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The Use of National Minority Culture in Tourism Development

Abstract

In our tourist travels, we seek experiences in locales distinct from our places of residence or work. Tourism developments strive to fulfil this desire by showcasing and making tangible some unique local characteristic, thus attracting visitors to a specific place. In resource-poor areas, one of the simplest and least investment-demanding ways to achieve this is by turning a unique element of local culture into an attraction and celebrating it. This does not require costly infrastructure development, but it can still attract tourists. Our study focuses on these local celebrations, which are most often referred to as festivals, feasts or competitions. In the first part of this paper, our goal is to draw attention to a specific group of local festivals, events that focus on the culture of national minorities. Along with examples from Hungary, we present in more detail two festivals: one in Southwest Hungary's *Feked* and the other in Southeast Hungary's *Deszke*. In the second part of the study, we categorise local festivals based on the cultural elements they highlight. According to my research, four basic categories can be determined. Festivals can be created to celebrate a well-identifiable local cultural or economic phenomenon. There are local celebrations aimed at preserving or reviving disappearing or vanished local cultural elements. There are festivals that emphasise newly invented traditions. Finally, events based on humour or randomness can also be the basis of a tourist attraction.

Keywords: tourism development, local festivals, national minorities, local cultural heritage, serbs, swabians



Local Festivals in the Storm of Economic and Political Changes

After the political changes in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989–1990, a significant economic transformation began in Hungary. This caused serious unemployment in many rural areas, leading to further unfavourable social processes (emigration, ageing, segregation). Many localities faced the problem that economic structural changes left no resources to improve living conditions locally.

Due to the fundamental economic transformation, the economic weight and employment role of agriculture decreased rapidly. Simultaneously, multinational corporations entered Hungary, primarily establishing manufacturing based on cheap labour in the region. This brought some degree of economic development, but it was very unevenly distributed.¹ It accelerated development in some areas but also created serious internal imbalances, not reducing the lag of border and inner peripheral areas.²

In resource-poor peripheral areas, it was often expected that economic change would come from tourism. The focus was primarily on forms of tourism that did not require significant investment. These were mainly based on cultural phenomena. Exploiting real or perceived local cultural characteristics in tourism development became a widely adopted starting point. The unique features of the local culture were almost always presented in an organised event. Organisers refer to these events by various names, most commonly as festivals, folk festivals, or traditional festivals. In our study, I highlight how a feature of local culture, the traditions of national minorities, can become the core of culture-based local development.³

Since the late 1990s, I have been researching local festivals. I examined such phenomena in *Pusztamérge*,⁴ *Baja*,⁵ and *Feked*⁶ with an international research group. In addition, I conducted several individual studies and shorter field observations. I extended my research to Finland⁷ and Scotland,⁸ where I also

¹ Lengyel 2003: 96.

² Czírfusz 2017: 195–197.

³ Tourism geography has highlighted the issue from a different perspective, cf. Szeidl–Aubert 2019.

⁴ Pusztai 2003.

⁵ Pusztai–Martin 2007.

⁶ Schell–Prosser–Schell–Pusztai 2018.

⁷ Pusztai 2020.

⁸ Pusztai 2017.

investigated the phenomenon at several research sites. Since the beginning of my interest, I have been following the media representations of local festivals. Over the past decade, with my university students, I have collected Hungarian festivals into a festival database. In this writing, based on fieldwork in *Feked* in 2016 conducted with colleagues from Freiburg's *Institut für Volkskunde der Deutschen des östlichen Europa* (IVDE), shorter observations in *Deszék*, and the analysis of media representations of the *Deszék* festival, I present two festivals where the cultural heritage of minorities provides the basis for attractions.

The Stifolder Festival in Feked

Feked is a cul-de-sac village of Swabian origin⁹ in *Baranya* County. Following the depopulation during the Ottoman Empire, German-speaking settlers organised by the Fulda Abbey in *Hesse* arrived here between 1710 and 1720. The Eastern Hessian settlers were called “stifoller” in the Carpathian Basin due to the Fulda Abbey (*Stift Fuldauer*).¹⁰ From its settlement, *Feked* was predominantly a German village reaching its highest population in 1910, when out of 901 residents, 813 declared themselves to be German.¹¹

After World War II, not only the concealment of German identity, but also the displacement of Germans in Hungary significantly reduced the number and proportion of Germans. In 1949, out of 837 inhabitants in *Feked*, only 81 people declared German as their mother tongue, but only 3 declared themselves to be of German nationality. A part of the German population later returned to the village, and the concealment of national identity gradually decreased, so by 1960, out of 786 inhabitants, 150 people declared German as their mother tongue (and only 1 person as their nationality). With the natural out-migration of the population, the number of inhabitants rapidly decreased, while the number of German speakers even increased. In 1980, out of 439 inhabitants, 170 had German as their mother tongue, and 17 declared themselves as German nationals.

⁹ In contemporary Hungarian usage, the term ‘Swabian’ is employed as a collective designation for all German-speaking inhabitants living within the territory of modern Hungary. Our discussion adheres to this usage. However, it should be noted that historical Hungary received German-speaking settlers not only from Swabian regions, cf. Gerner 2020; Marinka 2016.

¹⁰ Gerner 2020: 17.

¹¹ On the uncertainties of national minority statistics in the 19th and 20th-century censuses, cf. Tóth–Vékás 2008. For all census data until 2011 on *Feked* cf. [Népszámlálási adatok] n.d.

After the regime change of 1989–1990, the decline of the village accelerated, but simultaneously the proportion of German-speaking and national population increased. In 1990, out of 324 inhabitants, 172 had German as their mother tongue, and 50 were of German nationality. In 2001, out of 246 inhabitants, 116 were of German nationality, and in 2011, out of 199 inhabitants, 123 were of German nationality. The latest census in 2022, similar to national trends,¹² showed a decrease in the population and a decrease in the number of German nationals: it recorded 178 inhabitants, of whom 76 declared themselves as German.¹³ The preservation of the minority identity was not helped by the fact that, parallel to the rapid decline of the village, the kindergarten and school had to be closed.

To mitigate the negative processes, the settlement leaders came up with initiatives to strengthen local identity. Since the village's only tangible cultural heritage is the Swabian peasant houses, they tried to encourage at least partial renovation of these. The picturesque cul-de-sac village caught the attention of residents from nearby cities, with more and more houses being bought as holiday homes and undergoing renovations. Since 2006, these buildings have been protected,¹⁴ and since 2018, a local ordinance regulates the protection of the townscape.¹⁵ The undeniable role of the urban intelligentsia moving in or buying holiday homes in the increasingly conscious protection is evident.¹⁶

The local government also supported the strengthening of the local community by organising events. The most significant of these is the Stifolder Festival, held annually since 2010. This festival focusses on the thick sausage, “stifolder”, made by the local Germans, the “stifollers”.¹⁷ Similar sausages are known in the *Hesse* region of Germany as well. These include the legally protected “Alte Wurst” from Northern Hesse, which requires a long maturation process, and the renowned “Rhöner Bauernwurst”.¹⁸ The stifolder has been influenced by the cuisine of the Carpathian Basin, so it contains ground paprika, unlike the Hessian sausages.¹⁹ The making of stifolder and its festival is

¹² [Népszámlálás 2022] n.d.

¹³ [Népszámlálás 2022] n.d.

¹⁴ Szeidl–Horváth–Nod–Závodi 2021: 234.

¹⁵ Tillmann–Friedrich 2018.

¹⁶ Prosser-Schell et al. 2018: 145.

¹⁷ The sausage was named after the local name of the settling Hessians. In the media, there is sometimes a confusion between the names of the sausage and the settlers, cf. Prosser-Schell et al. 2018: 123–124.

¹⁸ Prosser-Schell et al. 2018: 125.

¹⁹ Szabó 2021: 205.

an important example of the touristic use of minority gastronomy, identified by tourism geography, but not critically examined.²⁰

The Stifolder Festival has gradually developed and now attracts about 2,000 visitors, according to estimates. It occupies public spaces and yards in the village. Prosser points out that the atmosphere of restored buildings, yards, and squares is an indispensable part of the success of municipal events. They provide the stage and framework for the encounter with traditional foods offered at the events. The festival has its own logo, which also appears on the municipality's website. The most important part of the festival is the competition to select the tastiest sausage, which had over a hundred entries in our research year. The competition has now developed precise rules,²¹ with a professional jury evaluating the entered sausages, which the public can also taste. The ethnic connection is emphasised not only in the name of the festival. A bilingual invitation is always prepared for the celebration, and cultural programs showcasing Swabian ethnic culture are prominent. In addition to Swabian accordion music, local and nearby Swabian dance groups and choirs entertain the participants.

Over the past years, the Stifolder Festival and thus the stifolder itself have become defining symbols of identification for *Feked*. However, it is important to point out the construction mechanisms rather than searching for its origin and recipe: defining the central element of the festival, setting its regulations, and the observable brand building related to it. We believe that these local festivals very consciously select the cultural element that can become the central element of settlement and tourism development. This is already evident in the naming and standardisation of the name. During our 2016 research, Prosser noticed that what is known today as stifolder was often referred to as Sommerwurst in the past. The term “summer salami” indicated that this salami was consumable after a long maturation period, in summer. According to him, putting the previously known but not highlighted stifolder name in the spotlight is clearly an act intended to draw attention to one of the locally known cultural elements with an attractive name.²²

The Stifolder Festival is a new, invented tradition, as it has no equivalent among the village's traditional celebrations. Prosser pointed out that originally, a village day connected to the Roman Catholic church's fair was organised in *Feked*, which later evolved into the stifolder celebration. While clearly a new cel-

²⁰ Horváth–Jónás–Berki–Szeidl–Aubert 2016; Tóth–Hegedűs–Pusztai 2019; Szabó–Szeidl–Závodi 2017.

²¹ Szabó 2021: 204.

²² Prosser–Schell et al. 2018: 127.

eburation, “it evokes some traditional elements from the past of ethnic German culture in Hungary, emphasising and reinterpreting them”²³. He also states that brass music and bands were considered characteristic of the Germans in Hungary since the late 19th century. With the decline in knowledge of the mother tongue, this, along with Swabian folk dance, became especially important in preserving identity.²⁴ Visitors to the festival react in their own way to this re-interpreted German rural culture. Alongside the folk dance groups, some visitors adopt what they consider to be German-like attire, such as leather shorts, believing it to be fitting for the occasion. Despite the fact that clothing sold in commerce under the names “Tracht”, “Dirndlmode”, “Lederhosenmode” has no connection to *Feked* or the traditional *Feked* attire. Prosser draws a parallel with the visitors wearing the same attire at the Munich Oktoberfest or the Cannstatter Wasen festival.²⁵

The current name of the festival, Danube Swabians Stifolder Festival, is also the result of gradual development, focussing attention on how places trade and compete with those cultural elements they can turn into symbols of their locality. According to my research, until 2014, the event was simply referred to as the Stifolder Festival, and only then did they start using the longer name. One reason for the change was undoubtedly that more and more non-locals entered the stifolder competition at the festival. However, the extension of the name to the “Danube Swabians” occurred when other localities also began to incorporate stifolder into their local image. With the new name *Feked*, however, does not just organize one of many competitions, but the competition for all Danube Swabians. The most important competitor is the International Ethnic Stifolder Competition held in *Villány*, the namesake village of the famous wine region of Southern Hungary. A year before the *Feked* festival, in 2009, the gastronomic press suggested that *Villány* could be the homeland of the stifolder,²⁶ but they only organised the first stifolder competition in 2012, lagging behind *Feked*.²⁷ *Gödre*, another Swabian settlement in Baranya County, has been organising a stifolder competition since 2016.²⁸ Since 2019, a stifolder and sausage stuffing competition named “Traditional Stifolder and Sausage Stuffing Contest” has been organised in *Hőgyész*.²⁹ As illustrated by the

²³ Prosser-Schell et al. 2018: 117–118.

²⁴ Prosser-Schell et al. 2018: 132–133.

²⁵ Prosser-Schell et al. 2018: 141, 162.

²⁶ Csíki 2009.

²⁷ Csíki 2012.

²⁸ Gödre 2019.

²⁹ Brunner 2022.

example of the stifolder, when a particular cultural element gains recognition and success within a locality, it often sparks a wave of competitive dynamics and attempts at appropriation. This phenomenon is echoed in various forms across the Hungarian festivals, where similar processes are readily observable.³⁰

In *Feked*, the efforts to monopolise the use of stifolder extend beyond merely broadening the name of the festival. The village's endeavours have been significantly bolstered by the establishment of a business, named Traubert Hof, in one of the traditional Swabian farmhouses of the settlement.³¹ This enterprise, specialising exclusively in the production of stifolder, has set up its shop, restaurant, and tasting room there.³² The company not only produces Alte Wurst without paprika, in the spirit of the original Hessian recipe, but also offers “original” and “classic” stifolder among its various other products. On its website, Traubert Hof extensively details the tradition of stifolder and *Feked*'s role in it. Moreover, to popularise the stifolder of *Feked* elsewhere, they undertake pop-up ventures under the brand “Swabian street food Feked”. Meanwhile, in collaboration with the festival, there is an ongoing effort to develop the Swabian gastronomic offerings as fully as possible: in 2023, *Feked* even organised its own October Fest. The festival's promotional materials indicate that the village's image has entered a new phase: “Beer(s) + Swabian Music + Gastronomy. Not a Bavarian beer fest, but a Feked one. Lederhosen & dirndl are welcome... in fact, essential!”³³

The Feked Stifolder Festival has utilised a facet of the national culture in a village historically dominated by a German population, serving to sustain the life of the settlement. Today, developments have progressed further and, although the proportion of German national minority has decreased, events built on Swabian culture within the renovated and protected Swabian village landscape now represent an advanced stage in the construction of a unique village identity.

The Ajvár Festival in Deszk

Deszk is a settlement located in the southeastern part of Hungary, merely 10 kilometres from the city of *Szeged*. The village is connected to the neigh-

³⁰ Pusztai 2007.

³¹ Cf. Vörös–Egyed 2020.

³² [Fekedi Stifolder] 2024.

³³ Traubert Hof 2023.

bouring city by a main road and railway. Since the political changes of 1989–1990, *Deszke* has undergone significant infrastructural development. Due to its proximity, it has become a popular relocation destination for the residents of *Szeged*, as indicated by the rapidly increasing number of newly built private houses on the village's edge facing *Szeged*. As a result of this relocation trend, while Hungary's population is decreasing, *Deszke*'s population is rapidly growing: from 3027 in 1995 to 3446 in 2006, and 3711 in 2021.³⁴

The village, of medieval origin, was destroyed during the Ottoman conquest in the early 16th century. In 1746, it was repopulated with Serbian border guard soldiers. By the second half of the 19th century, over 70% of the village's population was of Serbian nationality.³⁵ By the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, due to higher emigration rates and lower natural population growth among Serbs, their proportion decreased to around 50%.³⁶ After World War I, the village became part of Hungary and was no longer in a Serbian-speaking area. This led to a significant wave of emigration to Serbia, further reducing the number and proportion of Serbs. From 1526 Serbian residents in 1910, only 331 remained by 1931.³⁷ After World War II, the job opportunities in *Szeged* led to continued migration to the city, and by the 1960s, the Serbian population had decreased to under 10%, totalling 224 people. By 1980, only 5% (175 people) identified as Serbian.³⁸

Following the political changes, the suburbanisation around *Szeged* accelerated, with the most intense growth occurring in *Deszke*.³⁹ This further shaped the local population's composition. Due to significantly more favourable conditions compared to *Szeged*'s real estate prices and environment, many people moved to the village, creating an entirely new residential area. The housing estate inhabited by the “newcomers” became a stable part of the original inhabitants' mental map.⁴⁰ Consequently, the number and proportion of Serbian residents continued to decline: in 2011, only 99 people, just over 3% of the population, identified as Serbian.⁴¹ With this, the settlement predominantly became Hungarian.

³⁴ Erdős–Széll–Vágási 2007: 86.

³⁵ Baranyai 1984: 446.

³⁶ Szász 1984: 54.

³⁷ Rády–Gyukin 1984: 536–539.

³⁸ Rády–Gyukin 1984: 546–549.

³⁹ [Deszk településfejlesztési koncepció] 2021: 37.

⁴⁰ Erdős–Széll–Vágási 2007: 92.

⁴¹ [2011. évi népszámlálás] 2013: 186.

Despite the continuous decrease in the number of Serbian residents, members of the Serbian community have always been prominently present in the public life of *Deszke*. Since the early 20th century, an intensive Serbian community music and dance scene can be distinctly identified in *Deszke*.⁴² In the decades following World War II, the village leader was Serbian, and during this period, the president of the Association of Yugoslavs in Hungary was also a resident of *Deszke*.⁴³

Today, *Deszke* in the southern Great Plain region still has a vibrant Serbian community life, and the small Serbian community continues to play a significant role in local public life. Alongside Hungarian, Serbian language signs on the village boundaries mark their presence. There is not only a Serbian church, kindergarten and school, but the president of the local Serbian minority self-government is also the deputy mayor of the municipality, strengthening community integration and presence. The local newspaper regularly publishes detailed reports on the news and programmes of the Serbian community. The Serbian community actively organises Serbian festivals, which are not only for Serbians but also aim to preserve local ethnic cultural heritage (for example textile arts).⁴⁴

In terms of *Deszke*'s active cultural life, two events receive significant media attention outside the village: the Deszk Village Days (including the International Mayors' Cooking Competition) and the Ajvar Festival. From our research perspective, Deszk Village Days are of lesser importance. This event, held since 1994, fits into the village days found in almost every settlement in the country. Since 1999, this has been enhanced by the International Mayors' Cooking Competition. The three-day village days feature exhibitions, street dances, fireworks, cultural programmes, and festive concerts for visitors to the settlement.⁴⁵

The Ajvar Festival, which enriches the active cultural life of the local Serbian community, was first organised in 2011. There is a comprehensive EU financed cross-border cooperation programme between Serbia and Hungary, previously known as Interreg and now called IPA. Initially, the Ajvar Festival was a supplementary event in a cross-border development project. Over the past decade, the Serbian national self-government of *Deszke* has developed several other events. These include the Serbian Pig Slaughter Festival, the Serbian

⁴² Felföldi 2003.

⁴³ Rádity–Gyukin 1984: 550.

⁴⁴ On the history and activities of the association, cf. Bánát nd.

⁴⁵ [Deszk településfejlesztési koncepció] 2021: 53.

Easter – International Egg Tapping Competition, the Rain Summoning Ceremony “Dodole”, and the Serbian Church Dedication Feast. Over the years, the most significant event has undoubtedly become the Ajvar Festival, which has evolved into an independent event.

Ajvar is a widely used condiment in the Balkans, made from roasted peppers, eggplants, and garlic. Traditionally not part of Hungarian cuisine, it is universally associated with Serbian cooking in Hungary. Its popularity is growing along the southern border of the country. The organisers intentionally chose this dish because, among other distinctive South Slavic gastronomic elements, it is “the least known as a ‘festival opportunity’, yet a fundamental traditional delicacy”⁴⁶. *Ajvar* also has a variety of recipes. It is an excellent accompaniment to typical Balkans-style grilled meat dishes, making it a perfect addition to street food in a festival setting. Due to the diverse recipes, an *ajvar* competition is an important part of the festival program.⁴⁷

Following the success of the inaugural festival in 2011, the event has been held annually. The festival is often incorporated into various Serbian-Hungarian collaborative cross-border projects. It serves as an excellent medium for experiencing Serbian culture in Hungary, thanks to the local Serbian minority community. The event related to *ajvar* is unique to Hungary and is not held elsewhere, thus *Deszke* does not have to contend for the monopolisation of this cultural element, unlike *Feked*. However, the aspiration for a unique identity is also evident here. Since 2014, the Ajvar Festival has also been called the “Ajvariáda”. With the Greek and Latin-derived suffix ‘-iada’, the festival elevates to an epic status, akin to a narrative poem dedicated to *ajvar*.

The festival is organised by the Deszk Banat Serbian Cultural Association. The predecessor of this association was the Deszk Serbian Folk Dance Ensemble, established in 1948, which was rebranded in 1972 as the Banat Folk Dance Ensemble, expanding its activities.⁴⁸ Following the political changes, it continued its work under the name of Banat Serbian Cultural Association.⁴⁹ Thus, the festival is not organised by the municipality, but given the municipal positions of the organisers and the financial support from the local government, it can be understood as one of the most prominent, image-building events of the locality. As the deputy mayor and main organiser stated, “For

⁴⁶ Stated by one of the organizers, Péter Dunai, cf. Hrisztov 2014.

⁴⁷ Hrisztov 2014.

⁴⁸ Szász 1984: 55–56.

⁴⁹ Bánát nd.

Deszk, located just a few kilometres from Szeged, the Serbian culture and the village's Serbian roots offer a leapfrogging opportunity⁵⁰.

The programmes of the Ajvar Festival characteristically include distinctly Serbian elements. For example, the vespers at the local Serbian Orthodox church. Given the scarcity of nonminority Orthodox believers in Hungary, this invites attendees into an exotic world in its physicality (language, lights, sounds). The entertainment also features Serbian elements: folk music and dance. All these aspects attract locals, neighbouring Hungarians, and Serbian cultural groups in Hungary. However, such a presentation of minority culture also provides an opportunity for other non-Serbian minority cultural groups. In this way, the Ajvar Festival also becomes a showcase of other minority cultures. In addition, a significant craft fair and a culinary offering that displays elements of Balkan cuisine complement the festival. Turkish coffee, *baklava*, *gibanica* and Balkan wines are offered – items not commonly found in Hungary, except perhaps in special ethnic restaurants.

Like the Feked Stifolder Festival, the Deszk Ajvar Festival stages an element of minority culture. However, a key difference is that this success is achieved by a community that is in a total minority but maintains its public positions effectively. This occurs near a large city, which means it is not a development action based on the culture of a remote locality. In fact, in one of the fastest growing and affluent suburban areas, such development is not necessarily needed. The festival has evolved more as a representation of a minority, which reinforces the image of *Deszk* as a livable and culturally rich community.

The Role of Local, Non-Local and Minority Cultural Elements in Festivals

The origin and local connection of the cultural elements highlighted at local festivals can vary greatly. On the basis of my research, we can categorise them into four major groups. Festivals that focus on a well-identifiable local cultural or economic phenomenon are based on local agricultural produce, typical local economic activities, or cultural heritage connected to a specific locality. Another major group of festivals aims to preserve or revive disappearing or disappeared local cultural elements, placing them in a festive context. The third major group of local festivals emphasises invented traditions. Finally, there are festivals based on humour, grotesque details, or random coincidences.

⁵⁰ HandCraft 2022.

In festivals that focus on well-identifiable local cultural or economic phenomena, the highlighted cultural elements can sometimes be very explicitly and stereotypically associated with the location. This category can include agricultural products or animal breeding methods that have local traditions. In some cases, a processing industry may have already been built around these, and sometimes these industries may have already been associated with professional (e.g., food industry) image-building activities. This category also includes prominent intellectual or architectural heritage that has been strongly and long associated with a location. In the case of events categorised in this manner, previous ethnographic research can serve as a source for authentic representation and presentation, and organisers often favour relying on this.

In Hungary, a prominent example of this category is the *Csabai Kolbászfesztivál* [Csaba Sausage Festival].⁵¹ Since 1997, the annual festival has become one of the country's largest gastronomic events. The four-day event, attended by 60–70,000 people, centres around communal sausage making.⁵² The event has been able to rely on the support of the meat industries of *Békéscsaba* and *Gyula* since its inception, and their products were already well-known in the country before the regime change. These meat industries were established in the late 19th century, based on widespread pig farming in the area.

The second subgroup of festivals includes those where the cultural raw material highlighted is either disappearing from the local culture or has already been completely forgotten. This often involves forgotten or dying elements of peasant culture (e.g., some peasant calendar traditions) or previously overlooked details of the built cultural heritage. In these cases, more or less professional preparatory activities and research related to cultural heritage authenticate the phenomenon, which is then presented as a local speciality. When a festival highlights a peasant custom, it is not an enduring tradition but rather an accurate replication, one whose function in contemporary times has entirely transformed, and which now involves a different set of participants. In these cases, the cultural element is forgotten so much that it is often necessary to educate the local public about the connection between the cultural element and the locality. These informative texts are usually simplified versions of previous ethnographic research that seeks to prove the local connection. In these texts, the creation of myths is sometimes also discernible. Sometimes, civic activism revives or keeps these phenomena alive.

⁵¹ Official website: *Csabai kolbászfesztivál* <https://www.csabaiKolbaszfesztival.hu/> – 10.10.2023.

⁵² Formádi–Hunyadi–Koppány–Németh–Solt–Zsigmond 2019.

As an example the event called *Marha(nagy)Hajtás* [Great Cattle Drive] has been held in *Nagyvázsony*, Veszprém County, since 2007 can be mentioned.⁵³ This festival, held around Saint Michael's Day, revives the peasant culture tradition of driving cattle back from the outer pastures in autumn. Since it occurs in autumn, the organisers have combined it with a harvest celebration, so today it is called "Saint Michael's Day Great Cattle Drive, Shepherd's Festival, and Harvest Celebration". One of the highlights of the event is the procession of the herd of cattle through the village, reviving a phenomenon no longer seen today.

The third group of festivals includes those where phenomena with no local connection are linked to a locality. In such cases, cultural brokers⁵⁴ of the locality attempt to prove that the widely known cultural element in question is indeed a unique feature of the specific place. The discourse supporting the local appropriation of this cultural element often emphasises mythical elements, as scientifically (and expertly) appearing arguments do not find convincing evidence to support their stance. In these cases, local organisers generally do not use previous ethnographic research related to local culture, as it does not support the local connection of the particular cultural element. Another typical example of such actions is the appropriation and monopolisation of certain vegetables or fruits, or animal breeding traditions, or commonly available foods.

Following this logic, the village of *Pusztamérges* in the southern Great Plain began to develop tourist-attracting festivals in the mid-1990s. One of them was the *Nemzetközi Töltöttkáposzta-főző Verseny* [International Stuffed Cabbage Cooking Competition]. Stuffed cabbage is a well-known dish throughout Central Europe, but there was no specific recipe or cult for it locally. However, since it is widely known, it was likely that there would be no shortage of participants for a festival that focused on this dish. The leaders of the village chose this dish as the centrepiece of their event and attempted to associate it with the settlement. They also organised the *Lúdas Matyi Libaszepség- és Libafutató Verseny* [Matyi the Gooseboy Goose Beauty and Goose Running Competition], named after a Hungarian folk hero. There was no particular tradition of goose farming in the village, but after a poultry slaughterhouse was built there,

⁵³ The event does not have a separate website; the program for 2023 can be found on the homepage of the village: <https://nagyvazsony.hu/szent-mihaly-napi-marha-nagy-hajtas-nagyvazsony/> – 10.11.2023.

⁵⁴ Bendix–Welz 1999; Pusztai–Varga 2008.

more people started raising geese for the factory. The invented competition was based on this.⁵⁵

I classify separately those cases where a festival is clearly built on something humorous, random coincidence, or a humorous presentation of a mundane process or characteristic. These often involve humorous competitions, and in these cases, no one tries to prove the local connection of the cultural element in question. Instead, the organisers rely on the playfulness and curiosity inherent in everyone.

A clever Hungarian example is the case of *Kán* (pronounced like Cannes, France) village in Baranya County. The population of this settlement began to decline after World War II and ceased to be an independent locality in 1978. The completely depopulated village houses were bought by city dwellers, primarily from nearby *Pécs*, as vacation homes. Urban dwellers who spend more or less time there have been organising the Kán Film Festival since 1998. In the firehouse designated as the “film palace” and outdoors, they screened crowd-favourite movies and listened to the joyful music of amateur bands.⁵⁶

In our examination of the Feked festival, we illustrated how elevating elements of minority culture can reinforce the uniqueness of a locality, especially in places where the given minority constituted or until recently constituted the majority of the population. The Deszk festival aims for something more ambitious: it turns an element of a culture, which is a minority even locally, into the most important attraction of the settlement. This essentially represents a strategy of exoticization: to transform an unknown but attractive characteristic of only a small group of the population into a central element of the image of the settlement. In both cases, employing Dean MacCannell’s theory on the creation of tourist attractions,⁵⁷ we can say that minority culture becomes a marker of the locality. In *Feked*, the thick sausage originating from Swabia, the stifolder, becomes the marker. In *Deszke*, it is the Serbian-originated dish, *ajvar*, that becomes the settlement’s marker. This marker’s content is a foreign cultural element unknown to the local or regional, national majority community.

The approach is by no means unique. Following a trend in Hungary during the 2000s, where every locality endeavoured to create its own unique event, the

⁵⁵ Pusztai 2003. The competitions no longer exist, as the main organizer, who was the mayor, was replaced, and his successors did not see potential in this method of community development.

⁵⁶ The event does not have an official website. According to its Facebook page, it was not held after the COVID pandemic, cf. https://www.facebook.com/kanifilmfeszt/?locale=hu_HU – 08.07.2023.

⁵⁷ MacCannell 1976.

potential cultural elements for such events gradually became saturated. Consequently, it became increasingly challenging to create an event that could attract national attention. In this context, events based on national minorities' cultures offered a new avenue to establish local uniqueness.

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Heritagizing the Maestro

A Study of Dr Bhupen Hazarika Samadhikshetra, a Memorial Site

Dedicated to Dr Bhupen Hazarika

Abstract

Bhupen Hazarika was a multifaceted personality known for his contributions as a singer, songwriter, composer, filmmaker, writer, and social activist from Assam, a state in the north-eastern part of India. To honour his life and works, a memorial site is constructed in the *Jalukbari* area of Assam. The site is called 'Dr Bhupen Hazarika Samadhikshetra'. It is located in Guwahati city, near Gauhati University, in the state of Assam, India. The literal meaning of the Assamese words *Samadhikshetra* is a burial site. Through empirical research, the paper investigates the conceptual framework of heritagization as applied to Dr Hazarika's legacy, focusing on preserving, maintaining, and celebrating his contributions to society. The study emphasises the role of the memorial site, as a tangible example of Dr Hazarika's cultural relevance by delving further into its architectural design, symbolic elements, and commemorative features. Beyond these tangible aspects, the study also addresses the intangible values, identity and collective memories that the site evokes and preserves. The paper also explores the close interaction between the cultural and constructed heritage of the site, emphasising the need for a holistic strategy to protect and preserve the cultural past. Despite controversies and challenges over selecting the last resting place of Dr Hazarika, the *Samadhikshetra* stands as a tribute to his lasting influence and gratitude for his artistic legacy. Through commemorative events and ongoing public engagement, the memorial site continues to serve as a sacred space where Dr Hazarika's spirit can live on and inspire future generations.

Keywords: Dr Bhupen Hazarika, heritagization, preservation, commemoration, memorial site



Introduction

Dr. Bhupen Hazarika was one of the acclaimed persons of Assam born on September 8, 1926, in *Sadiya*, Assam, and passed away on November 5, 2011. He was a singer, songwriter, music producer, poet, journalist, writer and filmmaker. In addition, his writing is a source of immense creative power. When we speak of a composer, we must recognize them as the creator of music or poetry. The individual who crafts original melodies and pairs them with lyrics is known as a lyricist. Moreover, a lyricist who performs their compositions is referred to as both a singer and a lyricist. Dr Bhupen Hazarika embodies this multifaceted role as a singer, lyricist and composer.¹ Dr Hazarika's lyrics are replete with a wide range of emotions and feelings. The main themes of his compositions are revolution, patriotism, feeling for the oppressed and the downtrodden, love, amity, harmony, romanticism and above all humanism.²

Dr Hazarika presided over *Asom Sahitya Sabha* in 1993. He was a recipient of *Padma Shree* (1977), *Padma Bhushan* (2001), *Padma Vibhushan* (posthumously in 2012), *Sangeet Natak Academy Award* (1988), *Dada Saheb Phalke Award* for lifetime achievement in cinema (1993), *Sri manta Sankardeva Award* (1988), Chairman of *Sangeet Natak Academy* (1998), music direction in over 50 films, best music director award by Bangla Film Award Society (1977), by the Bangladesh Film Industry and Bangladesh Journalists Association (1977), Asia Pacific International Film Festival award (1993), it is his life beyond that marks Dr Hazarika as the core cultural icon of not just the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural community called the Assamese but the entire population residing in the North-eastern part of India.³

Through his more than 300 songs, Hazarika addressed issues such as hunger, fear, injustice, and oppression in the region. His compositions tackled political corruption, socioeconomic disparities, and the challenges faced by diverse communities. His songs emphasized the bond between the *Brahmaputra* and *Barak* Valley and the people of the hills and plains. While most of his songs were in Assamese, Hazarika translated many into other languages, notably Bangla and Hindi, expanding their reach to a global audience.

The death of this personality was mourned by countless admirers across India and beyond. Following his death, Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadhibikshetra* was established as a memorial site to honour his lifelong legacy, serving as

¹ Dutta D. 2011.

² Sharma–Gogoi 2018: 20–25.

³ Dutta A. 2013: 443–460.

a tangible embodiment of his cultural significance. Located in *Jalukbari, Guwahati*, in the north-eastern state of Assam, India, this memorial site stands as a tribute to this musical maestro. *Samadbikshetra* is an Assamese term that combines *Samadhi*, meaning burial and *Kshetra*, meaning place or site. Therefore, *Samadbikshetra* refers to the burial site built at the location where Hazarika's cremation took place, signifying the place of his final rest and remembrance.

Therefore, this study is dedicated to exploring the various aspects of the memorial site, including its architectural design, symbolic elements, commemorative features, public engagement, community involvement, challenges and controversies in the development process held in those regards. This study also explores how the site contributes to preserving Dr Bhupen Hazarika's memory and promoting his artistic and cultural legacy for future generations.

Conceptual Framework

On the day of his demise, the then Chief Minister of Assam Traun Gogoi declared that the Government of Assam would preserve his memories.⁴ Later, Gauhati University, a state university of Assam offered a part of the land to practice the last ritual and the Government of Assam constructed a memorial site dedicated to him. It was later named Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadbikshetra* in recognizing its long-lasting cultural achievements. This site is a physical monument to Dr Hazarika, demonstrating his importance and influence throughout his life.

This resulted in the heritagization of his memories. Heritagization can be understood as heritage making or heritage formation. The notion of heritage is commonly defined in reference to the past in the present.⁵ It is portrayed as a product of the wider social, cultural political and economic transitions that have occurred during the late 20th century.⁶ The term "heritage" describes the legacy of natural, historical, and cultural resources that have been passed down from generations, preserved in the present, and handed over to future ones. This can include tangible heritage such as buildings, monuments artefacts and intangible heritage such as traditions, language and cultural practices. UNESCO defines heritage as an "outstanding universal value" and "irreplaceable source of life and inspiration" that is built from the past but used contempo-

⁴ Bhagwati 2011: 1.

⁵ Park-Tae-Ok: 2019.

⁶ Harvey 2001: 319–338.

rarily.⁷ This contemporary use of heritage revolves around the idea of preserving the past. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is of opinion that heritage isn't simply lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. Even with all the talk of conserving, preserving, restoring, reclaiming, recovering, recreating, recuperating, revitalizing, and regenerating, heritage produces something new in the present by drawing on the past.⁸ The elements of tangible heritage like buildings, materials, and physical spaces are often seen as the primary carriers of heritage. However, these physical aspects are imbued with intangible qualities such as cultural significance, historical narratives, and collective memory. Laurajane Smith is of the view that heritage is a mentality. She argues that "if heritage is a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing, then all heritage becomes, in a sense, intangible"⁹. Therefore, heritage is not just something physical or tangible. It is a mindset and way of understanding and perceiving things. When one views heritage this way it opens the way to perceive the intangibility of things such as a sense of place, history behind the place and memory. Smith believes that "heritage is a symbolic representation of identity. Material or tangible heritage provides a physical representation of those things from the past that speak to a sense of place, a sense of self, of belonging and community"¹⁰. Heritage also helps shape our identity by giving material form to who we are often tied to national identity. According to Smith, "the representational and symbolic value of heritage is constructing and giving material reality to identity is well recognised although analysis of the way heritage is thus used is often articulated in terms of national identity"¹¹. The architectural design, archiving technique and representation process of the memorial site of Dr Hazarika make him an identity of the cultural icon of Assam.

Following this concept, this paper delves into the heritagization of a person's life and works which encompasses the multifaceted process of recognizing, preserving and commemorating their contributions to society. The process of turning anything into heritage is called heritagization. The process is produced and raised by the more extensive political, cultural, social, and economic processes of contemporary society rather than being created independently. Through heritagization, cultural practices, traditions, sites, and objects are identified, recognized and preserved as part of society's heritage. With his

⁷ UNESCO: 1972.

⁸ Gimblett-Kirshenblatt: 1995: 367–380.

⁹ Smith 2006: 54.

¹⁰ Smith 2006: 30.

¹¹ Smith 2006: 48.

critique of the rise of 'heritage industry' in 20th century Britain, Hewison argues that heritageisation is the result of the 'heritage industry' which plays a pivotal role in commercialising and idealizing the past.¹² Therefore, heritagization emerges to preserve and reshape the past. Heritagization is not about the fixation of the past, but it is ongoing progress that makes and remakes that past to fit into the present values and ideas.¹³ In essence, heritagization is the process of constructing heritage from the past to address current needs or issues. It involves activating cultural heritage and discussing how to protect, conserve, and restore it. Since cultural heritage is the result of a collective choice of what is 'heritagizable' which involves discussion, selection, conflict and compromise, heritagization can be thought as the process of value construction. It is a process that places value upon places, people, things, practices, histories or ideas as an inheritance from the past.¹⁴ The process begins with the identification and selection of elements deemed to be worthy of preservation and remember. If heritage is that from the past which groups consider important to remember and re-remember as part of crafting and articulating various identities in the present, then memory and memory work are intrinsic, constitutive properties of heritage.¹⁵ Bendix is of opinion that heritage has two main meanings. First, it is linked to tourism and historical sites preserved for the nation, involving institutions that celebrate and maintain objects, landscapes, monuments, and buildings from the past. Second, it refers to shared values and collective memories.¹⁶ Therefore, this work seeks to explore the heritagization of Dr Bhupen Hazarika, examining how his legacy has been identified, interpreted and commemorated over time through the heritage that is Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadbikshetra* or the Dr Bhupen Hazarika Memorial site. The Site bears the cultural history, memory and past of Assam.

Heritage involves acts or performances of remembering, not just performances of remembering in terms of recounting oral histories, but also in embodying that remembering.¹⁷ Heritagization thus involves the commemoration of a particular event related to that heritage. Commemoration can be defined as the act of remembering someone or something. This act takes place with activities such as honouring and paying tribute to someone or something that has had a significant impact on our lives. Commemorations can be both public

¹² Hewison 1987: 83–106.

¹³ Quyen 2021: 15.

¹⁴ Park–Tae–Ok 2019: 1555–1566.

¹⁵ Wagstaff–Sather 2015: 191–204.

¹⁶ Bendix 2009: 253–269.

¹⁷ Smith 2006: 47.

and private. The primary purpose of commemoration is to create and sustain an understanding of the past. Any commemoration aims to define and perpetuate popular historical knowledge. Thus, the forms commemoration takes are also essentially forms of knowledge that entail different modes of engagement and different objects of knowing.¹⁸ Buckler and Johnson argue that commemorative displays are part of the “Invented Tradition”, termed by Eric Hobsbawm.¹⁹ According to Hobsbawm, ‘invented tradition’ is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both traditions invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and debatable period.²⁰ Therefore, it can be understood that commemoration is an invented tradition because it frequently entails the deliberate development and formalisation of rituals, ceremonies, and symbols to pay tribute to historical occurrences, notable people, or shared memories. For example, the establishment of particular narratives, symbols (like flags or monuments), and rituals (like parades or moments of silence) are commonly used in memorial days and other public remembrance events to foster a sense of shared identity and historical continuity.

Some types of remembrance develop more naturally as a result of grassroots projects, oral histories, and community customs. These commemorations may not have formal recognition but still contribute to a collective sense of identity and memory. The commemoration of Dr Bhupen Hazarika in *Samadbikshetra* exemplifies how ‘invented traditions’ function within societies. It highlights the processes through which commemoration is enacted, serving both to honour him and to reinforce collective identity and continuity within the community. Being a physical representation of Dr Hazarika’s cultural heritage, the *Samadbikshetra* not only commemorates his memory but also represents the principles, traditions, and artistic manifestations that he promoted throughout his life. Commemoration and memorialisation can reflect developments in the political process of peace-making. Acting as a barometer for changing, and emergent, pressures in a society emerging from conflict.²¹ The controversies related to selecting the Dr Hazarika’s last resting place and preserving his memory and the political interference are significant. Political interference is evident in the controversies surrounding the construction of Bhupen Hazarika’s memorial site. Therefore, this work will further explore these controversies, highlighting the complexities and issues involved.

¹⁸ Golburt 2013: 105–131.

¹⁹ Buckler–Johnson 2013: 7.

²⁰ Hobsbawm 2012: 1–14.

²¹ Bort 2004: 3.

This site, dedicated to commemorating his life's work and contributions to Assamese culture and beyond, exemplifies the concept of *lieux de memoire* [sites of memory]. The memorial site, with its monuments, displays, and tributes, serves as a focal point for preserving and passing along his artistic and cultural legacy to future generations. The moment of *lieux de memoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history.²² Nora contends that these sites are intentionally designed to retain a collective memory of the past, usually in response to a perceived threat of forgetting or to shape a specific historical narrative. However, he also points out that these sites might lose their original context or significance with time.

In case of Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadhikshetra*, the Process of heritagization opened the door to politics of representation. The politics of representation revolve around the idea of selecting what to include, how to interpret and how to display different points of view within the museum exhibitions and collections. Preservation of the life and works pictorially, shows the importance of preserving his memories. Preserving and displaying of selected pictures and objects fixes the memory of Dr Bhupen Hazarika and his legacy. This way the memorial site of Dr Bhupen Hazarika acts as a museum which represents his life and Assam's past. Therefore, museum works as representational system. Like language, as mentioned by Stuart Hall, a museum exhibition or display in a museum or gallery can also be thought of as representational system, since it uses objects on display to produce certain meanings about the subject-matter of the exhibition.²³ The museum acts as a repository for cultural memory, possessing objects, images, testimonials and other media that actively represent the past.²⁴ This also signifies the 'museumification' of a person. Museumification is a process whilst originating in the museum is not confined by it. In the interpretive medium of museumification, everything is a potential 'artefact'-entire villages, or abstractions such as 'ethnicity' and 'nation', or human beings.²⁵

Methodology

The study focuses on the representation of the memories of Dr Bhupen Hazarika at the memorial site located in *Jalukbari*, near Gauhati University in

²² Nora 1989: 12.

²³ Hall 1997: 5

²⁴ Bochantin 2019: 17.

²⁵ Dellios 2002: 1–16.

Assam, India. Repeated visits were made to understand the process of heritagization and the architecture and archival patterns of Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadhikshetra* and Dr Hazarika's life and achievements. Due to the limited availability of research on heritagization of Dr Bhupen Hazarika, further studies are required to comprehend the process of heritagization of this musical maestro through a memorial site. Empirical data for this study was collected through our visit to the site and semi-structured interviews with Gauhati University students, various individuals from throughout Assam, and the managing staff of *Samadhikshetra*.

To gather primary data, we used observation methods to study the architecture and preservation at the *Samadhikshetra* campus and museum. For secondary data, we reviewed newspaper articles from the day of Dr Bhupen Hazarika's demise and consulted various books and articles about his life and contributions. We used content analysis to understand the controversy over his final resting place by examining newspapers, articles, and documents. Resources such as the Newspaper Archive of Srimanta Sankardeva Kalakshetra Library and Gauhati University KKH Library enriched our understanding.

We visited the Srimanta Sankardeva Kalakshetra Library in Guwahati on April 25, 2024. This cultural institute in Guwahati, Assam, includes a museum with Dr Hazarika's private belongings and furniture from his house. Despite the significance of this museum, which was inaugurated by Dr Hazarika himself, we chose not to focus our research on this location. Instead, our primary focus was on Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadhikshetra*, established posthumously to honor his memory and legacy. This site offers a unique perspective on the process of heritagization, making it an appropriate subject for our research. Additionally, on April 20, 2024, we visited Gauhati University KKH Library, which has a dedicated section for archiving books and magazines related to Dr Hazarika.

