters, taxi drivers, and even policemen donning Santa's cap, some miniature Krampus horns, or even Rudolph's tiny antlers, signifying the singularity of the holiday season. Markets and fairs are standard practice during Christmas, popular nativity plays are produced at entrances of Roman Catholic churches or public areas as "living nativity scenes," with adults and children participating with a few animals--sheep or donkeys---, accentuating the Biblical milieu. Holiday spirit is more vivid and colorful than ever before and Santa Claus appears in numerous disguises and alterations as the old and the new, recent, and ancient elements vie with one another. Santa masterfully blends skillful honesty with artful deception and his entire character is made up of endless trickery, sleight of hand, and stories of mythical proportions. Hungarian Mikulás always carries his big sack, and participants cannot see actual gifts until Santa pulls them out. His sack is a true cornucopia, overflowing with sweets, occasionally toys and other small presents; for Hungarian families, however, presents were brought by a masked ambiguous figure representing Little Jesus (Austro-German *Kristkindl*) or Angels on Christmas Eve. The contemporaneous magic is underscored by the fact that Mikulás arrives from and departs to an unknown place. He is teleported everywhere – he has what it takes: Wanderlust and extra human strength.

In contrast to earlier days, today's Santa in Hungary descends from church towers, mayor's offices and kindergartens' rooftops as there are always willing policeman, fireman, or civil servants to volunteer for the job. One can even see, as in earlier decades, Santa and his accomplices carried by horse-drawn coach as reindeer have not entered Hungarian popular culture, an American invention from the early 19th century. Customarily, Santa is disguised as a portly, jolly, white-bearded man attended by his bedraggled Krampus; since the 1990s young women may also impersonate that devilish accomplice, an idea already depicted in Austrian Christmas postcard early in the 20th century. The implied mild eroticism has also contributed to the transformation of Santa and company into an ambiguous trickster play, one that allows a more transgressive role than the venerable Saint Peter proposed by Hynes and Steele (William J. Hynes and S. J. Steele, "Saint Peter: Apostle transfigured into trickster" 170).

Santa's presence has evolved into a grand procession, though somewhat of a lesser scale than the nationwide theatrical Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet in The Netherlands, with opposing yet complementary qualities in order to harness misrule and advertise commercialized piety (Eversmann, "The Feast of Saint Nicholas in the Low Countries" 281-298). While affectionate and kind, his accomplice Krampus behaves frighteningly and at times cruelly as in the Alps region in Central Europe. As expected, the original function of the Santa tradition, rewarding those worthy and mildly punishing the others has been

reaffirmed. Such oppositions--a divinely magisterial Santa versus his repugnant underworld representative Krampus--are prescient reminder of *timor dei* (fear of God). Mystery, plurality and plurivocity are required components of the Gestalt of Santa/Krampus complex; it delivers, above all, a hopeful myth that our lives – despite hardships or suffering throughout the year – are meaningful, and that the future holds promise for all. A profane trickster, Santa conjures up one of the most sacred messages in a secular world: life is a fleeting illusion, love is stronger than hate, and the world is, or could be, a far better place if we all loved one other. To faithful believers, and not only children, Santa's presence is an affirmation of humanity and the brotherhood of all people. The amalgamation of the feast of Saint Nicholas with that of the birth of Jesus into a joyous and commercial Christmas holiday season brings a special message for millions today, not only for Christians. It signals a syncretic rite of passage, a special end of the year celebration that is recognized worldwide as an inevitable part of our lives (Whiteley, "Christmas, Ideology and Popular Culture"). As such, an interminable array of symbols, events and trappings follow as necessary ingredients: special drinks, plenty of sweets, seasonal music (Santa and Christmas songs and carols), media promotion (internet sites, feature films, television programs, musical, stage plays), community fairs and revelry.

The overwhelming importance of various kinds of sugar- based produce these days is astonishing as sugar consumption since the 18th century has been steadily growing; excessive Christmas consumption is a major factor.[7] While Santa Claus greets members of households with chocolate, fruit and nuts, Christmas arrives with specially baked cakes. Christmas has been elevated to a festival of massive consumption (Belk, "Materialism and the making of the modern American Christmas," 75-104). In Hungary, competitions and fairs for baking Christmas gingerbread cookies (*mézeskalács*) are regularly organized. Utilizing elements from traditional folk nativity plays (*betlehemezés*) is the most fashionable theme. The small town of Geresdlak leads the way as women recreate not only the Biblical manger-scene but their entire community in miniature gingerbread replicas.[8] Walnut and poppy seed are the most important ingredients for the cake called "*bejgli*" (borrowed from German/Silesian diet), but fruitcakes fashioned after Austrian recipes are also in vogue. The special holiday Austro-German pastry is "Mohn-beugel," although Stollen and Lebkuchen are more in vogue

7 The consumption of sugar reached an unprecedented proportion by the 20th century. From the 1800s to 1900 in Britain annual per capita consumption rose from 2 kg to 40 kg (Mintz, 1985: 73). World sugar production has been steadily growing ever since from 153 million metric tons in 2009 to 188 million metric tons in 2018. (Source: https://www.statista.com/statistics/249679/total-production-of-sugar-worldwide/, last accessed: 01/09/2020). The US, Germany and The Netherlands lead in sugar consumption: roughly 40 to 44 kg per person annually (the other developed countries follow: Ireland, Australia, Belgium, UK).