Our initial encounter with the museum was a casual visit spurred by curiosity. However, as we explored the preservation of Dr Bhupen Hazarika's life, we decided to document our findings in this paper. This led us to undertake three additional visits, each lasting at least three hours, dedicated to academic exploration. On April 20, 2024, we conducted interviews with students from Gauhati University, who have been paying tribute to the maestro since his death. People across Assam, including political leaders and artists, pay tributes on his birth and death anniversaries annually. The interviews aimed to understand the commemoration activities and visitors' perceptions.

We made three visits to Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadhikshetra* for research purposes. On April 19, 2024, we examined the museum of the *Samadhikshetra*

and the surrounding region, analysing the preservation technique and contents of the institution. On April 23, 2024, we revisited the *Samadbikshetra* to learn more about the architecture and the importance of each object presented there. During the visit, we also conducted 20 to 30-minute interviews with some of the managing Staff as well as visitors. These interviews focused on visitors' perceptions, commemoration rites for Dr Hazarika's birth and death anniversaries, and the maintenance of *Samadbikshetra*. The questions were open-ended in nature to allow flexibility. The questions we asked the managing staffs included, for example, the following²⁶: *What types of commemorative rituals are observed at this site? Who are the prime visitors to the Samadbikshetra? How many workers are employed here?* To the visitors and students of Gauhati University, we asked some of the questions such as *How familiar are you with Dr Bhupen Hazarika? What did you learn from your visit to the memorial site?* We conducted interviews with a diverse group comprising twenty visitors and twelve Gauhati University students including passed-out students and PhD scholars, ranging in age from approximately 20 to 45 years old. We asked the university students specific questions about commemorative rites. The question is as follows: *how do you perform commemorative rite on the day of death and birth anniversaries?* On April 26, 2024, we revisited the Samadhikshetra at 5:30 pm IST during the evening to capture photographs of lighting and the ambience of that area that were pertinent to our research article.

Controversy over construction of memorial site

Following Dr Bhupen Hazarika's death, a significant controversy developed over his ultimate resting site. On the day of his demise, the residents of *Tezpur* made an appeal that Dr Hazarika had expressed his desire for his eternal resting place to be beside that of *Bishnu Prasad Rabha* throughout his lifetime in numerous gatherings and various public platforms. Given the tremendous significance of his statements, the residents sincerely asked that his last rites should be carried out following his wish.

The All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) appealed for a plot of land similar to *Rajghat* in New Delhi to serve as a centre of faith for all people, irrespective of place, caste, or community. AASU had already constructed a statue of Dr Hazarika on the bank of the *Dighalipukhuri*, a pond located in Guwahati, Assam which the musician himself revealed on February 14, 2009.

²⁶ Chakraborty 2021: 69–88.

The government decided to cremate Dr Hazarika at the *Bharalumukh Sankar Uddyan* in Fancy Bazar. The chief secretary of the state and other bureaucrats met in the evening to decide to remind Dr Hazarika at that park. But the decision was resented by various sections of the people because according to them the place was not a good fit for the great personality.²⁷ Satyen Das, general secretary of the NSUI (National Students' Union of India) Assam State Committee, appealed to the Assam government to create a separate memorial site for Dr Hazarika.²⁸

Controversy over the grounds for the cremation of Dr Bhupen Hazarika came to an end when the state government decided to perform his last rites on the plot of land offered by Gauhati University authorities in *Jalukbari*.²⁹ On November 9 2011, Hazarika's cremation was done in the presence of Assam, the chief minister, the Governor's council of ministers, MLAs, leaders, students and countless fans which was also widely telecasted through media.

The reason for selecting the plot of land in *Jalukbari* is that it is spacious and is located by the national highway. The plot of land is also close to the Brahmaputra River, which was close to the heart of the Maestro. Moreover, it would be a space for travellers or people to sit and relax. Guwahati University family also requested the people and the government of the state to accept their offer as a symbol of respect to this Maestro, who had composed the anthem for Gauhati University *Jhilikabo Luitore Paar* in 1956.³⁰

Plan of the Samadhikshetra, the Memorial Site

The main aim of the *Samadhikshetra* is to preserve Dr Hazarika's creations. The museum stands 30 meters high with three floors. The ground floor of the museum features a gallery showcasing Dr Hazarika's professional accomplishments and his brief but impactful political involvement, as depicted through photographs. The first floor houses another gallery with images from his recording studios and the time surrounding his passing. It also contains a conference hall. Conveniently placed staircases and mirrored elevators allow visitors to access the different floors. Its dome-shaped top, wrapped in transparent white cloth, draws inspiration from the *Kamakhya* Temple located in Assam

²⁷ Baruah P. 2011a: 1.

²⁸ Laskar 2011: 9.

²⁹ Baruah P. 2011b: 1.

³⁰ Baruah P. 2011b: 1.

which is one of the sacred places of India. The museum's design incorporates elements from Dr Hazarika's songs and literary works. The museum includes a gallery, an audio-visual room showcasing his movies and videos, and four music rooms where visitors can listen to his songs. The memorial site has a land area of 9924.76 square meters. The eternal soul fire is placed. There are open spaces for cars and motorbikes parking at the entrance to the *Samadhi*. On the entrance path, the ticket booth is located. There are seats and benches for sitting, and water jets are placed for rest.³¹

The *Samadhikshetra* campus is designed with streams, ponds, flowers, decorative plants, and a hedge garden. A small stream surrounds the memorial, and a water fountain with colourful lights and melodies enhances the evening atmosphere. A platform near the fountain offers visitors a place to rest. The campus features a statue of Dr Hazarika and a platform shaped like an island that holds a replica of a pen and microphone, under which his cremation ashes are placed. An electrical lamp attached to the replica honours him. Dr Hazarika's statue is positioned near the entrance route to the museum, symbolizing his lasting impact. A music system plays his timeless songs throughout the park. There is also a designated area to the right of the museum for a *diya* [an oil lamp] that signifies the daily ritual of lighting a lamp in his honour, creating a reverent ambience and inviting guests to pay their respects. The lighting system features a dark middle space, while the flat posts outside the memorial are illuminated with lights in diverse colours. The museum is open to the public from 10:00 AM to 1:00 PM and from 2:00 PM to 7:30 PM, except Thursdays. The *Samadhikshetra* employs a staff of fourteen, including various personnel, an electrician, a gardener, and four security guards.

Politics of Preservation in Samadhikshetra

The entrance, designed like a home, represents the eternal resting place of Dr Bhupen Hazarika. Visitors must remove their shoes before entering the main museum after ascending to the *Samadhi*. This activity resembles with the sacredness of *Kamakhya* Temple as the dome construction of the museum is influenced by the same. Immediately upon entering the gate, a replica of a pen and microphone can be observed, demonstrating his creativity as a musical and vocal artist and his role as an advocate for social change. The water fountain, representing his love for rivers, is symbolic of his expressive voice

³¹ Baruah G. 2015: 53–56.

and impromptu poetic writings. Furthermore, the fountain embodies a sense of peacefulness and provides a conducive atmosphere for visitors to relax.



Pic. Nr. 1: *The entrance of the Samadhi kshetra*
Photo: Leenasri Gogoi



Pic. Nr. 2: *The Museum (Dome Shaped)*
Photo: Leenasri Gogoi



Pic. Nr. 3: *The replica of the Pen
and Microphone and attached electrical lamp*
Photo: Leenasri Gogoi

The museum honours Dr Hazarika by addressing a different aspect of his life and career on each floor, with its design modelled like two hands in *Namaskar*. Various photographs of his life and works are kept and illustrated within the museum. Archiving Dr Bhupen Hazarika's photos with titles that refer to songs that are pertinent to them is one of the innovative ways to contextualize and preserve his legacy. The archive's arrangement of the collection and the addition of song titles to each image provide viewers with a deeper insight into Hazarika's life and creative output.

His early years, childhood, family, cinematic career, political career, and singing career are all featured on the ground floor. One of Dr Hazarika's songs, *Xaibatae Dhemalite Tumare Umola Monot Ase*, is labelled on his childhood photo. The meaning of the lyrics is, "I remember playing with you when we were kids". Pictures from his cinematic career, political career, and interactions with filmmakers are preserved. Hazarika is featured in multiple photos alongside well-known musicians and celebrities, all of whom are identified by the song *Ami ekekhoan naore jatri*. The lyric meaning carries that we are the passengers of the same boat. His musical journey is detailed in another section, along with images of him playing at various musical gatherings under the heading *Mor gee-tor bejar srota Tomak Namaskar*. My greetings to the thousands of people who have listened to my music are conveyed in the lyrics. The song *Prithivi nokoba moi akalxaria* is labelled on the photos of him in various moods and situations. The meaning of the lyrics is "the world, don't say I'm alone".

Ascending to the next floor, photographs kept are of his accolades and accomplishments by the stairs, signifying the advancement of his career. Placing photos of his honours and accomplishments on the wall beside the staircase is located not only improves the room's aesthetic appeal but also narrates the tale of his ongoing development, success, and inspiration. The staircases evoke the idea of progress. Each step represents a stage or milestone in his journey.

The initial photo depicts his death upon arriving at the first floor. The picture's placement symbolically signifies the start of a new era rather than the conclusion of his voyage. His song *Moi jetia ei jibanar maya eri gusi jam / Axa koru mor sitar kaxot tomar Xohari pam* is the caption on the photo on the day of his death. The meaning of the lyric conveys that "I want to receive your response near my eternal resting place when I leave this life". The additional archives in this section feature Dr Hazarika at meetings and social occasions, replicas of CD and book cover pages by him, images of Hazarika with various people, and portraits drawn by artists. Another section includes news items about Dr Hazarika, photocopies of his handwritten letters, self-composed poems and lyrics, and pictures of him with members of various ethnic communities

in Northeast India. Dr Bhupen Hazarika considered all the ethnic groups, as well as the tribal communities, as the pure son of the soil, and it gave him immense pleasure to see the unity among people.³² His song *Moi eti jajabor Dhorar dibinge dipange louru nibisari nija ghar* is captioned with a picture of his travels and experiences around the globe. The meaning of the lyrics is, “I am a nomad who travels the world without looking for a place to call home”.

His final rituals’ ashes and the items he used such as shoes, glasses, garments, *gamosa*, hat, etc.—are preserved on the second floor of this museum. There is a wooden statue of him kept in one of the sections. Artworks of Hazarika’s picture painted on pipal leaves by artists are kept there.



Pic. Nr. 4: *The presentation of his life and works*
Photo: Leenasri Gogoi

The museum specifically archives the different artists’ paintings based on some of the most well-known melodies through canvases. Such as his song *Koto Jomanor mrityu hol* [so many soldiers are dead], which is based on the Sino–Indian war of 1962 is placed on the ground floor. Durlabh Bhattacharjee is the one who drew the paintings. His love and care for the nation’s military are demonstrated in the song. Dr. Bhupen Hazarika’s works are influenced by Srimanta Sankardeva, a saint, scholar, dramatist, rural entrepreneur, and social and religious reformer in Assamese culture and history. *Sankardeva*, considered by some Assamese people as an incarnation and a foremost worthy son

³² Dutta D. 2011: 176.

of God, significantly impacted Hazarika's creations.³³ Dr Hazarika derived his inspiration from Srimanta Shankardeva and started his musical career with his first song *Kusumbar putra* in his school days. The painting themed on this song is done by Debananda Ulup. The museum has another painting by Debananda Ulup that is based on the song *Ami Axomiya Nabau Dukhia* [We, the Assamese are not poor] by Hazarika. Hazarika calls on the Assamese people to take action in the song. Another song of Hazarika which is about his call to people to come out to fight the evil forces in society named *Aah Aah olai Ab Xojag Janata* [Come, come outside the conscious people] is illustrated through a painting by Durlabh Bhattacharjee. We can say that those songs by Dr Bhupen Hazarika, which reflect communalism and political indulgence, can be labelled as “protest songs”³⁴. The picturisation of his song *Moi eti jajabor* [I am a Nomad] is done by Atul Baruah. The picturisation of his song *Bistirna parore* [the extensive shores] is done by the artist Aminul Haque. The song is a reflection of the ways he addresses the mighty Brahmaputra.



Pic. Nr. 5: *The picturisation of Dr Hazarika's Song*

Photo: Sayani Sarkar

³³ Hazarika 2019: 752–756.

³⁴ Dutta D. 2011: 44.

Bhupen Hazarika's work characterised by a sense of empathy and humanistic values has led some scholars to argue that he merits recognition as a great humanist as well as a cultural figure. Hence some scholars compare him with Mahapurush Srimanta Shankardeva and Madhavdeva in Assam. These two saints and literary figures of Assam reformed the minds of the people during the *Vaishnav* period, and it is now Dr Bhupen Hazarika, who in the era of human love, tried to spread the feeling of love, unity, and national integrity amongst the people.³⁵ His song *Manuhe Manubor babe* [Human is for human] is a reflection of the humanistic approach which was the primary characteristic of his creations. The picturisation of this song is placed in the archive is done by Atul Barua. Picturisation of his song *Asom amar rupohi* [our Assam is beautiful], a song of patriotism, done by Naren Das is placed in another section. The picturisation of his song *borodoisila ne borudoisila* [Bordoichila is a storm occurs during the springtime in Assam] is done by Durlabh Bhattacharjee. The song reflects the social consciousness of Dr Hazarika. The picturisation of his song *Mahabahu Brahmaputra* [The almighty Brahmaputra] is done by Dadul Chaliha. The song explains social harmony and integrity.



Pic. Nr. 6: *The Statue of Dr Hazarika*
Photo: Sayani Sarkar

³⁵ Dutta D. 2011: 124.



Pic. Nr. 7: *The area where diya is placed.*

Photo: Sayani Sarkar

Commemorative rites

In India, commemorative rites have their roots in both religious and cultural customs. These rites frequently entail practices such as offering food, flowers, and prayers to the departed or one's ancestors. Every family or group may have customs specific to their background and cultural history. While the commemoration of an ancestor is typically a private, family-oriented affair, the commemoration of a public figure transforms into a communal event, often supported and organized by institutions, media, and public ceremonies. Being a public figure, the commemoration of Dr Bhupen Hazarika, at the *Samadbikshetra* is a prime example of such a community event. Public commemorations at the *Samadbikshetra* serve to legitimize cultural narratives and keep his legacy alive.

The commemorative rite at the *Samadbikshetra* began with offering a lighting *diya*, an oil lamp from the day of Hazarika's demise. Since his final rites were performed at the site, the lamp offered to his departed soul has been kept continuously lit since 2011. Mr Dulal Talukdar is in charge of maintaining this daily ritual at a place where a lamp has remained since Hazarika's death. Talukdar claims that he has committed to this work and cannot leave until a family member or a selected person takes over. The *diya* was originally placed where

Hazarika was cremated, but a separate location was selected for it during the construction of the replica of the pen and microphone in the area. The electric *diya* in the replica is only lit on certain occasions to save electricity. Talukdar considers it an honour to carry out this work, viewing it as a responsibility and an opportunity to pray for Hazarika daily. He ensures the lamp remains continuously lit by using a method where he lights a temporary lamp from the original flame when the wick is nearing its end. This allows him to clean the main *diya* and replace the wick without extinguishing the flame. The *diya* is housed in a glass box to protect it from the wind. This shows the significance and commitment involved in maintaining the daily commemorative ritual at the *Samadbikshetra*, through the personal dedication of Mr Talukdar in keeping the lamp burning continuously in honour of the deceased. Talukdar provided insights into visitor engagement at the site, noting that they receive a diverse range of visitors from across Assam and India daily. He mentioned that the number of visitors significantly increases during weekends and the summer vacation period in Assam (July 1st to July 30th). During this time, families often visit with their children to learn about Hazarika's legacy.

Some of the important commemorative ceremonies and cultural events are held on significant occasions in Hazarika's life, such as his birth and death anniversaries. The Guwahati University community, student unions, various political parties from Assam, cultural institutions, notable artists, and people from across Assam visit the site to offer their prayers. Sajag Bora, a student of Gauhati University, Himanjit Deka, General Secretary at Post Graduate Student's Union (2023–24) of Gauhati University, says that "the ritual primarily involves offering flowers and lighting the *diya*. Additionally, informal and formal cultural programs are organized, where participants discuss Dr Hazarika's creations and selectively perform his songs". On these occasions, fans bring imaginative, hand-drawn drawings of Hazarika, which the museum administration preserves and archives. These drawings highlight Hazarika's lasting impact and his ability to connect with people of all ages.

These events honour his legacy and provide an opportunity for the general public to become aware of and recognize his accomplishments and services. Therefore, such commemorations are purposive, aimed at educating the public and honouring Hazarika's influence on society and the nation. Commemoration in *Samadbikshetra* hence is about maintaining his legacy and impact.

In addition to such commemorations, notable individuals from across Assam gather at *Samadbikshetra* to offer their prayers to Bhupen Hazarika during *Bobag Bihu*. It is a festival, that marks the beginning of the Assamese New Year. The love and offerings dedicated to Hazarika on this particular day affirm that

the Assamese masses recognise and cherish his love for the nation. This love is beautifully encapsulated in Hazarika's own words through his song: "Bohag is neither a season nor a month; it is the lifeline of the Assamese nation, the courage of the mass life".



Pic. Nr. 8: *The commemorative rites by Students of Gauhati University*
Photo: Sajag Bora



Pic. Nr. 9: *The tribute to the Maestro*
Photo: Sajag Bora



*Pic Nr. 10: The garland offered
on statue by a student of Gauhati University*
Photo: Himanjit Deka



Pic Nr. 11: The prayers offered by students
Photo: Himanjit Deka

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the study that the whole preservation process results in the heritagization of a person and his memory. The heritagization of Dr Bhupen Hazarika's life and works, as embodied in the memorial site, serves as a process of preserving, maintaining and commemorating his cultural significance. Through detailed architectural design, symbolic representation and commemorative features, the memorial site is more than just a physical monument. It is a living tribute to the musical maestro and thus illustrates the close interaction between cultural and constructed heritage. The site's incorporation of natural elements such as streams, fountains, gardens, etc., not only improves its aesthetic appeal but also honours the sources of inspiration for Dr Hazarika's creative endeavours. This holistic approach emphasises the fundamental link between cultural heritage, artistic expression and the natural environment. Despite controversies and problems during its development, including difficulties over the final resting location, the *Samadhikshetra* currently serves as a beacon of togetherness for Dr Bhupen Hazarika's supporters and the larger community through annual commemorative events and continuous public engagement. The memorial site exemplifies his existence in people's hearts after many years of his demise. Visitors from all over Assam and beyond converge to pay tribute to the. In essence, Dr Bhupen Hazarika *Samadhikshetra* serves as a sacred place for preserving the legacy of Dr Bhupen Hazarika, ensuring that his spirit lives on in the hearts and minds of future generations.

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Nóra Ábrahám

Youth Education Efforts of the 1940s

*Representative Activities of
the Mass-dance Cult-programme and the Beginnings
of Academic Dance Research in Budapest*

Abstract

My paper aims to present the dance culture of the 1940s and to explore its scientific approach to dance. According to results of my research, the “national-rescue activity” originating in Budapest looked for the promise of demonstrating “cultural-superiority” in youth education. Movement artists and newly formed amateur ensembles also played a role in this. The initial dance research, following the European research trend, was based on the application of ethnological theories. Based on an exploratory investigation of the acculturation process of folklore flowing into the capital city space from the countryside with a cultural-historical anthropological approach, the following questions were formulated in my paper: did the village research and the work of Scientific Institute in the 1940s have an impact on the style of dance that also played a representative role, appearing as a result of the youth education efforts in Budapest? How does appear in the source works that published the research results of that time? My paper seeks the answers to these questions.

Keywords: dance research, cultural anthropology, symbolic representation, dance theory, representative activities



My paper focuses to show the folklore phenomena can be found in the urban space that was started in the 1930s.¹ In my previous study, I began to explore the symbolic folklore content appearing in the urban space, which I analysed in the category of stage dance, ballroom dance, movement art appearing in the 1920s and 30s.² As I started in my former paper, I examine the cultural phenomenon of dance within the concept of cultural anthropology in a historical and symbolic anthropological approach methodology.³ My research reveals the synchronous functioning of the social and cultural processes of the Capital city, *Budapest* in the historical period of the first half of the 20th century. Accordingly, my study attempts to interpret the concept of artistic dance as a contemporary cultural phenomenon in the 40s in the 20th century (symbolic space and activities related to it, such as a stage and creation) as well as the theoretical basis and practise of the initial period of academic dance research.⁴ However, my research requires the mapping out of additional segments as well in order to present the action strategies of movement artists and change in the genre of form of movement art and its additional content features.

My paper presents the folklore research activities of the 1940s, the establishment and then the dissolution of folk colleges, also the circumstances of the birth of the first dance ensembles. The complexity of this period is increased by the outbreak of World War II, the creation of sudden ideological and symbolic cult in society, as well as the content of result of this in popular culture. This means the interaction of the nascent stage folk dance and the cultural morphological theory with a geographical historical approach was used as the basic principle of ethnological research in this period.⁵ It is extremely important to explore this period, because it answers many hidden questions that covered the birth of the folk-dance movement until now.

My hypothesis continues to be based on the analysis of the symbolic meanings of the traditional creations in the spaces of the city, which includes the body and dance culture that appears on stage.⁶ In addition, I use Lajos Szabó's Movement theory applied to the interpretation of cultural phenomena emerging in the 1940s.⁷ In accordance with the creation of urban tradition, I also

¹ My research was conducted in the Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology program of the Doctoral School of History of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen.

² Ábrahám 2022.

³ Burke 2000; Klaniczay 1984; Turner 1974; Turner 1987.

⁴ Hofer 2009: 214.

⁵ Varga 1939; Sylvain 1991.

⁶ Hobsbawm 1986; Kapitány Á.–Kapitány G. 2021; Turner 1974.

⁷ Szabó 1995: 117.

present the inventory of historical-social “nation-saving” objectives and the birth of secularised “modern” spirit. This secularized “modern” spirit covers the conceptual system of “the Father as a brilliant spiritual Leader” and the mass-culture appearing as a character-armour. The international reality of the broad masses of people, becoming a “Symbol of Paradise”, keeps it peace in the “Easter Bloc”, after the losses of World War II. Its main task is to protect peace and enforce the centralized ideology of “national character”. This way, we can trace the “popular romanticism” and guided cultural interest of the New Man, who creates a New Life forged in a battle of the class struggle, as an idyllic version of the Future resulting from a Victory of the Principled Revolutionary.⁸ The results of the *falukutató-mozgalom* [village-research Movements] and the dance research started in this period plays an important role. Sándor Karácsony, Béla Balázs, Elemér Muharay, István Molnár, Béla Bartók, Olga Szentpál, Anna Pór and Edit Kaposi will be recurring characters from my previous study.

My paper is inspired by the fact that it currently exists in the dance historical canon as a mysteriously complex, multi-branched and rather enigmatic hard-to-follow period. However, I will point out that I do not intend to override previous researches, my goal is merely to supplement and contextualise social, artistic, and creative processes and make their interactions visible in popular culture. In my paper, I present the process in which, despite a strong political orientation and an open but direct interest in the research of traditions central. I explore the initial efforts to dance-research, its theoretical background, and its application in an urban stage dance culture. As a public social place, the concept of the Cultural Centre appears in this period, which is not the same as the concept of the theatre space and the ballroom. It is necessary to interpret the Cultural Centre as a community space, primarily serving youth education, which supports the “unified” culture of the community. Thus, my research questions are the following: What is the role of the dance culture of the 1940s? Is the current village research followed by efforts to pursue dance research at some level? How does the primary representative role of folk dance develop? What is the heritage of the choreographic trends of the 1930s? My study seeks to answer these questions in the thematic section of my research exploring the 1940s.

⁸ Kapitány Á.–Kapitány G. 2021: 280–282.

The village-research movements and the Institute of Landscape and Ethnography

Here we have to go back to 1938, because the *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] and Ethnography was founded under the patronage of Pál Teleki, who considered the sociographic exploration of the village as its primary task. The results of this were published in November of 1938, which, contrary to Teleki's plans, highlighted the region's high degree of backwardness, its social problems, pressing solutions to the serious land issue and urgent administrative reform.⁹ At this time, Pál Teleki distanced himself not only from the Institute of Landscape and Ethnography, but also from his students.¹⁰ After Teleki, István Györffy took over this management. Unfortunately, Györffy died unexpectedly in 1939, but the Institute continued to operate in its investigation research work. Its methodology is described in Kálmán Újszászy's article *The Village*. This work presents the example of *Sárospatak*, which as a continuation of research, resulted in sociographic descriptions and research of *Hegyköz-Hegyalja-Bodrogköz*, *Dunavölgy* (*Sárköz* and *Bukovinai szeklers*), *Gömör* and *Kiskunság*.¹¹ These monographs do not deal with dance, or only tangentially. Újszászy's research guide, on the other hand, mentions dance as part of spiritual ethnography. It discusses in great detail the theoretical theses, exploring the life of village and its inhabitants, the life of beliefs, settlement plan, spirituality, and research methodology of the objective and spiritual ethnographic description.¹² However, during the practical implementation of the research, it turned out that the peasants tended to close rather than open because of the questionnaire inquiry. This way, interviews and joint work resulting from personal conversations have become the effective method of exploration. This data is interesting from the point of view of my research, because dance research has followed a similar path, albeit with a slight delay, according to my

⁹ Kósa 2001: 170–173.

¹⁰ Borbándi 1983: 238–240.

¹¹ Several monographs from the research materials of the village-research camps that lasted from 1939 to 1944 were published by the Institute of Landscape and Ethnography. See: Papp L. 1941; Peja 1941; Kádár 1941; Mády (ed.) 1942; Végh 1942. Cf: Bartha 2011; Granasztói 2009.

¹² Related to this, the film dance-recordings made by Elizabeth C. Rearick in 1932, and Sándor Gönyey between 1932–36 can be mentioned as a prehistory of dance research. See: Rearick 1939; as well as the records of the Ethnological database of Museum of Ethnography, based on the data found – Filming folk dances in Hungarian-inhabited areas (map) EA 28046.

results so far. During this period, thanks to the Vienna Decisions, *Felvidék*, *Bácska* and Transylvania were again attached to Hungary between 1938–1945.¹³ In 1940, Gyula Ortutay sent a memorandum to the Institute of Hungarian Studies, in which he urged the recording of the cultural forms of the ethnic groups, and then asked the institute to track changes in social and cultural involvement from year to year.¹⁴ The very beginning of dance research can also be dated from here. In the collections made by István Molnár in 1941–1942, in the total of 175 figures published in his publication, we also meet figures from *Kiskunhalas*, *Decsi-Sárkőzi-Tolna* counties, in addition to figures of Transdanubia, *Kalotaszeg*, *Székegyföld*, *Szatmár*, *Gyimes* and those artificial dances. This book was not published until 1947, the circumstances of which I will cover in a later part of my writing.¹⁵ In 1945, the *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] was transformed into the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Néptudományi Intézete* [Institute of Ethnology of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute], where they continued their investigation and analysis work.¹⁶ Thus, the research-work of the dance category seems to follow the footsteps of the scout's movement, the 12-point of the March Front in *Debrecen* and the village research.¹⁷ I would like to note, however that, during this period Molnár did not think of a stage dance recorded as a regional-unity, but only in figures and choreographic-formal communication, as can be traced in the volume *Élő Népkalládák* [Living folk ballads] published in 1942.¹⁸ During this period, István Molnár learned the folk dance, and became the leader of the dance groups organized in folk-colleges, alongside Elemér Muharay. Thanks to the village-research, Elemér Muharay also created the *Fót* village-stage in 1938 with cooperation of István Volly, and Iván Szabó, who joined them in 1939. This follows the folk ballads

¹³ Imrédi-Molnár–Takács 1944: 3.

¹⁴ Ortutay 1947; Belényesi 1958: 3.

¹⁵ Molnár 1947.

¹⁶ This *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézete* [Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute] has three departments. The first part was the *Történettudományi Intézet* [Institute of Historic Science] (headmaster: Domonkos Kosáry), the second part was the Journal of the Institute (*Revue d'Histoire Comparée*), and the third one was the *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology] (headmaster: Györfly György). Kónya 1998: 126.

¹⁷ From 1945, in terms of cultural diplomatic relations, it applied not only within the country but also to the establishment of kinship relations between the peoples of the Carpathian Basin and the Danube Valley, which served to establish contact and cooperation between Romanian, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Polish peoples. See: N. Szabó 1998: 18–21.

¹⁸ Molnár 1943.

style developed by the movement artists working in the Capital city. This style of balladry became a speciality of the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble], founded in 1940s. Before I come to that, I will describe the creation of the folk-colleges, their activities, and their influence on dance culture.



Pic. Nr. 1: *Cultural Group of Györfi István College 1942*

Source: Kardos 1980 I. *Mellékletek* 23.

The establishment of the Folk Colleges

The creation of the *Népi-kollégiumok* [Folk Colleges] is attributed to Ferenc Zsindely and Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős. The *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] was established as an additional educational institution to support the urban education of young people of rural origin.¹⁹ It started on 6 October 1939. It was then that the Bolyai College was founded on Királyi Pál Street in *Budapest*. Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős thought the operation of the youth education organization mentoring the right-wing Turul association, but they soon came into conflict with it. The supporting organisation of Bolyai College was, on the first hand, the *Katolikus Agrárfiújsági Legényegyletek Országos Tanácsa* [National Association of Catholic Young Men's] (KALOT), on the other hand, the student organization of *Soli Deo Gloria* (SDG). It's operated as Bolyai College for only two years, in 1942

¹⁹ Papp I. 2008: 141–142.

it was separated from Turul and continued to operate as Győrffy College between 1942–44.²⁰ The Bolyai College already had its own dance group, led by István Molnár. From February 27, 1942 the Ballad-Ensemble of Bolyai College belongs to the reorganized Győrffy College.²¹ One of Molnár's most famous and World-seen choreographies the folk-ballad of *Máté Bíró*, was a dance-performance in 1942. This stage dance choreography was toured in Weimar, Florence, and Stockholm, for which Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős designed well-tailored corded Hungarian men's coat called *Attila* and provided hard-stalked boots for the boys of Győrffy College *Balladaegyüttes* [Ballad Ensemble]. Zsindelyné's folklorism-style dress design became a popular among the social elite. There is diary entry about this tour in the College history book which gives the atmosphere. In the notes of Gyula Sipos, the atmosphere of Weimar in Germany revealed to us perceptive images: swastikas, empty storefronts, palpable fear, sadness, darkened windows, soldier's huts, military bands, bayonet parade, dark streets, arms swinging in welcome in the shadows of the Golden Eagle, shouts and screams, Circus, marching bands, drums, and the Hitler Youth Choir playing among the torsos of half-finished buildings.²² In its coverage the Hungarian group did not wave their arms, they did not sing, they did not lay wreaths of the Fallen Heroes, they rather preferred to show respect for the graves of Goethe and Schiller.²³ However, the ballad-evening held in the *Magyar Művelődés Háza* [Hungarian Cultural Centre] (now the Erkel Theatre) after the tour went poorly due to the lack of concentration of the students, which meant the end of Ballads in College. In the report of the diary, the academic failure and underachievement of College students also appear as a reason for that.²⁴ István Molnár then left.²⁵

The representative role of Győrffy College was taken over by *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble]. We can be traced back to the opening of the Győrffy College's branch institution in *Debrecen* opened. Sándor Karácsony and Béla Balázs came to *Debrecen* and they played an emphasized role in the work of College.²⁶ At the same time, Ferenc Zsindely and Klára Zsindelyné Tüdős Probation Board was connected to the institution of the Győrffy College. This

²⁰ Papp I. 2008: 174–176.

²¹ Papp I. 2008: 176.

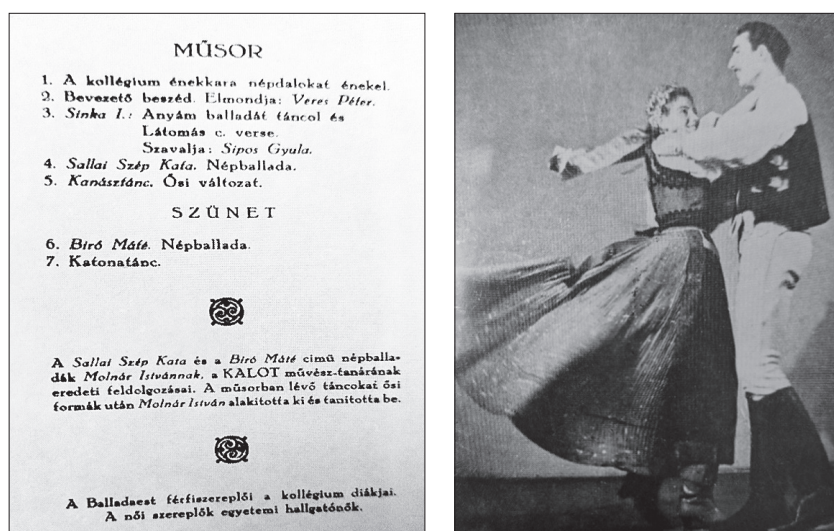
²² Kardos 1980: 121–122.

²³ The issue of the “Faustian bargain” returns several times in cultural politics, first the forced alliance of the Germans, and then with the Soviets.

²⁴ Kardos 1980: 155–156.

²⁵ His return to KALOT and his work at the folk college in *Siófok* will be dated from here.

²⁶ Papp I. 2008: 215.



Pic. Nr. 2–3: *The clothes designed by Zsindelyné and the program of the Ballad evening in Budapest in 1942.* Source: Kardos 1980 I. *Mellékletek* 25–26.

formed the College relationships system of university institutions. The Instituts, that took a role in this: *Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem* [Pázmány Péter University], *Orvostudományi Egyetem* [the Medical University], the *Révai Irodalmi Rt.* [Révai Literally Publisher Company], *Ganz Gyár* [the Ganz Factory], the *Magyar Nemzeti Bank* [Hungarian National Bank], the *Magyar Államvasutak* [Hungarian State Railways], the *Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum* [Hungarian National Museum], the *Zeneakadémia* [The Academy of Music], the *Testnevelési Főiskola* [The College of Physical Education], *Képzőművészeti Egyetem* [The University of Fine Arts], the *Kertészeti Egyetem* [University of Horticulture], *Műegyetem* [University of Polytechnic], the *Fővárosi Közmunkatanács* [Budapest Public-work Council], and the *Magyar Ügyvédek Nemzeti Egyesülete* [National Associations of Hungarian Lawyers].²⁷ This way, not only material but also spiritual base with very broad absorption capacity emergences, which undertakes this historical-social “national rescue” objective. The colleges in *Budapest* and *Debrecen* did not necessarily share the same ideological view, which gave rise to clashes due to differences of opinion. The Probation Board considered Sándor Karácsony’s view as an example to follow. In addition to the Györffy’s College, the *Györffy Népfőiskola* [Györffy Folk-college] was also established, broadening the range of young people who want to study farming as well. This folk-college was founded in

²⁷ Papp I. 2008: 189–192.

Pesterzsébet, at the border of *Budapest* at the time, and the 100 hectares of land it would have become an open-air museum-like institution preserving the famous Hungarian Production Culture, if the WW II. terminate the end of this activity in 1944.²⁸ The consequence of the German Occupation on April 28, 1944 was the liquidation of the multi-party system, and the banning of the left-wing associations and newspapers.²⁹ This led to the departure of the leaders participation in the College to an unknown place and the departure of young people to the countryside (mainly *Debrecen*). *Debrecen* also took over the role of the capital between 1944–45.

The *Népi Kollégium* [Folk-College] already transformed into a *Népi Kollégiumok Országos Szövetsége* [Folk-Colleges National Association] (NÉKOSZ) was re-established on 20. 01. 1945 from Györffy collegiate students.³⁰ This, however will not only include university students, but also primary and secondary schools and their associated colleges. This included a very serious and controlled “cadre training” and ideological education that relied a lot on the education and literacy guidelines of the former Györffy College. From 1945 the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble] also merged into this College-system. It first operated as the Áron Kiss College, then as the College of Dance and Choral Arts. The creation of a very complex art-education program began here primarily under the direction of Anna Pór. This was particularly important because the “folk” as an adjective no longer necessarily meant the value of “traditional rural culture” for the young people growing up at the time. For this reason, I have already described in relation to the cultural phenomena of the 1930s in the city “the spirit of nationalism” folklore became a defining symbol of the emerging new social stratum, and also appeared as a “character-defining” style-characteristic of the Folk-Collegiate “Subculture”.³¹ However this “Subculture” can rather be characterised as an artificially constructed social network that absorbed all previous youth education initiatives and created an ideologically transformed and idealized vision of the future. The central institution of this remained a Györffy College. This “Folk-College-Institution-Network” which is called NÉKOSZ has grown into a complex multifunctional movement, not only as an intellectual education workshop, promoting social and societal mobility, but also as the creator of the urban culture based on neo-folklorism and the spreader of its created content.³² Formers scouts and

²⁸ Papp I. 2008: 223–225.

²⁹ Kardos 1980: 306.

³⁰ Kardos 1980: 355.

³¹ Pataki 2005: 297.

³² Pataki 2005: 301.

ethnographers who became village-researchers, as well as the Christian Youth Education Associations, outstanding young people from a “rural” ranks, children of workers and orphans left after the war are also included in this. The NÉKOSZ has clearly adopted the methodology of the *Cserkészmozgalom* [Scouting Movement] and the examples of its trial system.³³ This became the emerging cultural fashion of the “socialist labor competition”. The emerging amateur dance ensembles also benefited from this nationwide network of purposeful artistic education. This nationwide art education network was established between 1945 and 1947, which from 1947 actually used the genres of folk dance, music and choral-art, drama, and puppetry as a “character armor”. In 1947, the Centenary work competition was announced, which was mandatory for all Colleges and college students. Competition between the Colleges became a part of series of events celebrating the centenary of the 1848–49 War of Independence, cultural work was also given a quite lot of emphasis. This competition took place in four rounds, between the *Tiszaántúli Kollégiumok* [Across the Tisza Colleges], the *Duna-Tisza közti Kollégiumok* [Inter Danube-Tisza Colleges], *Dunántúli Kollégiumok* [Transdanubian Colleges] and the greater *budapesti Kollégiumok* [Budapest Colleges].³⁴ According to the rules of the cultural competition, the contestants were expected to present pre-determined performance material, and the Colleges could also bring material of their own choice. The performance was aimed at: knowing 64 folk songs ($\frac{1}{8}$ foreign, $\frac{1}{4}$ workers, $\frac{1}{8}$ other), learning 2 mass dances and 10 poems.³⁵ It also included monthly visits to the cinema and theatre, running a choir, orchestra, dance and drama group and continuously increasing membership. Visiting 4-4 villages and factories, conducting village sociological research and writing to a village monographs appear as a social work requirement system in the mandatory norm. The semi-finals were held in the country capitals, from where the best productions were invited to Budapest City Theatre for the final announcement on the 15th of March, 1948. In the second round of the jubilee year, this already selected group of performers was featured on rural culture days after 15 March. These competitions featured striking-excellent talents: Miklós Rábai from *Békecsaba*, Károly Szigeti from *Pécs* and a little later Ferenc

³³ This was later adopted by the Pioneer Movement. See: Pataki 2005: 317.

³⁴ Kardos 1980: 713.

³⁵ Pataki 2005: 319. The basis for this is 101 Hungarian Folk Songs edited by Lajos Bárdos as the official publication of the Scout Association. This has been published regularly since 1929, with the 7th edition appearing in 1945. See: Bárdos–Karácsony–Mathia (eds.) 1945.

Novák from *Pápa*.³⁶ A Central dance group was created by the students of the Colleges, this was the *NEKOSZ Központi Művészegyüttese* [Central Artist Group of NEKOSZ].³⁷ Iván Szabó is appointed leader. Members of the Muharay Együttes [Muharay Ensemble] and the former group of Szentpál students took part in this work and trained the amateurs. During the 6-week training courses for instructors, many trained “cadres” took up the case of “national culture” and became its committed promoters. I found documents of this in the estate of Olga Szentpál and Anna Pór.³⁸ It also became the basis of the College education system encompassing primary schools, secondary schools and universities, which also ensured adequate supply.

94.

t. ál- tal men- nek én a Ti- zán- la- di- kon. la- di- kon, de
la- di- kon. OH la- kik a. elő la- kik a ga- lam- born,
elő la- kik a ga- lam- born. OH la- kik a vá- ros- ban,
a har- ma- dik uc- cá- ban; Pi- ros ró- sza,
kik ru- fá- lejts. i- bo- hja vá- rti az ab- la- ka- ban

2 Általmennék én a Tiszán,
nem merek, nem merek, de nem merek.
Attól félek, hogy a Tiszába (jesek,
hogy a Tiszába (jesek,
Lovam hátán sejeha,
félrefordul a nyereg,
A Tiszának hajbái közt elveszek,
a babámé nem leszek.

(Csorész-szövege :
Erdő mellett kanyarog el a patak ... 105. old.)

94

Pic. Nr. 4: *A folk song from
the 101 Hungarian Folk Songs Scout Songbook*
Source: Bárdos 1945: 94.

Falujáró induló

előadja: RAKS BÉTYÁN

zene: SZÉKELY ENDRE

1. 2. 3. Száll a vi- sz, felkapja a szél. Felkapja a szél.

1. Nagy mára, nagy mára, nagy mára a felhő. Fehé jétek haza - ró - ja.

2. Fehé jé - je má, felh jétek szél. Tűz, vihar a ha - tar - ja.

3. Fehé jé - je má, felh jétek szél. Minden megér - té - je.

Mén - kének a - nak, Horogai török éj sár - je pár, szűz, szűz.

Vidék hírhét szer - zés, Öregkúti munkák a móló cabé. Zsugó éjél

Mén - kére fel tánt, Hírdetők új megek új dalát. Együtt jének.

a mi dalunk kőszik, Csé - let - re ábránd mára a nép, ábránd mára a nép.

csatáig kalapra, Haragud lát a munkák munkát, munkák munkát.

együtt jének kőszik, Így á - gít - jik fel az új haza. fel az új haza.

MAGYAR DOLGOZÓK ÉNEKEKILÁINAK
ORZSÁGOS SZÖVEGE

Budapest, VIII., Bényi Szendee-utca 63.

Pic. Nr. 5: *A composition of Endre Székely,
the Village-walker March which is created
from this folk song*
Source: Manuscript legacy
of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

³⁶ In my interview, what I conducted with Ferenc Novák said that he was the translator of the VIT Festival in 1947, and his dancing background dates to that.

³⁷ Kardos 1980: 716.

³⁸ Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32; Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.



Pic. Nr. 6: *The Village tour of the College students from Pápa*
Source: Kardos 1980 II. Mellékletek 261.

The work and slow transformation of the Muharay Ensemble

According to Iván Vitányi's book recording the bands history, the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble] was first founded in 1940. The official founder was Imre Töltési, who was joined by members of two youth groups in the first round. These were members of the *Keresztény Ifjúsági Egyesület* [Christian Youth Association] (KIE) and the *Székel Egyetemista és Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete* [Székely University and College Student Association] (SZEFE). Sándor Haáz was then asked to teach folk dances. The style of Balladry also developed at this time. The Balladry, as an all-night performance, included the recitation of folk songs, folk ballads and poems in addition to the performance of folk dances. Their first performance was on 19.05.1940. at the Levante stage in the district of XIII.³⁹ Elemér Muharay imagined this initiative as a continuation of the village stage in *Fót*.⁴⁰ Muharay joined this and edited to a program the folk ballad dance version of *Egyszer egy királyfi* [Once upon a time a prince], which

³⁹ Vitányi 1993: 32.

⁴⁰ Vitányi 1993: 33.

remained on the performance throughout the ensemble's existence.⁴¹ During this period even young people from Soli Deo Gloria group joined. Thus, this "Ancestor-ensemble" had two wings, the right wing was the fusion of *Leventék* [Levants] and *KALOT*, and the left wing was recruited from the members of *Cserkészek* [Scouts], *Soli Deo Gloria* and *Pro Christo* student organisation.⁴² In addition to Muharay, Péter Balla and István Molnár were also leaders of the group. Muharay recruited new members to his ensemble as early as 1942. The reason for this could also be that István Molnár was asked to teach the ensemble of the Bolyai College. Members were recruited in *Budapest* from the youth of the *Lónyai utcai Református Gimnázium* [Lónyai Street Calvinistic High School], *Fasori Evangélikus Gimnázium* [Fasori Evangelical High School], the young workers from the *Gamma Gyár* [Gamma Factory], which also played a major role in the establishment of the *Györfly Kollégium* [Györfly College] and *Magyar Optikai Művek* [Hungarian Optical Factory] and other factories. Thus, Iván Szabó, Géza Körtvélyes, Sándor László-Bencsik, Edit Kaposi, Lajos Vass, Mária Keszler, Csaba Pálffy, Sándor Krizsán, Ferenc Kuppis, Miklós Jancsó, Bálint Sárosi and Oszkár Papp became members of this group, who was also played a significant role in building up the movement and its institutional system.⁴³ In 1943, Molnár left the Muharay Ensemble and Iván Szabó became a leading choreographer. In 1944 the members left for the countryside, and in 1945 they started cultural life in *Debrecen* as a group taking on a representative role after the WW II. Edit Kaposi and Lajos Szolnok who was an ethnographer from *Debrecen* had a prominent role in this activity.⁴⁴ The outstanding appearance of this ensemble was the fact that they merged into NÉKOSZ foreshadowing their leading role in art education. Their work from 1946 defines the entire country dance culture and all the stage appearances. The 1947–48 work plan of the Muharay Group defined the specific goals were they formulated. Muharay prepared to employ 50–60 non-professional singer-dancer-musician-performers in the style of Balladry. And this work plan outlined the joint operation of the chamber choir, orchestra, acting and dance group. Muharay formulated his duties in the distribution activity of art-loving-artistic, scien-

⁴¹ The folk ballad of *Egyszer egy királyfi* [Once upon a time a prince] included István Volly ballads-collections which is published several times. Later renamed to the performance *Egyszeri király kenyere* [One upon a king's bread]. See: Volly 1938; Muharay 1944.

⁴² Vitányi 1993: 35.

⁴³ Vitányi 1993: 41.

⁴⁴ In 1945, in *Debrecen* they performed together with the Muharay Ensemble at the Cultural Party of the Independent Smallholder Party, the MADISZ youth day and the Harvest Festival. See: Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 147–148.

tific and popular cultural goods.⁴⁵ Elemér Muharay created the *Népi Együttesek Művészeti Kollégiuma* [College of Arts and Folk Ensembles] to develop the urban folk culture as an artistic and cultural movement. In the service of the National network's cultural programme, established cooperation with the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Néptudományi Intézete* [Institute of Ethnology of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute], the *Munkás Kultúrszövetség* [Worker's Cultural Association], the *Egyetem Néprajzi Intézet* [University Institute of Ethnography], the *Néprajzi Múzeum* [Museum of Ethnography] and already constituted *Táncmunkaközösség* [Dance Work Community].⁴⁶ The *Művelődési Akadémia* [Academy of Culture] and its dance course envisioned by Muharay is designed to give eligibility to both those who enjoy and practice the folk culture in a 4-semester course.⁴⁷ In order to implement this plan Muharay also needed well-trained dancers and dance-direction faculty students, who graduated from the *Színművészeti Főiskola* [College of Drama] in Olga Szentpál's class. Therefore, this organization has two branches, one is the ethnographic-amateur line managed by Muharay, and the other is a group of dancers trained by Olga Szentpál. To operate the Movement, and ideologically appropriate "real revolutionary-good cadre" leader was needed. Anna Pór, who had returned from France was appointed for this role. In the following title I presented Anna Pór's work in *Vasas Együttes* [Vasas Ensemble].

Formation and programme of Vasas Ensemble

The Vasas Sport Club was founded in 1911. The gymnastics section started its activities in 1927, without any kind of financial or sports support. Thus, it disbanded in 1928 and re-established in 1930, writes Livia Fuchs and Gábor Szilágyi in their book on the history of Vasas Ensemble.⁴⁸ The formulated goal that brought the Vasas Gymnastics department back to life were mass-sports and cultural activities promoting ideological immunity against the militaristic

⁴⁵ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 146.

⁴⁶ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 146.

⁴⁷ The main subject of the Academy of Culture are History, Economics and Social Science, Ethnography, Music and Dance theory, Psychology and Education, Literary history, Dramaturgy and Dramatic practises, Art history and Design subjects. Additional subjects: Movement issues of popular culture and self-education. Practical subjects: Dance, Singing and Music-practise, Folkgames, Dance notation, Dance-play, reciting poems ballads and puppetry. See: Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 146.

⁴⁸ Fuchs-Szilágyi 1998: 8.

Levente-mozgalom [Levant Movement]. The focus was on the physical and mental education of young workers which also adapted to the cultural program of the Gymnastics club. They did not have a trained leader in spite of that they performed singing and movement-choirs, dance and pantomime scenes in a self-educated manner. They were joined in 1937 by Klára Nádas, who followed the style of Alice Madzsarné Jászi and Ágnes Kövesházi. It is therefore emphasized that under the auspices of Vasas, the style of movement art appears at the pageants accompanied by a large number of choir and orchestra. At the pageants shows, occupations were shown in various pantomime scenes, such as a *Bányajelenet* [Mine-scene] presumably made in 1938, and the scenes of *Sötétség-világosság* [Darkness-Lightening] set in a pub.⁴⁹ They represented learning, development, the clarity gained through knowledge and clarity of reasons against the senseless, unworthy darkness of the pub-environment. The greatest success was the 1940 silent play named *Prométeusz* [Prometheus]. According to the story of the symbolic mythological figure, Prometheus, who molded people out of clay and taught them to plough and sow, to write and to learn the arts. Prometheus took fire to the people in defiance of Zeus. Therefore Zeus chained Prometheus to the mountain, his daily punishment being the plucking of his liver by vultures. Heracles finally broke his chains, saving Prometheus from suffering, because Zeus needed Prometheus's ability and services, his foresight.⁵⁰ In the Plot of this silent play the tortured people of the Earth, the peasant, the industrialist and the wage-worker are searching for the light-lucidity.⁵¹ They find each other while searching for a path to lucidity and when they find it, they visualize the positive picture of the future by doing a special "pleasure-dance". This machine-like, monotonous pantomime-play with accelerated movements was realized in the machine dance of the wage-earners, the wrestling of the blacksmiths, the football of the clerk and fulfillment in dance mix of folk-dances (Russian, Romanian and Ruthenian). The movement performances related to the "new state-holidays" introduced after the Liberation, which were designed in accordance with the party's approach were meant to convey its ideology. Anna Pór arrived in this environment in 1945. Between 1936 and 1945 she was very successful with her past as a movement artist in Paris, giving her nine rich years in artistic work among the German and Hungarian émigré artists fleeing from the political ideology

⁴⁹ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 11.

⁵⁰ Csiffáry 2008: 364–365.

⁵¹ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 12.

living there.⁵² Returning home from France armed with experience and knowledge began her work. This was her first work when she followed the direction that was already established earlier in which the elements of pantomime and folk dance were combined. Pantomimic elements and scenes were more dominant in her first works, because Anna Pór used just a little folk dances in her artistic concept. It was in this spirit that the choreographies depicting the labor Movement-traditions of the *Munkás Parasztszövetség* [Worker's and Peasant's Union], and the *Munkáslegény a népdal tükrében* [Worker's Lad in the mirror of the folk-song] named the "Tsardas" with the Red-flag, and hammering workers were created.⁵³ This was the beginning of their friendship with Emma Lugossy and István Volly began, which also meant getting to know and mastering the "current trend" of folk dance. In 1947, Sándor Krizsán, who danced in the Muharay Ensemble joined and assisted in preparation of "this group were engaged in dance" appearing at the Budapest *Központi Kultúrverseny* [Central Cultural Competition] organized by NÉKOSZ. It can practically be said that, this work forged a team-like ensemble that appeared successfully at the *Világifjúsági Találkozó* [World Youth Festivals]. In its appearance it took its place alongside the *Ruggyantagyár Együttes* [Ruggyantagyár Ensemble] led by István Molnár, and the *Batsányi Együttes* [Batsányi Ensemble] led by Miklós Rábai a fresh rural talent. The specific nature of the choreographies presented here (*Balatonszárszói Pünkösdi Parádé* [Pentecost Parade from Balatonszárszó], *Kónyi verbunk* [Verbunk from Kóny], *Cigándi keménycsárdás* [Hard Tsárdás from Cigánd], *Pontozó* [Lad's dance], *Kunszentmiklósi törökös és kardtánc* [Turkish and Sword Dance from Kunszentmiklós]) reflect the influence of the mass dance program, which will be explained in the next section.⁵⁴

The mass-dance program and the Village Tour

In *Budapest*, the teaching of Hungarian dances started in 1929 within the framework of physical education as a mass sport.⁵⁵ The most outstanding personality was the physical education teacher Edit Elekesné Wéber. Her guide-book, which published several forms and listed as an author's edition, served

⁵² Pór 1991: 30–31.

⁵³ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 15.

⁵⁴ Fuchs–Szilágyi 1998: 21.

⁵⁵ Elekesné Weber 1935: 5.

as a basic work for all physical educators for their activities as a dance teacher.⁵⁶ This meant teaching national ballroom dances in the 1930s.⁵⁷ In the 1940s following this path, under the auspices of the mass-dance program, the created style and choreographics of “stage folk dance” were born, which were partially founded by the members of Muharay ensemble, which became a part of NÉKOSZ. This program defined and created the Budapest-Centric network, which already included the teacher training system. In the art education plan of the Folk Colleges established in 1945, there was a mandatory system of norms that included the category of learning compulsory folk songs and dances. This included the village-visits when the collegiates tried to “collect”, but greater emphasis on the mandatory presentations and recruitment, this was their primary goal. At these shows they presented the re-structured-learned dances. This was primarily for the respectful celebration of the centenary year of the Freedom-struggle, which was prepared in this program. The first training-advanced studies issue was published in May 1947 by the *Nemzeti Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of Hungarian Dance Teachers].⁵⁸ In addition next to the Village-Marsh this program included the *Kállai kettős* [Couple dance from Kálló], *Széki csárdás* [Tsárdás from Szék], *Csúrdöngölő* [Fast rythm szekler dance], *Spanyol tánc* [Spanish dance] (from Ferenc Nádas), *Angol keringő* [English waltz] and stage-attempted *Schottis polka* [Schottis polka].⁵⁹ In the materials of the continuing education course in May 1948 the *Csiki Páros* [Couple dance from Csík], *Patkó-tánc* [“Horseshoe”-dance], *Nemzeti kerengő* [National guard-circling], *Karádi rezgő* [Virtue-dance from Karád], *Kóló* [Kolo], *Vrajanka*, *Zaplet*, *Gavotte*, *Trojka* and Nádas’s *Déli álmom* [Dream at Noon] choreography are already included in the text-description of the dance with sheet a music appendix.⁶⁰ And the September 1948 publication the *Somogyi kopogós*

⁵⁶ Elekes 1947; Elekesné Weber 1935; Elekesné Weber 1936.

⁵⁷ These dances were *Levante dance*, *Hungarian Quadrille*, *Palotás*, *Tsárdás*, *Scout-recruiter*, *Vigadó* and the *Verbunk* among other dances. See: Elekesné Weber 1935.

⁵⁸ I find this document in the Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

⁵⁹ Curriculum of the May 1947 continuing education course of the *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers] Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

⁶⁰ This is also the curriculum of the May 1948 continuing education course of the *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers], which can be found in the Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65. These choreographies were made from the dance materials collected from the experimental Prague VIT Festival, the material which was recorded and notated by Olga Szentpál and Zsuzsa Merényi in 1947. Manuscript of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

[Knocking-dance from Somogy], *Homokmégyi körtánc* [Round dance from Homokmégy], *Marosszéki verbunk* [Verbunk from Marosszék], *Cigándi fonótánc* [Spinner-dance from Cigánd], *Csákvári csacsi* [Moke from Csákvár], *Teríti a lány a vásznat* [The girl spread the canvas], *Zabot vittem* [I took oats] folk-games, *Mohácsi csillagtánc* [Four-dance from Mohács], *Szilágysági páros* [Couple dance from Szilágyság], *Székelyvassági verbunk* [Verbunk from Székelyvasság], and *Fóti páros* [Couple dance from Fóti] are included.⁶¹ The names of creators of the choreographies are all college students or trained instructors alongside the names of Klára Kovács and Ferenc Nádas. It also stands out that the dances of “people who were considered friendly” at the time were also included in these teaching materials. In 1948, the Folk Colleges were dissolved, and replaced by university vocational colleges, amateur dance ensembles created in factories, and central dance-ensembles able to perform professional representative work, acting groups, primary and secondary schools with Music and singing departments were established.⁶² This was a direct continuation of the *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation] issues published by the *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] until 1949–50, with newly constructed dances, costume suggestions and methodological materials for dance education in all publications.⁶³ According to Olga Szentpál’s report, in the 1949 to 1950 academic year, there were already 2,000 movement groups operating in Hungary, in which dancers and dance-direction faculty students who graduated from the *Színművészeti Főiskola* [College of Drama] were also involved.⁶⁴ Olga Szentpál developed the theme for the dance collection,

⁶¹ Curriculum of the September 1948 training course of *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers]. The *Táncszövetség* [Hungarian Dance Federation] appears here as a control organization. Manuscript legacy of Anna Pór OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 65.

⁶² Elementary music school departments used the Kodály-method, and *Békés-Tarhosi Állami Énekiskola* [Békés-Tarhos Music School] was born as this activity result. Kodály’s method is a program of Hungarian Musical Literacy. The method uses Hungarian folk music to understand the music (based on simple exercises of the basic theme and method of its chords, rhythms, and styles) with the help of music theory, solmization, musical notation, and harmonic theory. This method uses acapella singing, which develops the ability to hear music and develops a behaviour that understands and cultivates music. See: Kodály 1954: 103; Szőnyi 1988: 142–143.

⁶³ The *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation] was a publication of the *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] between 1949–1950, as same as *Magyar Táncitanítók Országos Szabadszervezete* [National Free Association of the Hungarian Dance Teachers], providing dance descriptions, and choreographic guides for learning to dance. A total of seven publications can be found in OSZMI *Táncarchívum*.

⁶⁴ Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

and she created the dance-analysis sheet at the time. A direct consequence of these efforts was the establishment of the *Csárdás-program* [Tsárdás-Program] starting in 1950 and the *Népművészeti Intézet* [Institute of Folk Art], which had two parts dealing with dance.⁶⁵ When the *Népművészeti Intézet* [Institute of Folk Art] was founded, it was under the administration of Jenő Széll. One part of the dance-department worked under the leadership of Freedom Medallist Elemér Muharay, with the “Muharay’s” working alongside him. The other-part of the dance department operated under the leadership of Anna Pór, where the Szentpál-students were. This organisation was the institution that held the amateur movement together, educating and serving it.



Pic. Nr. 7: *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation]. 1949. I. Apr.

Source: Manuscript legacy
of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

⁶⁵ The rest of the institute dealt with folk music, puppetry, drama, folk arts, and crafts.



Pic. Nr. 8: *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation].
1949. 1. Invitation of Village Tour
Source: Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál
OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.



Pic. Nr. 9: *Táncoló Nép* [Dancing Nation].
1949. 1. Call for the "collection-work
competition". Source: Manuscript legacy of
Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

The World Youth Festival and the WYF book

Then the fact of the transitions and the alliance with the Germans in WW II, and with the Soviets from 1944 created a very unfavourable situation for Hungary. The Paris Peace Treaty began in 1946 with the dialogue and cooperation between the victorious great powers. From the cultural point of view, the losing position in the war also meant the drawing of the Iron Curtain, the demarcation line between East and West, and the assertion of the authority of the Soviet Democratic States and the British allies. This meant 80% Soviet influence for Hungary and Bulgaria, and 90% for Romania.⁶⁶ The official Peace Treaty was signed in February 1947.⁶⁷ From the viewpoint of cultural and political relations, the Paris Peace Treaty weighed heavily on Hungary (material and territorial losses). Prior to this, in 1941 at the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos*

⁶⁶ Baló-Lipovecz (eds.) 1990: 130.

⁶⁷ Baló-Lipovecz (eds.) 1990: 132.

Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Történettudományi Intézete [Institute of Historic Science of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute], headmaster Domonkos Kosáry had the idea of writing of comparative history of the Danube peoples.⁶⁸ This disappeared due to the spread of the expanding National Socialist Ideology. In 1945, the idea of comparative historical research of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe came to fore again. The wounds acquired as a result of the World Wars and the designations of space stemming primarily from the ideology of nationalism caused the Hungarians living abroad to be negatively judged and oppressed. The aim of the historical research was the mutual settlement of the bad examples of the past, which aimed to get to know each other's culture in order to have a realistic assessment of the nations and their habitus.⁶⁹ During this period, Hungary had a particularly bad relationship with Czechoslovakia, which led to the disenfranchisement and displacement of Hungarians in order to create a homogeneous nation-state. After the reattachment of *Székelyföld*, the first alliance with Romania was established under the auspices of the Györfly College. The Hungarian-Romanian Society was founded in 1945 under the chairmanship of Zoltán Kodály. The Colleges and the College Support Organizations advocated cultural cooperation between universities, the sending and receiving of teachers and researchers, and sharing of scientific results. This is how the Romanian sociologist Dimitri Gusti came to Hungary and the application of this theory to social science is also due to this system of relationships. A Romanian college was also established in 1947, and it took the name of Lajos Mocsáry. Yugoslavia is also linked to this cooperation. In 1945 the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society was also established.⁷⁰ Sándor Bálint raised his voice in defense of the rights of the Hungarians, which also meant the intellectual and cultural cooperation of students and scientists.⁷¹ In 1945 the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society was founded to promote the deepening of Hungarian-Russian intellectual relations. This was done at the Pázmány Péter University.⁷² Partner organisations were also established in *Pécs* and *Debrecen*.⁷³ The cultural contacts established and initiated with the Soviets also extended to the exchange relations of scholarship recipients. The Hungarian youth's scientific life tried to create and maintain friendly cooperation with the countries with

⁶⁸ N. Szabó 1998: 17.

⁶⁹ N. Szabó 1998: 18.

⁷⁰ N. Szabó 1998: 50.

⁷¹ N. Szabó 1998: 56.

⁷² N. Szabó 1998: 63.

⁷³ N. Szabó 1998: 63–65.

powerful influence and the Danube peoples in these relationship systems. In 1947, Gyula Ortutay became a Minister of Culture, who was in charge of this system of contacts. By 1947, relations with Czechoslovakia were also settled. This led among other things to creation of the World Youth Festival, which was held for the first time in the summer of 1947 in Prague. At the first Prague WYF, Iván Szabó's combined ensemble performed the *Fóti Páros* [Couple dance from Fót], and the *Szüreti táncok* [Harvest dances].⁷⁴ At the same time in the first WYF in Prague Olga Szentpál conducted a dance collection with cooperation of Zsuzsa Merényi for an experimental purpose. I found the documentation of this, all the dance-notations in the legacy of Olga Szentpál. It contains a description of dances performed by French, Greek, Yugoslav, Mongolian, Basque and Indian partisan groups.⁷⁵ The second Youth Festival in *Budapest* 1949 was considered as a monumental cultural event. This was also shown in the fact that dances performed by the dance groups of "friendly peoples" performing at WYF were collected on the spot. In her summary review Olga Szentpál divided the dances appearing at WYF into following groups: 1. Dances with socialist content; 2. Dance-play's; 3. Military-play-Verbunkos; 4. Regional-unity dances. Already from the nature of division, the certain *Zhdánov* slogan can be seen, which wanted to apply new content to the old forms, showing the cultural behaviour of the new type of man of the new idealism. There is no more room for communicating the moral-truth, they presented a friendly-approach of the worker-man working for a peace and they naive-idealized vision of the future that carries his spirituality as a character armour. Thus, in the National Productions the edited compositions strove to highlight the "optimistic joy of life" earned through work, the "paradise of happiness". Therefore, in the regional-unity dances Szentpál emphasizes that these new works accent the portrayal of optimistic-warrior momentums, emotions, and moods.⁷⁶ The systematic documentation of the collected dance material was published in book form under the title *Táncoló Ifjúság* [Dancing Youth] and taught as a requirement in the company dance ensembles in the mass dance program.⁷⁷ In addition to Iván Szabó's ensemble *Központi Honvéd Művészegyüttes* [Central Honvéd Art Ensemble] and Miklós Rábai's ensemble (*MEFESZ*) also appeared at the second *Világifjúsági Találkozó* [World Youth Festival]. Iván Szabó presents the choreography of the *Falusi Bál* [Village Ball]

⁷⁴ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 132.

⁷⁵ Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32.

⁷⁶ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 132–137.

⁷⁷ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985:140; Lugossy 1950.

and the *Táncok Kalotaszegről* [Dances from Kalotaszeg] with the *Központi Honvéd Művészegyüttes* [Central Honvéd Art Ensemble]. Miklós Rábai performs with the MEFESZ group with his dance composition *Ludas Matyi*.⁷⁸ In this festival Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Greece, India, Indonesia, China, Poland, Madagascar, Mongolia, Nigeria, Romania, Sweden, and the Soviet Union were also present.⁷⁹ The somewhat broad category of the Eastern Bloc represented its clear and committed democratic alliance through culture in the spirit of artistic renewal.⁸⁰

Ortutay's hierarchical system and the Dance Federation

Here it was necessary to describe the role and activities of Gyula Ortutay. He himself did not mention this period in his diary, he would like this period to be shrouded in oblivion.⁸¹ However, Ortutay's very significant work during this period had an impact on dance culture (not only the stage representation of dance, but also in the academic canon and research) to such an extent that it cannot be ignored. His presence in the Folk-College Movement, his work in the radio and then as a Minister of Culture the nationalization of schools and the right to process and publish the collected materials collected through folklore research were also in his hands. His youthful friendship with the circle of movement artists also determined his later working relationships. I say this because the image of a monster who grew from ethnographer to politician during the stages of political position acquisition is clearly visible. According to his own admission, his re-education in the Soviet Union made him fond of politics and made him hungry for power and the shadow of arrogance, jealousy, inhumanity, and indifference was also cast over his relationships. In Ortutay's work, the image of a young aspiring scientist belonging to the Youth Circle of *Szeged* suddenly separated from the image of the leader, who became a member of Folk-College from 1945, and then Minister of Culture from 1947 who directed the movement. After his re-education, he predestined this circle of relationships to achieve his own goals. During his ministry, he

⁷⁸ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 140.

⁷⁹ Kaposi-Kővágó 1985: 138.

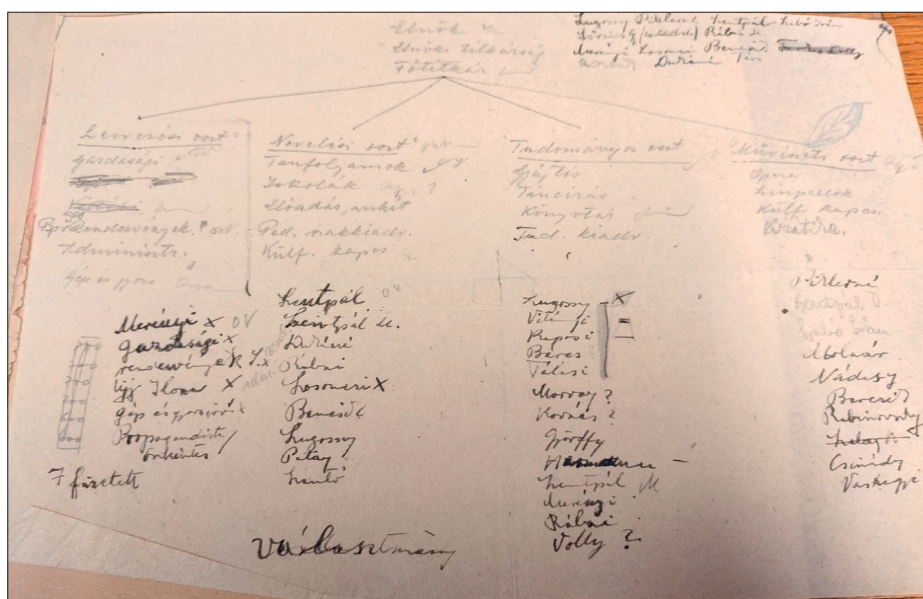
⁸⁰ As a professional relationship established with the dance training institution which led by Gret Palucca, that was in the territory of the GDR and with the Dutch Dance Theatre. The contact person in both cases was Ágnes Roboz. She stated this in the personal interview I conducted, which can also be verified with documents.

⁸¹ Ortutay 2009: 374–375.

used this personal favour against the terror of fascism to advance his own political ambitions. Due to his role in the Folk-College, his task was to nationalize schools. This also brought with the fact that this “circle of relationships” forced them to change their ideology and give up all their previous achievements in order to maintain their persistency-survival life. I am thinking here that the cultivation of the expressive and dramatic new Hungarian dance became impossible, the artistic work begun earlier could not be continued in the school buildings.⁸² Thus, the artists involuntarily placed their fate in the hands of Ortutay, which grew into a cultural educational network that was centred in *Budapest*, but also operated rural centres and maintains international relations. The *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] was established in 1948 and became the controller of this centralized power. Dance and folk art were transformed into a means of representation, was no longer represented a personal revelation and an attitude of assumed belonging based on knowledge but produced a constructed self-image of an obligatory people education tool and entertainment. And Ortutay put ideologically re-educated puppets as the service of the power.⁸³ Here I must refer to the work of Géza Losonczy and Jenő Széll. Losonczy’s role as a journalist leading the domestic politics section of *Szabad Nép* [Free Nation] was demonstrated in the fact that he enforced the sample assigned to an application, the Russian cultural program will all available means. Part of the principles and tools governing culture will be concern with the label, such as use of the *Proletcult* and *Narodnik* categories. The category of *Proletcult* is the formalist art political trend that rejects all traditions (which included practitioners of all contemporary arts), and *Narodnik* is the flag of the intellectuals fighting for the liberation of the rural people. This is how Béla Bartók, the creator of New Hungarian Music, became the world-renowned composer Bartók like a “floundering in the quagmire of formalism” in the *Szabad Nép* [Free Nation] article, whose works were banned in Hungary at this

⁸² The 4th of Queen Vilma Road in *Budapest* (today *Városligeti fasor*), the villa and dance hall of the couple Szentpál–Rabinovszky became the centre of nationalization. From 1945 to 1948 a State-security Prison was operated here. Since 1948 the elementary school named after the tragically fated artist Gyula Derkovits has been operating here, and the vocational school for artists has been operating in the dance hall since then. The cityscape keeps this history unchanged in the city memory.

⁸³ Olga Szentpál and István Molnár also had go through such self-confession and re-education to keep their jobs and existence. The ideological education was primarily in the hands of György Lukács, the ideological re-education in *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] was the task of Ágnes Heller. I found these documents in the Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.



Pic. Nr. 10: *The structure and classes of the Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] as an autograph note. Source: Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.

time.⁸⁴ I have mentioned the counterexample of this in the person of Jenő Széll, who acted exactly against the ideological warfare of the warrior who had run out of reason. His tool was not attack, but well-meaning persuasion and the pushing of boundaries, which he clearly served the cause of culture. First as ambassador to Bucharest from 1948 to 1950, then from 1950 during the administration of the *Népművészeti Intézet* [Institute of Folk Art]. I will write about his work here when I explain the next chronological timeline. Thanks to Jenő Széll, Bartók's rehabilitation began in 1950 with help of Zoltán Kodály and Bence Szabolcsi. Returning to the work of *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation], it is necessary to single out rural centres that also served art-political goals. *Debrecen* can be mentioned as the first centre, due to its function as the temporary capital, it was given a particularly prominent role and was not only a refuge for the Folk-College students who moved here, but also became responsible for Russian relations. *Szeged* became the second such centre in the service of maintaining Romanian relations. It was here the first rural ballet-ensemble was established, primarily as a rural distribution centre for the Opera House's program and Gyula Harangozó's choreographies. *Pécs* and its catchment area be-

⁸⁴ Széll 2012: 336–338.

came a third such centre not only because of the cultivation of the Yugoslav cultural relations, but also of its progressive artistic life. Here, therefore a double process has become visible. One is the *Budapest* focus folk dance era, and the other is the artistic dance styles exiled to the rural citadels of culture next to the prominent style of folk-dance. This association managing the cultural work had four departments that helped and complemented each other's work. The department of organization, department of education, the department of science and art.⁸⁵ In the next section, their work is described.

The characteristics and fate of dance-related research and academic works in the 1940s

According to my hopes, it became visible how the work started during the Village research Movement took turn in 1945 and started on its own culture shaper path. Focusing on dance – especially folk dance – has also taken on a community-forming and ethno-educational role. It is necessary to start a little earlier to define the initial ambitions of dance research. The European mainstream of dance research is presented and critically analysed in the work of Frigyes Sándor Varga published in 1939. This book has a place for historical, ethnological, and aesthetic research. In his review of the European literature, Varga also categories, evaluates and presents methodological peculiarities. The historical processing of dance was the category of artistic dance, in which it lists the work of music historian presenting the biographies of the dance masters starting from the Renaissance and then the choreographers who can be linked to the development of the ballet genre. The presentation of the ethnological research of the dance is even more interesting. It outlines three possible research directions primarily from the works of German, English and Danish researchers.⁸⁶ The first possible direction is the morphological analysis of archaic dance material in European dance culture based on ethnic and musical basis. The second way is the exploration of the sacred-dramatic-pantomimic-masked dances of Eastern cultures. The third is the analysis of the rites of the culture of natural peoples connected to life-long cycles and customs. In the aesthetic analysis of artistic movement as dance, Varga explores the category of art theory that includes the works of Emile-Jacques Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban, mentioning Olga Szentpál and Máriusz Rabinovszky's first book, pub-

⁸⁵ Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné. OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.

⁸⁶ Varga 1939: 27–35.

lished in 1928.⁸⁷ In addition to presenting academic works, Varga also urges the initiation of dance research that should be launched in Hungary as soon as possible. By the end of the 1930s, two paths had been outlined in Hungarian dance research. One is research with sociological-ethnological approach based on Village-research, and the other is the development of a content and form analysis of urban dance art, focusing on body and dance. Analysing the dance folklore, broken down into its details, and the architecture and structural forms of movement were analysed and then reworked as a stage dance form, choreographed, and published. This was based on the work of the organization that transformed from the *Táj- és Népkutató Intézet* [Institute of Landscape and Ethnography] to the *gróf Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet Államtudományi Intézetének Néptudományi Intézete* [Institute of Ethnology of the Institute of Political Science of Count Pál Teleki's Scientific Institute] in 1945. In the *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology], the focus was especially on dance research.⁸⁸ Here ethnographers, dancer-choreographers, musicians, and filmmakers worked together forming a work-community, complementing each other's work.⁸⁹ The collections made by the scouts-college students during their village-visits also arrived here and were processed. They sought to explore the state of dance-life in Hungary: a complete search of the dance life of *Bodrogköz* in *Zemplén* County, Szekler community from Bukovina settled in *Völgység* in *Tolna* County, *Galgavölgy* in *Pest* County, the three *Matyó* villages in *Borsod* County, as well as *Szigetköz* bordering *Csallóköz*, *Rábaköz*, *Göcsej*, *Somogy*, *Cserehát* in *Abauj* County, *Mátraalja*, the 18th century domiciliated villages around *Pest*, *Kiskunság*, *Nagykunság* and *Békés* territory.⁹⁰ The collected dance folklore is processed in terms of the content of the edited choreographies that will applied on stage. From the 1930s when folk-ballads are staged, the plot and the communication of moral truth become important. The dance material communicates a dramatic plot with stylized motifs, so Bartók's contemporary spirit is also reflected

⁸⁷ Varga 1939: 65–69.

⁸⁸ The *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology] task: "... the systematic study and presentation of life, history, state and social organization, economic and cultural of the Hungarians, and the neighboring peoples living together with them..." Kónya 1998:125.

⁸⁹ The members of the research group followed Ethnographers: Márta Belényessy, Imre Beczki, Sándor Gönyey, Edit Kaposi, Péter Morvay, and Aurél Vajkai. — Dance notator-choreographers: Zsuzsa Bene, Anna Hermann, Emma Lugossy, Zsuzsa Merényi, Miklós Rábai, Mária Szentpál and Olga Szentpál. — Music-folkloristics: György Kerényi, János Manga, Lajos Vargyas, Lajos Vass, Rudolf Vig, István Volly és Tihamér Vujicsics. — Cinematographers: Lajos Erdős, Sándor Gönyey, László K. Kovács, Emma Lugossy és József Teuchert. See: Morvay 1949: 390.

⁹⁰ Morvay 1949: 391.

in the dance application of folk ballads on the stage. This style remained until 1946. Following Bartók's Path can also be seen in the work of Olga Szentpál, Anna Pór and István Molnár. From 1946, the basis of the content of the stage dance choreographies was the processing of available dance material. Here, they collected a large amount of archival dance material through actual field work, tried to organize it, and publish edited choreographies from it. In three-year period starting in 1946, the work of the *Néptudományi Intézet* [Institute of Ethnology] produced two significant works containing recent research, created with the cooperation of Olga Szentpál. They were published as monographs by Márta Belényessy and Edit Kaposi in 1958 by the first author, and only in 1999 by the second author. One is the summary of the *Völgysegi* dances (in the Tolna-Baranya County collection, the dance culture of Szekler community from Bukovina), and the other is a summary of the collection processing the dance life of *Bodrogköz (Cigánd)*. Due to the joint of a research group, it seems at the current state of my research that none of them can be called monographs linked to a single person.⁹¹ The researcher group's work followed historical, ethnographic, choreographic, and musical principles and tried to record the peculiarities of dance-life.⁹² However, the research methodology itself is based on European school of ethnology started by Adolf Bastian, which explores the socio-cultural environment of the ethnic group living there by geographical location and historical background. Through fieldwork, the researcher analyses the collective representations of the population, which means a comparative study of the folklore treasure present in a cultural life.⁹³ Due to its freshness, Leo Frobenius's theory of cultural morphology emerging from the interpretations of the cultural circle-cultural degree was also used to adapt this works. In this sense, the cultural circle is the culture of ethnic groups that are in contact with each other due to their geographical location.⁹⁴ According to another interpretation, the culture circle is an interaction region in which the cultural phenomena of ethnic groups change, and develop as a result of coexistence in different historical periods.⁹⁵ If we interpret this in relation to dance,

⁹¹ The *Csárdás* monograph by Szentpál published in 1954 was also the result of joint work. Refers to the summary of Edit Kaposi's scientific work. Manuscript legacy of Edit Kaposi OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 58; Szentpál 1954.

⁹² The historical-geographical method is presented in these works at this time. See: Ortutay 1937: 6; Varga 1939: 34; K. Kovács 1939: 4–5; Marót 1940: 278–279; Gunda 1944: 373. Cf. Erixon 1944.

⁹³ Koepping 1983.

⁹⁴ Sylvain quoting Frobenius's work. Sylvain 1996: 485.

⁹⁵ Voget 1975: 350.

then the transformation of the body and the bodies into a community and its kinetic representation in a public place is a cultural phenomenon containing folklore, which changes its form according to the fashion of the historical era as a result living together. In every case, its content symbolically represents the basic features of popular culture – such as the interaction of learned physical movement literacy and folkloric elements of folk knowledge. They set up a method that, in addition to analysis the content of the dance life (historical dance fashion folkloristics) and the presentation of its formal course (age boundaries of dancing skills and dance occasion), also tried to categorize the historical terminology of the dance material.⁹⁶ Comparisons were also made with the results of work conducted in other areas of Hungary, exploring the dance culture of ethnic groups.⁹⁷ This method therefore not only explored local dance life, but also covered the ethnic influences and the European connections of dance-fashion. I think that we should talk about the work that elaborates the dance-culture of Szekler community from *Bukovina* as the success of joint work, because of the expression of movement material, the character of movement, dance etiquette, choreographic specify, as well as the exploration of the layers of dance style (as old, foreign, and new style) and the factors that influenced it appear in the use of words. These words, on the other hand, only come back from Szentpál's works, which type are movement analysis and dance aesthetics. For me, this is why it became certain that this cannot be only one person work, since Márta Belényessy was engaged in the research of medieval culture, and had not written any such work before or since.⁹⁸ In this primarily European (primarily based on German theories) ethnologically oriented research, it can be seen that Bartók strove to apply relevant theories describing culture in the analysis of musical-folklore as well. Bartók's applied theory was also used in the exploration of dance-folklore within the framework of this institute. An important difference is that at the time dance processes (as choreography) were analysed and categorized. By breaking down this dance process, Szentpál created a formal approach analysing the concept of the motif and the structure of the dance process.⁹⁹ At this time, the separate

⁹⁶ Belényessy 1958: 56–97.

⁹⁷ *Bácska, Szatmár, Békés, Felvidék*; See: Belényessy 1958: 70.

⁹⁸ Belényessy's dissertation was published in 1948, with the title: Data for the question of homestead formation -The medieval roots of the plot of the Hungarian homestead. This book testifies the application of geographical-historical method. This is supported by the book edited by Anikó Bádi. See Belényessy 1948; Bádi (ed.) 2011.

⁹⁹ The concept of motif can already be found in the 1940's Szentpál-Rabinovszky taxonomy system. Emma Lugossy also published a motif analysis in 1960, as well as György Martin

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Pic. Nr. 11: *Olga Szentpál dance analysis sheet from 1949*
Source: The Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál.OSZMI Tánccsújtárakvívum fond 32.

¹⁰⁰ In Szentpál's analysing works, the Szekler dances in *Bukovina*, she provides a description of men's dances, dances of foreign origin appearing next to the *csárdás*. There is a historical-geographical method adaptation in dance-folklore analysis in 1948. That document name is *The Bukovina Szeklers dances analytical work*. This is a missing link of Belényessy's work. Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32. In Szentpál's later works (Szentpál formal analysis) the method changed a little bit this. There is a comparative study of hoop dances and *csárdás*. Belényessy 1958; Szentpál 1958, Szentpál 1961.

Theoretical principles of European ethnology and its application in the processing of folklore phenomena in folk-music, folk lyrics, and dance

At its birth, European ethnology as separate scientific field, it considered the research of folk life – the comparative study of folklore phenomena created by the relationship between society and culture – to be its subject. Its main objective is the exploration of man-made intellectual and material wealth according to geographical area and historical period. It considers the products of material (such as object-making folk arts, industrial art, and object culture-related economic activities) and intellectual culture (all forms of folk poetry, music folklore, and dance folklore) as cultural phenomenon produced by conscious action. Intellectual content rooted in the tradition of the living community and creativity includes style and technical methods together to represent the shape image designed cultural phenomena linked to these geographical areas and the habitus of the ethnic group. The conceptual interpretation of these phenomena is based on form-function and type-content analysis. It also creates the theory of cultural morphology, which thus enables the examinations of customs related to the life of a settlement and community, related the folklore works.¹⁰¹ The basis of the research is the recognition of the motif, the collection and comparison of its variants found in geographical areas.¹⁰² The Hungarian application of this first appears in the research of folk-music, ethnography and finally the dance-folklore. Here I have to mention the analytical work of Béla Bartók, László Lajta, Gyula Ortutay, Péter Morvay, Márta Belényessy, Edit Kaposi and Olga Szentpál. The conceptual definition of folk lyric is a spiritual folklore phenomenon expressing emotions consisting of two closely related, but different components, melody and text.¹⁰³ In the analyses

¹⁰¹ Here it is important to emphasize the change of ethnological theories according to chronology. About Adolf Bastian's "*Gesellschaftsseele*" theory (1869) see: Solymossy 1926: 13; K. Kovács 1939: 4; Marót 1940: 279; Erixon 1944: 4; Gunda 1945: 183. About Hans Naumann's "*Gesunkenes kulturegut*" theory (1921–22) see Erixon 1944: 2. About Leo Frobenius's "*Kulturmorphologie*" theory (1921) see Solymossy 1926: 10; K. Kovács 1939: 5; Marót 1940: 279. About Sigurd Erixon's "*Regional European Ethnology*" theory (1937–38) see Erixon 1944: 17.

¹⁰² The introduction of Ethnology linked to the name of Sándor Solymossy in 1926. Solymossy 1926. The introduction of European Ethnology in Hungary and its adaptation into the ethnographic academic canon is linked to the name of Béla Gunda, who after his studies in Sweden, continued his research and academic work in this spirit from 1939 onwards. He published the theories of Sigurd Erixon in 1944. Erixon 1944. About Erixon's theory see Gunda 1994: 6–7; 11.

¹⁰³ Katona 1998: 356.

of folk-music, the content of this dance characterizes the culture of the community living in the same geographical area in its melodic form, its connections to the rural life – important days and life-milestones – occasion or not. From this follows the term of dance-life. In my previous chapter, I presented the use of folk lyric on the stage in work of Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók, which created the birth of the national and contemporary style in the city. From the viewpoint of my research, the analysis of the content and form of the melodies is important here. This primarily presenting the style-layer and type of the musical melody. Applied to dance analysis, this appears in Olga Szentpál's formal analysis, which only becomes clear if I place Bartók's system alongside it.¹⁰⁴ In the introduction to Bartók: The Hungarian Folk Song, dated October 1921, he emphasizes the definition of peasant music and musical folklore. The emphasis is on the instinctive way of expression of the peasantry, which satisfies its needs of life with forms of expression that are in accordance with its traditions or with forms of expression adopted from urban-higher culture.¹⁰⁵ To this, Bartók relates the spatial and temporal distribution of folklore, based on which he explains the research goal of musical:

1. "To establish a rich collection of peasant melodies as possible in a scientific musical system from the musical material of peasant classes neighbouring and in contact each other.

2. Based on a comparative analysis, shed light on musical styles and their origins as much as possible."¹⁰⁶

Based on this system criteria, Bartók creates the styles of Hungarian music folklore, such as the old style, the new style and the mixed style. The system of musical analysis based on these aspects also gives Bartók's dialectical taxonomy system.¹⁰⁷ In Szentpál's approach, programme and goal of the dance analyst translated into dance are also consistent with this:

¹⁰⁴ Szentpál's formal analysis was published for the first time only in 1958. However, according to the results of my research, this theory was already applied in 1948. We already find a motivic analysis of Szentpál's earlier, unpublished works. Ethnological database of Museum of Ethnography – The Dance Registry documents and Manuscript legacy of Olga Szentpál OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 32. See Ábrahám 2023b.

¹⁰⁵ Bartók 1966: 102.

¹⁰⁶ Bartók 1966: 105.

¹⁰⁷ Bartók 1966: 105.

1. "To establish as rich a systematic collection of folk dances as possible, primarily within an ethnic group and then from the dance material of neighbouring ethnic groups.
2. Based on a comparative analysis, to shed light on the layers and historical development of dance-styles as much as possible."¹⁰⁸

I am quoting this analysis method here because I have to explain its folkloristics and historical characteristics, as well as its content and form. Based on my research, I found out that these works were already completed in 1948 but could not be published at this time.¹⁰⁹ Szentpál begins her dance analysis by defining the formal elements. It draws up how built the concept of movement, position, and body-use-body technique (as plasticity-rhythmics-dynamics) gives the motif, which can be interpreted as dance. On the top of that, she builds the structural elements, which as smaller units show not only the construction possibilities of the motif, but also the structural characteristics of the structure of the dance. To all of this, she associates the vocal numbers of the dancing body and the relationship of the dance with the music, which factors, according to Szentpál, together reveal the formal characteristics of the dance.¹¹⁰ In analysing the internal structure of the motifs, the distinction between homogeneous and heterogeneous features is highlighted. On the other hand, Bartók sheds light on why the heterometric or isometric analysis of sequence order is essential for stylistic layers.¹¹¹ This is the important and essential aspect that highlights on the content-based, i.e. typology, resulting from the style. The elements of the analysed musical folklore may belong to the category of motifs preserved by their own tradition, adopted from foreign peoples, or preserved artistic musical influences. This is also a prominent issue when classifying the elements of folk dance, because the stylistic definition of the dance can be determined

¹⁰⁸ Szentpál 1958: 324, Szentpál 1961:43.

¹⁰⁹ Criticisms (opinions from a pen of Gyula Ortutay, Linda Dégh, Lajos Elekes) found in the estate support the publication of the book but send it back for revision. According to them, it lacks the approach of a proper Marxist-Leninist ideological education, and the critics express their lack of understanding-regarding the soci-historical analysis of dance represented by Olga Szentpál. This "report" also states that they cannot say or present anything better than Olga Szentpál's analysis and it can be understood with "common sense". Manuscript legacy of Zsuzsa Kemény, Ortutayné: OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 33.