8 For the history of Italian creches tradition see D'Aponte ("Presepi: A Neapolitan Christmas ritual").

these days all over Central Europe. According to widespread popular superstition "walnut" (*dió*) is a potent remedy against evil and bad luck; "poppy-seed" (*mák)* brings abundance good luck, and, for available girls, potential suitors. Furthering the special holiday spirit, adults consume "hot wine" (*forralt bor*), whereas for youngsters – especially in vocations and those in colleges and universities -, "*krampampuli*" is served. This latter is a German invention from the 18th century, a mixture made originally from brandy and Juniper berry. Traditional Nordic parallels are Swedish "*Julmust*", or the Finnish "*glögg*."

In local Christmas festivities, Santa Claus (*Mikulás*) was a man of darkness, an unseen persona of the night ably hiding from ordinary people. Since the late 20th century, in shifting from night to daytime, one of the mysteries of the Santa folklore has disappeared. A sign of the changing time, Santa today arrives during daylight with plenty of fanfare, revelry and accolades. To make his international rounds he – because unquestionably Santa has been male -, is expeditious and airborne, and much less muted than before. Even with his scandalous or frightening Krampus, or its other masked variations, Santa is not, as some would have it, deviant but a socially-sanctioned instructive moralizer. Culture heroes remind us about the inevitability of death, and the passing of time, and also reinforce presents, love and family harmony, as Eric Wolf proposed long ago (Wolf, "Santa Claus: notes on a collective representation" 147-155). As Margaret Mead expressed it: "Learning about Santa Claus can help give children a sense of the difference between a "fact" — something you can take a picture of or make a tape recording of, something all those present can agree exists — and poetic truth, in which man's feelings about the universe or his fellow men is expressed in a symbol" (Mead and Metraux, *Some personal views*). The mythology of Santa Claus concerns important ethical questions that societies around the world hold fundamental – trust, credulity and lies. The philosopher Susanne Langer suggests that by fostering the myth of Santa Claus' double standards we assist children in learning about fantasy, imagination and artistic development. To paraphrase Langer's witty comment: Santa Claus cannot be taken out of the chimney (*Feeling and form. A theory of art,* 401). While most people accept that Santa's myth is harmless, and is good for children to develop imaginative or role-playing, it is also a lie but a positive one, as Margaret Mead and Rhoda Meroux seemed to agree in their jointly published books (*An interview with Santa Claus*; *Some personal views*).

Curiously, Santa appears primarily not only as a superhuman transformative power but also by representing a myriad of possibilities for growth and change. Various cultural narratives of and about Santa Claus provide a fertile source of cultural reflection and critical reflexivity that leaves one feeling affectionate and thoughtful yet compliant with cultural codes of flexibility, variation and creativity. Santa Claus, after all, is a coeval *corpus mysticum* – like Christ or Saints, as Ernst Kantorowicz demonstrated earlier (*The king's two bodies*) -, a globally accepted phenomenon with no

nominalistic essence of any of his given particulars. As the archetypical figure of Christmas holiday, to succeed in local environs Santa and his national variations (Sinterklaas, Pére Noël, Ded Maroz, Moș Crăciun) must remain out of the ordinary (Stronach and Hodkinson, "Towards a Theory of Santa: Or, the Ghost of Christmas Present" 15-19). While the holiday season is prime time for global consumerist frenzy, Santa seems to float above it all. His *dramatis personae* cannot be criticized for blindness (offering gifts to all), nor blamed for the mischievousness of his associates (Befana, Knecht Ruprecht, Krampus, Pere Fouttard, Zwarte Piet), nor for causing and maintaining local social anxiety – this is generated globally, challenged and practiced locally. The racialized Dutch Zwarte Piet (Black Pete), though a mock figure of popular Christmas revelry in The Netherlands and remnant of Dutch colonial history and source of social contention by many these days, continues to thrive because of the mechanism of consumerism and gift-exchange (Rodenberg and Wagenaar, "Essentializing 'Black Pete': competing narratives surrounding the Sinterklaas tradition in the Netherlands" 716-728).