¹¹⁰ Szentpál 1958: 258–259, Szentpál 1961:3–4.

¹¹¹ Isometry: same rhythm; Heterometric: different rhythm. The meter, as a tempo and measure of rhythm, forms the structure and defines the style and type of the sequence as a melodic line or motif. It can be even (2/4;4/4), odd (3/8; 6/8 or tripod), or complex (5/8;7/8). Bartók 1966: 110.

by relation of movement to the music and thus the structural construction of the set of the use of movement, body and space. The ambitus of the motif set of movement phases and its structural construction can indicate the style of dances. The proportional structure, tripodic motifs due to heterometric sequence lines, and tetrapody due to augmentation give the historical type of order the dances. And this provides the historical layers of the dances built upon each other, which covers the acculturating urban cultural phenomenon of European dance fashion containing motifs and foreign origin, which was the first built as the old style in time, as a mixed style. As Bartók notes, this style is completely at home in the Czech-Moravian-Slovakian material, and according to his conclusion, this editing method originates from here.¹¹² Finally, the new style, which is rich in musical influences and can be defined as an art-dance with its own distinct style, completes the developing-constructing repertoire of the Hungarian dance folklore. This is also an important moment in this analysis system because Hungarian dance-folkloristics did not reveal the historical layers of the Hungarian dance-treasure in such detail. We can therefore see in the works created at the beginning of dance research that from 1946, they tried to explore dance culture in an ethnological-society-historical context in the synergy of current dance fashion and social dance. Current musical and ethnographic-ethnological European theories served as a tool for this. It was published as a stage folk-dance in the 1940s and 1950s. 1948 was the year from which these research results applying the theories characteristic of the German cultural circle could no longer be published. Scientific work then changed direction and the application of the Soviet model, the shadow of the Stalinist linguistic model was cast on research.¹¹³ It should therefore be emphasized that, from the 1940's onwards, the work of Olga Szentpál and István Molnár progressed in parallel in the development of the scientific canon of dance but marked a different path. In addition to the use of body and body positions and the movement choruses, István Molnár focused on a motif and used film recording, while Szentpál analysed and edited the perspective of region-unity and the entire process of the dance. Thus, in the books to be published, dances-choreographies developed primarily in the work of Szentpál's students and the book of the author-couple Lugossy-Gönyey published

¹¹² Bartók 1966: 162.

¹¹³ This is pointed out by Olga Szentpál's writing entitled: Methodological questions of our folk-dance teaching, as well as the examples of the cited dance films used in the formal analysis. Szentpál 1951a, Szentpál 1951b, Szentpál 1958. Cf. Németh 1951: 3–20.

in 1947 presenting Hungarian folk dances are communicated.¹¹⁴ Molnár presents dance material already collected in 1941–42 in “raw” motifs and provides a description of the dance form and process danced by rural dancers recorded on a film. The difference between the two approaches is therefore in the edited performance of the selected and mixed elements of the constructed stage dance and folk dance. Regarding the educational content, simple danceable and easily implemented motifs are provided so that lay members of the College-ensembles can easily learn them and gain experience in mass-dances. The Centenary collection, which was carried out by the *Muharay Együttes* [Muharay Ensemble] and the dance-fact students at the *Színművészeti Főiskola* [College of Drama] in Tolna County in 1948, could not be made public for several reasons. On the one hand, thanks to the current direction of art politics, the *Zhdánov* slogan supported the application of the linguistic model, rather than based on historical-ethnological foundations and Bartók’s organizing principle, filling old forms with new content. By collecting dance materials, the task of emerging *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation] was to obtain data on the current dying dance tradition, which is used in mass dances to create a common dance culture without regard and regional unity. During the village visits, it was discovered whether there were still living dance traditions, but the demonstrations and the teaching of mass dances also caused a change in the local dance culture, because these new dances became the community dances practiced by the youth. The adaptation of dance-folklore as a stage folk dances became the basis of the Movement, the service organ of which was the *Táncszövetség* [Dance Federation], not only in teacher trainings but also due to the spirit of competition and the mandatory norm from 1945 to 1950. Placing the dance on a scientific basis was thus pushed into the background due to the normative obligation to implement the three-year and then five-year plans. Here, we should also highlight Edit Kaposi’s research in *Bodrogköz* between 1946–48, the results of which she included in her doctoral dissertation. This could not have been published at that time either because it also followed the ethnological re-

¹¹⁴ Dance featured in the book Hungarian folk dances by Emma Lugossy and Sándor Gönyey: *Szennai karikázó* [Circle-dance from Szenna], *Váraljai csillagtánc* [Four-dance form *Váralja*], *Kákicsi dobogós* [Hard-beat dance from *Kákics*], *Csibetánc* [Chick-dance], *Mecsekszabolcsi ugrós* [jump dance from Mecsekszabolcs], *Palóc mártogatás vagy kukorgós* [Palóc-style fast rhythm couple dance], *Kéméndi buktatós* [Fast rhythm dance from Kéménd], *Galgamácsai szarkatánc* [Magpie dance from Galgamácsa], *Kunszentmiklósi süveges* [Hat-dance from Kunszentmiklós], *Szilágysági ugrós* [jump dance from Szilágyság], *Mezőségi szökekenős* [Fast dance from Mezőség], *Kalotaszegi forgós* [Turning dance from Kalotaszeg], *Homoródi páros és körtánc* [Couple and round-dances from Homoród]. Lugossy–Gönyei 1947.

search direction, Edit Kaposi also interpreted the dances on historical level.¹¹⁵ In 1949, The Folklore Institute was closed without a legal successor. All of this brought with it the rejection of the previous result, the style of dramatic dances and the primarily formal application and interpretation of folk dance. Scientific research also had to follow this principle, the rehabilitation of which could only be realized in a certain sense in the 1960s.

Conclusion

As my study proof, the specific-movement charge of the period has become clear. The truth is that the system of movement that still lives and characterizes the community of folk dancers was ready here. I have presented the period when, with the cooperation of Ortutay and Iván Vitányi, they made folk dance a showpiece genre serving political and power interests, reshaping the Hungarian contemporary dance culture, which could be called unique until the 1940s, into youth-educating mass-culture and naïve stage-work. Although they had no other way to prosper due to the “pressure of power”. They realized the gravity of their actions only later and tried to reverse the process that started in the 1950s, to find clues to the actual Hungarian dance treasure. In addition to all of this, the evolution of dance culture also includes the fact that instead of the old-kingdom-county-system that remained until 1949, a county-system combining several counties was created, so the boundaries of geographical areas, district region and regional centres also changed in several cases. *Budapest's* former 14 district area swells to 22 districts, devouring its former agglomeration areas. Dance-research must also focus on historical and substantive issues because the only way to see and understand the work that was started in early 1900s. Thanks to the 1940s, the genre of folk-dance became a Movement-system, which has been exclusionary to all other dance genres ever since. The “purge and re-education” that began at the end of the 1930s can be mentioned not only as a Hitlerian ideology of National Socialist Germany, but also cultural-shaping activity manifested in Stalin’s white terror. Many artists were lost, or if they survived, they were forced to change out of

¹¹⁵ There is a difference between the dissertation found in the legacy of Edit Kaposi and the revised version published later. See in the dissertation titled *Tánc a bodrogekői Cigándon* [Dance at Cigánd from Bodrogekői]. Manuscript legacy of Edit Kaposi OSZMI *Táncarchívum* fond 58. Published version: Kaposi 1999. I explained this in a separate study Ábrahám 2023a: 31–42.

necessity due to the destruction of their work. This category includes all those who did not survive the forced-labor camps in Auschwitz or Siberia, or who disappeared in the hidden machinery of the current power due to their artistic approach, such as Mejerhold or the board members of the János Vajda Company. Bartók deprived of his illness in the American emigration, and Béla Balázs did not survive the 1950s either.¹¹⁶ This also be true in the later period for the Movement-system of the “principled revolutionary’s new reality, which becomes steel in the forge of the class struggle”, because “the character-armour of the paradisaical reality” is not necessarily the same as the realistic-moral-artistic reality. For me, the most interesting outcome of this, in addition to the transformation of cultural-life, was the manifestation of a specific change approach to the application of scientific work to the Soviet model instead of the German cultural-circle. Thus, Hungarian dance research had an ethnological basis, but it could not be fulfilled and its initial hopeful start, its content was completely covered by obscurity until the 1960s. European aspects and contexts can be seen not only in the work of dance researcher Olga Szentpál and Edit Kaposi, in the research of ballads by Lajos Vargyas and the exploratory work of Anna Pór theatre-literacy. The possibility of the anthropological approach reappeared in the 1980s. In dance research, this presents as an unburied past, a painful wound, and its documents await processing to this day. Just as this has already been processed in literacy studies, musicology, or history studies, this has not happened in dance studies yet. By exploring this period, my goal is to emphasize the possibility of contextualization and adequate interpretation. However, thanks to humanity, these ideal-values-effects have not been completely lost according to the results of my research. Interpreted and scattered in different circles and gradually became public. Turning to the field of the cultural memory, none of my interviewees dared to talk about the changes of the 1940s – or because of the prohibition of the taboo – they could not talk about these events. Here, at this point it becomes necessary to research the legacies, because there are documents preserves as facts that irrevocably prove the truth. The fact is that the use of the thematic-dramatic dance style under the auspices of the Vasas ensemble could remain as a hiding stream, and the spiritual community of the dancers and choreographers working here will mean the preservation and survival of its hidden content. However, it did not return until the 1960s. The canon of scientific dance research is perhaps slowly processing its previous methodological mistakes and accepting the holistic ap-

¹¹⁶ Béla Bartók’s son, Péter Bartók says this in an interview with him in 2017. Bartók (2017) Directed by József Sipos, Filmnet production. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BV5gYrSB1w8>

proach of the ethnological school, and its adequate application for the analysis and interpretation of cultural phenomena. I believe that there is a place and time for understanding and reinterpretation in apprehension process of these historical tragedies.

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Nazira Abdinassir

The Concept of Dissimilation in the Study of Inter-ethnic Marriages within Homogeneous Meskhetian Turkish, Azerbaijani Marriages in Turkestan

Abstract

While analyzing the preservation of cultural heritage is more straightforward in homogeneous households, inter-ethnic marriages present a captivating lens through which to examine cultural integration, social identity, and the preservation of tradition within diverse societies. This study explores the dynamics of inter-ethnic and homogeneous marriages among *Meskhetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis in Kazakhstan, applying the theoretical framework of dissimilation theory. By drawing on fieldwork conducted in 2024 which involved 45 interviews from two research villages, *Turki Poselkasy* and *Kentan*, located in the Turkestan province in the southern part of Kazakhstan, the research investigates the historical context and contemporary realities faced by these communities. In doing so, it highlights differences in culture, language, and social norms that can influence the formation of both mixed and homogeneous marriages among minority groups in the region. The theoretical background of the study is grounded in dissimilation theory, which posits that individuals in inter-ethnic marriages tend to distance themselves from their own ethnic groups to establish new identities within the context of their relationships. Through interviews and surveys conducted across diverse settlements, the study explores social identities and groups as well as concepts of cultural and social differences including gender dynamics, to uncover the intricate mechanisms of dissimilation.

Keywords: dissimilation, multiethnic coexistence, inter-ethnic marriages, homogeneous families, cultural preservation



Preface

Inter-ethnic marriages have long captivated the curiosity of scholars from various disciplines, serving as windows into societal attitudes towards race, ethnicity, and cultural integration. These unions offer a unique context for exploring the complexities of identity formation and cultural dynamics within multicultural societies. Conversely, homogenous households provide fertile ground for examining the nuances of multiethnic coexistence and the preservation of cultural heritage, which in turn deepens our understanding of inter-ethnic marriages. According to the data collected for this study, 45 interviews were conducted in Turkestan, comprising 14-homogeneous and 9 inter-ethnic families. The data reveal that marriages between individuals of the same nationality are more common than mixed marriages in the area of study. This is in line with dissimilation theory, which suggests that some families aim to preserve their national values. Additionally, *Meskebetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis married to individuals from other ethnic groups often relocated to a different area. This theory, which has its roots in Ralph Linton's research¹ and was later expanded upon by sociologist John Milton Yinger, suggests that those who marry outside of their own ethnic group may separate from it in order to forge new identities within their new relationships.²

Cultural legacy and migration histories play significant roles among the diverse ethnic populations of Kazakhstan, especially in the targeted research settlements of Turkestan, namely *Turki Poselkasy* and *Kantau*, where *Meskebetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis reside. The classification and understanding of these ethnic groupings in census data, however, have sparked debates, prompting further research in this area.

Against this backdrop, this study explores the theoretical underpinnings of dissimilation theory, illuminating the historical context, migratory patterns, and current circumstances faced by these communities in the research areas. Central to this exploration is the overarching question: How does dissimilation theory predict the likelihood of inter-ethnic marriages among individuals striving to balance cultural identity and societal integration?

Building upon this inquiry, the hypothesis posited is that interethnic marriage may result in the erosion of an ethnic group's core values and culture. Rooted in the framework of dissimilation theory, this hypothesis suggests that individuals who marry someone from a different ethnic or cultural background

¹ Linton 1940: 25.

² Yinger 1976: 225.

may undergo a process of distancing themselves from their own ethnic group as they forge a new identity within the inter-ethnic relationship.

The primary objective of this research is to assess the applicability of dissimilation theory in understanding the dynamics of inter-ethnic marriages, with a specific focus on *Meskebetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis in Turkestan, Kazakhstan. By exploring historical contexts, contemporary realities, and lived experiences within these communities, the research endeavors to uncover the intricate mechanisms of cultural adaptation and social integration among minority groups.

Methodology

This study adopts a fieldwork approach, conducted in targeted villages within the Turkestan region of Kazakhstan. Employing a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, including interviews, surveys, and observations, the study aims to unravel the complexities of cultural adaptation, social identity, and groups, as well as the concepts of cultural and social differences, including gender dynamics, in these specified research villages.

Each interview in this study followed a standardized questionnaire format, ensuring that all participants were asked the same set of questions in the same order. This facilitated direct comparisons of responses. The structured nature of the interviews allowed for the collection of comparable data across different families, ensuring data consistency and reliability in the results. Furthermore, the use of closed-ended questions and multiple-choice options enabled the researchers to systematically quantify respondents' attitudes and experiences.

Surveys were administered to gather quantitative data on the social and cultural practices of the families involved, with particular focus on aspects of family life including language use, religious practices, and cultural customs. A purposive sampling technique was employed to select families that represented the diversity of the Turkestan region, specifically focusing on Azerbaijanis and *Meskebetian* Turks. The surveys included questions that generated quantifiable data, such as the frequency of certain cultural practices and the extent of adherence to traditional customs.

The questions were divided into two main groups after fundamental data regarding the interviewee's personal details—particularly their social environments, which constitute a substantial portion of the research—had been gathered. The first group of questions were aimed at families where couples are from different ethnicities (i.e., mixed marriages), while the second group of

questions was directed at families where couples come from the same ethnic groups. Every set of questions included the following key aspects: language use, religion, family and community circumstances, and broader cultural elements, including national clothing styles, the preparation of national dishes, and the celebration of holidays. These questions also investigated social norms based on the interviewees' attitudes and personal experiences in the Turkestan region. The researchers aimed to examine how certain cultural elements are integrated into daily routines, celebrations, and decision-making processes within these marriages. Additionally, the analysis aimed to examine instances of selective adoption, where individuals may assimilate certain aspects of their partner's culture while maintaining distinct elements of their own.

23 families, comprising both homogeneous and mixed marriages and ranging in age from 25 to 50, participated in the survey. Despite equal participation from men and women, it was observed that women generally had greater access to knowledge than males did and were more willing to share information. As such, in the case of one household only the wife was interviewed and not the husband, resulting in 45 interviews instead of 46 from the 23 families. The dynamics of dissimilation theory were also evident during the interview process. Local Azerbaijanis and *Meskebetian* Turks often showed reluctance to exchange information with local Kazakhs and representatives of other ethnic groups, and even when they consented, they frequently prohibited the use of media tools (e.g., dictaphones, audio and video tools, photos, etc.). Thus, the author's handwritten notes serve as the foundation for this study.

This study examines social identity and groups, which are based on the concepts of ethnic identity maintenance and social pressure, as well as cultural and social differences, which arise from language barriers, religious differences, social norms, and traditions. These elements serve as the foundation of dissimilation theory. In cultural anthropology, dissimilation theory can explain how group differences become more pronounced and significant, and can be used to investigate how individuals identify with their ethnic group and how this identification affects their marital preferences. Specifically, this study considers (1) Ethnic identity maintenance: How a preference for intra-ethnic marriages may stem from a desire to preserve one's ethnic identity, (2) Social pressure: How societal and family pressures can encourage integration and discourage inter-ethnic unions, (3) Language barriers: How linguistic disparities can hinder communication and pose challenges in marriage, (4) Religious differences: How various religious beliefs and practices can affect the likelihood of interethnic marriages, and (5) Social customs and traditions: How cultural practices and traditions can either positively or negatively impact interethnic

unions. Additionally, the ways in which gender roles and expectations shape personal and interpersonal behavior are also explored in the study. This includes variations in the division of labor, authority within the household, and behavioral expectations. These differences can pose significant challenges if partners' views on gender roles clash.³

Moreover, the study extends its focus to inter-ethnic families, particularly those formed between *Meskehetian* Turks and Russians, offering insights into the fusion of cultural heritages, familial customs, and identity formation.

Ultimately, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of multicultural dynamics in Kazakhstan, informing policies and initiatives promoting social cohesion and inclusion. By amplifying the voices and experiences of minority groups, the study endeavors to chart a path towards a more equitable and harmonious society.

Explication of the study framework

During the data collection process from *Meskehetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis residing in *Kentau* and *Turki Poselkasy*, the locals volunteered a wealth of information regarding their migration history. This information provided a historical context for the research to inform the exploration of the culture and way of life of the aforementioned ethnic groups. Based on the data gathered, the historical backgrounds of the *Meskehetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis show remarkable parallels, suggesting close ancestral ties. Nonetheless, the interview data indicates that both groups have maintained unique ethnic values while avoiding significant affinities with the local Kazakh population or other groups residing in the region. It is important to note that these insights are based on the interviewee's self-perceptions, who are entrusted with providing definitive descriptions of their ethnic identities. Ongoing research will continue to investigate the precise differences between the *Meskehetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis.

Description of the research locations

The territory of the Turkestan region spans an area of 117.3 thousand km², with the city Turkestan serving as its administrative center. It is bordered by the *Ulytau* region to the north, the *Zhambyl* region to the east, *Kyzylorda* to the

³ Hofstede 2001: 305.

west, and the Republic of Uzbekistan to the south. The region includes 11 administrative districts, 4 city *akimats*, 7 cities (except *Shymkent*), 13 settlements, 171 rural districts, and 932 villages. Over the past two years, the state has focused significant attention to the city of Turkestan, constructing numerous new ultra-modern buildings and crowning it as the cultural and spiritual capital of Kazakhstan.

The region was originally established as South Kazakhstan Oblast in the Kazakh SSR of the Soviet Union. Between 1962 and 1992 it was referred to as *Chimkent Oblast*. *Shymkent* served as the administrative center until 19 June 2018, when it was excluded from the region to be administered directly under the government of Kazakhstan. Consequently, the administrative center was moved to Turkestan and was renamed as the Turkestan Region.⁴

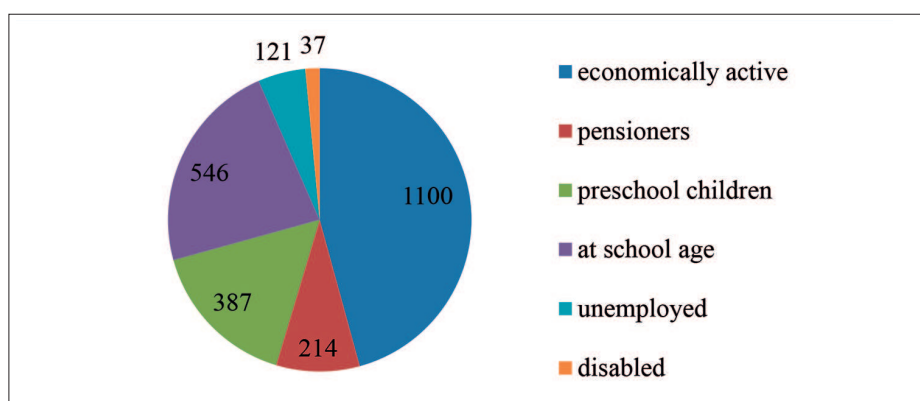


Fig. Nr. 1: Statistical Information on the Social Composition of the Population
Source: Data collection by Usen, 2022, Turki Poselkasy

Turki Poselkasy, a rural district in Turkestan known locally as *Турки поселкасы* [Turkish settlement] is primarily inhabited by *Meskhetian* Turks, which explains its local name. Officially, it is called the *Bekzat* region. Information about the rural district is scarce both online and in territorial databases. Nevertheless, fieldwork research yielded some basic information about the location from the village's administrative sources. According to these sources, *Turki Poselkasy* currently has a total population of 2,405, with the following ethnic composition: 2350 *Meskhetian* Turks, 49 Kazakhs, and six Uzbeks. The economically active segment of this population constitutes includes 1,100 individuals, while the number of pensioners stands at 214, indicating a smaller proportion of elderly

⁴ Ақорда 2018.

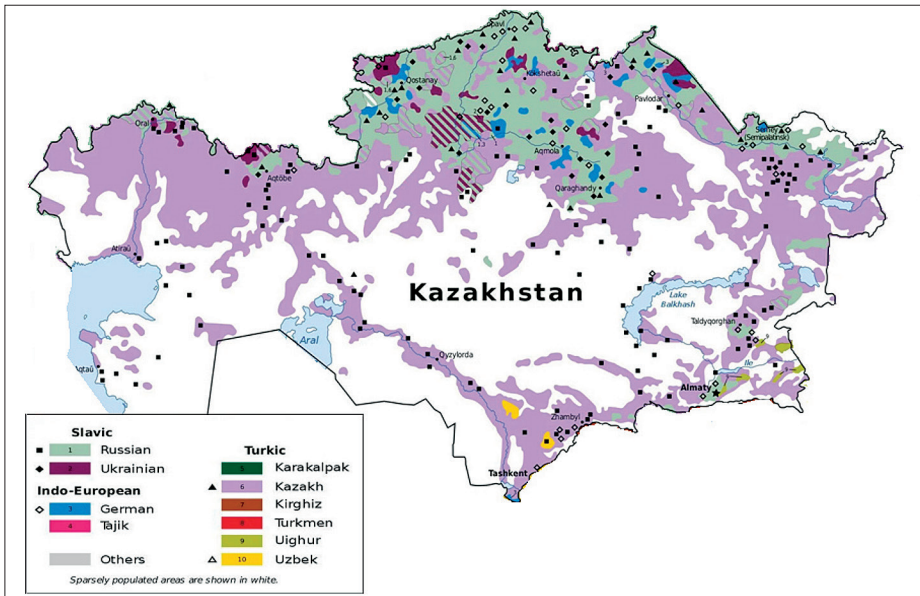
residents. Preschool children number 387, and school-age children, (i.e., those enrolled in primary and secondary education) total 546, highlighting the substantial youth presence within the population. There are 121 unemployed individuals, representing those actively seeking employment. Additionally, there are 37 individuals classified as disabled, encompassing those with physical or mental impairments that impact their daily activities (Fig. Nr. 1).

Kentau, known in Kazakh as *ken tau* [Ore Mountain], is a city under regional jurisdiction of the Turkestan region of Kazakhstan. Located at the southern foot of the *Karatau* ridge, 24 km northeast of the city of Turkestan and 190 km from *Shymkent*. *Kentau* itself covers an area of 7104 hectares and has a population of 67,713. The administrative jurisdiction of the city includes several villages: *Achisay* (8402 hectares, 2176 residents); *Bayaldyr* (1562 hectares, 1528 residents); *Hantagy* (1610 hectares, 6364 residents); *Karnak* (includes the central village of *Karnak* and the village of *Kushbata*; 42,571 hectares, 11,703 residents).⁵



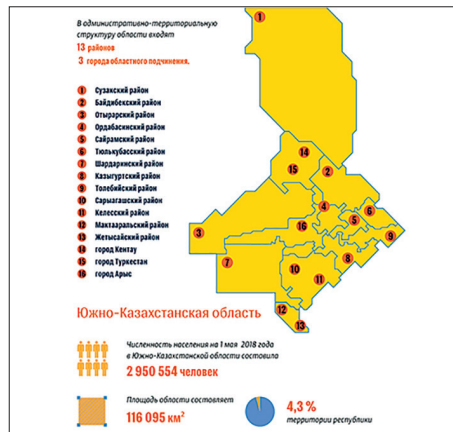
Pic. Nr. 1: *Kazakhstan and the Turkestan Region*
Source: <https://rus.azattyq.org/a/30611190.html>

⁵ Аған 2005.



Pic. Nr. 2: Map of Kazakhstan by the Distribution of Ethnic Groups

Source: <https://ontheworldmap.com/kazakhstan/map-of-ethnic-groups-in-kazakhstan.html>



Pic. Nr. 3: Map of the Turkistan Region

Source: <https://ru.sputnik.kz/20180621/karta-kazakhstan-izmenneniya-6112704.html>

Theoretical background regarding the interpretation of the origin of *Meskhetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis in Turkestan

Even during Soviet times, Kazakhstan was referred to as a laboratory of friendship between peoples, a title which reflected not only the multinational composition of its population, but also the significant demographic changes strongly influenced by migration over the past 150 years. Migrants from other provinces of post-reform Tsarist Russia—those who came to the “construction sites of socialism”, those who were repressed or evacuated during wartime, and the “virgin lands” farmers of the 1950s—all contributed to the formation of the modern multicultural landscape of Kazakhstan. According to statistics data from March 1, 2024, the population of Kazakhstan totals 20,075,271 according to the latest statistics. The composition of major ethnic groups based on the summary results of the 2021 census was published on September 1, 2022 and is detailed in Fig. Nr. 2.

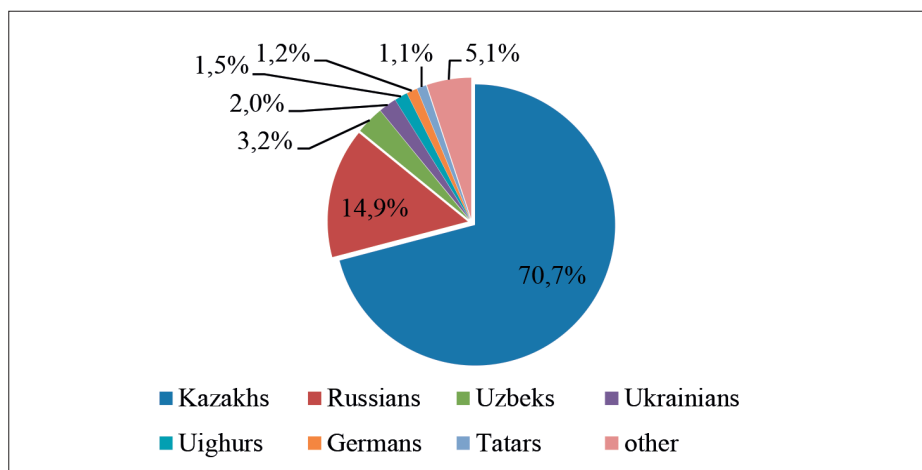


Fig. Nr. 2: *Population of Ethnic Groups in Kazakhstan*
Source: Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan for Strategic Planning and Reforms 2021: 60.

The categorization of *Meskhetian* Turks in the 1999 Census shows that they are subsumed under the categories of Azerbaijanis (78,000), Turks (76,000), and *Meskhetian* Turks themselves (3,000).⁶ It is not possible to determine the

⁶ Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan for Strategic Planning and Reforms 1999.

precise number of *Meskebetian* Turks included within the Turk and Azerbaijani populations. Therefore, it was hypothesized that the majority of those listed as Turks and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of those listed as Azerbaijanis could be attributed to *Meskebetian* Turks. This assumption is based on expert opinions from the *Meskebetian* Turk community and on research into the circumstances in which Azerbaijanis came to be in Kazakhstan. During fieldwork in February and March 2024, visits were made to meet with the local administration in *Turki Poselkasy*.

History of arrival in Kazakhstan

The *Meskebetian* Turks arrived in Kazakhstan in December 1944 after being forcibly removed from the Caucasus. According to activists *Meskebetian* Turk societies, the total number of those expelled in 1944 ranges from 90,000 to 100,000 people. After arriving in Kazakhstan, these individuals, unfamiliar with both the local language and way of life, were forcibly resettled across various villages in family groups.⁷

The *Meskebetian* Turks, who refer to themselves as *Ahiska Turks* or *Yerli* in pre-Soviet times are a heterogeneous Turkic-speaking Muslim ethnic group of disputed origin. Originating from the *Meskeheti* region in southwestern Georgia and speaking the *Kars* dialect of Turkish, they are either considered to be Turkified Georgians or a distinct ethnic group related to the Turks. Regarding their origins, Аккиева writes that

“researchers E. Panesh and L. Ermolov believe that the Turks from Meskhethi represent a special ethnic group of the Turkish ethnos, which developed in the zone of two ethnic territories - Georgia and Turkey. Naturally, it was formed from representatives of both peoples and even to some extent combined the features of the cultures of these peoples. The Turkish component turned out to be more influential. Today, among a significant part of the Meskhethian Turks, the second point of view is more widespread, and they consider their origin to be Turkish, and their true name is ‘Ahiska Turks’ Turk - ‘Ahiska Turklyari’.”⁸

Similarly, another Russian scholar, А. Г. Осипов, considering both versions of the origin, concludes that

⁷ Savin 2007: 44.

⁸ Аккиева 2016: 21–22.

“in general, we can say that the appearance of a Turkish-speaking Muslim population in Akhaltsikhe could be the result of complex demographic and linguistic processes that chronologically extend beyond the period of Ottoman rule in the 17th – early 19th centuries and not reducible to the assimilation of the Georgian population”⁹.

Although the majority of *Meskebetians*, most of whom were born outside of *Meskeheti*, refer to themselves “*Meskebetian* Turks”, a significant minority actively seeking to return to Georgia continue to identify as Georgian Muslims.¹⁰ This variation extends to those living in different countries; for example, *Meskebetian* Turks in Azerbaijan, according to Yunusov, often feel a stronger connection to a Turkish identity, whereas those in Georgia vehemently deny this connection and emphasize their distinctiveness from Turks.¹¹ Azerbaijanis and *Meskebetian* Turks were both interviewed during research fieldwork in the selected settlements. Although they may share the same ethnic origins, the information provided and the following analysis are based on their own perceptions.

Research fellow (И.Савин) from the Institute of Oriental Studies RAS, who conducted his research in the southern part of Kazakhstan, notes that almost all *Meskebetian* Turks identify themselves as Ahiska Turks and strongly reject the term “*Meskebetian* Turks”. Despite its use in census forms, the term itself is not accepted by the community itself. This may be why so few of them agreed with this definition during the 1999 census.¹²

The concept of dissimilation in the study of inter-ethnic families in the *Kentau* region and *Turki Poselkasy*

Yinger highlighted the role of social institutions such as education, religion, and the media in shaping the processes of assimilation and dissimilation.¹³ These institutions can either facilitate or impede the integration of minority groups into mainstream society depending on their attitudes and policies toward cultural diversity. This is evident in the way *Meskebetian* Turk families navigate their cultural practices and integration into the broader community.

⁹ Осипов 2013: 122.

¹⁰ Jones 1993: 14–16.

¹¹ Bilge 2012: 13.

¹² Savin 2007: 61.

¹³ Yinger 1981: 250.

Yinger argued that dissimilation can be a legitimate response to cultural autonomy and self-determination among minority groups. His work provides a deeper understanding of how minority groups, such as the *Meskebetian* Turks, negotiate their identity, power, and belonging within multicultural societies. This theoretical framework is essential for analyzing the integration strategies of *Meskebetian* Turk families and their interactions with the broader community.

Dissimilation theory, which examines variations in cultures, languages, and social norms, can serve as a robust analytical framework for investigating the dynamics of interethnic unions. This theoretical approach enables a systematic exploration of how distinct cultural, linguistic, and social factors influence the formation and evolution of interethnic marriages. By focusing on the increasing salience of group distinctions, dissimilation theory provides insights into the complex interplay between individual identities and broader societal structures in shaping interethnic relationships.

Social identity, heavily influenced by the preservation of ethnic identity and influenced by social pressures, plays a crucial role in promoting homogeneous marriages. This inclination often stems from the desire to maintain and transmit one's cultural traditions, language, and customs. Individuals are more likely to select partners from their own ethnic group to ensure the continuity of their cultural heritage. This phenomenon underscores the impact of social identity and external pressures in shaping marital choices and preserving ethnic distinctiveness. An understanding of social pressure illuminates how family and community expectations can be exerted to compel individuals to choose partners from within their own ethnic group to maintain cultural integrity and unity. Such pressures discourage interethnic marriages and reinforce differences between ethnic groups, promoting dissimilation.¹⁴

During the compilation of the respondent list for the research project in the Turkestan region, it was discovered that over 70% of the households in the village were made up of members of the same ethnic group, resulting in a higher number of homogeneous marriages than mixed ones. Regardless of how long they had resided in their community, families in mixed marriages often moved to other nearby villages due to societal pressures. In order to ensure useful comparative data for the study, families who relocated to a different area were contacted and included in the data collection process.

The data collected from *Meskebetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis in Turkestan provides a compelling illustration of dissimilation theory in relation to social identity. The fieldwork reveals that despite coexisting in the same region with

¹⁴ Fowers–Richardson 1996: 619.

other ethnic groups, *Mesketian* Turks and Azerbaijanis prefer endogamous marriages and tend to live in separate villages with minimal interaction with other ethnic groups. This preference for intra-group marriages underscores the desire to preserve ethnic identity and cultural continuity.

Turki Poselkasy, primarily inhabited by *Mesketian* Turks and Azerbaijanis, is characterized by unique architectural features, house designs, and places of worship that further emphasize their ethnic distinctiveness. These observable differences raise questions about how local residents from different ethnic backgrounds perceive and respond to this segregation, forming the basis for future research. This analytical perspective highlights the intersection of social identity and dissimilation processes, providing valuable insights into the dynamics of ethnic relations in the region.

Cultural and social differences between ethnic groups can influence the propensity for interethnic marriages. In this context, the following aspects can be considered: language barriers, religious differences, social norms, and traditions. Data collected from various types of families in *Kantau* and *Turki Poselkasy*, including both homogeneous and mixed marriages, indicates that although these are distinct, autonomous families, the viewpoints and responses of men and women in Azerbaijani and *Mesketian* Turk households frequently match, with 80% of them sharing the same views on language, religion, social norms, customs, and other fundamental daily aspects.

In the interethnic marriages discussed during the interviews, men typically were the dominant party and had the freedom to choose their spouses. Conversely, women did not enjoy the same freedom, which explains why the author did not find households where *Mesketian* Turk or Azerbaijani women were married to men from other ethnic groups in the observed research settlements. The interviews also shed light on the impact of language barriers, religious diversity, and the preservation of traditions within homogeneous Azerbaijani marriages compared to mixed *Mesketian* Turk marriages. For instance, an Azerbaijani man emphasized the importance of maintaining linguistic and cultural practices, noting that his family exclusively uses their native language at home. This practice underscores the significance of language as a key component of ethnic identity preservation.

In mixed educational settings, Azerbaijani families often opt for Russian-language schools due to the scarcity of public and educational institutions offering instruction in their native language. This preference for Russian is a legacy of the Soviet era, when it was the primary language of education for

many immigrant communities. The reliance on Russian as a substitute for their native language highlights the complex interplay between historical influences and current efforts to preserve cultural identity.

The analytical comparison between homogeneous and mixed marriages reveals how language choice and educational decisions are influenced by broader socio-historical contexts. This interplay underscores the persistent impact of Soviet-era policies on current linguistic practices and the ongoing efforts to preserve ethnic identity within the community.

Gender Roles and Social Integration in *Meskhethian* Turk Families

Yinger's dissimilation theory, when applied to gender roles, suggests that individuals in inter-ethnic marriages may adapt their traditional gender norms and behaviors to better align with those of their partner's culture. This can lead to a blending or reshaping of gender expectations, as both partners negotiate their roles within the marriage. The theory highlights the fluidity of cultural and gender identities in the context of inter-ethnic relationships.¹⁵

The research highlights the critical role of gender order in shaping the perception and integration strategies of *Meskhethian* Turk families within their local communities. Traditional gender roles significantly influence both internal family dynamics and external social interactions. According to the data collected, most women interviewees emphasized the importance of gender policies in their society.

When discussing gender-related issues during the research and data collection phase, it became evident that men predominate in all major spheres of public social life. For instance, empirical findings suggest that children, irrespective of the nationality of their father, tend to speak more in the father's native language, maintain stronger ties with their father's side of the family, and initially adhere to the customs, religious beliefs, and family values of their paternal side.

The daily routines of *Meskhethian* Turk families reveal a strong adherence to traditional gender roles. Approximately 95% of women interviewed reported that girls are raised to be meek, frugal, and subservient, and are often trained to become good housewives. Boys, conversely, enjoy more freedom but are also raised with strict expectations, including a strong sense of responsibility

¹⁵ Yinger 1981: 613.

towards their sisters. These gender-specific upbringing practices reflect deeply entrenched cultural norms.

Wedding customs further illustrate the community's commitment to traditional gender norms, particularly in relation to women. For instance, new brides are often restricted from speaking to their husband's family for extended periods. A notable example from the interviews describes how a new daughter-in-law was expected to remain silent and perform her duties without question until a formal ceremony permitted her to speak. This practice underscores the community's dedication to maintaining social order and respect towards elders.

Additionally, traditional gender roles influence household authority, with men typically holding decision-making power and women managing domestic responsibilities. These roles can pose challenges in inter-ethnic marriages, especially when partners come from different cultural backgrounds with varying expectations regarding gender behaviors and responsibilities.

The observed reluctance of men to participate in interviews and the gendered patterns in cultural transmission highlight the complexities of navigating gender dynamics in inter-ethnic marriages. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for comprehending the broader processes of social integration and identity negotiation within multicultural societies.

Homogeneous Meskhetian Turk Families

In the subsequent section, following a discussion of the analysis of the collected data, specific examples will be provided which highlight the differences between *Meskhetian* Turk homogeneous families and Turkic-Russian inter-ethnic marriages. This comparative analysis will focus on the distinct cultural practices, family structures, and social dynamics that characterize each type of marital arrangement.

Inter-ethnic couples often face the challenge of adapting to each other's cultural norms, values, and practices. According to dissimilation theory, individuals may consciously or subconsciously distance themselves from aspects of their own culture to better integrate into their partner's cultural milieu. This process of cultural adaptation can be observed in various aspects of daily life, such as language use, food preferences, and religious practices.

For example, *Meskhetian* Turks grow up in a multicultural society, interacting with Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis, Tatars, and Russians. Their childhood memories, especially from their school years, reflect a sense of unity and mutual support across ethnic lines. However, in their current settlement, *Meskhetian*

Turks predominantly occupy the central area, maintaining a distinct cultural and social identity. They prioritize their native language, using it exclusively at home and comfortably among friends from similar ethnic backgrounds. Their social circles often include Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turks, or Azerbaijanis. Religion, particularly Islam, plays a significant role in their daily lives, influencing social etiquette and children's education. In terms of family structure, *Meskebetian* Turk families preserve traditional lifestyles and customs, setting themselves apart from other ethnic groups. Extended families are common, with close bonds among relatives creating a supportive network that upholds social norms and customs. This family structure typically includes parents, children, and often grandparents or other close relatives, who live together or nearby, forming a tightly knit social network.

Meskebetians Turk-Russian inter-ethnic families

The following section of the research focuses on interethnic marriages involving *Meskebetian* Turks, based on the findings from the gathered data. Specifically, the study examines marriages between *Meskebetian* Turks and Russians to assess the degree of integration and other significant components of these interethnic unions. To conduct interviews with these interethnic couples, the author traveled to a rural district near the city of *Shymkent*, where these couples currently reside having relocated from the initially investigated region. These moves were primarily due to the social pressure mentioned above.

Interethnic relationships often involve the renegotiation of cultural values, traditions, and beliefs to reconcile the diverse cultural backgrounds of the partners. Accordingly, this subsection will explore how inter-ethnic couples navigate the celebration of holidays, traditional clothing, and ceremonial rituals within these marriages, areas which were highlighted in the interview results.

In several case studies, a *Meskebetian* Turkish man married a Russian woman. Upon their arrival into a Turkish family, Russian women were often given a new name in order to integrate into the family's cultural milieu. For example, in one case, a Russian woman originally named Ksenia was renamed Gozel by her new family. This renaming signifies the cultural adaptation expected within the *Meskebetian* Turkish community. The bride's upbringing and lifestyle stood in stark contrast to those of the *Meskebetian* Turks. Raised by a single parent and speaking only Russian with limited Kazakh, the bride was initially unfamiliar with Turkish customs and language, which she began learning after joining the family. Her background as an athlete and basketball player also contrasted with

the more conservative *Meskebetian* Turkish norms, where even activities such as attending a dance club might be restricted. I. Savin, in his work *Kazakhstan: Successful Integration but Inadequate Protection*, notes that dance groups often face a scarcity of dancers, as some families do not permit their daughters to perform in public.¹⁶

The researcher focused on religious differences between two distinct ethnic groups, identifying these as significant contributing factors to the escalation of several ethnic conflicts between these groups. In one case mentioned in the interviews, a Russian bride, despite her Christian background, adapted to the demands of her husband's family out of love and respect. However, she faced internal conflict as she struggled to reconcile the obligations of Islam with her lifelong Christian upbringing. The adaptation process for new brides often includes learning their husband's language and converting to Islam, demonstrating significant cultural and religious integration.

A second point of conflict emerged from the cultural traditions upheld by elders, who play a central role in organizing and enforcing customary practices during weddings and other celebratory events. This tension was particularly evident in the case of a bride of Russian heritage adhering to Turkish wedding customs, underscoring the challenges of reconciling different cultural expectations within the marriage. The wedding and the bride's departure ceremony were conducted according to Turkish customs due to the man's dominant role in the family and the influence of the husband's ethnic background on family rituals. The data gathered for the present study reveals that in mixed marriages where the husband is of Turkic descent, fundamental family values and traditions are predominantly influenced by Turkic customs. This influence is evident in the prioritization of the husband's family's ethnic values over the wife's original cultural practices. For instance, while Russian customs around marriage proposals and bride departure ceremonies are less defined, *Meskebetian* Turkish weddings are elaborate events that bind not just two individuals but entire families. Overall, the research highlights significant cultural adaptation and integration in inter-ethnic marriages involving *Meskebetian* Turks. The preservation of Turkic traditions within these marriages underscores the importance of ethnic identity and the continuous negotiation of cultural values in shaping family life.

Similarly to homogenous *Meskebetians* Turkish families, the family structure typically includes parents, children, and often grandparents and other close relatives, either living together or nearby. This also forms a tightly knit social network.

¹⁶ Savin 2007: 55.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of migration, cultural adaptation, as well as cultural and social identity among the *Meskebetian* Turks and Azerbaijanis in Kazakhstan, particularly in the context of Turkestan. By examining historical backgrounds, demographic data, and firsthand accounts, the research illuminates the multifaceted experiences of these ethnic groups, highlighting their diverse origins and the challenges they have faced in integrating into Kazakh society. The comparative analysis between homogeneous *Meskebetian* Turkish families and Turkic-Russian inter-ethnic marriages reveals significant distinctions in cultural practices, family structures, and social dynamics influenced by the underlying principles of dissimilation theory. Turkish-*Meskebetian* families exhibit a robust preservation of their cultural identity, characterized by cohesive family structures, strong adherence to traditional customs, and a unified linguistic environment. In contrast, Turkic-Russian inter-ethnic marriages exemplify a dynamic process of cultural negotiation, where individuals actively adapt to their partner's cultural milieu, often leading to a reconfiguration of identity. Despite these adaptations, men often play a notably dominant role. The findings indicate that inter-ethnic couples experience both challenges and opportunities as a result of their marital arrangements, especially in regard to religious differences. As illustrated through the case study of a Turkish-*Meskebetian* man and his Russian wife, significant cultural adaptation occurs which encompasses language acquisition, religious conversion, and the integration of cultural practices. This case highlights the transformative impact of love and respect in facilitating cultural exchange and adaptation, yet also underscores the predominance of Turkic customs within the family dynamics, which often supersede the original cultural practices of the Russian partner. The analysis demonstrates that while homogeneous Turkish-*Meskebetian* families maintain a distinct cultural identity rooted in traditional values, inter-ethnic marriages embody a complex interplay of adaptation and integration. The preservation of Turkic traditions in these marriages serves as a testament to the resilience of ethnic identity amid the challenges posed by cultural diversity. Future research could further explore the long-term effects of these dynamics on the identity formation of children from inter-ethnic unions as well as the potential for evolving cultural identities within a broader social context.

Overall, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities of identity, power dynamics, and belonging among ethnic minority

groups in Kazakhstan. As such, it provides valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners in the fields of migration studies, cultural anthropology, and social integration.

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András Lénárt

Sociocultural and Historical Perspectives on Diversity in Spain

Abstract

The image of Spain in the 21st century is defined by the coexistence of the descendants of different peoples who have arrived in the region over the past centuries and decades. Since prehistoric times, the history of the Iberian Peninsula has been marked by interactions between the groups that settled there; sometimes these relationships have involved a certain type of subordination and domination (for example, conqueror versus conquered), and at other times they have been characterised by the peaceful or conflictual coexistence of different societies. Thus, immigration, coexistence and assimilation have always been fundamental to the social and cultural life of Spain. To this day, cultural historians and philosophers have not been able to agree on whether the diversity of society has been an advantage or a disadvantage for the development of Spain. In this article, I will examine the approaches to this social and cultural diversity in different historical periods and the basic arguments used by scholars and scientists to support their beliefs. In analysing the issue, we look at prominent works and authors in Spanish cultural history, searching for and comparing possible arguments. We try to answer the question to what extent the search for homogeneity or diversity has been part of the Spanish self-definition in a given historical period.

Keywords: Spain, identity, diversity, multiculturalism, coexistence

When visiting Spain today, the traveller will see a diverse and multicultural country. In addition to the Spaniards who were born in the country, today's society is made up of different nationalities. The diversification of society has not, of course, left Spain's national identity intact, but the foundations of its current variant come from the past. The aim of my article is to outline the



basic approaches that allow us to trace the main pillars of the self-definition of Spanish society in the 20th and 21st centuries. In some cases, as we shall see, it was an identity imposed on society and individuals from above, that is, from a political-ideological authority.

I. In search of the Spanish identity

In his monograph on the different historical memories of Spain,¹ the historian Ricardo García Cárcel poses the following question: since when can we speak of a Spanish identity? According to the author, the answer depends on the criteria by which we examine the subject.

- If we consider the creation of a unified Spanish state as a fundamental premise of Spanish identity, then the first Bourbon monarch, Philip V, must be at the centre of our interest. The Nueva Planta decrees issued by this king between 1707 and 1716 unified the institutions and laws of the various Spanish kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula into an absolutist and centralised kingdom. The centre was Castile, and Spanish society became increasingly homogenised.
- If we take a territorial approach to the development of identity, we can speak of a Spanish identity since the beginning of the 16th century, when the Catholic Monarchs (Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon) and their descendants gradually established close cooperation (but not yet unification) between the main Spanish kingdoms, while preserving their own institutions and laws.
- If the institutionalisation of a common language can be a decisive factor, then the emergence of the Castilian language, also at the beginning of the 16th century, is the central element.
- If Spanish identity is linked to national sovereignty, the only point of departure is the adoption of the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (the Constitution of *Cádiz*), the first Spanish constitution and the first to mention the sovereignty of the nation.

García Cárcel, in his book mentioned above, cites other possible factors, some related to philosophy or intellectual history, but does not provide a clear answer. Other authors have also addressed this issue, each exploring the question of identity from a different angle. The most common approach is to con-

¹ García Cárcel 2014.

sider the role of religion, either alone or in combination with other factors. For example, José Álvarez-Junco, in his monograph on the subject,² argues that the collective identity of the Iberian Peninsula since the Middle Ages was defined primarily by the Catholic religion, combined with a relationship (essentially loyalty) to the Spanish Crown and Empire, with all other factors being marginal over the centuries; in the 20th century, however, politics took over the role of these factors, blending with the particularities of the regional identities (Catalan, Basque, Gallego). At the same time, Jesús Torrecilla points out in his study that the myths of different historical periods have also played an important role in the formation of Spanish identity, with the “mythical activity” of the Spanish nation in each period consciously trying to shape its identity in a way that affected both its own society and its perception from abroad.³

Of course, there is no common denominator on this issue; therefore I will try to highlight the key points and show which factors cannot be ignored when examining this topic.

II. The components of Spanish identity

The history of present-day Spain has been marked by the relationships that have developed over the millennia between the different groups of people who have arrived in successive waves and those who were already living in the Iberian Peninsula; at times these relationships have been marked by subordination and domination (mainly through the conflicts that naturally arise between conquerors and conquered peoples), and at other times they have been marked by the peaceful or conflictual coexistence of different peoples. Each group brought with them their own traditions, religion and forms of government developed in their former homelands, and conflicts often arose between the new influences and the established order. As the different cultures came together, clashes of varying intensity were inevitable, including wars that spread to all regions of the peninsula and fundamentally changed the vision of the future. As a result, Spanish society has always been defined by the coexistence of the different peoples who have migrated to the region. Throughout history it has received and absorbed the influence of several ethnic groups: Iberians, Celts, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths, Jews, Arabs, Berbers,

² Álvarez-Junco 2013.

³ Torrecilla 2009.

Slavs and Franks, among others, have shaped the linguistic, religious and cultural diversity that we now collectively call Spanish. Multiethnic relations and the voluntary or involuntary adoption of new cultural elements have been part of Spain's history from its beginnings to the present day.

Since the 19th century, historians have debated whether the diversity of Spanish society has been an advantage or a disadvantage in the development of Spain: would it have been better to create a more homogeneous society or, on the contrary, does heterogeneity add to the real value and uniqueness of the Spanish people? In this case, as we will see below, it was primarily the religious component that provided the basis for the theoretical reasoning and the ensuing debates.

The arguments used in the debate multiplied throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and in the middle of the last century they came to the fore in a series of reflections by two historians: Américo Castro, a philologist and cultural historian of Brazilian origin who carried out his academic work first in Spain and then in the United States, and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, considered one of the most outstanding Spanish historians of the 20th century. In the 1940s and 1950s, the two engaged in a wide-ranging debate on the kingdoms and peoples of medieval Spain. Their perspectives may still be relevant in the 21st century, as some elements of the cultural and religious processes of the Middle Ages would have repercussions in later times. The two historians debated during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1975), trying to define the nature of the Spanish people and the Spanish consciousness. Their theories became part of national and international Hispanic historiography. Moreover, their influential arguments have come to the forefront several times in recent decades when the ruling power (whether dictatorship or democracy) has sought support for its beliefs about national consciousness and identity in the ideology of one of these historians.

The starting point of the debate is the relationship between Christian peoples and other religious groups. Américo Castro argues that it would be a mistake to give Christianity an almost exclusive role in identifying the roots and fundamental components of Spain. We cannot relegate other peoples and religions to the periphery of national history; they must all be present in our assessment with the weight that their importance deserves. According to Castro and his followers, Christians, Arabs and Jews together shaped the image of the peninsula and contributed valuable elements to the complex image we now identify as Spain. The culture and society would have been much poorer and simpler if these three groups had not been present with their individual visions; the present is therefore a synthesis of the interaction of these three ele-

ments. His fundamental book on the subject is *España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos* [Spain in its history. Christians, Moors and Jews], published in 1948.⁴

The other approach takes the opposite view. According to this perspective, the essence of Spain lies in Christianity and can only be interpreted in relation to this religion; other religions and ethnic groups were rather obstacles to the development of the nation, and their role must be examined in the light of how Christianity managed to overcome them. For Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and his followers, the Muslim conquest and presence was above all a period that should be treated as a parenthesis in the history of the nation; the country should not be proud of this era, because it changed (and also deformed) the intellectual and cultural physiognomy of the country, diverting the nation from the Christian path and leaving many unfavourable consequences. With the exception of the Islamic religious groups, most of the peoples, including the Romans and the Visigoths, have influenced the development of Spanish society, mostly in a positive way, and have determined what we can consider Spanish today. Sánchez-Albornoz's most important work is *España: un enigma histórico* [Spain: a historical enigma], published in two volumes in 1957.⁵

This latter approach is clearly the result and also the continuation of the predominantly intolerant view that prevailed in the Christian kingdoms of Spain during the *Reconquista* of the peninsula⁶ and the expulsion of the Arabs (15th century), and which still had many adherents in the 20th century – it is no coincidence that the Francoist dictatorship, organised on a national-Catholic basis, and the political and social groups that made it up, favoured this view of history, even though Sánchez-Albornoz was a leading figure on the Republican side. In the democratic era, however, Castro's interpretation became legitimate in mainstream historiography and cultural history. The debate between the two historians continued in the following decades.⁷

The formation of the Spanish national consciousness is clearly influenced by the most remarkable events of the past. Until the early 20th century, the Spanish nation was less concerned with defining itself than with issues that directly affected its daily life, such as internal civil wars and struggles with other

⁴ Castro 1948.

⁵ Sánchez-Albornoz 1957.

⁶ The Spanish *Reconquista* was a long period of history in which the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula attempted to reclaim territory that had been conquered by Islamic armies in the early Middle Ages. This reconquest began in the 8th century and lasted until the fall of Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in Spain, in 1492.

⁷ See: Lapeyre 1965; Maíz Chacón 2009; Baumeister–Teuber 2010.

countries, or the reforms carried out by successive governments. The Catholic Monarchs, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who married at the end of the 15th century, established close cooperation between their kingdoms, and their successors were forced to deal with the different levels of development and traditions of the various regions. The result of these contradictions was that the empire, which appeared to be somewhat united from the outside, was in fact full of conflicts and eventually broke up as a result of various internal and external processes.

At the beginning of the 19th century, most of the Spanish-American colonies became independent, and by the end of the century the last colonies (such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines) had also broken their ties with the Spanish monarchy; the resulting sense of loss led Spanish society to seek a way of reinventing itself. Once a world power, it became a country confined almost exclusively to the Iberian Peninsula, and society found it difficult to adapt to this new situation. How can people accept and understand that yesterday they ruled a colonial empire and today they are no more than a middle power? This trauma was compounded by internal political and social problems: the first third of the century saw a rise in corruption and inefficiency in the institutions that governed the country. Society was faced with a situation in which what little remained of its former glory was being managed by its leaders with a high degree of incompetence. Intellectuals were disillusioned, and the upper classes feared that the concerns of the lower classes would explode in the face of this situation. New answers had to be found to the questions “Who are we?” “What do we want?” “Where are we going?” in order to prevent the country from falling into the abyss of despair and apathy.

III. Approaches to self-definition

Writers, philosophers and historians tried to find a way out of the trauma of the tragic outcome of the Spanish-American War of 1898, looking for clues in the past and in a possible future – members of the Generation of '98, such as Miguel de Unamuno, Azorín, Pío Baroja or Ramón del Valle-Inclán, tried to portray a possible vision of the future, identifying and interpreting the successes and failures of the past.⁸ The search for a path to follow and the assessment of a seemingly hopeless situation also had a major impact on political life. In the 1920s, the first radical manifestations of sympathy for Italian fas-

⁸ Csejtei–Laczkó–Scholz (eds.) 1998.

cism appeared in Spain, as did the first attempts to create a Spanish organisation on the model of the Italian National Fascist Party. It seemed to be an alternative that could perhaps provide a more satisfactory response than the previous ones.

In 1921, the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset published his historical essay *España invertebrada* [Invertebrate Spain],⁹ in which he argued that among the many threats facing Spain, the separatist aspirations of nationalities (such as the Catalans and Basques) posed the most serious problems for the nation. According to him, people are defenceless when patriotic feelings have disappeared from their conscience, and he believes that Spaniards currently fall into this category. He is concerned that a growing part of society is made up of masses who are incapable of making important decisions for themselves. Ortega y Gasset's ideas would soon appear in the imagination of the defenders of Spanish fascism. From then on, the conservative press argued with increasing intensity that a leader like Benito Mussolini was the only guarantee that the successes in Italy could be repeated in Spain.

After the conservative Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923–1930), in the Second Republic, which was established in 1931 with the fall of the monarchy, radical conservatives became more active because they were concerned about the popularity of the left and the rights and privileges that some regions had obtained. The journalist Ernesto Giménez Caballero became one of their main ideologues: he saw the end of the 15th century, the period of the Catholic Monarchs, as a precursor of Spanish Fascism and, therefore, as an epoch in national history to be followed. According to him, Spain would soon again set the course for the development of humanity, regaining the power it had once possessed and which had been usurped by inferior races. He thought that Italy was striving to do the same in all areas of life, but that it was probably the “Spanish genius” that would have to undertake the real mission.¹⁰ The identity of the Spanish nation would have to be defined by this Spanish genius – his proposals would soon have many followers.

For conservative and nationalist groups, the 1936 uprising that led to the Spanish Civil War was necessary, in part, because of the regions' aspirations for autonomy and the potential rupture of the country's indissoluble unity, so national cohesion was a high priority from the first moment of armed conflict. For Franco's dictatorship, which followed the Civil War and lasted until 1975, Spanish identity could not be confined to the Iberian Peninsula. The

⁹ Ortega y Gasset 1921.

¹⁰ Giménez Caballero 1932.

so-called imperial will, embodied by the Falange, showed that although the Latin American colonies had already been separated from the mother country, a certain kind of reunification was possible on a spiritual level. From this point of view, no real separation had taken place, because no earthly power could divide the peoples of the Hispanic race. In their vision, the great and invincible Hispanic empire continued to exist on a spiritual level, and Franco's National Movement was the guardian of this unity. The idea of *Hispanidad* overcame the difficulties: the common past, language, traditions, culture, religion and the blood flowing in both Spaniards and Latin Americans would unite the peoples on both sides of the Atlantic ocean forever. This approach dominated both social and cultural policies, with particular emphasis on the cinema as the main instrument for influencing people.¹¹ In some ways, the idea resembled what Benedict Anderson would later call the "imagined community".¹² These groups generally do not know each other, they no longer belong to the same nation, but for historical reasons they are part of the same community. They share a common past, language and traditions. As a result, Spanish identity has become an integral part of Hispanic identity, underlining the unity of all Hispanics.

After the loss of the last colonies, unity took on a transcendental meaning at the beginning of the 20th century, as opposed to the autonomist or pro-independence ambitions of peninsular nationalisms. Franco's dictatorship placed a centralist Hispanic nationalism at the heart of its national policy, excluding anything that did not proclaim the unity that dated back to its own medieval Castilian traditions, so that the aspirations of the nationalities for self-government were unacceptable to the regime. National identity had to be in line with this ideology. Anyone who disagreed with this approach was branded anti-Spanish and a traitor: the monopolisation of patriotism is obviously an inherent feature of dictatorships.¹³ However, when a dictatorial regime disappears, there is a danger that national identity will be replaced by a void, sometimes with the need to rebuild it by incorporating new elements.

In 1937, an anonymous author published an article in the Falangist magazine *Vértice* entitled *La estética de las muchedumbres* [The Aesthetics of the Crowds], which shows us how they tried to influence the masses. The starting point of the article was that after the First World War, under the influence of Bolshevik propaganda, the peoples of European countries lost their ability to

¹¹ Lénárt 2011, Lénárt 2012.

¹² Anderson 1983.

¹³ Anderle 1985: 162–164.

think and the national parties became fragmented and incapable of providing leadership. It was then that a new ideology and a new state were born, led by a strong, sure and immovable leader, the *Caudillo*, from the collaboration of patriotic forces and spirits. Francisco Franco's statements were based on the fact that the masses were decisively influenced by the representation of heroic achievements, and that festive events and religious ceremonies drew society under their influence. People had to feel that they were an important part of the new Spain and that everything was happening for the benefit of Spaniards. This could only have the desired effect if the people were aware that they were not a group of individuals, but belonged to a community. This mass, if it loved its country, had to be unconditionally at the service of Franco, because the system he created was designed to save the Spanish people.¹⁴ The ideal Spanish (or Hispanic) identity therefore did not exist at the level of the individual, but only at the level of the community.

Franco's aim was to restore an idealised image of the Spain of the past, modelled on the period of the Catholic Monarchs. The symbols of the regime's cultural roots evoked the same principles that characterised the imperial existence of the 16th century, with its religious and classical culture. In schools, special emphasis was placed on the history of Imperial Spain and on explaining the ideological foundations of *Hispanidad*, the sense of being Hispanic. The main objective was to show that the Spanish nation was morally irreproachable and that the imperial spirit of *Hispanidad* raised it to an even higher level.¹⁵ In terms of religion, Catholicism became an omnipresent factor.

The regime proclaimed the superiority of the Hispanic race. The foundations of the idealised Spanish identity had to be found in the past so that everyone could be aware of its dominance. For the dictatorship, any historical event that guaranteed the survival of the country could become part of the national canon, so the Catholic Monarchs were honoured for the reconquest of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews and the discovery of America. The Bourbon era, a period of decadence, no longer belonged to Franco's national history, but the early years of the 19th century did, when the Spanish people rose up in the name of national self-determination in defiance of the Napoleonic invaders. This led directly to the justification of the Civil War of 1936–1939, in which, according to this interpretation, Spain had to defend itself against the conspiracy of foreign powers. Parallel identities were created that fit perfectly into the dichotomy of “victor and vanquished”. Us and them. From the point

¹⁴ The content of the article is summarised by: Llorente 1995: 27.

¹⁵ Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla 1992: 122–123.

of view of the victors: we are the patriots, the people of the new Catholic Spain, and they are the traitors, the anti-Spanish. From the perspective of the defeated (i.e. the oppressed or refugees in exile), we are the defenders of democracy and they are the tyrants.¹⁶

The fall of the Spanish dictatorship in 1975 gave way to a period of democratic transition and, from 1982, to the era of democracy. A citizen who had spent most of his life, or at least his childhood and youth, under a dictatorial regime had to redefine why he considered himself Spanish, why he felt that his origins and his links with Spain distinguished him from people in other countries of the world. Whereas in previous decades he had not had the opportunity to define himself and interpret his relationship with the nation according to his own convictions, he finally had the freedom to decide the meaning of the components that made up his identity. This redefinition took place in parallel with Spain's integration into the Western system: not only in institutional terms (European Economic Community, NATO), but also by joining the ranks of the European democracies, the so-called Europeanisation. From that moment on, belonging to Europe became part of the Spanish identity.

In his studies, essays and book on the socio-political approach to Spanish identity, political scientist Jordi Muñoz questions whether the principles based on Franco's national-Catholicism have really been replaced by democratic patriotism. He argues that the leaders of the democratic transition and the drafters of the new Spanish Constitution of 1978 conceived of the new national identity as a nationalism based on consensus. The left and the right, of course, saw things differently, but for the rest of the 20th century, with the exception of some extremist ideologies, the whole nation took the Constitution of 1978 as a set of fundamental principles and wanted to introduce any changes through future amendments to that Constitution, not by denying or withdrawing it. Castilian Spanish would remain the common language of all Spaniards, but the languages of the regions were given co-official status in their respective autonomous communities.¹⁷

During the decades of Franco's national-Catholic dictatorship, religion played a substantial role in the self-determination of this traditionally Catholic and deeply religious country, but its importance diminished during the period of democratic transition. It was not religion that failed them, but the loss of trust in the Catholic Church (mainly because of its close collaboration with the right-wing dictatorship) contributed greatly to the fact that religion no

¹⁶ Lénárt 2011, Lénárt 2012.

¹⁷ Muñoz 2009.

longer played an essential role in the daily lives of Spaniards. This is also the reason why many people make a distinction between religion and the Church: religious people do not necessarily go to church because many disagree with the actions of the Spanish Catholic Church; those who are anti-clerical are not necessarily atheists, but simply reject the institution for the historical reasons mentioned above.¹⁸

Jordi Muñoz, in his monograph *La construcción política de la identidad española* [The Political Construction of Spanish Identity],¹⁹ writes that from the period of democratic transition (1975–1982) to the present day, it has been possible to distinguish two basic concepts of identity in Spain, which he calls constitutional national identity and traditional national identity. The foundations of constitutional identity are the Spanish language (that is, the traditional Castilian), the entire history of the country, respect for the Constitution of 1978 and the unquestionable unity of the country. Traditional national identity is based on other elements: it includes emotional identification with national symbols such as the anthem and the flag, the glorification of certain periods of the past and the identification of Catholicism as the true spiritual basis of the nation. These two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive; their components can even be combined to form a complex identity. Most Spanish sociologists today continue to work with these two dimensions of identity when studying these issues in relation to the recent past, but since the 1990s a third aspect, the cultural, has also become important. In the past, this element did not constitute a separate category, it was included in the other two, but today its existence as an independent category is justified. Culture, of course, has to be understood in the broadest sense, ranging from the artistic canon to bullfights, classical dances and other traditions, to symbolic and commemorative sites.

Spanish national identity, like most national identities, is first and foremost a cultural construction influenced by personal, social and political changes. Javier Moreno Luzón and other scholars of contemporary nationalisms argue that the symbols of a nation, such as the flag or the anthem, do not have a specific meaning in themselves, even when they are claimed by two opposing ideological-political formations. What is important is the meaning that the symbol acquires in a given historical context and the role it plays in the life of society. The Spanish flag, for example, although there is a consensus on its meaning, does not play the same role in regions with alternative iden-

¹⁸ Pérez-Agote–Santiago (eds.) 2008; Pérez-Agote 2010.

¹⁹ Muñoz 2012.

tities. The Franco regime appropriated national symbols to such an extent that, in the democratic period, people's attachment to them was increasingly seen as extremism, even though they no longer had that nationalist meaning. As a result, it is more common for people to define themselves not in terms of group membership, political sympathies or religious beliefs, but as individuals influenced by these factors, in addition to their family, environment and social network.²⁰

IV. Guidelines for the future

An inescapable issue in the past and current formation of Spanish identity has been the question of the so-called “black legend” and the reactions to it, which is perhaps the most important myth of Spain, linking the past with the present (and the future). It is a collection of negative stereotypes about the Spanish nation, fed by various sources (the cruelty of the Inquisition, the abuses in the Americas, the subjugation of other peoples, the general “laziness” of the Spanish, etc.). Although many attempts have been made to refute it (such as the creation of the “pink legend” or the “white legend”, offering the opposite interpretation of the factors mentioned above), negative approaches still persist, especially with regard to the medieval Spanish kingdoms and the modern discoveries and colonial empires. Today, for political reasons, historians and social scientists are once again frequently revisiting this topic in the paradigms and narratives associated with the Spanish nation, but their arguments do not add new elements, they only render the explanation of an interpretation that is biased in one direction or another, in an increasingly radical tone.²¹

The identity of Spaniards, as we have seen, was often artificially influenced by the groups and individuals who governed the country. At the beginning of the 21st century, this effort was mainly directed abroad: between 2012 and 2018, the program was known as *Marca España*, and between 2018 and 2021 as *España Global*, a project managed by government departments to improve Spain's image abroad, presenting it as a more attractive country than before, especially in the fields of culture, economy and technology. Under the coordination of the State and the guidance of diplomats, the “pink legend” has thus been redesigned with new elements that do not draw on the past, but rather

²⁰ Moreno Luzón–Núñez Xeixas (eds.) 2013.

²¹ The most important recent works on the subject are: Payne 2017; Ibáñez 2018.

focus on the present and future of the country, highlighting only its positive and attractive features.²² Although this program was aimed abroad, but it also served as an important reference point for the home country to focus on the positive elements of self-definition.

Ideological differences and political sympathies, as well as regional factors, continued to play an important role in defining Spanish identity: at the turn of the millennium, in Catalonia or the Basque Country, where nationalist currents were strong, a resident was more likely to consider himself primarily Catalan or Basque than Spanish; in other autonomous communities, this kind of (self-)distinction was less common. With the advent of democracy, national identity in many regions has been transformed into a national-regional identity, dating back to the Christian kingdoms that emerged during the Arab conquest, the regional conflicts of medieval and modern Spain, and the territorial reforms of the Second Republic (1930s), which were in line with regional demands.²³ As a result, in the democracy the autonomy needs of both the historical regions (e.g., Andalusia, Aragon) and the communities of the so-called small nations (Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia, Navarre, Valencia) were met, while other regions became autonomous communities for other reasons (political, traditional, etc.). In this way, as Juan José Linz defined it, Spaniards have developed a dual national identity: both the Spanish and the regional aspects have become part of their identity, which has become increasingly present in recent decades, both in terms of culture and language. This image has become even more complex in the 21st century, when immigration has turned Spanish society into a truly multicultural society.²⁴ The intensification of the Catalan independence issue in the 2010s²⁵ has brought about a significant change: while in Catalonia we are witnessing the strengthening of regional national consciousness, in the rest of Spain – especially as a result of the Catalan events – the importance of Spanish identity and the search for

²² López-Jorrín–Vacchiano 2014.

²³ Harsányi 2005.

²⁴ Szilágyi 1998: 114–129, Szilágyi 2009: 46–54.

²⁵ In 2017, Catalonia, an autonomous community in northeastern Spain, held an independence referendum on 1 October which the Spanish government declared illegal. Despite the obstacles, the referendum went ahead and the results showed that 90% of those who voted were in favour of Catalan independence. However, the turnout was low due to the police action and the boycott of the referendum by opponents of independence. The Catalan government declared independence on 27 October, but the Spanish government dissolved the Catalan parliament and imposed direct rule from Madrid. The issue remains unresolved, with some Catalan separatists continuing to push for independence, while others seek greater autonomy within Spain.

unity have been accentuated. In addition, the personal relationship of the individual with his or her national history and with national symbols is, of course, always imbued with political overtones.

For the younger generations, national identity is combined with a European and global identity. Today, a resident of Spain can be defined as Spanish, Catalan (which is interchangeable with any other nationality in the country), European and cosmopolitan. In today's Spain, Europeanism has become the strongest bond for several reasons. On the one hand, many Spaniards go abroad in search of a better life. On the other hand, a large proportion of young graduates get to know other cultures during their higher education by studying abroad on scholarships; in fact, in the pre-Covid era, Spain was the largest recipient and sender of students abroad.²⁶ For them, it is natural that their essentially Spanish identity should include some elements of the identity of the nations they know.

In the 21st century, there is no closed, homogeneous identity that fundamentally shapes the national consciousness. This is even truer in a country with massive immigration. Spain is at the centre of European immigration, and the (re)formation of the country's identity will continue to be influenced by the blending of different cultural traditions. The criteria of self-definition in contemporary Spain are constantly changing due to external influences and have become a multicultural identity that can be interpreted in the widest possible range. At the same time, diversity and plurality have always been part of the Spanish national identity, and the increase in immigration has intensified these phenomena. New identities have been added to the existing linguistic, cultural and historical ones.

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²⁶ García 2019.

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Máté Posta

The Transformation of European Fretted Zithers in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Abstract

Different types of fretted zithers appeared in the western and northern parts of Europe and in the Alpine regions 500-600 years ago to meet the needs of rural folk music. In the 19th and 20th centuries, in northern Germany, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands, zithers were constantly pushed out of village folk music. The final blow was the spread of the accordion to the zither. However, in some regions of southern Germany, Bavaria and Austria, zithers did not disappear, but underwent a number of significant modifications. In the first step, the volume of the instrument was increased (Salzburg form). This variety, called the *Kratzzither* was further developed in two different ways. To ensure that the zither could play with other instruments, the *Scherrzither* and *Raffele* were developed. Another development direction of the *Kratzzither* was the *Schlagzither*, which already provided a harmonic accompaniment to the melody. The systematic development of the *Schlagzither* made possible the birth of the Austrian and German *Konzertzithers*, whose harmonization already meets the requirements of classical music.

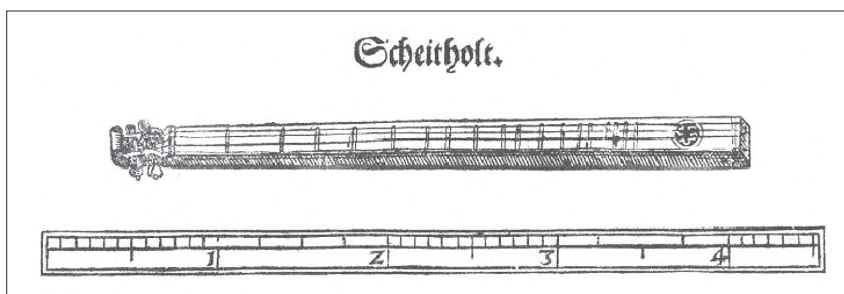
Keywords: Fretted zithers, Hummel, Kratzzither, Schlagzither, Konzertzither

The terminology used to identify European fretted zithers

The shared goal of our earlier and present investigations is to compile the most diverse body of knowledge about our most popular folk-music instrument, the Hungarian zither, its origins, history, domestic and international



background and its relatives.¹ To achieve that goal, it makes perfect sense to set out by studying the historical development and community-related role of the closest relatives of that instrument, European fretted or holder-board (*Griffbrett*) zithers. Fretted or holder-board varieties appeared much earlier than the Hungarian zither on the European scene, specifically in a wider sphere of German-speaking regions. Also, the existence of more plentiful Western European archival records makes them an easier subject of examination. The structure and tuning patterns of European fretted zithers had not changed for centuries and neither had the playing techniques they required. In the 19th and 20th centuries, however, these instruments underwent various paths of transformation with regard to use, structure and tuning. Regardless of which European region they originate from, the relevant international literature has related to traditional fretted zithers as *Scheitholt*. The name was coined by Michael Praetorius, who included a precise drawing and detailed description of a “beggars’ instrument” – the fretted zither² – popular in the uneducated lower echelons of society, in his work titled *Syntagma Musicum II*, published in 1619. Among other things, Praetorius writes, “The instrument... is not quite unlike a *Scheit* (log) or a block of *Holt* (Low German for wood).” In other words, the instrument was simply likened to a piece of wood by Praetorius (Pic. Nr. 1). Pic. Nr. 1 is a fragment of the plate XXI of the book of Praetorius. It was made by subtracting the instrument number 8 (*scheitholt*) from its plate. This picture can be found in Ulrich’s book³. The graduation of the scale shown below the *scheitholt* is in Brunswick foot. One Brunswick foot is 285 mm. Based on this, the length of Praetorius’s *scheitholt* is c.a. 3.7 feet, i.e. 107 cm.



Pic. Nr. 1: A “*Scheitholt*” depicted by Michael Praetorius. This is a fragment of plate XXI.
Source: Praetorius 1619: Plate XXI.

¹ Posta–Posta 2014: 17–22, Posta–Posta 2019: 73–90.

² Praetorius 1619: Plate XXI.

³ Ulrich 2011: 10.

Since Praetorius also used the phrase in the title of one of his chapters, he seems to have become the coiner – irrespective of the colloquial name of the instrument. In whatever source the name *Scheitholt* turns up – for instance in encyclopaedias – it invariably refers to Praetorius’ text.

There were hardly two instruments of this kind exactly the same, due to the fact that they were nearly all created by hobbyists in villages of different regions. Most of the newer ones were not similar to logs at all. However, independent of the individual or regional building technique, all these instruments have something in common – the buzzing and humming of the drone strings. Therefore, the onomatopoeic word *HUMMEL* (wasp or bumble-bee) offers a much more characteristic option to name these types of zither.⁴ It is this peculiar name (*Hummel, hommel, hommle*) which is typically used in Swedish, Danish, Dutch and Northern German-speaking regions. The same meaning is expressed by the French *bourdon* (wasp or bumble-bee) a variant of which is used when this category of zithers is collectively called *bordun*-instruments. The same meaning is represented by the analogous term *bordunske citra* in Slovenian. In English-speaking countries, the verb *drone* (make a continuous low noise) is employed to create the collective term drone instruments.

Certain names of zither varieties such as the Belgian *pinet* (pine) or *épinette des Vosges* (*épinette* = spruce) from the Vosges mountains are based on words denoting main structural materials. (Note that members of Hungarian communities about to start dance parties often urge zitherists by exclaiming, “Bring out the dry wood, buddy.”) It is remarkable that the relatively small Flemish region of Belgium has preserved numerous terms that identify local zither varieties.⁵ In addition to the onomatopoeic *hommel* (wasp), which is a generic term in the north of Europe, *noordsche balk* (northern beam) also appears highlighting, similarly to *Scheitholt*, the shape of the instrument.⁶ The names *blokviool* and *kloonviool* prove that the instrument is considered a special type of fiddle in this region. *Hookviool* (hollow fiddle) refers to the fact that the bottom of a zither is open while the body is often carved out of a single block of wood. The attributes *krabber* (scraping) and *krapkas* (scratching) focus on playing techniques as the musician “scrapes” the tune and guest strings at the same time with a plectrum. *Spinet* comes from the word for an old harpsichord-like key instrument – much more complicated than the zither – of the same name. The Norwegian and Icelandic terms emphasize the shape of the instrument (*langeleik, langspil*

⁴ Ulrich 2011: 20–21.

⁵ Boone 1976: 104–105.

⁶ Boers 1882: 1–9.

= long play). The so-called Alpine zithers in Southern Germany, the Bavarian and Tyrolean regions were named after the way they were plucked: *Kratzŷither* (*kratzen* = scratch), *Scherrŷither* (*scharre* = scrape), *Raffele* (*Raffel* = rattler, rasp), *Schlagŷither* (*schlag* = hit, slap). The first three are clever speaking names because the player actually “scrapes,” “scratches,” or “rasps” the tune and guest strings while making music to generate the humming *bordun* effect. The *Schlagŷither* or “percussion zither,” however, is not particularly aptly named with regard to technique, a fact which will be further reflected on in this study. The name *kobŷa*, widespread in Czechia is, at first sight, a very distant relative of the terms used in other European regions.⁷ *Koboŷ* or *kobŷa* typically mean a lute-like string instrument with a short neck but the words expanded to represent fretted zithers. The word “*kob*” has a meaning referring to a hollow body which is not very far from an instrument carved out of a block of wood, manufacturing technology actually used with certain types of zither.⁸ The Swiss type of fretted zither, *Hexenscheit* (witch’s block), carries a very peculiar name which obviously cannot be associated with building materials or playing techniques.

Citera, the modern Hungarian term used for fretted or holder-board instruments has not been present in our lexicon very long. In earlier centuries, *cytra*, *cithara* lute, or the very category of proper string instruments did not have much to do with zither-type holder-board-equipped pieces.⁹ The first written Hungarian record of a fretted zither can be found in a manuscript from 1774 by Antal Balla, who calls it *tombora*.¹⁰ Its variant, *tambura* was in vogue in the Great Plain Region even in the mid-20th century. Today’s *citera* may have only started to become widespread in the second half of the 19th century with the advent to the Transdanube Region of the belly-shaped Salzburg-type variety, the *Kratzŷither*.¹¹

The story of zithers from Northern Germany

The fretted or holder-board (*Griffbrett*) types of zither (*Scheitholt*, *Hummel*) became a common instrument in the folk music of Northern and Western Europe about 500 years ago. These instruments played a major role for centuries

⁷ Kunz 1974: 53–54.

⁸ Brauer-Benke 2016: 288–314.

⁹ Brauer-Benke 2019: 45–71.

¹⁰ Balla 1774.

¹¹ Bakó 1949: EA 4.077/28; Bereczki 1958: EA 12260/1.

in satisfying the musical needs of simple country folk, including that of dance music, without undergoing any structural changes.

The relevant literature discussing the history of the European fretted or holder-board zithers unanimously refers to Praetorius' drawing and description of the *Scheitholt* as a milestone.¹² It is quite obvious, however, that the instrument had long been a presence in European folk music before that milestone. We have archaeological evidence, pictorial representations as well as written records dating from more than a hundred years prior to Praetorius' work. In the expenditure book of the Cologne municipality, *Mittwochs-rentkammer*, on the pages dated 14 May 1508, it lists the participating musicians of a local procession. The text includes, among others, the instruments and groups of instruments participating in the parade:¹³ "Lutes ...in a group ... drums and pipes... flutes ...reed-pipes ...fiddles and a lute ... a *hommel* ... bagpipes ...violas." "Bei einer Prozession erlangen: *Luyten* [...] *in position* [...] *bringen ind pijsffen* [...] *fleutten* [...] *schalmeyen* [...] *fedelen ein luitten* [...] *ein hommel* [...] *sackpysffen* [...] *gygen*."¹⁴

In a footnote to his study, Merlo writes about the hummel: "*Eine Sackpfeife, welche nur zwei Töne, F und C hat*", meaning that the hummel is a bagpipe with only two notes, F and C. The statement in the footnote is debatable. In his book, Ulrich explains that several authors of the *Mittwochsrentkammer* text from 1508 have indicated that this mention is not yet sufficient evidence that the hummel described there really means a fretted zither. According to Ulrich, the misunderstanding could also be caused by the existence of the *Hümmelchen* at the time – which was actually the name of a small and relatively low-pitched bagpipe. Praetorius also considers the *Hümmelchen* among the bagpipes, to which the *Gross-bock*, *Bock*, *Schaperpfeiff* and *Dudey* also belong. The name Hummel has traditionally never been used to designate a bagpipe. Ulrich also draws attention to the fact that, an European fretted zither (*langeleik*) made

¹² Praetorius 1619: plate XXI.

¹³ Ulrich 2011: 19–20; Boone 1976: 35; Merlo 1866: 98–101; Moser 1918: 135–144.

¹⁴ At the time cited in the *Mittwochsrentkammer*, on page 100 of Merlo's study, it is written that "*Item hartlieff van Oelp peter Jonis mit luyten ind eyn hummell*". As you can see, according to Merlo, the name of the instrument is "hummell" and not "ein hommel", as Ulrich writes in the original German edition of his book. In such cases, the question arises as to whether Merlo took the name of the instrument correctly. The instrument is known as *Hummel* *Hommel*, *Homml*e in various Northern European languages, but it never occurs with two "I" letters at the end of the word. The two "I"s are not justified either, because the original meaning of hummel is wasp, bumble bee, which word is never written with two "I"s at the end. Merlo 1866: 100.

in 1524 was found in Norway, which is the oldest such material evidence of the existence of the instrument known so far.¹⁵ Based on these details, the instrument in the 1508 text of the Revenue Office can currently be considered the first written mention of the European fretted zither.

A text from Czech-speaking regions dating from 1551 is about a similar procession which was banned by the local church.

“On the Sunday preceding the holiday of St. Margaret and the following Monday, twenty-two persons in fancy dresses and equipped with instruments, including *kobzas*, were walking along the streets of Kutteneberg [Kutná Hora today] disregarding the fact that it was against God’s rule... and they were to repent.”¹⁶

In the 19th century, owing to the economic and social changes sweeping Europe, music-loving country folk became more and more interested in higher-prestige instruments and bands. The survival of the *Scheitholt* and *Hummel*, still wide-spread and popular in village communities, was put in jeopardy by various factors. One of these factors was that people were familiarizing themselves with the instruments and quality of play of professional musicians. Also, there was a need to launch musical ensembles. The major limitation on the use of the *Hummel* in such groupings was that it was a *bordun* instrument. The constant drone, at even pitch, of the guest strings made it tough for the *Hummel* to harmonize with other instruments. Instrument-builders and players were, in many instances, responsible for not providing perfect results. The placement of the frets, especially at the higher ranges, oftentimes was not accurate enough. Therefore, required songs could not be rendered in the precise way. The stringing pattern of the *Hummel* was too simple. One or two melody strings with the meagre accompaniment of a few guest strings could not provide sufficient volume in large venues. It is no rocket science to pick a melody on the *Hummel*. To a certain extent, it is easy to learn how to play. But rendering the soul, the throbbing heart of the song, creatively getting the guest strings into play and learning how to deliver a tight performance takes a lot of practice. If the player does not possess the skills required for the above, their play becomes flat and monotonous, which will inevitably become a nuisance.

¹⁵ In 1980 a *langeleik* dated as early as 1524 was uncovered on a farm in Vibergsroa, Gjøvik, Norway. This instrument predates any documented occurrences of the *scheitholt*, the *hummel* or any other similar instrument. Jochim 2018. <https://stampaday.wordpress.com/2018/02/24/the-langeleik-or-norwegian-zither/>

¹⁶ Kunz 1974: 53–59.

The tradition of fretted zithers going back to several centuries in Western-European folk music began to fade around the beginning of the 19th century in Western German regions. Actual specimens of the zither started to disappear, in spite of having been a major feature in entertainment, dancing and singing as well as church music previously. These changes were being reported from the mid-century by several local historians who had hard times procuring such instruments. To quote, for instance, local historian and travelogue writer J. G. Kohl making a record of a trip traversing Schleswig-Holstein in 1846¹⁷ which led him to visit an elderly lady on the small island of *Föhr*.

“She also owned an old musical instrument, a type of old-fashioned zither, which she placed in front of her on the table in order to play for me an old tune. She called this zither ‘Hommel’ and said that there were only a few ‘Hommeln’ left on the island, but they all most likely, including her own, had come from Holland or England.

This Hommel had only brass strings. Several of them were strung in a parallel fashion, but the others were spread like divergent rays (they were arranged fan-shaped). She fretted the parallel ones with fingers, and strummed them with a quill. But at the end of each phrase she brushed the quill over the divergent strings, which, so to speak, just rang and resonated like an echo.

My old friend said that once upon a time such Hummeln were more frequent, and most likely one danced to their music, whereas nowadays trumpets and violins were always wanted for dancing. But most people had a Hommel at home, to accompany with it the psalm of Sunday afternoon, which was sung in those days in each family.”

The old lady’s comment that the instruments might have come from England must have been a mistake given that no trace of *Hummel* has been found in the UK. Her probable meaning was that the “*Hommeln*” arrived at the island via transactions with Dutch and English sailors.

In 1873, attorney Andreas Michelsen was visiting the small North Sea resort on *Föhr* Island for several weeks. That is where he came across a well-respected piece of writing by Kohl on various events in *Schleswig-Holstein* in 1846. He was happy to read the report about the old lady who still played the *Hummel*. The comfort and peace of the serene sea resort gave him the ideal setting for his quest of such an elusive instrument.¹⁸

“I hardly finished reading such a pleasing report about a musical instrument of our past which in our changeable days has gotten lost, indeed has been virtually forgotten, when curiosity or

¹⁷ Kohl 1846: 177–178.

¹⁸ Michelsen 1876: 53–56.

rather the thirst for knowledge of the antiquary stirred in me. I immediately made up my mind, to make inquiries and undertake research about this early instrument.”

He visited every single village on the island, made inquiries on the Isle of *Sylt* but none of his efforts bore fruit. He found no *Hummel* although he had been fully prepared to purchase one. Back in Schleswig, he continued the search on the mainland, which only yielded old descriptions of the *Hummel* but no actual instrument. People told him that the *Hummel* had been immensely popular with village folk in the early 19th century but later fell out of use. Around 1873, only old-timers had any recollections of the instrument. Old Captain Ketelsen from the village of *Borchsum* (*Borgsum*) on *Föhr* reported that his “...Mam would put the *Hummel* on the table to play some dance music for the kids.”

Michelsen amassed a large quantity of data on the old instrument – interviewing people on the isles, various areas of mainland Schleswig-Holstein, even from Danish settlements – but never found an actual *Hummel*. Shortly after he returned to Schleswig, though, as a complete stroke of luck, a friend managed to find him an excellent instrument from the day of his grandparents in *Kellinghausen* (16 km east of *Itzehoe*). (Pic. Nr. 2) Michelsen recorded the measurement and specifications: 13 metal strings including ten steel and three brass low strings. He made a note of the instrument making a very pleasant sound. When the strings were plucked, the resulting twang was exceptionally strong and long-lasting. Michelsen assumed that it would not take much effort of an instrument builder to put it back into perfect shape.



Pic. Nr. 2: *Frisian Hummel from Kellinghausen, Volkskunde Museum Schleswig*

Source: Ulrich 2011: 52.

He published an article in the *Jabreskalender* (a regional cultural almanac) of 1876 asking for “...further information about the historical piece and other similar instruments that might still be in existence.”