Celebrated globally and transformed locally, Christmas holiday has been turned into a glocal ritual with elementary transformative power shared between actors. Amalgamating local needs and interests with foreign and global trends, utilizing both positive and negative feelings and emotions, the holiday myth thrives because it fulfills different roles for different groups of people. As such, the fusion of global trends and local traditions often results in glocal conflicting inventions, as I have shown above. Although mediatized images are too numerous to discuss here, one can recall the enormous success of Christmas horror films that Lauren Rosewarne calls the genre of "festive violence" (*Analyzing Christmas in film*, 320-322; cf also Connelly *Christmas at the movies*). Films, such as the 1974 slasher *Black Christmas* only hinted at the possibility of general dangers that may upset the happy family at Christmas time. American cinemas welcomed *Christmas evil* in 1980, and *Silent night, deadly night* in 1984 by transmogrifying the friendly holiday characters into villains. The original Austro-German *enfant terrible* (Krampus) and evil Santa, for example, wreak mayhem in the Dutch film *Sint* (Saint, dir. Dick Maas, 2010), the US production *Krampus: The Christmas devil* (dir. Jason Hull, 2013), and the Italian *Il fondo al bosco* (Deep in the woods, dir. Stefano Lodovichi, 2015). Gore aficionados now even can enjoy feminized versions of horror films with maniacal kins of Santa and Krampus, modeled after the Germanic Frau Perchta and the benevolent Italian Befana (*Mrs. Claus* and *Lady Krampus* both in 2018 that followed the earlier *Mother Krampus* in 2017).[9] Such offbeat

9 A brief list of feature film titles will suffice here: The nightmare before Christmas, A Christmas horror story, Krampus I and II, Krampus origins, Krampus unleashed, Krampus the Christmas devil, Krampus: The devil returns, Krampus: The reckoning, Santa Claws, Santa's slay, Santa Claus: A horror story, Santa Claus: Serial rapist. The Christmas horror genre requires a separateanalysis (for example Jones, *Fright Xmas*).

cinematic detours not only rekindle Christian ethics as embedded in stereotyped family values (good wins out in the end) but, perhaps more importantly, challenge existing frames of social relations and identities by transcending sacrosanct moral references. Santa Claus is not merely good or evil, he can be both, and he is presented as a fallible avatar. He is married but curiously the couple has no children – not yet, in any case anyway – and perhaps that is why he is fatherly and caring for them. The miracle-worker patriarchal Santa, or as referred to humorously St. Nick, even has a brother, shown for example in the 2015 *Krampus: the Christmas devil*, telling us that scoundrels do exist and they are more often than not in our vicinity, a personalized environment we all want to think of as safe and secure.

In closing, glocalization has increasingly been used by scholars to describe and analyze Euro-American capitalism and corollary changes of social relations and identities. These deterritorialized and reterritorialized landscapes of individual and collective relations are in concert with our transforming rituals and customs in interdependent ways. The glocalization of Christmas season with the preponderant role of Santa Claus and his miters (Krampus, Mrs. Santa, Angels, Zwarte Piet, servants, etc.) is just one of the most successful ritual examples discussed here. As Dunja Rihtman-Augštin has put it so deftly: today's Christmas holiday is a true "barometre of our mentality and our politics" ("Santa Claus in transition," 119). Is there a contradiction between faith, reinvented ceremonialism and late-capitalistic consumerism? I suggest not: for mainstream Christianity, conspicuous consumption in general and raucous behavior in particular are abominations that may be defeated by penitence as well as a wholehearted embrace of faith, a raison d'être of medieval miracle plays and the cult of Saint Nicholas (McKnight, *St. Nicholas*, 143). Contrarily, popular religions and secular believers accept the topsy-turvy world of festivals and syncretic religious for economic reasons but are more often than not better disposed to appropriate historical and modern traditions in order to elevate Santa Claus to a recognizable and domesticated world figure on local stages. With regard to global forces shaping locality and engendering national *couleurs globales*, I emphasize one particular feature: the category of intangible heritage as invented by UNESCO. Since initiating its international program identifying a representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity in 2008, the actual number of traditions rose from 90 to approximately 464 in less than a decade. Roughly forty percent of the elements inscribed represent the Asia-Pacific area, with China leading with thirty traditions alone. However, the popular Krampus figure in Austria was elevated into national prominence when in 2014 UNESCO declared the Krampus-play (*Krampusspiel*) of the small Styrian town of Öblarn as part of intangible cultural heritage of humanity.[10] It is not only young men who are thrilled by the buffoonery and the bawdiness

10 See: http://www.krampus.st/cms/index.php, last accessed: 3/09/2020.

connected to Christmas ritual, families around the globe enjoy gift exchange, cementing and forging kinship ties shrouded by mysticism, make-belief, and superstition. With such an extensive history of notable accomplishments, indeed stardom based on exciting glocal variations and incongruities, perhaps it is time to allocate to Santa Claus and December 6th the status of worldwide public holiday.

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