His call went unanswered until as late as 1937. That is when a Dr. Nissen from Hamburg responded and made an announcement for the museum saying, “The instrument used to belong to one of my uncles who collected curios and antiquities in Kellinghausen.” This collector must have procured numerous items during his expeditions from all over the country. Therefore, it is impossible to say with absolute certainty that the instrument indeed originated from *Kellinghausen* or its neighborhood. Its restoration took place in the workshop of Wilfried Ulrich in the early 2000s.¹⁹

In comparison with other instruments, it is obvious that this *Hummel* was built by a professional. It is made of oak with the exception of the straight sideboard of pine-wood. Schleswig-Holstein had ample resources of oak in those days. The upper edge of the main head is carved into an elegant wave topped with the exquisite figure of a human head covered in a hood. (Pic. Nr. 3)



Pic. Nr. 3: *Carved human face
on the main head of a Hummel from Kellinghausen*
Source: Ulrich 2011: 53.

The circular lower sound hole has a ring-like rim pierced with eight S-shaped openings (see Pic. Nr. 2). The upper sound hole is cut into the shape of an F. The carvings on the holder board, main head and neck are all masterpieces,

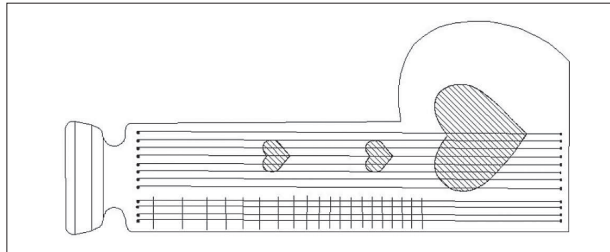
¹⁹ Ulrich 2011: 51–54.

too. The back and cover boards are not braced diagonally inside the body, although there are wooden support ribs located over the sound holes. In the narrow upper section, the back board is surprisingly thin, only 1.5 mm. Most *Hummels* had back boards of 4 to 5 mm thickness. The restoration included freshly gluing the rib structure to the back and cover boards. The first trials with the overhauled instrument proved true Michelsen's anticipation about its exceptionally strong sound.

Michelsen's report about his tireless efforts to find a real *Hummel* around the year 1873 makes an interesting read. In fact, by that time, the fretted zither had gone extinct in Schleswig-Holstein.

The *Hummel* was a very wide-spread folk-music instrument in the first half of the 19th century, in the Silesian region of Upper Lusatia (Sorbia). This fact is reported by historian and teacher Dr. Georg Pilk from *Neukirch*. His study (surviving only in manuscript form) is dated from around 1900 but focuses on the 1840s.²⁰ The paper is based on eyewitness interviews to describe the folk-dance and folk-music scene of village people living in Upper Lusatia. The author cites expert accounts by physician Dr. Heller (70) of *Neukirch* and old factory owner August Richter of *Oberneukirch* to present the *Hummel* as a folk instrument.

The study goes to great lengths to emphasize that *Hummels* were usually not (or were not only) built by joiners but uneducated village handymen for their own entertainment. In those days, a lot of such instruments existed all around the region.



Pic. Nr. 4: *A Hummel as described by August Richter in Pilk's article*
Source: Ulrich 2011: 24.

The specifications of one of the instruments described by Richter are as follows. The cover and back boards are made of spruce, while the side and main head of hardwood. As Pic. Nr. 4 shows, one side of the sound box is

²⁰ Ulrich 2011: 23–25.

rounded and sports three heart-shaped sound holes. The largest width is about 20 cm, the smallest (at the neck) 8 to 9 cm. The full length of the instrument is 55 cm. The height of the sound box is 5 cm and the strings stretch to a length of 45 cm. The strings are attached by hooks to pins affixed to the rear block. At the other end of the instrument, they are coiled on tuner pins. The tuning process requires the use of a key. The instrument has tune as well as bass strings. The four steel tune strings are arranged in pairs. All of these strings are tuned to the same pitch. The manual does not include the distance between the pairs of strings neither the pitch of the empty strings. The bass or guest strings are tuned as chords but their exact number is not known. The holder board is furnished with brass frets. The instrument has three short legs. The player presses the tune strings to the frets using their left thumb and index finger, while plucking with a round horn plectrum held in the right hand.

Relevant studies show that the *Hummel* is completely unknown in *Neukirch* today – no such instrument can be found in the local museum. Wilfried Ulrich, the internationally acclaimed restorer breathed new life into the *Neukirch-Hummel* in 2008 using the drawing and specifications detailed above. He only had to make a few modifications. For instance, he could not place 11 tuning pins in a single line on the 9-cm wide main head. Therefore, he arranged them in a symmetrical V-shaped pattern. He proportionally shrank the originally oversized lower sound hole. In every other respect, Ulrich retained all the measurements proposed by Richter.



Pic. Nr. 5: *Traditional playing technique on a fretted Hummel from Neukirch reconstructed on the basis of contemporary descriptions*

Source: Ulrich 2011: 25.

The final blow to traditional Northern German zithers was dealt by the appearance of the accordion from the second half of the 19th century. German manufacturers started to bring more and more versatile accordions to market from the late 1800s. Their sound was much stronger than that of the zither and, by the use of chord pipes, melodies could be accompanied by a lot more diverse harmonies. The advent of the accordion in regions of Northern Germany brought about the gradual disappearance of the *Scheitholt/Hummel*. It fell out of use and got relegated to junk storage in attics or, in luckier instances, museum exhibits.

Experts on local history mention an Adolf Hilke of Lower Saxony, who had a joiner's shop in *Moringen* and manufactured his own zithers in the 1870s. These instruments were called *Hümmelke* the sides of which displayed a number of peculiar sound holes (Pic. Nr. 6). Not only did Hilke build instruments, he also made music on his products himself.²¹ Sohnrey writes that Hilke was immortalized by “a competent” artist A. Nolte in the form of a woodcut in the 1922 issue 3 (page 641) of the newspaper *Die Gartenlaube* [The Arbor]. The picture shows Hilke with the instrument, which has many sound holes on the side facing the listener. The skilful artist depicted in correct perspective an instrument the width of a hand.



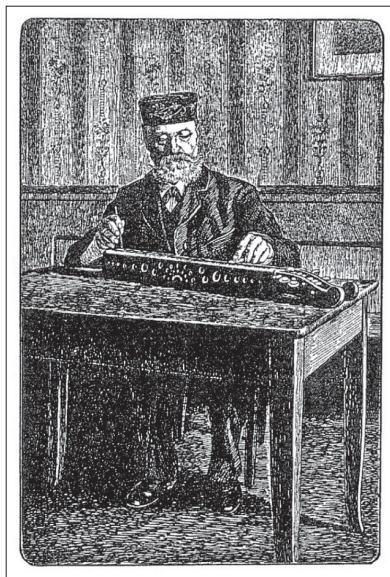
Pic. Nr. 6: *Adolf Hilke's Hümmelke*. Source: Ulrich 2011: 38.

Evidence suggests that he was a skillful and popular zitherist because the local youth hired him for decades to provide music at their parties and dances. Contemporary records show that when – zither under his arm – he set out on Friday evenings towards the local spinners, which employed a lot of maids, he was usually joined by a whole army of village lads. At the end of the girls' shift, boisterous parties got under way with music provided by Adolf Hilke's zither.²² One of Hilke's instruments ended up at the museum of *Northheim*.

²¹ Sohnrey 1924: 308–311.

²² Ulrich 2011: 33–41.

While restoring the artifact, a museum employee discovered on the side facing the player traces of handwritten script. Because of poor legibility, it could only be deciphered with the help of a special viewing device.²³



Pic. Nr. 7: *Adolf Hilke is playing the zither*
(Woodcut by A. Nolte)
Source: Sohnrey 1922: 641.

*Sie kommt nicht mehr mit
Sie können nach der Orgel gehen und tanzen*

Pic. Nr. 8: *The script on the side of Adolf Hilke's Himmelve*
Source: Ulrich 2011: 40.

The text translates as, “*You will not come along any more, They can go to the organ and dance*”.

Probably written on his trusted instrument by Hilke himself, the inscription sounds sad and disappointed. Hohner Inc. had been mass-producing and selling at low cost the ever more popular accordion since 1903. Thereby began the industrialization of music. At some point, Hilke, a village musician from

²³ Ulrich 2011: 40.

Moringen, must have realized that the “squeeze-box” (referred to as “organ” those days) delighted the dancers with the changing basses and its loud sound. The new instrument proved more suitable to the rhythmic movements of the dancers than the constant, steady buzzing and humming of the drones. One of the dancers must have made it very clear to Hilke that the *Huemmelke* was not good enough any longer.

Another variety of fretted zithers, used in Czech-speaking regions and called *kobza*, suffered the same fate. By the turn of the 20th century, it had practically disappeared with the only exception of a few museum specimens.²⁴

Alpine zithers, transformation of the *kratzzither*

Unlike Northern European regions, 19th and 20th-century zithers were typically dealt luckier hands in Bavaria and Austria (*Mittenwald*, *Kempten*, *Allgäu* Region, *Salzburg* and South Tyrol). Whereas fretted zithers had disappeared from the palette of folk-musical instruments in Northern German, Dutch, Belgian and Czech regions, in certain areas of Bavaria and Austria they underwent changes that still make them major players in folk music.

As a successor to Alpine zithers of earlier years, the traditionally log-shaped *Scheitholt* can still be found here. (Pic. Nr. 9)



Pic. Nr. 9: *An Alpine Scheitholt built in the mid-18th century from the collection of the German National Museum (GNM). Inventory No.: MI 70.*
Source: Ulrich 2011: 83.

The German National Museum (GNM) of *Nuremberg* displays several types of Alpine zither including one built in the mid-18th century and inventoried as MI 70 (Pic. Nr. 9) which is identified as *Scheitholt*. Although a lot of these items were dubbed “instruments of paupers or vagrants” displaying no orna-

²⁴ Režny 1975: 35–36; Kurfürst 2002: 439–442.

mentation, the builder of MI 70 was a skillful craftsman who furnished this piece with uniquely exquisite decoration (Pic. Nr. 9). The full length of the instrument is 68.7cm and that of the strings is 53.5 cm. In addition to seven guest strings, three tune strings run above the diatonic, Mixolydian-scale holder board. The body widens towards the sound hole and sports gilded and carved decorative motifs on the top and sides. The builder applied a layer of gypsum on the whole surface which was wrapped in red clay. Then he covered the protruding carvings with gold leaf leaving the even parts red. The two head spirals are black. These may have also been gilded but the foil has worn off.

Found in *Brixen*, South Tyrol, the oldest known Alpine zither (*Scheitholt/Kratzzither*), was built in 1675 (Pic. Nr. 10). It was originally displayed in the Heyer Collection of Cologne but disappeared during World War II. It was a full 50 cm long with strings of 42 cm in length.



Pic. Nr. 10: *A Tyrolese Scheitholt or Kratzzither built in 1675.* Heyer Collection, Cologne. Source: Ulrich 2011: 84.

Keeping the traditional stringing pattern and tuning intact, 18th-century builders modified the shape of the “scraping-style” *Kratzzither* so that its right side took a curved or round form which is also a familiar feature of Hungarian belly-shaped zithers (Pic. Nr. 11). This form has become known as the Salzburg shape. This Salzburg version of the *Kratzzither* in Pic. Nr. 11 can be found in the *Südtiroler Landesmuseum für Volkskunde in Dietenheim*, Southern Germany. The *Südtiroler Bürgernetz* internet newspaper reported on the instrument’s structure, dimensions, other parameters and its photo.

The increased volume of the body, on the one hand, raised the potential volume, on the other hand, generated a richer and more full-bodied sound.



Pic. Nr. 11: *Kratzzither* showing a shape typical of Salzburg (1775–1799)
 South Tyrolean Folklore Museum, Dietenheim (Bruneck). Inv.Nr. SVM L/2853,
 on loan from the Stiftung Südtiroler Sparkasse. Photo: Folklore Museum
 (Courtesy of the South Tyrolean Folklore Museum)

Scherrzither

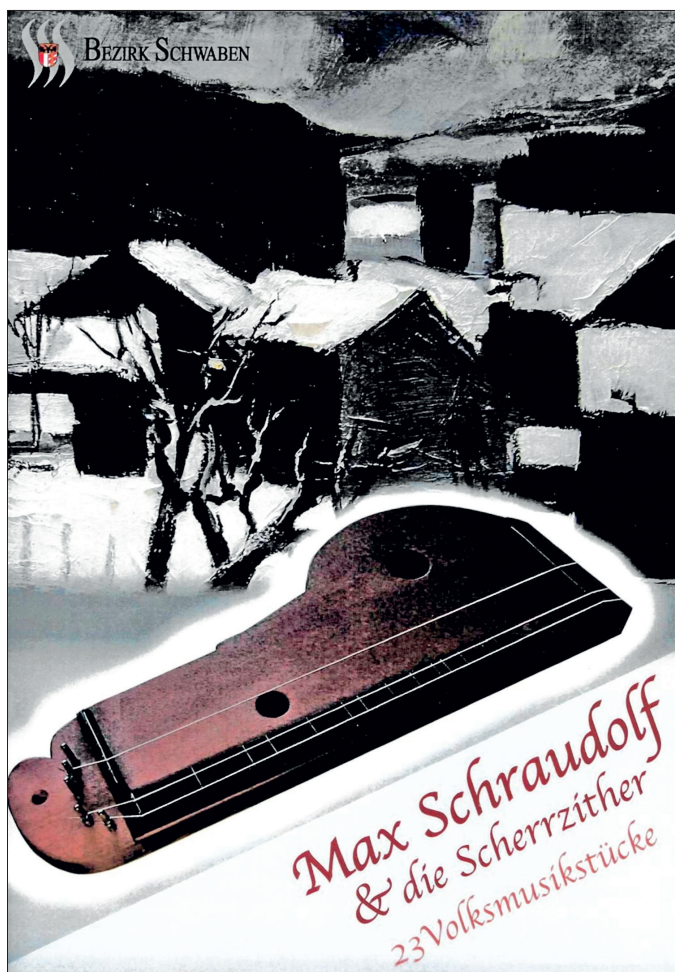
The traditional Alpine *Kratzzither* took two paths of transformation in the 19th century. The first was spurred by efforts to make the zither part of musical ensembles. The second path of development aimed at modifications so that the zitherist, forgoing the bordun accompaniment, could play melodies with harmonious and diverse chords.

Efforts to make the *Kratzzither* compatible with other instruments in ensembles were hampered by the constant, monotonous humming of the drone strings which badly disturbed the desired instrumental harmony. This urged designers to take steps to gradually get rid of the accompaniment-providing bordun strings. These efforts eventually resulted in the *Scherrzither*, which lacks guest strings lower than the tune string.²⁵

By the early 20th century, the *Scherrzither* had almost completely disappeared from the tool kit of folk musicians in the Southern Bavarian *Allgäu* Region. In those years, though, there lived a shepherd in the hamlet of *Oberstdorf*, by the name of August Bader, who still played that instrument. Had Bader and Max Schraudolf (then at the age of 18) not had a chance meeting, *Scherrzither*

²⁵ Schraudolf 1988: 13.

specimens would probably be only found in museums today. Schraudolf immediately threw himself into learning how to play the nearly extinct instrument and devoted himself to studying it. Thanks to his efforts, the *Scherrzither* has become widespread again in the entire *Allgäu* Region. In addition to making audio records of *Scherrzither* play, Schraudolf also adapted folk songs for the instrument. Pic. Nr. 12 shows the front cover of a publication of his adaptations complete with a photo of a contemporary *Scherrzither* highlighting its stringing pattern.



Pic. Nr. 12: Max Schraudolf's adaptations
of German folk song for Scherrzither

Source: Heigl–Kern–Lambertz–Schraudolf 2008: book cover.

The *Scherrzither* originally had 4-5 strings of the same pitch. Some of them ran above the diatonic holder board and the rest next to it. The newest versions display two tune strings above the diatonic holder board plus one guest string (Pic. Nr. 12). The two tune strings facilitate antiphonal (*tercelő* in Hungarian) play while a vigorous right-hand plucking technique provides the characteristic dynamics to German folk songs. A *Scherrzither* strung according the pattern described above is suitable for an ensemble including guitar, hammered dulcimer and/or violin (Pic. Nr. 13). In the middle of Pic. Nr. 13 can be seen Max Schraudorf playing the *Scherrzither*, accompanied by his partner Garschhammer with a double-necked guitar. Both are in Tyrolean folk costume and in a local folk room furnishings. Thanks to the enthusiasm of traditional folk musicians, the *Scherrzither* has survived and ensembles still use it in stage performances. The Local History Museum of *Oberstdorf* displays a *Scherrzither* built around 1840.²⁶



Pic. Nr. 13: *The Scherrzither and guitar duo Schraudolf & Garschhammer*

Source: Schraudolf 1988: 13.

Folk music scholar Michael Bredl describes in detail the *Scherrzither*'s building materials, structure, stringing pattern and tuning as well as the role it played in *Allgäu* and the neighboring regions. Due to players' hand moves similar to scraping (*scherr*), this instrument was called *Scherrzither* or *Schaar* and *Zwecklzither* in *Vorarlberg*.²⁷

²⁶ Schraudolf 1988: 13.

²⁷ Bredl 1979: 5–25.

An important contribution of *Scherrzither* to German folk music is that, thanks to its plucking technique, it has helped to preserve the tight dynamics of folk songs. Samples from an LP by *Scherrzither*/guitar duo Schraudolf & Kern are accessible on the Internet.²⁸ The video record of *Scherrzither*/guitar duo Lipp & Zettler²⁹ offers a visible and audible representation of the dynamic plucking technique. In addition to that, the second part of the clip displays an excellent instrumental imitation of yodelling.

Raffele

The final destination of the journey taken by the *Kratzither* via the intermediary “scraping” *Scherrzither* is the *Raffelzither* or simply *Raffele*³⁰, which is a very popular instrument of the present day especially in Bavaria, Austria, South Tyrol and Northern Italy. The sound box of the *Raffele* typically retains the wide, belly-shaped Salzburg form, already assumed by the *Kratzither*, but above the originally diatonic and in the newest pieces chromatic holder board set on the edge of the body, are stretched only three melody strings tuned as a¹, a¹, d¹. This tuning pattern provides for *terc* accompaniment and common-chord-based play in addition to monophonic melody. The bordun accompaniment is gone but the powerful, dynamic plucking of the right hand remains. An appropriate plucking technique provided, the sound of the *Raffele* is quiet strong. Accompanied by guitar and hammer dulcimer, *Raffele* music is an intensive and genuine representation of the characteristic sound of German folk songs.

The *Raffele* shown in Pic. Nr. 14 is the handiwork of Robert Grasser. The upper board is made of radially cut, tight-fibered spruce. The main head supporting the tuning mechanism is made of wood of wild cherry, sycamore, maple, ash, apple, pear and plum trees. The use of a special primer lends the body unique intensity of color. A last waxy finish provides its silky sheen. A well-known video clip shows Alois Müller playing on Robert Grasser’s *Raffele*.³¹ The record aptly represents the dynamic plucking technique and the strong, characteristic sound of the *Raffele* which is ideally suited to guitar accompaniment.

²⁸ Schraudolf–Kern 2009.

²⁹ Lipp–Zettler 2012.

³⁰ Niederfriniger 2015: 107–118.

³¹ Müller 2012.



Pic. Nr. 14: *A Raffele with a diatonic fretboard*

This instrument was built in 2018 and photographed by Robert Grasser.
(With the permission of Robert Grasser)

***Schlagzither*. The zither undergoes a “revolutionary” transformation**

It should be noted that the relevant literature on the history of the zither has not put enough emphasis on the monumental change in the development of Alpine zithers that stemmed from the *Kratz-zither*-to-*Schlagzither* shift. It was the advent of the *Schlagzither* that launched the major transformation that later resulted in the modern concert zither. The *Schlagzither* is similar to the traditional *Scheitholt* or *Hummel* structure in shape only. By comparison with the latter, it is immediately obvious that the *Schlagzither* has a significantly larger number of strings. Pic. Nr. 15 depicts a *Schlagzither* from the 1800s which, in addition to three melody strings, sports sixteen tuning pins for guest strings.

Schlagzither is also a resonating chamber, to be set on a table or the player's knees, which is equipped with a left-positioned holder board with frets whose function is to shorten the melody strings. The instrument's holder board retained the traditional Mixolydian-scale, diatonic arrangement. However, the stringing pattern, number of strings, plucking and playing technique are totally different from those of the traditional *Scheitholt*, *Kratz-* and *Scherrzither*.



Pic. Nr. 15: *Schlagzither showing a shape typical of Salzburg*

The length of the strings is 55.5cm.

The cover board is furnished with carved music-related motifs. This instrument belongs to the Ulrich Collection. Built in Austria in the 1800s, it has 3 tune strings and 16 guest strings.

Source: Ulrich 2011: 88.



Pic. Nr. 16: *A Bavarian Schlaggzither from the early 19th century showing the typical Mittenwald shape*

It has been part of in the collection of Bach House, Eisenach since 1910.

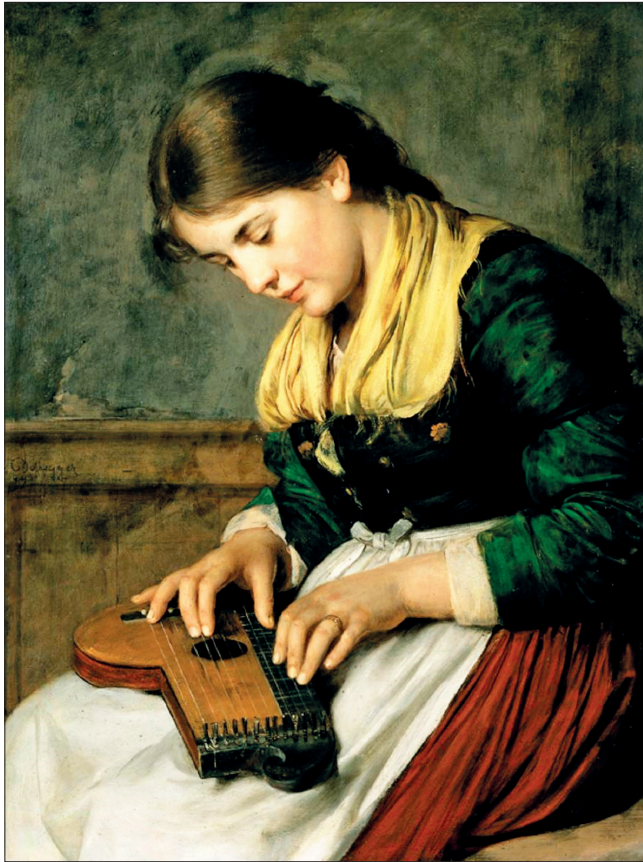
The length of the tune strings is 47cm.

In addition to 3 tune strings, it has 12 guest strings.

Source: Ulrich 2011: 87.

The evolution of the traditional Alpine *Kratzle* into *Schlagzither* was spurred by efforts to replace monotonous bordun accompaniment with a harmonious arrangement that would be amenable to the melody and its changing patterns. For the player to be able to produce melody and changing chords at the same time, the fingers of the plucking (right) hand had to share the “workload” – something which had not been an issue in traditional play. The tune strings had

to be operated with the bare thumb of the right hand or a plectrum attached to a metal ring on the said appendage. The harmonious common chords and bass accompaniment were to be selected and generated by the four fingers plucking at the guest strings. Another modification was that, as opposed to the traditional *Kratzzyther*, the tune strings running above the fretted holder board were tuned to various pitch. *Schlagzythers* usually had three tune strings (Pic. Nr. 15 and 16). The existence of tune strings of various pitch had the advantage of making melodies in a more comfortable way, without the fingers of the left hand having to span big lengths.



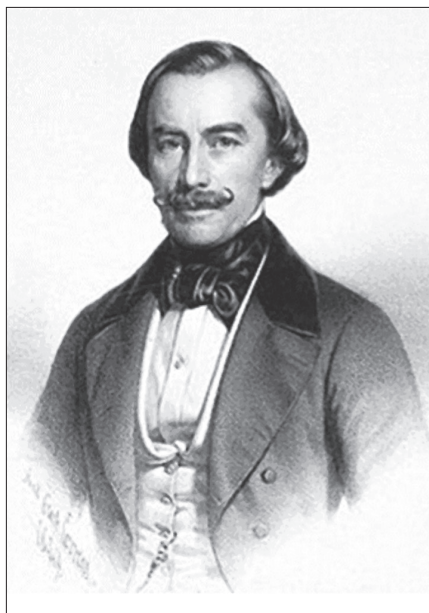
Pic. Nr. 17: *Zitherspielendes Mädchen* (Girl playing the *zyther*)
by Franz von Defregger

Source: Lempertz Auction House

[https://www.lempertz.com/en/catalogues/lot/840-1/
1379-franz-von-defregger.html](https://www.lempertz.com/en/catalogues/lot/840-1/1379-franz-von-defregger.html)

(Courtesy of Kunsthau Lempertz, Cologne)

Franz von Defregger (1825–1921), the well-known Austrian painter born in Tyrol, chose the Alpine zither (*Schlagzither*) and zitherists (popular in his childhood home region) as subjects of several of his works. Pic. Nr. 17 (*Zitherspielendes Mädchen* – Girl playing the zither) shows the player's hand position in very accurate detail. She is pressing the tune strings with the fingers of her right hand, using the left thumb to make the melody, leaving the left fingers to select and pluck the chords suitable for the melody. Pic. Nr. 17 is currently owned by Lempertz Auction House with inventory number 1379.



Pic. Nr. 18: *Johann Petzmayer (1803–1884),
lithograph by Erich Correns, 1849*

Source: The New York Public Library
Digital Collections 1555932.

[https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/
510d47e2-91bd-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99](https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-91bd-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99)

*(Courtesy of the Music Division,
The New York Public Library)*

In the early 19th century, Alpine *Schlagzither* also found its way into Vienna, Austria and the surrounding regions. The instrument's holder board was arranged to match the traditional Mixolydian diatonic scale. For this reason, it was good for only a limited number of keys. The number and tuning pattern of guest strings depended on the taste and deftness of individual players. Austrian

musician, Johann Petzmayer had an indisputable role in popularizing and making known widespread this new instrument structure and playing technique.³²

Petzmayr was born in Zistersdorf, Lower Austria in 1803. Son of an inn-keeper, he grew up in Vienna. First, he learned to play the violin and at 16 he switched to the (*Schlag*)zither. His zither had three tune strings and fifteen guest strings. He found the tuning order of guest strings ideally suited for his playing technique. After a while, he was able to accompany his melodies as a virtuoso using harmonious and diverse chords.



Pic. Nr. 19: Portrait of Prince Maximilian Joseph playing the zither

Source: Duke Max in Bavaria playing the zither,

lithograph by Johann Wölflé, after a drawing

by Samuel Friedrich Diez Museum of History, Bamberg.

<https://www.bamberger-onlinezeitung.de/2018/11/28/>

[der-gute-stern-oder-wie-herzog-](https://www.bamberger-onlinezeitung.de/2018/11/28/der-gute-stern-oder-wie-herzog-)

[max-in-bamberg-die-zither-entdeckte/](https://www.bamberger-onlinezeitung.de/2018/11/28/max-in-bamberg-die-zither-entdeckte/)

His father's inn, *Zum Heiligen Johann* (For St. John) was near the *Linienwall*, an outer line of fortifications around Vienna frequented by lots of merchants and travellers. The first audience of Petzmayer's bravura performances was the clientele of his father's inn. People were so amazed that more and more of them became curious. His fame was growing and noble families invited him

³² Hamberger 2006: 5–35.

to perform at their events. In 1827, he got the chance to show his skills in the court of Emperor Franz I. Urged by the imperial family, Petzmayer launched a concert tour in Austria and Germany. Lacking a partner zitherist of his own stature, he performed with guitarists, violinists and singers. His concert venues included major halls housing grand orchestras. In 1830, he played in the King's Theater in Berlin as well as the Prussian court.

A show delivered in the *Theater zu Bamberg* in 1837 was determinant in pushing forward Petzmayer's career as well as the evolution of the zither. Among the VIPs was Bavarian Prince Maximilian Joseph (29 at the time), father of Elisabeth, the later Queen of Hungary. Entirely captivated by Petzmayer's virtuoso performance, the prince decided to learn how to play the zither himself.

Prince Max hired Petzmayer as his personal tutor and bestowed the title "virtuoso chamber musician" upon him in 1838. The prince proved to be an outstanding student excelling in both playing the zither and later composing pieces for the instrument. In 1838, Petzmayer accompanied the prince on his foreign trips (to Italy, Greece, the Middle East and Egypt), which included zither concerts starring them both. Thanks to Petzmayer and Prince Max's gigs, the zither gained in popularity in all social strata. In Pic. Nr. 19 Prince Max's characteristic zither playing corresponding to the *Schlagzither* is clearly visible from the hand position. The prince's elegant attire and surroundings clearly show that the formerly "beggar's instrument" entered the culture of elite circles.

In Prince Max's hometown of *Bamberg*, the memory of the prince's virtuoso zither playing is preserved to this day. The local newspaper *Bamberger Onlinezeitung* "*Der gute Stern oder Wie Herzog Max in Bamberg die Zither entdeckte*" [The Good Star or How Duke Max discovered the zither in Bamberg] reported that on November 28, 2018 and February 03, 2019, a large-scale exhibition and musical performances were organized in the Bamberg History Museum, where there is also a portrait of Duke Max playing the zither (Pic. Nr. 19).

The *Schlagzither*, evolved from the *Scheitholt* of "paupers or vagrants" of Praetorius' day, had become an instrument of choice even in the highest echelons of society. Thus, Prince Max's daughter, Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (aka Sissy), Queen Maria of Naples, Crown Princess Alexandra of the UK and Beatrice, Princess of Wales all became dedicated zither players.

The general love of folklore typical of the *Biedermeier* period saw the zither flourish in Bavarian and Austrian provinces. Dubbed as the "piano of Average Joe", the *Schlagzither* became a staple of salon music in circles of the landed gentry. Having reached the pinnacle of the structural evolution of the *Schlagzither* by the end of the 19th century, the new variety, the "concert zither"

represented the fullest manifestation of this musical phenomenon and playing technique.

The concert zither (*Konzertzither*)

The sound of the *Schlagzither* played on by a virtuoso like Johann Petzmayer won the highest accolades from audiences in Bavaria and Austria. But this novel sound and technique notwithstanding, classical musicians still considered it a folk instrument (*Volkszither*) of limited musical value.

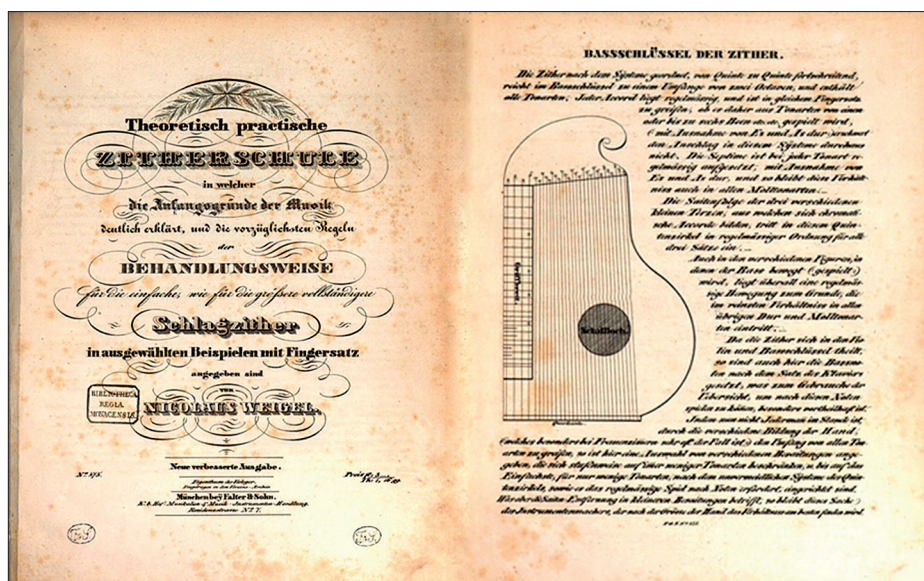


Pic. Nr. 20: *Nikolaus Weigel (1811–1878),
father of the concert zither*
Source: Hamberger n. d.

The final modifications on the *Schlagzither* were brought about by musician Nikolaus Weigel (1811–1878), hailed from *Pfalz* and later based in Munich.³³ He was born in *Hainau-bei-Landau, Rheinpfalz* in 1811. In 1822, he moved with his parents to *Giesing-bei-Munich*, where his father became a farm manager and

³³ Albert 1878: 17.

mayor. Weigel had a horse-riding accident in 1830 and was confined to his room for a while. He killed the time by meticulously studying the *Schlagzither*, which had become quite well-known by that time. He pinpointed the limitations of the instrument and decided to devote himself to its development.³⁴



Pic. Nr. 21: The title page and page 9
from Nikolaus Weigel's 41-page "zither school" published in 1844 by Falter & Sons, Munich
Source: Weigel 1844: 41.

In order to be able to play in any key or the broadest possible range, he modified the fretted holder board to become chromatic. He increased the number of the tune strings to four then five. He also introduced the use of a metal plectrum (thumb pick) which was affixed to the thumb with a ring. This highlighted the melody and increased volume. He also raised the number of the guest strings so that the melody could be accompanied by diverse chords and finely harmonious timbre. A clever trick made it possible to unify the tuning of the guest strings and reach an arrangement most suitable for the new playing technique. The guest strings were arranged in an order compatible with the circle of fifths. This ensured that when the player needed major or minor common chords, the two strings representing the base and fifth grades were next to each other to be picked with the same finger simultaneously. The gen-

³⁴ Mayer 2010.

eration of the third grade of the common chord was the job of another finger. Common chords were usually produced by employing the middle and index fingers while bass strings were plucked with the ring finger.³⁵

The first zither tuned according to Weigel's instructions was built in *Haidhausen-bei-Munich* by Ignaz Simon, founder of a still famous instrument-manufacturing company. Weigel self-published the first handbook about the re-configured instrument in 1838. This is the first and oldest surviving zither manual which does not only describe various playing techniques but practically anything a proficient musical student might need to achieve peak performance. Falter & Son of Munich brought out a revised and updated second edition in 1844 (Pic. Nr. 21). This version already details the exact same tuning arrangement in use today.³⁶

Weigel's reforms, however, were only accepted by the world of music much later. Instrument manufacturer Max Amberger of Munich built the first concert zither based on Weigel's revolutionary blueprint in 1862. From then on, it did not take long for the new development to replace the old *Volkszither* (*Schlagzither*) in German-speaking countries, especially in the Alpine regions.

The potential of the concert zither was not lost on established composers a few of whom became accomplished players. The sound of the instrument did not fail to capture the attention of a young Johann Strauss either. He assigned a major solo role to the concert zither in his waltz "Tales from the Vienna Woods" (Op. 325), which debuted in 1868.³⁷ The popular piece by Strauss gained the concert zither international popularity as early as the second half of the 19th century.

By making the modifications detailed above, Nikolaus Weigel brought about the concept of the concert zither (still in constant development), which is wildly popular in both German and Austrian regions. The concert zither has been undergoing transformation since the mid-19th century without any major changes to the basic concept. However, designers have obtained some 150 patents on smaller modifications gradually resulting in a variety of shapes and stringing patterns characterizing modern specimens.

The holder board of the concert zither with the widest range known today has 29 frets (*bund*), 5 melody strings and 37 guest strings adding up to a total

³⁵ Based on a personal e-mail message with Tibor Németh, zither artist on the 23rd of March, 2021 about the tuning of the accompaniment strings and the chord playing of the right-hand fingers on the Viennese-tuned concert zither.

³⁶ Weigel 1844.

³⁷ Berger 2020.

of 42. This instrument can produce an amazing 187 different pitches, which represents a much wider range than those of the guitar's 136 or the piano's 88.

In 1862, Max Alberger started producing concert zither with a structure developed by Weigel. Max Alberger founded a company that is still popular today. In addition to other musical instruments, the company also currently produces concert zithers. The zither of standard size and structure with 5 melody strings and 27 accompaniment strings shown in Pic. Nr. 22 was made by Ludwig Gruber in 2006. He took a photo of the instrument and made the photo public domain on the world wide web.



Pic. Nr. 22: *A concert zither built by Max Alberger's firm*
Photo: Ludwig Gruber (Courtesy of Ludwig Gruber)

In today's market, there are concert zithers with two different tuning patterns. In Bavarian regions, mainly the Munich variant (based on Weigel's blueprint) is wide-spread, while in Austria the Vienna-type is more popular. The ones using the Munich arrangement has melody strings getting lower by following the order a^1 , a^1 , d^1 , g and c ($A4$ $A4$ $D4$ $G3$ $C3$). The Vienna pattern was introduced by virtuoso Carl J. F. Umlauf (1824–1902).³⁸ An interesting feature of this arrangement is that the melody strings do not get lower in a gradual way. Following the general order a^1 , d^1 , g^1 , g and c ($A4$ $D4$ $G4$ $G3$ $C3$), the third string is tuned higher than the second, specifically to g^1 . The reason for that is that this pattern makes it easier to play songs typical of *Steyr*-Land District. This is where another name of the Vienna-type concert zither (*Steyr* zither)

³⁸ Klier 1956: 90.

comes from. Lengths of score representing the tuning of Viennese concert zithers are shown in Pic. Nr. 23.

Guest strings are arranged into three groups. The first group (12 +1 in number) is actually called “guest strings.” The second group has twelve bass strings, while the third is that of the contrabass strings. Retaining the circle-of-the-fifths-determined order of the guest strings according to Weigel, some of those strings are tuned higher on the Viennese variant than the Munich one. Therefore, the former typically emits a more silvery, tinkling sound than the latter.

Ronald Cook operates an instrument repair studio in Santa Cruz, California. In particular, he specializes in repairing damaged concert zithers and chord zithers made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He publishes the steps of repairing such a well-known zither (dismantling, strengthening the frame, gluing, painting, stringing) in the form of a booklet illustrated with photographs and also posted on the Internet. In 2006, a Connecticut resident named Dick Husta refurbished his concert zither. On the last pages of his booklet published about this repair, he presents the sheet music for both the Munich and Vienna tunings.

The concert zither became wildly popular in the U.S.A. too. Emigrating to the New World in several waves, Germans packed in their luggage *Scheitholts* in the 18th century and concert zithers in the late 19th century. Similarly to the European scene, more and more zither clubs were established in the States. The concert zither came into vogue at the turn of the 20th century in many American homes as the salon instrument of choice. Those years witnessed a lot of European (mainly German or Austrian) zither players launch instrument-building shops or get involved in the business of U.S. manufacturers. Numerous zither clubs were founded to satisfy people’s need for community music making. A photo (Pic. Nr. 24) of the Buffalo Zither Club shows eleven concert zithers of various shapes in addition to other instruments (violin, cello, guitar and accordion). The founder, as in the case of many other clubs, was a German immigrant.

The two-century historical development of the Alpine zither detailed above became part of the German and Austrian folklore movements of this period. For this reason, the Alpine and concert or *Styrian* zither, rooted in Bavarian, Tyrolean and Austrian folk music, and developing together with it, was strongly linked to German culture and became an important musical expression of national identity.³⁹

³⁹ Huber 2015: 28–35; Haid n.d.: 14–17; Eichner 2012.

The image displays the tuning for a Viennese concert zither, organized into four horizontal sections, each with a treble and bass staff joined by a brace.
Fretboard: The top section shows the open strings of the fretboard. The treble staff has notes A, D, G, G, and C. The bass staff has a single note E. Text below the staff reads "a-440 - tuning fork or digital tuner".
Accompaniment Strings 0-12: The second section shows fretted strings 0 through 12. The treble staff has notes from Bb to G#. The bass staff has notes from Ab to G#.
Bass Strings 13-24: The third section shows fretted strings 13 through 24. The treble staff has notes from Eb to C#. The bass staff has notes from Bb to G#.
Contra Bass Strings 25-32: The bottom section shows fretted strings 25 through 32. The treble staff has notes from C to F#. The bass staff has notes from B to F.

Pic. Nr. 23: *The tuning of Viennese concert zithers*
Source: Cook 2006: 21.

The concert zither rose in international fame and popularity again when the 1949 English movie *The Third Man* hit the theaters. Based on a Graham Greene novel, starring Orson Welles and set in Vienna, the picture is best known for its original score which is exclusively provided by Viennese zither player Anton Karas.⁴⁰

With the appearance of the *Schlagzither* and concert zither, the instrument left behind the domain characteristic of the sound effects of its other bordun-based counterparts (bagpipes, hurdy-gurdy and *Hummel*). With regard to the novel musical experience stemming from its structure and playing style, the

⁴⁰ Karas 1949.

concert zither is a far cry from the traditional *Scheitholt* or *Hummel*. All in all, the concert zither's sound is closest to that of the harp. No wonder it is often called table harp.



Pic. Nr. 24: *The Buffalo Zither Club in the U.S.A in 1917*

The club was founded by Josef Mayerhofer (sitting in the first row, right), born in Dingolfingenm, Lower Bavaria.

Source: Anna Mayerhofer.

Zither US. <https://www.zither.us/node/123>

Besides numerous advantages, the transformation of the *Scheitholt* and *Hummel* into concert zither has had its drawbacks. The volume of the latter is much lower and it facilitates a narrower dynamics of playing style. The original function of the *Hummel*, among other things, used to be accompaniment to dances. By employing bordun strings, the high-pitched *Hummel* can provide a broad range of volume as well as decisive and dynamic rhythms to dance. The playing techniques of musicians using traditional instruments (*epinette des Vosges*, *Appalachian dulcimer*, *Hungarian zither*) are still in development. The advances provide them with opportunities to deftly compensate for the traditionally monotonous bordun accompaniment. This is especially true to the *Hungarian zither*, which enables musicians to generate novel and surprising musical effects.

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Imre Kutasi

The Formation and the Development of the Újházhely Residential Area in Hajdúnánás

Abstract

In Hungary, it was the land reform of 1945 which caused one of the most significant changes in the land policy. This measure, aimed at allocating land to landless peasants, utilized a total of 3,220,000 ha, which were distributed among 642,000 beneficiaries. As a result, each beneficiary received an average of 2,9 ha of agricultural land, on which they could make a living, albeit under difficult conditions. Historical research has examined this phenomenon, allowing us to understand its effects on Hungarian agriculture and the peasants. It is a less known fact, that not only agricultural lands but also – according to the previous works – in approximately 2800 settlements 300,000–450,000 building sites were distributed. As a result, new farmstead centers, settlements and residential areas emerged. This topic is a less researched area of the history of the Hungarian countryside, even though it caused many changes in the society of these settlements. To provide a more comprehensive understanding of these phenomena, the aim of my presentation is to illustrate this process using the example of *Hajdúnánás*, a small town located in northern *Hajdú-Bihar* County. This includes the occupation of agricultural lands, payment of expenses (such as contributions and redemption fees), the distribution of building sites, and the settlement and development of the *Újházhely* residential area. For this research, I utilized historical sources including electoral registers, house tax records, maps, statistical data, archival sources, legal documents, and interviews.

Keywords: settlement ethnography, microhistory, Hajdúnánás, land reform, distribution of plots



The effects of the land reform in 1945 on agricultural lands have been extensively explored in historical research. However, it is less widely known that not only agricultural lands but also plots suitable for building houses were distributed. Unfortunately, our understanding of this particular aspect of the process is limited due to a lack of comprehensive information. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to explore the effects of the distribution of plots in the small town of *Hajdúnánás* in the *Hajdú-Bihar* Region. For this research, I rely on various archival sources, including house tax registers, maps, statistical data, minutes of the land distribution, and legal sources. The presentation of this process will follow a chronological order, covering the marking and utilization of the area, the determination of beneficiaries, and the reimbursement process. Before delving into these details, it's essential to highlight the significance of the distribution of plots.

The land reform in 1945 effectively terminated the *latifundia*, as 3.2 million ha were distributed among approximately 642 thousand individuals, each receiving an average of 2.93 ha of agricultural land¹ and therefore it changed the everyday life of the agricultural society². It is a less-known fact that during this land reform, not only agricultural lands but also plots of 63301 ha suitable for building houses were distributed.³ At first glance, it seems that this measure did not cause significant changes in Hungarian agricultural society and the life of rural settlements. However, based on my research and previous studies, they indicate the opposite. While precise figures are unavailable, it's estimated that approximately 2,800 settlements saw the distribution of 300,000 to 450,000 plots.⁴ These phenomena caused significant changes in some settlements, according to Károly Perczel, an architect and urbanist who closely witnessed the distribution of plots and played a crucial role in revising the distribution plans. The territory of the affected settlements doubled in size; new residential areas formed. Moreover, in cases where the distribution of plots happened far away from the center of the settlements in the fields, it led to the formation of new farmsteads and settlements. According to his opinion, this measure changed the picture and the map of the country. This phenomenon altered the life of local societies, and it also had an impact on the beneficiaries.⁵ We do not have

¹ Fazekas 1995: 208.

² Zoltán-Borzován 2023: 141.

³ Luka 2019: 97.

⁴ Perczel 1948: 791; Illés 2009: 44; Beluszky–Sikos 2007: 47; Luka 2019: 97.

⁵ Perczel 1948: 791.

exact numbers about them, but with a conservative estimate, it can be applied to one million people.⁶

In my view, given the aforementioned reasons, it is crucial to scrutinize the impact of plot distribution on the structure and development of rural settlements, as well as on local societies. This issue presents an intriguing avenue for settlement ethnography, social ethnography, local history, and microhistory.

The formation of the Újházahely residential area

Under current legislation, the local *Községi Földigénylő Bizottság* [Municipal Land Acquisition Committee, hereinafter referred to as: K.F.B.] was tasked with handling responsibilities at the local level. In *Hajdúnánás*, it was established on March 6, 1945, with the following objectives:

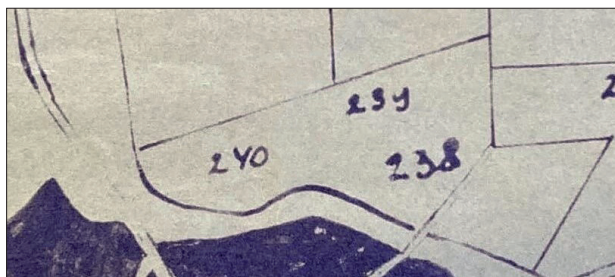
- To compile a list of claimants and distributable fields by statistical data.
- To distribute lands based on accepted claim rights.
- To list claimants for plots, oversee the distribution of plots, and manage the possession by beneficiaries.

The land tenure structure of the city defined the outcomes and the process of land and plot distribution. Imre Csiszár's research validated the findings of previous studies, indicating that the large landholding system was not typical of *Hajdúnánás*. The largest group consisted of dwarf holders with less than 2.87 ha, alongside middle-sized landowners with holdings between 28.77–57.55 ha consequently, in *Hajdúnánás*, very small-sized landowners and affluent farmers coexisted, and land hunger was greater here than in the rest of the country.⁷ This circumstance likely influenced the K.F.B. in determining the distributable fields, a process that can be explored through surviving resources.

One of the first measures was to utilize the distributable fields, identifying their holders through house tax registers, after determining the number of farmsteads present before the distribution of plots. This process can be achieved by comparing two maps: one created in 1920 and the other in 1969. The territory of the later *Újházahely* is easily identifiable because the dirt roads bordering the area have distinctive shapes.

⁶ Luka 2019: 97–98.

⁷ Csiszár 2015: 229–230.



Pic. Nr. 1: *The 1920 border map*
Source: MNL-HBVML HF Ny. 117.



Pic. Nr. 2: *The 1969 urban planning map*
Source: MNL-HBVML HF Ny. 208.

According to the house tax register created in 1946–1947, the later *Újház-bely* was held by individuals such as Dr. László Kovács, widow Csohány Miklós-né, Dr. Pál Berencsi and others, Dr. Imre Nagy, and Győző Csiha.⁸ Without sources, it cannot be established which legal basis the fields of these individuals utilized, except in two cases. The 112.8 ha fields of Dr. Pál Berencsi, Gábor,

⁸ MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 378/b 31.k.

and Zoltán were utilized without the legally binding decision of the *Országos Földbirtokrendező Tanács* [National Land Reorganization Council] in April 1945. However, for the distribution of plots, only 5.2 ha were utilized by the K.F.B. from them.⁹ The other case involves Győző Csiha, a mill owner, who held a 63.3 ha field according to the sources. Because he held more than 57.55 ha¹⁰ by the 600/1945 M.E. decree, his fields must be utilized for the distribution of lands.¹¹ After the utilization, the *Megyei Földbirtokrendező Tanács* [County Land Reorganization Council hereinafter referred to as: M.F.T.] conducted a site inspection on October 23,¹² 1945, and determined that this area is suitable for the distribution of plots.¹³ This essentially marked the establishment and appropriation of the resident area named *Újházahely*.

1	2	3	4
Sorszám	A tényleges birtokos neve	Utca (tér, út)	Házszám, (helyrajzi szám)
			TAN 19
281	Dr. Kovács László	Borsikai 32	238
282	Dr. Bohány Miklós	Zrínyi 28-30	239
283	Dr. Berencsi Pál és traja	Borsikai 8	240
284	Dr. Nagy Imre	Vértőzi 6	240/a
285	Csiha Győző	Tanya 16	240/b

Pic. Nr. 3: The farmsteads and their owners in *Újházahely* in the 1946–1947 house registry

[The name of Dr. Nagy is likely crossed out because

his homestead has probably already been allocated to Miklós Horváth.]

Source: MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 378/b 31. k.

The plots to be formed here must be claimed by the needy individuals. The 600/1945. M.E. law and the 2.400/1945 F.M. decree regulated who could be claimant the plots. In the decree, it was stipulated that plots of land or

⁹ MNL-HBVML HF V.B. 374/c 208d 407/1945 5697/946; XVII. 505.1d. 124/1946.

¹⁰ *Gazdacímár* 1937.

¹¹ 600/1945 M.E. 10§.

¹² 2400/1945 F.M. 21.§.

¹³ MNL-HBVML HF XVII. 505.1d. 124/1946 3186/1945.

kitchen gardens could be granted to those Hungarian citizens who were destitute, married, and had neither a residence nor a plot suitable for building a house for their dependent family members, either in their place of residence or elsewhere. But not only agricultural workers could be granted plots; individuals in various positions, such as industrial workers or retailers, were also eligible. However, this was applicable only when they were destitute, and the local claimant had already received plots.

The laws favored certain individuals over others based on these criteria.

- Individuals in an even more disadvantageous social situation than other claimants: those raising three or more children in one household, as well as unmarried sons of parents with many children, who, due to their property status, could not receive land.
- Outstanding combat achievement during World War II: those serving in the military, participating in the partisan movement, or engaging in the “fight against fascism” at the time the law came into effect.
- Personal loss suffered during World War II: those who lost their freedom, experienced internment, or deceased during the war.

The claims could be submitted until January 1, 1946. After that, the local K.F.B. the Acquisition Committee and the M.F.T. decided who was eligible for the plots. The M.F.T. decided that only claimants with at least one child could be accepted.¹⁴ Determining the eligible beneficiaries for the plots proved to be a challenging task for them because the two authorities could not reach an agreement on who should be beneficiaries. Consequently, the Land Office of *Hajdú* County sought the assistance of the mayor of the city to determine who was eligible for the plots.¹⁵ This process was not straightforward, as the list of beneficiaries was constantly changing.¹⁶ Some moved out of the city, while others resigned from their plots, and some experienced improvements in their financial situations, leading to the loss of their eligibility.¹⁷

To understand the formation of the *Újbázhely* residential area, it is necessary to examine the living circumstances of the beneficiaries. The sources do

¹⁴ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 331/1947.

¹⁵ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 331/1947.

¹⁶ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 2983/1948.

¹⁷ We do not have exact data on how many people moved away; one report lists 38 individuals, while another document mentions the submission of 32 cancellation statements. MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 78/1948; MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945. 2636/1948; MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 331/947.

not discuss in detail their life circumstances but indicate that a number of the claimants lived in disadvantageous social situations. Some of them were military nurses, some were war widows, and others lived in unhealthy farmsteads in their fields. So, most of them belonged to the lowest part of the society in *Hajdúnánás*.

Despite the fact that many beneficiaries were in a disadvantaged and often multiply disadvantaged social situation, they did not receive their plots for free. Among the various expenses, the most significant were the redemption price and the engineering cost. These were not fixed expenditures; their measure was bound to the exchange rate of wheat. This amount, established using this method, had to be paid by the dwarf holders and small landowners within 10 years, while agricultural laborers had 20 years to pay, in equally portioned parts.¹⁸ Payment could be made not only in cash but also in wheat, based on the current price of wheat.¹⁹ They were required to pay the purchase price determined by the M.F.T. in equally portioned parts within 5 years.²⁰ Before the occupation of their plots, they also had to cover procedural costs, which amounted to 60 Ft in 1949 according to Futaky.²¹ Additionally, they were responsible for purchasing stakes for marking out their plots. The last expense was the relief from the redemption price and the engineering cost, which was always 10 Ft, regardless of the size of the plot.²² The applications for deferments²³ and payment demands²⁴ that emerged during the previous research testify that the payment of the redemption price and engineering cost was an extremely challenging task for beneficiaries belonging to the poorest social class of the local society. The post-war hyperinflation significantly complicated the situation for both the beneficiaries and the authorities.

The value of the Hungarian *pengő* decreased to an unprecedented extent, leading to a rapid increase in the price of wheat. Consequently, during certain periods, it became challenging to determine what kind of wheat price could be expected.²⁵ The problems faced by the authorities due to hyperinflation were resolved with the introduction of the Hungarian forint on August 1, 1946. However, according to sources, numerous authorities warned the beneficiaries

¹⁸ 600/1945 M.E. 40.§.

¹⁹ 600/1945 M.E. 40. §.

²⁰ .400/1945 F.M. 26. §.

²¹ Futaky 1949: 85.

²² MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d 7311/1947.

²³ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 393/947.

²⁴ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 10189/1947; 14415/1947.

²⁵ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. 35.726/1946.

several times to pay these expenses. It proved to be a very challenging task for them.²⁶

Meanwhile, the implementation of the distribution of plots took place. This intricate process required the efforts of several officials, with the *Országos Építésiügyi Kormánybizottság Debreceni Kirendeltsége* [Branch Office in Debrecen of the National Construction Authority] playing a prominent role. Their responsibilities included overseeing the disaster situation, control of construction material management, and controlling the distribution of plots with a focus on urban planning.²⁷ As a result, they played a role in marking and planning the plots.²⁸

In October 1945, the government commissioner János Fischer had already determined that in several places, the distribution of plots would expand the territory of many settlements. Consequently, there was a risk of the formation of residential areas on the outskirts, isolated from the urban area and lacking public utilities. He stressed the significance of a deliberate distribution of plots and offered the support of his government commission.²⁹ The Government Commissioner decided that he and his engineers would create plans for the distribution of plots and warned the K.F.B. to provide him with the necessary information.³⁰

According to sources³¹ and previous works, despite efforts, not every engineer focused on the aspects of urban planning, resulting in numerous mistakes. Some engineers did not consider topography and the natural environment. In numerous locations, plots were allocated in unhealthy areas, often without sufficient space reserved for public institutions, healthcare facilities, parks, and even streets. Károly Perczel, an employee of the *Újjáépítési és Közmunkaiügyi Minisztérium* [Ministry of Reconstruction and Public Works], and the group led by him identified these problems. Their task was to review plans with a focus on urban planning, social considerations, environmental impact, and the overall settlement network. As a result, they modified the plans for 2,800 settlements and created new ones.³² Regarding *Hajdúnánás*, there is no source confirming whether there were modifications in the plan. We only know that

²⁶ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 208d. 407/1945. O.F.T. 210. 222.483/1946. I/2; MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945. 1389/947.

²⁷ Borbíró 1947: 39.

²⁸ Hönsch 1947: 34.

²⁹ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 5283/2/1945.sz.

³⁰ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 210d. 153 sz. 1946; MNL-HBML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 12.023/1945. sz.

³¹ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 179/1946.

³² Perczel 1989: 82.

the planning began in October 1946,³³ and the process was completed in January 1947.³⁴

Meanwhile the process of the planning works the city management did not let the utilized area in waste. Under current legislation, this territory was a reserve area and the K.F.B. had to utilize it smallholdings lease. Therefore, house building was an illegal act in this territory the authorities did not act because no construction had taken place. The plots could not be distributed after even February 1947, because under current legislation all the beneficiaries would have paid the engineering cost. But the mayor drew the *Hajdúvármegyei Földhivatal* [Land Office of Hajdú County] attention, it will perhaps never happen, because one of the beneficiaries moved out of the city. As a result, the distribution works dragged on until the spring of 1948.

During the planning process, to avoid letting the area fallow according to current legislation,³⁵ this territory was reserved, and the K.F.B. had to allocate it for smallholdings lease. Hence, during this period, any construction in this area was deemed illegal, granting the authorities the right to prevent such actions with the assistance of the police.³⁶ However, since no construction had occurred, the authorities did not take any action.³⁷ The distribution of plots couldn't proceed after February 1947 because, according to current legislation, all beneficiaries were required to pay the engineering cost.³⁸ However, the mayor brought it to the attention of *Hajdúvármegyei Földhivatal* [Land Office of Hajdú County] that it might never happen as one of the beneficiaries had moved out of the city. Consequently, the final works extended until the spring of 1948, by which time the bureaucratic obstacles were slowly rolling away from the distribution of plots.³⁹

The distribution followed the planned layout, designating the *Újbázhely* area to the west, adjacent to the *Új Felső Temető* [New Upper Cemetery] on the XI. dirt road of the *Pusztá*, covering 72.5 ha. The closest point to the train station was 2.6 km away, easily accessible via a stone road leading up to the cemetery. A 3.45 ha area was reserved in the center for a market and green space. The western side had a green area, mainly serving as a meadow in rainy weather. Water supply relied on four dug wells in the city center. The plot sizes were

³³ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 1068/1946.

³⁴ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 142/1947.

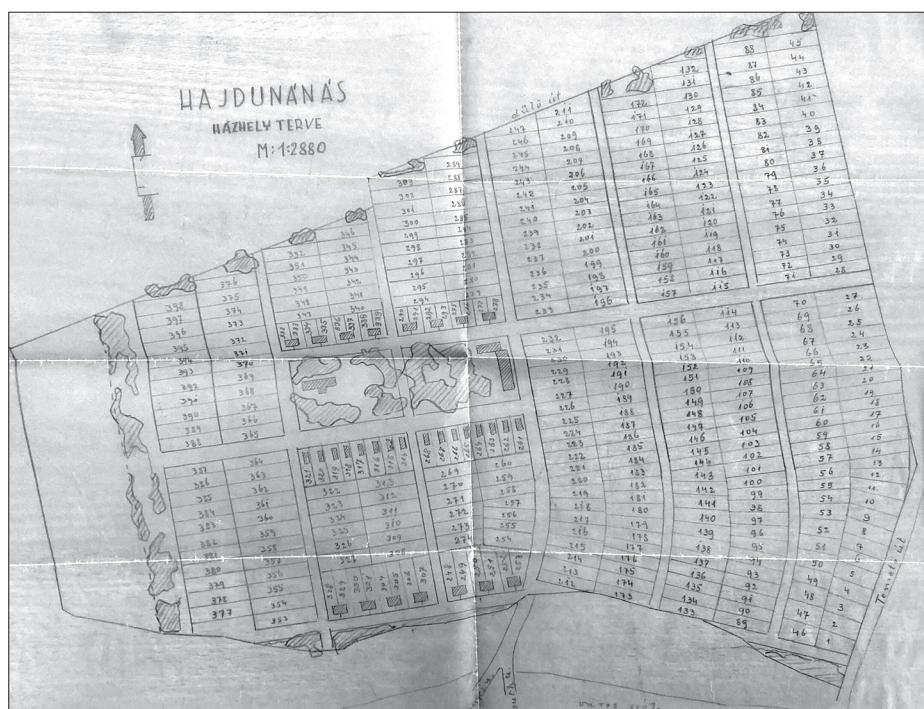
³⁵ 2.400/1945. F.M. 25.§.

³⁶ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 947/1946. sz.

³⁷ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 211d. 3183/1945. 7249/1946.

³⁸ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945 78/1948.

³⁹ MNL-HBVML HF V.B.374/c 207d. 407/1945 2983/1948.



Pic. Nr. 5: The map sketch of the Hajdúnánás plot distribution plan
Source: MNL HBML HF V. B. 374/c 211.d 3183/1945. 7166/1947.

With the assistance of the archive and the legal sources can explore the process of the distribution of plots and the formation of the Újházhely residential area. Several authorities were occupied with this process, but their work was not well coordinated, therefore it dragged on for many years. Just after the Second World War because of hyperinflation, the beneficiaries who lived in disadvantageous social situations could very hardly pay the expenditures. Therefore, this process began in 1945 and was completed only in 1949. As a result, *Hajdúnánás* saw the creation of its first district that did not conform to the city's traditional radial-cluster urban structure.

The settlement and development of the Újházhely residential area

The initial settlement of the district progressed very slowly, with a gradual increase in population. Interviewees unanimously agreed that in the 1950s, the

population was very small, and it was only in the early 1960s that the influx into the district began. It is a legitimate question why the development of *Újházhely* started so late and why the beneficiaries did not begin construction immediately after receiving their properties. The reason lies in the legal environment. According to the regulation governing the allocation of house plots, although the plots became the private property of the recipients, their ownership was restricted by a prohibition on alienation and encumbrance for ten years. Furthermore, the legislator stipulated that if construction did not commence within five years after the end of the war, the plots would be confiscated and reallocated to other applicants.⁴³ This system was abolished in 1957 when the state transferred the sale of plots to the *Országos Takarékpénztár* [National Savings Bank, hereinafter referred to as: OTP].⁴⁴ This change also occurred in *Hajdúnánás*, as evidenced by the sources.⁴⁵

Following these developments, there was a substantial influx of residents into the district, which, according to the conducted interviews, peaked in the early 1960s. This is corroborated by the electoral registers, which, while they do not account for the entire population, only the voting-age residents, nevertheless provide a reliable indicator of population changes. These data demonstrate a continuous increase in the population, with the most significant influx occurring between 1958 and 1962, during which the population surged by an impressive 117.36%.

The voting-age population in Újházhely 1950–1975			
Year	Population size	Changes in the voting-age population compared to	
		In absolute numbers	As a percentage
1950	55	22	66,67
1954	82	27	49,09
1958	144	62	75,61
1962	313	169	117,36
1963	375	62	19,81
1967	425	50	13,33
1975	628	203	47,76

Table. Nr. 1: *The development of the voting-age population in Újházhely 1949–1975*

Source: MNL-HBVML-HF V.B.-XXIII. 528/c 1d–6d.

⁴³ 2400/1945 F.M. 33. §.

⁴⁴ 35/1957 (V.21).

⁴⁵ MNL HBVML-HF-XXIII. 535/b 41d.

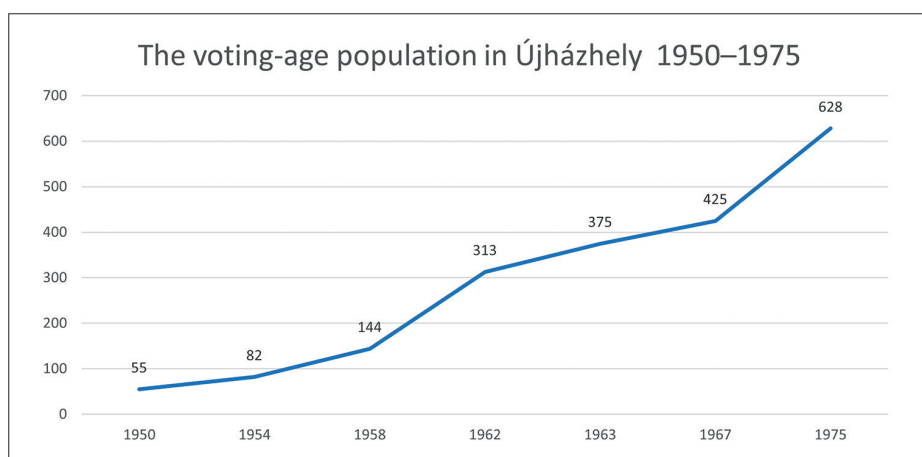


Fig. Nr. 1: *The development of the voting-age population in Újházahely 1949–1975*

Source: MNL-HBVML-HF V.B.-XXIII. 528/c 1d–6d.

Naturally, there was a compelling reason behind this phenomenon, namely the collectivization, the final wave of which was the most forceful. During this period, the collective farms saw the farmsteads as obstacles to the establishment of collective farming and took every possible measure to encourage the outskirts population to relocate to urban areas. They spread rumors about the closure of outskirts schools, repurposed some farmsteads buildings for their own use, demolished others to use the construction materials, and even left some to decay. Consequently, the rural inhabitants were compelled to move to the towns.⁴⁶ A significant number of them settled in *Újházahely*, facilitated by the fact that the plot prices there were considerably lower than those of properties in the city center.

As previously detailed, the beneficiaries of land grants belonging to the lower strata of local society were in a very difficult situation after World War II, during the period of the greatest inflation in Hungarian history. To retain their legitimately acquired properties, they began construction within their modest means. Consequently, a few makeshift dwellings appeared in the area in the early 1950s. These typically consisted of a single room and a kitchen, with foundations of 1–2 layers of bricks at best; otherwise, adobe bricks, dug from a pit at the back of the garden, were simply laid on the ground. These pits filled with groundwater, become overgrown with weeds and reeds, and attract frogs. Later, these pits were filled with construction debris and garbage. The roofs

⁴⁶ Csiszár 2007: 213; M.I.B. [informant] born 1939; K.A. [informant] born 1942.

of these makeshift dwellings were often made from unprocessed wood. Most people used corn stalks as roofing material, which was far from ideal, causing water to occasionally seep through the roof. Repairs were then needed, often using more corn stalks or plastic sheets. While some hired professionals to build chimneys, others, unable to afford this, resorted to makeshift solutions like sticking a kitchen pipe out of a window for smoke ventilation.⁴⁷

After 1957, healthier and more modern houses were built by residents who purchased land for a certain amount from OTP and were escaping the ‘farm destruction wave’. As a result, from the early 1960s onwards, the settlement gradually developed. From the mid-decade onwards, following national trends, new house forms known as ‘cube houses’, which were completely different from traditional peasant houses, began to appear in increasing numbers.⁴⁸

The construction permits⁴⁹, and interviews conducted indicate that the development of *Újbázhely*’s streets did not occur simultaneously. This is corroborated by the town planning map,⁵⁰ which vividly illustrates the process, as well as aerial photographs⁵¹ taken in the 1980s. Initially, the streets of Tar Kálmán, Brassai Károly, *Eszlári*, *Pacsirta*, and then the eastern side of *Pázsit*, *Nyúl*, and finally *Nefelejcs*, Kabai János, and *Liliom* were developed. By the 1980s, *Újbázhely* had reached a high level of development.

Given the initially small population and the modest financial situation of the residents, the implementation of infrastructure was not feasible. Consequently, the population lived under poor conditions in *Újbázhely*. In light of these factors, it is not surprising that the majority population of the city assigned various pejorative labels to this neighborhood due to its underdevelopment, such as “slum”, “aluminum settlement”, “poor district”, and “leper colony”⁵². Additionally, the residents were subjected to negative discrimination, which was also reflected in everyday interactions.

From the mid-1960s onwards, the underdeveloped nature of *Újbázhely* gradually diminished. Starting from the beginning of the decade, those relocating from the farm destruction purchased their plots from OTP, in accordance with the law, suggesting they were likely more financially robust than the previous occupants. The large 1170 m² plots available here were well-suited for

⁴⁷ K.I. [informant] born 1938.

⁴⁸ The replacement of the building stock in *Hajdúnánás* and the characteristics of the construction of cube houses have been addressed by Anita Barna. Barna 2023.

⁴⁹ MNL-HBVML-HF-XXIII. 535/a.

⁵⁰ MNL-HBVML-HF-Ny. 208.

⁵¹ *Légi felvétel* 1981_0351_0025.

⁵² M.I.B. [informant] born 1939; PZné [informant] born 1958.

those coming from farms, as they did not need to completely cease their agricultural activities. If they were already employed in industry as their primary occupation, they continued agricultural activities in their spare time. This is reflected in one of the maps⁵³ that designated the backyards as vegetable gardens. Generally, residents kept poultry (chickens, ducks, geese), pigs, and some even raised cattle. The backyards were used for cultivating kitchen garden plants (carrots, parsley, garlic, onions, peas, etc.) and were planted with fruit trees to support their livelihoods.⁵⁴ Many took advantage of the communal grazing system, but after its dissolution, individuals had to rent grazing land separately. Some also utilized undeveloped plots, marshy, and reed-covered areas for their livestock's grazing needs.⁵⁵

As a result of their hard work, residents generated additional income, which they invested in modernizing their homes or constructing entirely new residences. Previous makeshift houses were either demolished or repurposed as workshops or ancillary buildings.⁵⁶ The commencement of this developmental process is evidenced by the construction of a store in the area as early as the 1960s. The increase in population and improvement in financial conditions enabled the initiation of infrastructure development through community efforts. Although challenging, these efforts successfully led to the implementation of essential utilities. Initially, sidewalks were constructed, followed by the installation of street lighting. This was succeeded by the introduction of electricity, running water, and, subsequently, gas. Finally, the streets were paved with solid surfacing. This marked a significant and visible improvement in the neighborhood, which was also reflected in the rising property values.

The integration of *Újházhegy* into the inner areas of *Hajdúnánás* is demonstrated by the designation of much of the district as an urban area and the naming of its streets in the latter half of the 1960s. Today, the formerly underdeveloped nature of the area is barely perceptible. This process is also reflected in the changing perception of the residents, as the term "*házhegyi*" has increasingly lost its pejorative connotations, and the previously experienced negative discrimination is no longer evident.⁵⁷

⁵³ *Digitalizált* 79-123-3.

⁵⁴ KA. [informant] born 1942; K.I. [informant] born 1938; K.I. [informant] born 1961.

⁵⁵ SZIné [informant] born 1940; DSné [informant] born 1941.

⁵⁶ HCS [informant] born 1969.

⁵⁷ SZIné [informant] born 1940; CSSné [informant] born 1940; KLné [informant] born 1939.

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Andreea Buzăș

**Betrachtungen zu einigen siebenbürgisch-sächsischen
Handschriftensammlungen
aus dem Folklore-Archiv des Forschungsinstituts
für Geisteswissenschaften Hermannstadt**

**Considerations Regarding some Transylvanian-Saxon Manuscript
Collections from the Folklore Archive
of the Sibiu Socio-Human Research Institute**

Abstract

The archive of the Association of Folklorists and Ethnographers of Sibiu County, currently in the patrimony of the Sibiu Socio-Human Research Institute, was founded in 1977, at the initiative of Professor Ilie Moise. The archive contains collections and recordings, questionnaires, manuscripts, studies and ethnographic works, carried out by more than one hundred researchers of traditional culture in the main folkloric and ethnographic areas of Romania, since 1950 until today. The study presents the most important manuscript collections from the archive's inventory, with a focus on materials of some minorities, especially the Transylvanian Saxons, proof of the cultural interferences so evident in the southern Transylvanian area.

Keywords: folklore archive, minorities, manuscript collections, Sibiu, Transylvanian Saxons

Der vorliegende Beitrag ist Teil eines großangelegten Projekts, das der Bekanntmachung der Bestände der Hermannstädter Archive gewidmet ist, er bezieht sich aber im Folgenden bloß auf die im *Arhiva de Folclor a Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu* (ICSU-Archiv) [Folklore-Archiv des Forschungsinstituts für Geisteswissenschaften Hermannstadt] vorhandenen Materialien zum siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Brauchtum.



Bei dem Erhalt und der Aufwertung unserer kulturellen Identität spielt eine angemessene Auswertung der systematischen Sammlung immateriellen volkskundlichen Erbes in den einschlägigen Folklore-Archiven eine entscheidende Rolle. In diesen Archiven werden Manuskripte von literarischen und musikalischen Werken aufbewahrt sowie Ton- und Bildaufnahmen. Die Manuskripte wurden hauptsächlich von Folkloristen mit philologischer Ausbildung erstellt, die Aufnahmen von Musikwissenschaftlern. Schließlich gingen die Methoden beider Fächer in die neue Technik und Arbeitsweise aller Archive ein. Die Forschung im Bereich der Ethnologie ist praktisch unmöglich ohne die Quellen, die in den Archiven als Manuskripte oder Ton- bzw. Bildaufzeichnungen aufbewahrt werden.

Folklore-Archive in Rumänien

Es ist angebracht, anfangs an die Absichten einiger rumänischer Sprachwissenschaftler zu erinnern, Archive mit Manuskripten anzulegen, die insbesondere literarische Texte sowie teilweise den Kontext, in dem diese verfasst worden sind, aufzeichnen sollten. Ovid Densusianu – der Autor der Studie *Folklorul. Cum trebuie înțeles?* [Wie ist Folklore zu verstehen?] – stellte 1909 fest, dass Folklore auch in der modernen Zeit entsteht und für die Forschung von höchstem Interesse ist, da sie sich den Umständen anpasst. Der berühmte Sprachwissenschaftler widmete sich der Forschung der Mundarten und Dialekte in der modernen europäischen Vision einer linguistischen Geografie und erstellte einen Plan zur Umorganisation des Sammelns und Veröffentlichens von Folklore auf Grund von direkten Befragungen oder von Fragebögen im Einklang mit den wissenschaftlichen Regeln der Transkription. Er plante desgleichen die Gründung eines Folklore-Archivs an der Rumänischen Akademie sowie die Erarbeitung eines Folklore-Atlas und einiger regionaler Monografien. Diese Initiative wurde von den Fachleuten begrüßt, die später Arbeitsinstrumente wie z. B. Bibliografien zur Folklore und Volkskunde, monografische Sammlungen und Typenanthologien erstellten, gefolgt von vergleichenden Studien.

Im Blick auf die Tätigkeit des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, mit Sitz in Hermannstadt, ist zu beobachten, dass der Schwerpunkt auf dem Sammeln von Toponymen (Flurnamen und Ortsnamen) lag, also von alten geografischen Namen, die als historische Quellen für Wörterbücher dienen konnten. Die Aktion der Toponymen-Sammlung organisierte der Volkskundler Adolf Schullerus. Bis 1935 wurden ca. 600 geografische Namen aus sie-

benbürgischen Dörfern gesammelt und Misch Orend ordnete das gesammelte Material im Rahmen des Archivs der Sächsischen Nationsuniversität¹.

Die Karteikarten wurden im Hermannstädter Staatsarchiv gelagert, wo sie von interessierten Forschern eingesehen werden konnten. Bei der Vollversammlung der *Asociațiunea Transilvană pentru Literatură Română și Cultura Populului Român* (ASTRA) [Siebenbürgischer Verein für rumänische Literatur und Kultur des rumänischen Volkes], hob Nicolae Iorga insbesondere diese Tätigkeit der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Forscher hervor und forderte die wissenschaftlichen Sektionen der ASTRA auf, die in den rumänischen Gemeinden begonnene Arbeit fortzuführen, sodass ein geografisches Wörterbuch Siebenbürgens erstellt werden könne, „in dem jeder einzelne volkstümliche Name verzeichnet sei“². Nachdem die Sammlung von Toponymen aus finanziellen Gründen eingestellt werden musste, wurde sie 1956 wieder aufgenommen, nämlich im Zusammenhang mit der Gründung des Hermannstädter Forschungsinstituts für Geisteswissenschaften, das ursprünglich der Klausenburger Zweigstelle der Rumänischen Akademie unterstellt war³. Aufgrund des lexikografischen Materials zu den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Idiomen aus dem 13. bis 19. Jahrhundert (ca. eine Million Karteikarten) wurden bis heute zehn Bände des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Wörterbuchs (1924–2014) herausgegeben, an denen im Laufe der Zeit mehrere Sprachwissenschaftler mitgewirkt haben: Adolf Schullerus, Bernhard Capesius, Gisela Richter, Anneliese Thudt, Ute Maurer, Malwine Dengel, Sigrid Haldenwang.

Von den Umwälzungen nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg bedroht, musste das Kulturerbe in wissenschaftlicher Weise durch eine „Not-Ethnologie“ gerettet werden. Die Initiative ging von den Ethno-Musikwissenschaftlern aus. So wurde 1927 in Bukarest *Arhiva Fonogramică de pe lângă Ministerul Cultelor și Artelor* [das Phonogramm-Archiv des Kultus- und Kunstministeriums] unter der Leitung von Universitätsprofessor George Breazu und 1928 *Arhiva de Folclor a Societății Compozitorilor Români* [das Folklore-Archiv der Gesellschaft Rumä-

¹ Müller-Sammlung, *Arhivele Statului Sibiu* [Staatsarchiv Hermannstadt], Schachtel 16, Nr. 74.

² Iorga 1938: 29.

³ Die in der Zeitspanne 1940–1950 in Hermannstadt durchgeführte akademische Forschung, geprägt von der Tätigkeit der Popovici-Schule (I. Popovici, I. Cocișiu, A. Stoia, I. Delu, Gh. Șoima) sowie den Klausenburger Forschern R. Vuia, I. Mușlea, Gh. Pavelescu, die sich anlässlich der Übersiedlung der Universität nach Hermannstadt hier niedergelassen hatten, wurde in einer ausführlichen Studie von Ilie Moise behandelt: *Contribuții sibiene la cercetarea și valorificarea culturii populare tradiționale* (1940–1990) [Hermannstädter Beiträge zur Erforschung und Verwertung der traditionellen Volkskultur], in „Revista de Etnografie și Folclor“, Nr. 1–2/1991, S. 33–51.

nischer Komponisten] auf Initiative von Universitätsprofessor Constantin Brăiloiu gegründet.

Das Phonogramm-*Archiv* war ausschließlich für die rumänische Volksmusik gedacht. „Die Bedürfnisse der rumänischen Kultur und unseres Musiklebens konnten nicht durch Nachahmen irgendwelcher Werke gedeckt werden und auch nicht sinnlos den Horizont der für die rumänische Musik unverzichtbaren Werke ausweiten“⁴.

Wie auch George Breazu, widmete Constantin Brăiloiu der Aufnahme und der Konservierung von Ton-Dokumenten im Folklore-Archiv der Gesellschaft Rumänischer Komponisten ein besonderes Augenmerk⁵.

1949 wurde durch die Bemühungen des Musikwissenschaftlers Harry Brauner das Folklore-Institut ins Leben gerufen, das auf dem von Constantin Brăiloiu⁶ eingerichteten Folklore-Archiv basierte und durch eine begrüßenswerte Initiative mit dem von George Breazu angelegten Phonogramm-Archiv vereint wurde. Das neue Folklore-Institut erweiterte seine Strukturen durch die Gründung von Forschungsabteilungen im Bereich Volksliteratur und Ethnochoreologie. Das systematische Studium diente der möglichst objektiven Darstellung des Synkretismus, der das Phänomen Folklore bestimmt sowie dazu, die Qualitäten der unterschiedlichen Kontexte aufzuzeigen, in denen es sich entfaltete.

Es war der Klausenburger Ion Mușlea⁷, der die Initiative der Einrichtung eines Folklore-Archivs aufgrund eines systematischen Plans unter Berücksichtigung akribischer Sammel-Regeln ergriff. Nach Besuchen in Archiven Nord-Europas (Schweden, Norwegen, Dänemark, Finnland) richtete er eine Denkschrift an die Rumänische Akademie und so gelang es ihm, 1930 *Arhiva de Folclor a Academiei Române* [das Folklore-Archiv der Rumänischen Akademie] ins Leben zu rufen. Das von Mușlea angelegte Archiv stellte für die Probleme der rumänischen Volkskunde jener Zeit eine rettende Lösung dar. Dessen Hauptzweck war „eine möglichst systematische Sammlung rumänischer Folklore“ zu organisieren, nämlich durch die Methode der Fragebögen und mithilfe einer Reihe von Broschüren zur Anleitung sowie durch das Heranziehen von „gut ausgebildeten Jugendlichen zur Erforschung einiger Regionen, in denen bisher zu wenig Material gesammelt worden ist (Bessarabien, Dobrudscha, Teile

⁴ Breazu 1932: 333.

⁵ Ispas 2005: 3–35.

⁶ Brăiloiu 1931: 205–208.

⁷ Mușlea 2003.

von Siebenbürgen usw.)⁸. Das Folklore-Archiv der Rumänischen Akademie verfügt zurzeit über einen reichhaltigen dokumentarischen Fonds, der auf der Grundlage der von Ion Muşlea geförderten modernen Auffassung von volkstümlicher Kultur angelegt worden ist.

Ein anderes Archiv der Rumänischen Akademie ist *Arhiva de Folclor a Moldovei și Bucovinei* [das Folklore-Archiv der Moldau und der Bukowina], das 1968 in Jassy (ung.: *Jászvásár*, rum.: *Iasi*) eingerichtet wurde und dem „*Alexandru Philipide*“-Philologie-Institut untergeordnet ist. Die Gründung und Organisation dieses Archivs ist Professor Ion H. Ciubotaru⁹ zu verdanken und basiert auf der Beobachtung der mündlichen Kultur in all ihren Ausdrucksformen und all ihren Sprachtypen. In der ersten Etappe wurde eine indirekte folkloristische Untersuchung aufgrund eines Fragebogens durchgeführt, gefolgt von einer direkten Untersuchung, in deren Verlauf Tonaufnahmen gemacht wurden (Phonotek), und schließlich wurde ein Bilderfonds eingerichtet (Fotothek und Filmarchiv).

Das Folklore-Archiv des Forschungsinstituts für Geisteswissenschaften Hermannstadt – kurze Vorstellung

Mit der Gründung des „Siebenbürgischen Vereins für rumänische Literatur und Kultur des rumänischen Volkes“ (1861) wurde Hermannstadt zusammen mit Blasendorf (ung.: *Bálázsfalva*, rum.: *Blaj*) und Kronstadt (ung.: *Brassó*, rum.: *Brasov*) zu einem der wichtigsten sozialen und kulturellen Zentren der Siebenbürger Rumänen. Aus dieser Zeit stammen die ersten volkskundlichen Sammlungen, die in den Archiven von Einrichtungen wie der Bibliothek der Metropole Siebenbürgens¹⁰, dem Staatsarchiv¹¹ – Zweigstelle Sibiu, der Kreisbibliothek Astra¹², dem Astra-Museum¹³ und dem Forschungsinstitut für Geisteswissenschaften Hermannstadt¹⁴ der Rumänischen Akademie aufbewahrt wurden.

Jedes Archiv übernimmt die Verpflichtung, Dokumente der oralen Kultur zu erfassen, die es ermöglichen, das kulturelle Phänomen in seiner Gesamt-

⁸ Muşlea 1932: 2.

⁹ Ciubotaru 1980: 191–205.

¹⁰ Siehe Florea–Buzaş (Hg.) 2018: 5–16.

¹¹ Siehe Zimmermann 1887.

¹² Siehe Cuceu I.–Cuceu L. (Hg.) 2014.

¹³ Siehe Baron–Robu (Hg.) 2013.

¹⁴ Siehe Buzaş 2007: 27–38, Buzaş 2009: 27–34.

heit mit den Besonderheiten aller Spracharten zu rekonstruieren. Ein solches Archiv ist auch *Arhiva Asociației Folcloriștilor și Etnografilor din județul Sibiu* [das Archiv des Vereins der Volkskundler und Ethnografen des Kreises Sibiu]. Der 1977 gegründete Verein (*Asociația Folcloriștilor și Etnografilor din județul Sibiu*) setzte sich als Hauptziele die Organisation von Forschungen nach Folklore-Gebieten und deren Untergebieten zum Zwecke des Aufbaus eines volkskundlichen Archivs (das als Grundlage für Studien und Synthesen über die kulturelle Identität des Gebietes dienen sollte) und die Herausgabe eines wissenschaftlichen Informationsblattes mit dem Titel *Studii și comunicări* [Studien und Mitteilungen]. Der größte Teil des Materials stammt übrigens aus den Archiven des „Ständigen Kreises für Ethnografie und Volkskunde“, der von 1954 bis 1970 in der Hermannstädter Zweigstelle *Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice din România* [der Gesellschaft für historische und philologische Wissenschaften Rumäniens] tätig war. Seit 1990 verfügt der Verein der Volkskundler und Ethnografen des Kreises Sibiu über eine eigene Rechtspersönlichkeit und wirkt im Rahmen der Sektion für Ethnologie des Forschungsinstituts für Geisteswissenschaften Hermannstadt. Das auf Initiative der Professoren Ilie Moise und Horst Klusch gegründete Archiv umfasst Sammlungen und Aufzeichnungen, Fragebögen, Manuskripte, Studien und ethnografische Arbeiten (Dissertationen, Diplomarbeiten, wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen), die von über hundert Forschern traditioneller Kultur in den wichtigsten volkskundlichen und ethnografischen Gebieten Rumäniens von 1950 bis heute erstellt wurden.

Das erste Manuskript¹⁵, das hier angeführt werden soll, stammt aus dem Jahr 1848 und enthält authentische Volksdichtung aus Moichen (ung.: *Móh*, rum.: *Mohu*) samt einer Reihe von weit verbreiteten Gedichten („versuri“), darunter *Verșul lui Bărnăușin* [Das Gedicht von Bărnăușin], eine Ode an den Vormärz-Kämpfer und *Verșul românilor* [Das Gedicht der Rumänen], eigentlich die bekannte Dichtung *Răsunetul*, „Der Widerhall“, aus der Feder von Andrei Mureșanu.

Ein anderes Heft¹⁶ trägt die Unterschrift des aus Telischen (ung.: *Telicske*, rum.: *Tilișca*) stammenden Prică Constantin, der in den Jahren 1868–1869 in Fiume als kaiserlicher Soldat gedient hat. Bei ihm überwiegen Gedichte zum Thema Heimweh und Entfremdung, die eine bewegende Sensibilität der Gefühle zum Ausdruck bringen. In nostalgischer Note wird die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat, nach den Zusammenkünften in Spinnstuben, insbesondere aber nach seinen Lieben: den Brüdern und Schwestern, den Eltern, der Geliebten,

¹⁵ Iancu 1848.

¹⁶ Prică 1868.

besungen. Das Heft enthält auch noch sogenannte „colăcărie“-Gedichte, d. h. Hochzeitsreden¹⁷, Balladen sowie das Gedicht zum Reigentanz der Vereinigung („Hora Unirii“) – ein deutlicher Beweis dafür, dass Vasile Alecsandris Poesie zu der Zeit in Siebenbürgen wohl bekannt war.



Abb. Nr. 1: Folklore-Heft I. Volksdichtung aus Mohu
Quelle: Iancu 1848.

Ein anderes Manuskript¹⁸ umfasst einen Zeitraum von 30 Jahren und wurde 1875 abgeschlossen. Der Besitzer des Heftes, Nicolae Oprian aus Flußau (ung.: *Polyán*, rum.: *Poiana*) war ein guter Beobachter und Kommentator der politischen Ereignisse seiner Zeit. Seine Lobreden auf „bedeutende Menschen“ sind den Volkshelden Traian, dem römischen Kaiser, Mihai dem Tapferen, dem Fürsten Alexandru Ioan Cuza und dem Revolutionär Avram Iancu gewidmet. Dabei wird *Ultima noapte a lui Mihai...* [Die letzte Nacht des Mihai] zum eigentlichen Nationalgedicht, während die *Hora Unirii* als *Hora fraţilor români* [Tanz der rumänischen Brüder] bezeichnet wird. Die kyrillische Schrift am

¹⁷ Das Wort *colăcărie* / *conăcărie* bezieht sich nicht nur auf den in Versform redigierten Teil eines Textes, sondern auch auf eine Hochzeitsrede, eine Beglückwünschung des Brautpaares und betrifft somit das Zeremoniell an sich.

¹⁸ Oprian 1845–1875.

Anfang des Heftes und die archaische Sprache deuten auf die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts als Entstehungszeit des Manuskripts hin. Die letzten Gedichte bezeugen hingegen ganz klar den Durchbruch der latinistischen Periode der Rumänen in Siebenbürgen.



Abb. Nr. 2: Folklore-Heft II. Volksdichtung aus Tilisca
Quelle: Prică 1868.

Darin liegt also die Bedeutung dieser Dokumente, die uns erlauben, Überlegungen zur Schaffung folklorischer Dichtung, aber auch zur Entwicklung des rumänischen Alphabets anzustellen.

Die ältesten rumänischen Texte wurden mit kyrillischen Buchstaben geschrieben und gedruckt. Im Laufe der Zeit traten Versuche auf, die rumänische Sprache mittels des lateinischen Alphabets zu verschriftlichen. In dieser Hinsicht seien hier nur zwei Aspekte in die Diskussion eingebracht¹⁹.

¹⁹ Documente, *La centenarul Comisiei ortografice din Sibiu (1860–1960)* [Dokumente, Zum 100. Jahrestag der Orthografischen Kommission in Hermannstadt (1860–1960)]. 01. 11. 1960. Akte Ioan Georgescu. ICSU-Archiv.

a) Unter deutschem Einfluss druckte der Piaristenmönch David Biro 1799 mit lateinischen Lettern *Evangelii la toate duminecele și șzèrbetorile preste tot anul* [Die Evangelien für alle Sonn- und Feiertage über das ganze Jahr]²⁰. Unter dem gleichen Einfluss schlug auch der Augenarzt Ioan Piuaru-Molnar aus Sadu (ung.: *Cód*, rum.: *Zoodt*) in seiner deutsch-rumänischen Grammatik²¹ das Schreiben des Rumänischen mit lateinischem Alphabet vor.

b) Die meisten Versuche, rumänisch mit lateinischen Buchstaben zu schreiben, wurden aber unter ungarischem Einfluss unternommen. All diese Versuche analysierte Prof. Iosif Siegescu in seiner Geschichte der rumänischen Orthografie.²²

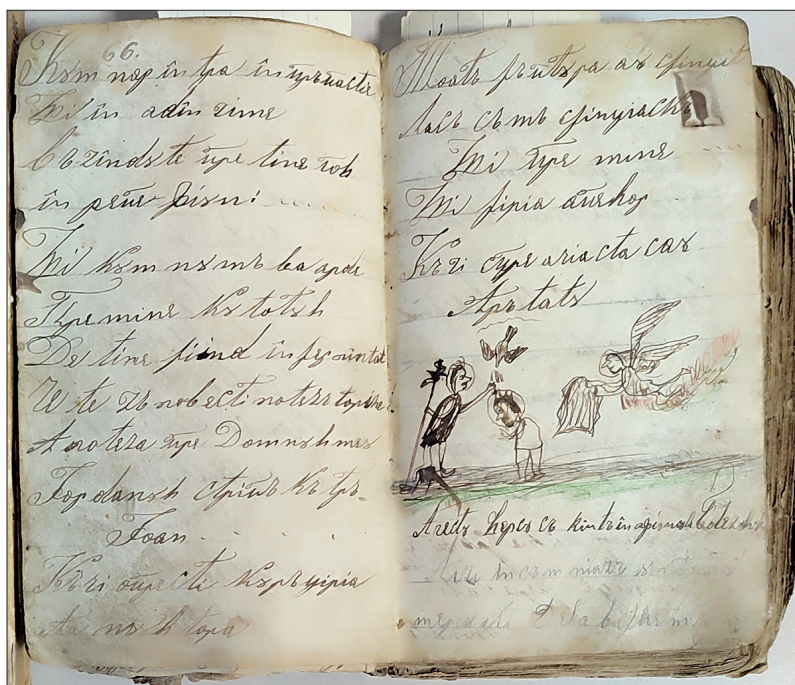


Abb. Nr. 3: Folklore-Heft III. Volksdichtung aus Poiana
Quelle: Oprian 1845–1875.

Der wertvollste Fonds ist jener, der von dem Ständigen Kreis für Folklore und Ethnografie angelegt wurde.²³ Dieser Fonds wurde am 24. Juni 1954 be-

²⁰ Biro 1799.

²¹ Piuaru-Molnar 1788.

²² Siegescu 1905.

²³ Documente, Cercul Permanent de Studii și Cercetări Folclorice [Dokumente, Ständiger Kreis für

gründet und vom Brukenthalmuseum und der Hermannstädter Zweigstelle der „Gesellschaft für historische und philologische Wissenschaften Rumäniens“ betrieben. Der Kreis hatte die Aufgabe, die volkstümlichen Werke und deren Schöpfer bekannt zu machen. Die Tätigkeit war nach folgenden Bereichen organisiert: Volksmusik; Volksliteratur; Brauchtum; Rituale, Volksglauben; Kinderspiele und Volkstänze; Ethnografie und Volkskunst. Die Forschungsarbeit wurde bis 1970 fortgesetzt und es wurden 40 Bände (die Mehrheit als Typoskripte) herausgebracht aufgrund der Sammlungen, die von ca. 300 rumänischen, deutschen und ungarischen Grundschul- und Gymnasiallehrern aus den früheren Rayons der Region Kronstadt erstellt worden waren.

Dem Kreis gehörten 120 Mitarbeiter aus mehr als 60 Ortschaften des Rayons Hermannstadt an, unter den 22 Forschern befanden sich namhafte wie: Ioan Albescu, Pimen Constantinescu, Cornel Irimie, Nicolae Lupu, Gheorghe Pavelescu, Gheorghe Șoima, Misch Orend. Beeindruckt von dem Ausmaß der Forschungstätigkeit versprach Mihai Pop, der Direktor des Bukarester Folklore-Instituts 1955 eine Filiale in Hermannstadt zu gründen, deren Aufgabe es sein sollte, „die Folklore in Südsiebenbürgen zu erforschen und zu verwerten und zugleich auch die Problematik der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Folklore zu beobachten“²⁴. Obwohl der Antrag auf Gründung einer Zweigstelle des Folklore-Instituts in Hermannstadt unbeantwortet blieb, setzte der Ständige Kreis für Ethnografie und Folklore seine methodischen Aktionen fort, die häufig auf Anleitungsbroschüren fußten sowie auf Fach-Fragebögen, die den Laienforschern dienen sollten.

Der Bestand an musikalischer Folklore in dem ICSU-Archiv imponiert nicht so sehr durch seine Menge als durch den Wert der aufgenommenen Stücke. Diesbezüglich sei hier nur das von Ilarion Cocișiu in Roseln (ung.: *Roșsonda*, rum.: *Ruja* – Kreis Sibiu) gesammelte Weihnachtslied *Cel uncheș bătrân* [Der alte Onkel] erwähnt, das von M. Brătulescu unter der Gattung *Colinde profesionale* [Berufliche Weihnachtslieder], Typ 69 – „In Hirsche verwandelte Jäger“ eingeordnet wurde.

Das historische Verdienst, den Weihnachtsliedtypus „In Hirsche verwandelte Jäger“ entdeckt zu haben, gebührt dem ungarischen Komponisten und Musikethnologen Béla Bartók. Dieser nahm als Erster (im April 1914) in den

volkskundliche Studien und Forschungen]. I (1954–1955); II (1955–1956). ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 3. Ordner Nr. 24 und 25.

²⁴ Documente, *Memoriu* (Sibiu, aprilie 1955), *Cercul Permanent de Studii și Cercetări Folclorice* [Dokumente, Memorandum, Ständiger Kreis für Folklore und Ethnografie]. I. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 3. Ordner Nr. 24.

Dörfern Eidischdorf (ung.: *Idecspatak*, rum.: *Idice*) und *Urisiu de Sus* (ung.: *Felsőoroszi* – Kreis Mureș) zwei Varianten dieses Liedes auf Phonograph-Zylindern auf.

Chronologisch folgt nach Bartók als Sammler dieses musikalischen Typus der Hermannstädter Musikethnologe Ilarion Cocișiu²⁵. Bei seinen methodischen Feldrecherchen auf der Suche nach rumänischer Folklore, die er höchstwahrscheinlich unter Anregung von C. Brăiloiu, dessen enger Mitarbeiter er war, in den ehemals von Bartók besuchten Ortschaften durchführte, entdeckte Cocișiu 1931 in Henndorf (ung.: *Hégen*, rum.: *Brădeni*) und 1940 in Roseln (ung.: *Rozsonda*, rum.: *Ruja*) zwei – dem großen Publikum fast unbekannte – „Hermannstädter“ Varianten dieses Weihnachtsliedes. Da sie auf dem Phonographen aufgenommen wurden, sind die zwei „Colinde“ bis heute nur einem kleinen Spezialistenkreis bekannt. Die Variante aus Ruja²⁶ wurde erst 1968 von Ioan R. Nicola²⁷ im Periodikum *Lucrări de muzicologie*, veröffentlicht, während die Variante aus Henndorf (ung. *Hégen*, rum.: *Brădeni*) bis zum heutigen Tage unediert blieb. Der vielleicht wichtigste Aspekt des Werdegangs dieses Weihnachtsliedes ist die Tatsache, dass es bei Béla Bartók einen so starken Eindruck hinterließ, dass es ihm schließlich als Inspirationsquelle für seine berühmte *Cantata Profana* diente.

Sächsische Fonds

Was die traditionelle Kultur und Zivilisation der Siebenbürger Sachsen betrifft, zeigen die in dem ICSU-Archiv aufbewahrten Folklore-Sammlungen, dass die ältesten Zeugnisse der Volksliteratur in der Brauchtumsfolklore erhalten sind. Der älteste Volksbrauch der Siebenbürger Sachsen, der im Hermannstädter Archiv belegt ist, bezieht sich auf die Fastnacht (*Fosnich*)²⁸. Der Brauch hat seinen Ursprung in der Gestaltung der Gemeinschaftsarbeit in den dörflichen Nachbarschaften. Er zeigt für jede Ortschaft spezifische Formen und kulminiert überall in einem Maskenumzug. Außer der Fastnacht wurde ebenfalls in der Ortschaft Rothberg (ung.: *Veresmart*, rum.: *Roșia*) das Kronen-

²⁵ Später wurden auch von I. R. Nicola, Virgil Medan und Ferenc Laszlo weitere Varianten dieses Weihnachtsliedes veröffentlicht.

²⁶ Moise 2007: 32.

²⁷ Nicola 1968: 59–86.

²⁸ Documente, *Obiceiuri populare specifice populației de naționalitate germană* [Dokumente, Volksbräuche der rumäniendeutschen Bevölkerung]. 1955–1972. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 7. Ordner Nr. 68.

fest verzeichnet, das jeweils am ersten Sonntag nach dem 29. Juni gefeiert wurde, und zwar mit dem obligatorischen Umzug der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Volkstrachten, besonders der Jugendlichen, mit Blasmusik und Tanz²⁹.

An Fastnacht feierten die Siebenbürger Sachsen das Gansabreiten und den Blumentag. Während das Gansabreiten Wettkampfcharakter hatte, war der Blumentag ein der Liebe gewidmeter Brauch, der von den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Jugendlichen in Kirchberg (ung.: *Kürpöd*, rum.: *Chirpăr*) und Frauendorf (ung.: *Asszonyfalva*, rum.: *Axente Sever*) im gleichen Monat gefeiert wurde, in dem in Südrumänien das Dragobete-Fest begangen wird. Der Umzug der Burschen und der Mädchen, die ihnen die Hüte geschmückt haben, stellt eigentlich ein öffentliches Bekennen von Freundschaftsbeziehungen dar, die sich zwischen den Jugendlichen im Dorf angebahnt haben – wie eine Beschreibung aus den 70er-Jahren verzeichnet.³⁰

Das Nachbarschaftsfest³¹ wurde um den 25. Januar gefeiert. Dabei organisierte jede Nachbarschaft ihr Festessen und die Unterhaltung. Einige verkleideten sich und zogen von einer Nachbarschaft zur anderen. Anfang Februar wurde auch der neue Vorstand der Nachbarschaft gewählt. Der Nachbarvater überprüfte, ob alle Mitglieder der Nachbarschaft ihre Pflichten erfüllt hatten. Dazu gehörte ein zivilisiertes Benehmen, Einhalten der Sauberkeit, Teilnahme an Beerdigungen und an den von der Nachbarschaft veranstalteten Tätigkeiten.

Die Bruderschaften, über die einige Urkunden vorliegen, waren nach einem strikten pyramidalen System organisiert, wobei jedes Mitglied ein bestimmtes Amt innehatte. Die Aufgaben der Bruderschaften gingen über das Singen von Weihnachtsliedern hinaus, denn sie erstreckten sich meistens über ein ganzes Jahr. Die Bruderschaften wurden von der katholischen Kirche ins Leben gerufen und von der evangelischen Kirche im Sinne des „Moralisierens der Jugend“ übernommen. Der Leiter der Bruderschaft – der Altknecht (dem Richter gleichgestellt) – wurde an Weihnachten gewählt und hatte die Aufgabe, über die Einhaltung der guten Sitten zu wachen und die Jugendlichen zu erziehen.

²⁹ Documente, *Aus der Antwort des Kulturheimdirektors von Rothberg* (10. 09. 1972). ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 7. Ordner Nr. 71.

³⁰ Documente, *Obiceiuri populare specifice populației de naționalitate germană* [Dokumente, Volksbräuche der rumäniendeutschen Bevölkerung]. 15. 02. 1972. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 7. Ordner Nr. 68.

³¹ Documente, *Obiceiuri populare specifice populației de naționalitate germană din Brateiu* [Dokumente, Volksbräuche der rumäniendeutschen Bevölkerung in Pretai (ung.: Baráthely, rum.: Brateiu)]. 25. 08. 1972. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 7. Ordner Nr. 69.

Sowohl bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen als auch bei den Ungarn ist das Maifest (rum.: „*Maial*“)³², das am zweiten Pfingsttag abgehalten wird, der wichtigste Brauch. An diesem Tag gingen Jugendliche mit Pferden und Pferdewagen, mit Essen und Getränken in den Wald, wo sie den ganzen Tag im Freien verbrachten. Am Abend kehrten sie zurück, spezifische Lieder singend, die Wagen mit Grünpflanzen geschmückt.

Es gibt auch Fälle, in denen die Antworten auf die Fragebögen einen kompletten Brauchschwund belegen. So lautet z. B. die Antwort eines Kulturheimdirektors aus BIRTHÄLM (ung.: *Berethalom*, rum.: *Biertan*) am 14. September 1972: „*Wir haben keine wichtigeren Volksfeste, die auch heute eine bedeutende Rolle im Gemeindeleben spielen. Ein schon vor ca. 8 Jahren ausgestorbener Brauch ist das Fest der Verheirateten (Maria)*.“³³

Es wurde auf diese Aspekte von Bräuchen eingegangen, um die volkstümlichen und traditionellen Ausdrucksformen hervorstreichend, welche die Identitätskarte einer jeden Nationalität ausmachen. Ohne dass eine genauere Darstellung erforderlich wäre, werden sie durch diese Aspekte vervollständigt, rekonstruiert und in ihrer ganzen Fülle der gesamten Welt wiedergegeben.

Andere von dem Ständigen Kreis für Ethnografie und Folklore aufbewahrte Materialien spiegeln die Tätigkeit einiger siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Forscher wie Herbert Hoffmann, Julius Bielz, Hanni Markel, Horst Klusch, Roswith Capesius, Raymonde Wiener wider. Sie betreffen die Authentizität der Volkskunst und plädieren für die Bewahrung der originellen Volkstracht, der Bräuche und der traditionellen Zivilisation der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Das Interesse für die Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen und der Landler im siebenbürgischen Raum stieg 1958 mit der Gründung der Zeitschrift „Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde“, die von dem Hermannstädter Forschungsinstitut für Geisteswissenschaften herausgegeben wird. Die Zeitschrift stellt den Lesern spezifische, definitorische Elemente der deutschen Bevölkerung in unserem Land vor. In den Akten des Ständigen Kreises... findet man neben Manuskripten und Referaten über die unterschiedlichen Artikel Auszüge aus dieser Zeitschrift.

So schrieb z. B. Julius Bielz am 25. Mai 1957 ein positives Referat zu dem Artikel *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Agnethler Töpferzentrums* von Herbert Hoff-

³² Documente, *Naționalitățile conlocuitoare din Ocna Sibiului* [Dokumente, Die mitwohnenden Nationalitäten in Salzburg (ung.: Vizakna, rum.: Ocna Sibiului)]. 28. 08. 1972. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 7. Ordner Nr. 70.

³³ Documente, *Obiceiuri populare specifice populației de naționalitate germană din Biertan* [Dokumente, Volksbräuche der rumäniendeutschen Bevölkerung in BIRTHÄLM (ung.: Berethalom, rum.: Biertan)]. 14. 09. 1972. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 7. Ordner Nr. 72.

mann³⁴, der neue Daten aus der Vergangenheit der Töpferzunft in Agnetheln aufs Tapet brachte. Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Töpfer wurden in dem neuen Regelwerk der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Zünfte 1376 erstmals urkundlich erwähnt. Hier finden wir den Beweis für die Existenz der Töpferzünfte in Hermannstadt, Mühlbach, Broos und Schäßburg – *latifigulorum fraternitas*. Die Agnethler Hafner produzierten einerseits Gefäße für den allgemeinen Gebrauch im Haushalt, andererseits Gefäße, die als Schmuckgegenstände für das Haus oder als Geschenke zu den unterschiedlichsten Gelegenheiten gedacht waren. Auf den Inventurlisten einiger Töpferwerkstätten finden wir sogar Vexiergefäße. Eine besondere Form ist die Schnabeltasse – bemalt oder mit Glasur versehen.

Ebenfalls 1957 verfasste Harald Krasser die Studie *Die Bemühungen der sächsischen Folkloristen um die rumänische Volksdichtung von 1848 und eine unbekannte Sammlung rumänischer Folklore*³⁵. Diese Studie verwerteten die Forscher Gheorghe Pavelescu und I. Wiesenmayer in *Folcloriști saxo-români* [Sächsisch-rumänische Folkloristen], wobei die Problemstellung unabhängig von Krassers Unterfangen später erneut aufgenommen wurde und von Anca Goția in ihrem Beitrag *Preocupări ale cărturarilor germani din Banat și Transilvania pentru folclorul românesc din secolul al XIX-lea* [Die Bemühungen deutscher Gelehrter aus dem Banat und Siebenbürgen um die rumänische Folklore im 19. Jahrhundert] in einen breiteren Kontext gestellt wurde³⁶. Im Wesentlichen beziehen sich diese Beiträge auf die von Josef Marlin und Friedrich Wilhelm Schuster angelegten Folkore-Sammlungen, die als älteste in Südsiebenbürgen gelten.

Der Fonds mit Manuskripten, die im Laufe der Zeit in dem Periodikum „*Studii și comunicări de etnologie*“ [Studien und Mitteilungen zur Ethnologie] veröffentlicht worden sind, das ebenfalls in unserem Institut unter der Leitung von Professor Ilie Moise herausgegeben wird, enthält Studien, Beiträge und Materialien zu der Folklore, Ethnografie und Volkskunst aus dem gesamten rumänischen Gebiet. Ein Sonderkapitel ist der deutschen Volkskultur in Rumänien gewidmet. Diese Tatsache ist ein Alleinstellungsmerkmal der Publikation und verleiht ihr ein besonderes Profil, da sie sich eines besonderen Interesses seitens der Siebenbürger Sachsen, der Banater Schwaben und der Landler im In- und Ausland erfreut. Die Mitarbeit einiger namhafter Forscher aus dem Inland (Misch Orend, Roswith Capesius, Herbert Hoffmann, Horst Klusch,

³⁴ Documente, *Cercul Permanent de Studii și Cercetări Folclorice* [Dokumente, Ständiger Kreis für volkswissenschaftliche Studien und Forschungen]. 1957. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 3. Ordner Nr. 27.

³⁵ Krasser 1992: 471–478.

³⁶ Documente, *Manuscrise Gh. Pavelescu* [Dokumente, Gh. Pavelescu Manuskripte]. 1971. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 5. Ordner Nr. 43.

Hedwig Ruşdea, Paul Niedermaier, Sigrid Haldenwang, Ion Taloş, Hanni Markel, Martin Bottesch) und aus dem Ausland (Helga Stein, Rosemarie Dörr, Irmgard Sedler) sicherte der Sektion *Aus der Ethnologie der Deutschen in Rumänien* ihren Erfolg in den Reihen der Deutschsprachigen in ganz Europa³⁷.

Repser Trachtenlandschaft ist eine interessante Studie von Horst Klusch, die sowohl in rumänischer als auch in deutscher Sprache als Manuskript erhalten geblieben ist. Sie ist später in *Studii şi comunicări de etnologie* (Band VI/1992) veröffentlicht worden. Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Volkstracht enthält Elemente aus verschiedenen Epochen, die sich vom 12. Jahrhundert bis heute in Siebenbürgen entsprechend der geografischen Lage und des Zusammenspiels mit Volkstrachten anderer Nationalitäten entwickelt haben. Die Studie basiert auf eigenen Untersuchungen, auf einer reichhaltigen Bibliografie sowie auf der Befragung von 15 Informanten.

Der Kontakt der deutschen Bevölkerung mit den anderen Ethnien beeinflusste auch die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Volkskunst-Ornamentik, die der Forscher Herbert Hoffmann in *Beiträge zum Studium der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Volkskunst-Ornamentik*³⁸ sehr gut beschrieb. Spricht man von dem Zusammenleben der Siebenbürger Sachsen und Rumänen über 850 Jahre lang im Karpatenraum, beobachtet man einen Mechanismus, in dessen Rahmen die traditionellen Elemente sich mit den Entlehnungen verbinden und eine wahre Auffrischung der rumänischen und siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Ornamentik generieren.

Bei einem anderen Manuskript handelt es sich um *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Siebenbürger Sachsen*³⁹. Der Verfasser Misch Orend untersuchte den traditionellen Kern aller siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Hochzeitsbräuche, bei denen die Dorfgemeinschaft – und nicht das Individuum – eine entscheidende Rolle bei dem Übergang der Jugendlichen in eine andere soziale Stellung spielt.

Andere Ordner, davon einige ohne Unterschriften oder Datierungen, enthalten interessante Aspekte zur Folklore und Ethnografie der Sachsen in Süd-siebenbürgen. Die vielleicht interessantesten Sammlungen, die von Grundschul- und Gymnasiallehrern aus Großscheuern (ung.: *Nagycsűr*, rum.: *Şura Mare*), Kleinscheuern (ung.: *Kicscsűr*, rum.: *Şura Mică*) und Talmesch (ung.: *Nagytalmács*, rum.: *Tâlmaciu* – Kreis Hermannstadt) erstellt worden sind, beziehen sich auf Kinder- und Jugendspiele, ein Segment der traditionellen Kultur, das Forscher eher selten untersuchen.

³⁷ Cf. Klusch 2013: 372–375.

³⁸ Hoffmann 1992: 159–180.

³⁹ Orend 1996: 185–196.

So schickte z. B. 1965 die Lehrerin Anneliese Grau aus Großscheuern dem Ständigen Hermannstädter Kreis die Beschreibung von „vier Spielen für Vorschulkinder, sieben für Schüler, zehn für Teenager, sieben Tänzen für Jugendliche und zwei für Erwachsene“⁴⁰, während die Lehrerinnen von der Schule in Talmesch gemeinsam mit Schülerinnen sieben Kinderspiele nachgespielt und auch die dazugehörigen Texte aufgezeichnet haben. Im gleichen Jahr (1965) schickten Martin Rill, H. Pelger und Doris Halter – Lehrer in Kleinscheuern – dem Ständigen Hermannstädter Kreis die Beschreibung von 13 Spielen für Kinder zwischen 7 und 14 Jahren, darunter *Die Reiter, Sonne und Mond* oder *Die Klassen*.

Der neueste Bestand, der in das in Erweiterung begriffene ICSU-Archiv eingegangen ist, verdankt sich den von der Forscherin Helga Stein gespendeten Materialien. Diese Archivdokumente wie auch ihr gesamtes Wirken auf dem Gebiet der Ethnologie verdienen eine angemessene Darstellung in einer künftigen Publikation.

Schlussfolgerungen

Die Komplexität des ICSU-Archivs übertrifft bei Weitem die vorliegende Darstellung, die lediglich versucht, einige Aspekte in Bezug auf die Folklore der Siebenbürger Sachsen im Besonderen hervorstreichend. Ein äußerst wichtiger Aspekt der Problematik der ethnokulturellen Identität ist die Tatsache, dass in jedem Folklorearchiv auch Dokumente aufbewahrt werden, die sich auf die Kultur der nationalen Minderheiten in Rumänien beziehen sowie auch auf diejenigen, die die rumänische Kultur jenseits der Grenzen fördern. Auf diese Weise bieten die Folklore-Archive die Chance, die Werte der traditionellen Kultur des rumänischen Volkes und aller nationalen Minderheiten in Rumänien (Siebenbürger Sachsen, Ungarn, Szekler, Serben, Tataren, Lipowener u. a.) gleichermaßen kennenzulernen. Die Archive spiegeln die Bewahrung aller kulturellen Identitäten und die Pflege des Dialogs zwischen den unterschiedlichen ethnischen Gemeinschaften wider und stellen einen guten Anhaltspunkt dar für das Erkennen der realen individuellen Werte der traditionellen Kultur und Zivilisation sowie deren Förderung im nationalen und universellen Bewusstsein.

⁴⁰ Documente, *Folclor muzical* [Dokumente, Musikalische Folklore]. 1965. ICSU-Archiv. Schachtel Nr. 8. Ordner Nr. 72.

Die Einsichtnahme in das Folklore-Archiv des Forschungsinstituts für Geisteswissenschaften Hermannstadt ermöglicht es, sich mit einigen Aspekten der wesentlichen Momente der Hermannstädter Ethnologie vertraut zu machen und einen diachronen Überblick darüber zu erhalten. Forscher, die sich für die traditionelle Kultur im Allgemeinen und für die Kultur der süd-siebenbürgischen Sachsen im Besonderen interessieren, können dieses Archiv am Sitz des Forschungsinstituts für Geisteswissenschaften in Hermannstadt einsehen. Auf der Website des Instituts – <https://icsusib.ro/proiecte-de-cercetare> – werden die Projekte vorgestellt, in denen ein Teil der Archivadokumente verwertet wurden.

Das Archiv verfügt über einen Inventarkatalog, seine Organisation und die Ordnung der Materialien wurden nach thematischen und chronologischen Gesichtspunkten vorgenommen. Die Akten sind nach ihrem Inhalt und ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Bestand geordnet, nummeriert und in Kartons gelagert. Jede Akte sowie die Kartons sind mit einem Index versehen, in dem der Inhalt kurz beschrieben wird.

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Hans-Werner Retterath

Imaginäre und reale Brücken als verbindende Elemente in kommunalen Beziehungen?

Imaginary and Real Bridges as Connecting Elements in Communal Relations?

Abstract

The meaning of bridges is often mentioned in town twinning and other international contacts. In general, this word has positive connotations, as bridges enable interaction and communication and ideally create close relationships. Bridges are usually referred to in a metaphorical sense, but in sometimes they are real structures, such as those dedicated to a specific partner or between two partner communities from different countries. While the significance of the former is symbolic, the latter also fulfill a function in the real sense. In a figurative sense, common elements of everyday life can also form a bridge and bring people together, such as customs, origins, sources of economic income, geographical location and historical experiences. Real bridges can not only connect people and cities, but also act as monuments that remind us of a relationship again and again.

By describing selected examples of imaginary and real bridges, the article also addresses the following questions: Is the bridge metaphor mostly just an empty phrase? How are imaginary and real bridges perceived by the public? Are imaginary bridges (e.g. relevant activities, everyday cultural similarities) and physical bridges really connecting elements in European diversity? To what extent are they helpful in understanding the foreign? The article draws primarily on the author's many years of research into town twinning but also on a number of other bilateral relationships in the Central European context. Observations, surveys, media analyses and other research tools serve as sources.

Keywords: bridges, town twinning, metaphor, everyday culture, monuments



Brücken kommt in vielfältigsten Kontexten eine hohe Symbolkraft zu, mit der ebenso vielfältige Erwartungen und Interessen bedient werden. Wie kann man nun diese Symbolik fassen? Zunächst ist eine Brücke ein Bauwerk, das in einer ins Monumentale verliebten Zeit mit Superlativen verknüpft wird. Die Größe oder die gewagte Konstruktion einer Brücke lassen sie als Sinnbild der Technik und als Ausweis für die Höhe technischer Leistungen erscheinen, so zum Beispiel schon die 1883 fertiggestellte Brooklyn-Bridge in New York.

Unabhängig von der Größe und Art der Konstruktion ist eine Brücke auch ein Weg, der zwei gegenüberliegende Seiten einer Landschaft verbindet. Dazwischen kann sich ein Fluss, ein See, ein Abgrund bzw. Tal oder ein Grenzzaun befinden. Im übertragenen Sinne stellt eine Brücke die Überwindung eines Bruchs, einer Kluft oder Barriere zwischen Ideen, Verhältnissen oder Menschen dar, die Unterschiede in Sprache, Kultur, Geschichte, Politik sowie in Persönlichkeit und Zielsetzungen aufweisen. Auf einen einfachen Nenner gebracht, helfen Brücken verschiedenste Diversitäten zu überwinden. So lautet zumindest der vielfach vorgetragene Anspruch.

Darüber hinaus verweisen der Bau und das Begehen einer Brücke im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes auf ein Übergangsritual. Was vorher eine Grenze darstellte, ist jetzt überwindbar geworden. Unterschiede werden nicht unbedingt eingeebnet; jedoch wird der Weg zu einem besseren Verständnis derselben eröffnet.

Mythologisch stehen Brücken für die Kluft zwischen Himmel und Erde, Bewusstem und Unbewusstem, zwischen Zeit und Ewigkeit. Das Beschreiten einer Brücke kann zu etwas Neuem, oft Positivem führen. Hingegen steht das Motiv der „gefährvollen Brücke“ für das Risiko des Absturzes und des Todes. Insofern kann die Brückenmetapher ebenso Ambivalenzen beinhalten.

Auf den städtepartnerschaftlichen Diskurs bezogen spielen Brücken eine zentrale Rolle: mal als Metapher, mal als reale Bauwerke. Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage will ich die Bedeutung und Relevanz imaginierter und realer Brücken in Verbindung mit kommunalen Partnerschaften untersuchen. Des Weiteren versuche ich zu klären, wie diese Bedeutung erzeugt wird und welche Schwierigkeiten sich hierbei ergeben.

Die Brücke als beliebte Metapher im Städtepartnerschaftskontext

Während im deutsch-ungarischen Vertrag über die freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Partnerschaft den kommunalen Partnerschaften zwar „eine

hohe Bedeutung“ zugesprochen wird,¹ jedoch die Brückenmetapher nicht aufscheint, findet sie geradezu inflationär in Berichten und Ansprachen Erwähnung. Im ungarndeutschen Wochenblatt „Neue Zeitung“ hieß es 2003 in einer Überschrift: „Partnerschaften sind die Brücken in die Zukunft“.² Der Artikel bezog sich auf den Besuch einer Delegation aus Unterschleißheim bei München in Nadasch/*Nádas*, um eine Partnerschaft mit dem Gemeindeverband *Zengőalja* zu begründen. Man hoffte „auf eine gemeinsame Zukunft in der Europäischen Union [...], wodurch neue Möglichkeiten, neue Ziele und auch neue Unterstützungen diese Ortschaften beleben sollen“.³

Hier erfahren Partnerschaften eine Deutung als Weg zu etwas Neuem. Sie eröffnen Wege heraus aus dem status quo. Im Falle dieser Beziehung scheint die Rechnung aufgegangen zu sein. Laut der Unterschleißheimer Stadt-Homepage fanden – mit Ausnahme der Corona-Zeit – jährlich wechselseitige Besuchsreisen und noch zwei bis drei weitere Aktivitäten statt.⁴ 2014 verschenkte die Unterschleißheimer Feuerwehr gar ein Einsatzfahrzeug an die Kollegen des Gemeindeverbands.

Oft werden auch wechselseitige Besuche als Brücken bezeichnet. So hieß es in der Lokalzeitung zum 8. Schüleraustausch der Grund- und Hauptschule in Oberhausen-Rheinhausen mit der Schule im ungarischen *Pomáz*: „Der Schüleraustausch, der unter dem Motto ‚Brücke der Freundschaft‘ stand, ist zwar nur ein Teilbereich der intensiven Partnerschaftsbeziehungen zwischen der badischen und der ungarischen Gemeinde, aber ein sehr lebendiger und wichtiger.“⁵ Wie in vielen anderen Beziehungen hatte erst der Schüleraustausch die Gemeindepartnerschaft auf den Weg gebracht. Ein gutes Jahr nach dem ersten Austausch folgte 1991 die Unterzeichnung der Partnerschaftsurkunde. Als weitere Brücken verwies der Artikel auf wechselseitige Vereinsbesuche, Hilfen für den Deutschunterricht in *Pomáz*, die Spende eines Volkswagens für soziale Zwecke und vieles mehr. Insofern handelt es sich hier bei der Verwendung der Brückenmetapher keineswegs um eine hohle Phrase.

¹ [Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland] (Hg.) 2002: 34.

² A. 2003: 3. Die Partnerschaft zwischen der Stadt Unterschleißheim und dem Gemeindeverband *Zengőalja* bei *Pécs* wurde 2004 geschlossen. 1989 schloss Nadasch eine Partnerschaft mit Unterensingen und 2004 mit Frammersbach. – Die „Neue Zeitung“ ist das Organ der ungarndeutschen Volksgruppe in Ungarn.

³ A. 2003: 3.

⁴ [Chronik] o.J. <https://www.unterschleissheim.de/kultur-maerkte-freizeit/staedtepartnerschaften/zengoyalja/chronik.html>. Die Chronik umfasst die Jahre 2012 bis 2021.

⁵ [Brücken der Freundschaft nach *Pomáz*] 1997. Im konkreten Fall handelte es sich um die Fahrt von Grundschulern der Schule Oberhausen-Rheinhausens nach *Pomáz*.

Vielfach werden auch Menschen als Brücken, oder genauer: als Brückenbauer bezeichnet. So wurde der Kroatie Ivan Štrukelj titulierte, der als sogenannter Gastarbeiter nach Schramberg gekommen war und später zu einem wichtigen „Motor“ der Partnerschaft zwischen Schramberg und dem kroatischen Čakovac wurde.⁶



Abb. Nr. 1: *Logo des Ravensburger Städtepartnerschaftsvereins „Die Brückenbauer“.*
Quelle: <https://www.diebrueckenbauer.eu/>

In einem anderen Fall verliehen die Ravensburger Aktivisten der Städtepartnerschaften mit einer Portion Eigenlob ihrem Verein den Titel „Die Brückenbauer e.V.“⁷

Mit allem Recht wird die Brückenmetapher auch auf die Sprachkenntnisse bezogen. So vergibt die Stadt Kenzingen seit 2007 an die beste Deutschschülerin oder -schüler ein Sprachstipendium.⁸ Zur Verleihung des Sprachförderpreises 2011 an eine Schülerin aus der kroatischen Partnerstadt Vinkovci titelte die südbadische Lokalzeitung: „Sprache stärkt die Brücke“.

Außer der Sprache wird auch Festen eine Brückenfunktion beigemessen. 2011 hob das ungarndeutsche Landsmannschaftsorgan hervor, dass der 65. Kiritog (Kirchweihfest) der Budakesser in Neckarsulm eine „Brücke zwischen alter und neuer Heimat“ schlage.⁹ An diesem in Deutschland gefeierten Festtag wurden zwischen der Stadt Neckarsulm und der Budakesser Gemeinschaft

⁶ Körner 2011.

⁷ [Die Brückenbauer] o.J. <http://www.diebrueckenbauer.eu/>. Ravensburg hat sieben Städtepartnerschaften, u.a. mit *Varaždin* (Kroatien) und *Brest* (Belarus).

⁸ [Sprache stärkt die Brücke] 2011.

⁹ [Fest des Frohsinns...] 2011: 10. Wie in den Vorjahren versammelten sich im September 2011 die Mitglieder der Budakesser Gemeinschaft mit ihren ungarischen Freunden, wozu auch der Stadtrat und Vorsitzende der Deutschen Minderheitenselbstverwaltung gehörte. Nach einem Gottesdienst begann das Fest, auf dem es eine Ausstellung heimatlichen Kulturguts der Budakesser Gemeinschaft zu sehen gab.

1989 (42. Kiritog) die Patenschaftsurkunde und 1993 der Partnerschaftsvertrag zwischen Neckarsulm und dem ungarischen *Budakeszi* signiert.

Die hier angeführten Beispiele belegen erstens, dass die Brückenmetapher im Städtepartnerschaftlichen Diskurs auf vielfältigste Bereiche bezogen wird, auch wenn der Bezug sich nicht immer eindeutig erschließt. Damit geht zweitens die inflationäre Nutzung der Metapher einher. Gleichwohl erfolgt generell deren Verwendung in vielen Partnerschaften und bei Einzelaktivitäten zu Recht und kann daher nicht als bloße Floskel angesehen werden. Drittens steht hinter der Erwähnung der Brückenmetapher im Städtepartnerschaftskontext ausgesprochen oder unausgesprochen die Annahme von Diversitäten, die erklärt, verstehbar und mitunter eingegeben werden sollen.

Partnerschaftsbrücken ohne geografische Verbindung zur Partnerstadt

Neben Brücken als Metapher spielen im Städtepartnerschaftskontext auch reale Brücken eine Rolle. So werden auch mangels direkter geografischer Verbindung örtliche Brücken auf die Namen der Städtepartner getauft. Nach Begründung der ältesten baden-württembergisch-ungarischen Gemeindepartnerschaft – nämlich Hirrlingen mit *Hajós* – wurde anlässlich des 3. Dorfbrunnenfestes 1982 in Hirrlingen eine kleine Brücke über den Schlossgraben von „Schloßbrücke“ in „Brücke der Partnerschaft Hajos – Hirrlingen“ umbenannt.¹⁰ Eine an der Innenmauer der Brücke angebrachte Granitplatte weist mit der entsprechenden Inschrift sowohl ortsfremde als auch einheimische Passanten auf die Partnerschaft hin.

Die Granitplatte ist Teil eines Gedenkensembles, denn unmittelbar hinter der Brücke stehen drei Holzfiguren ungarischer Art, die aus Baumstämmen von einem ungarischen Künstler geschnitzt wurden. Mit dieser Zuordnung zur Brücke wird ein wichtiges Kriterium deutlich, an dem sich die Bedeutung der Partnerschaft für die jeweilige Kommune ablesen lässt: nämlich die Verknüpfung der Brücke mit weiteren Verweisen auf die Partnerschaft, wodurch diese Elemente eine Art Partnerschaftsensemble bilden.

Die Brücke liegt nicht nur im Ortskern, sondern sie führt auch mit dem Schloss zur markantesten Sehenswürdigkeit des Ortes und darüber hinaus zur Gemeindeverwaltung, die sich im Innern des Schlosses befindet. Kurz nach der Benennung betonte der damalige Bürgermeister die Funktion einer sol-

¹⁰ Etti [1983]: 44.

chen Positionierung: „Für jeden, der ins Rathaus und ins Schloß hineingeht, sind diese Fakten [Ensemble aus Brücke und ungarischen Holzfiguren] unübersehbar und sollen immer daran erinnern und zugleich dokumentieren, welchen Stellenwert unsere Beziehungen zu der Partnergemeinde Hajós einnimmt [sic!].“¹¹



Abb. Nr. 2: *Brücke der Partnerschaft Hajós*
– *Hirrlingen mit Holzfiguren und Schloss im Hintergrund*
Foto: Tanja Schweinbenz

¹¹ Etti [1983]: 44.

Im Allgemeinen schlagen Partnerschaftsbrücken vor allem eine Verbindung über Hauptverkehrsstrassen oder Flüsse, die ebenfalls markante geografische Gegebenheiten in den jeweiligen Kommunen darstellen. Letzteres trifft zum Beispiel auf die „Bácsalmás-Brücke“ über das Flüsschen Murr in Backnang zu, die nach der ungarischen Partnerstadt *Bácsalmás* benannt ist.¹²



Abb. Nr. 3: *Bácsalmás-Brücke über die Murr in Backnang*. Foto: Christian Nathan

Wenn auch über die Brücke nur eine Nebenstraße führt, so verknüpft sie doch die Backnanger Talstraße mit dem Stadtzentrum. Im Backnanger Fall kommt zur Lage von mittlerer Bedeutung noch ein anderes Moment hinzu: die Brücke als Bestandteil eines größeren Gedenkensembles. Die Brücke führt nämlich vom Stadtzentrum über die Murr in einen Park, „Bácsalmás-Anlage“ genannt. Zudem liegt nahe dem südlichen Ende der Anlage das Ungarndeutsche Heimatmuseum mit der Bácsalmáser Heimatstube. Allgemein finden Brückentaufen in einem besonderen Rahmen statt, nicht zuletzt um den Namen der Brücke und die mit ihr verknüpfte Bedeutung der städtischen Bürgerschaft bekannt zu machen. Beliebte Anlässe bilden hierzu Partnerschaftsjubiläen:

¹² [„Europa ist in diesem Saal versammelt“] 1998; Loderer 2013.

So erhielten 1998 die „Bácsalmás-Anlage“ und die „Bácsalmás-Brücke“ in Backnang zum 10-jährigen Jubiläum ihre Namen.

Zuweilen sind mit Brückentaufen größere Anstrengungen verbunden. Sie kündten von einem besonders starken Willen der Stadtspitze, die Partnerschaft im Bewusstsein der Bürgerschaft zu verankern. In Backnang erleichterten zwei Momente die Bemühungen um die Namensgebung. Als Erstes konnte bei der Namensverleihung auf eine eingeübte Praxis zurückgegriffen werden, da bereits einige Jahre früher eine Eisenbahnbrücke nach der britischen Partnerstadt Chelmsford benannt worden war. Als Zweites musste bei der „Bácsalmás-Brücke“ kein möglicherweise existierender Brückenname geändert werden, da sie bisher namenlos war.

Ebenfalls über einen kleinen Fluss, nämlich die am Stadtkern vorbeifließende Elz, führen die drei Partnerschaftsbrücken der Großen Kreisstadt Emmendingen bei Freiburg. Dort wurde 1998 die südlichste Brücke nach der französischen Partnerkommune Six-Fours benannt.¹³ Anlass war das 20-jährige Bestehen der Partnerschaft. Laut Auskunft des damaligen Oberbürgermeisters hatte ihn der polnische Partnerschaftsverein „Pomost“, also „Brücke“, auf diese Idee gebracht.¹⁴ Die Brückentaufe erforderte einen ziemlichen Aufwand, da die Bundesstraße B 3 über die Brücke führt, und die Angelegenheit mit dem Regierungspräsidium Freiburg als Vertreter des Bundes als Eigentümer abgestimmt werden musste. Einen Einblick ins Procedere gibt das Protokoll zur öffentlichen Gemeinderatssitzung vom 5. Mai 1998.¹⁵ Danach hatte der Gemeinderat schon am 31. März 1998 über die Brückenbenennung beraten, jedoch war der Antrag knapp abgelehnt worden. Am 7. April 1998 erfolgte ein erneuter Antrag auf Abstimmung, da bei der vorangegangenen Entscheidung die Frage unklar formuliert gewesen sei, und mehrere Gemeinderatsmitglieder abwesend gewesen seien, die aber gern abgestimmt hätten.¹⁶ In der folgenden Beratung am 5. Mai 1998 wurde ein sachkundiger Bürger hinzugezogen, der die Zusammenhänge offenlegte, aus der Vorbesprechung des Partnerschaftsvereins berichtete, und dessen einstimmige Bitte auf Benennung der Brücke vortrug. In der Diskussion hielt dagegen ein Stadtrat „die Benennung eines Ortes der Begegnung, also eines Platzes, nach den Partnerstädten für angebrachter“¹⁷, weshalb er als Platz den Rathausinnenhof vorschlug. In der an-

¹³ Kiefer 1998.

¹⁴ Telefonische Auskunft von Ulrich Niemann, 22. August 2022.

¹⁵ Protokoll der Gemeinderatssitzung vom 5. Mai 1998.

¹⁶ Antrag von neun Stadträten vom 7. April 1998.

¹⁷ Protokoll der Gemeinderatssitzung vom 5. Mai 1998: 9. Der Stadtrat sprach für die FDP-Fraktion, die dies beantragt hatte. Antrag der FDP 1998.

schließenden Abstimmung votierten zwei Drittel der Stimmberechtigten für die Brückenbetitelung, jedoch vorbehaltlich der Zustimmung des Bundes als Eigentümer der Brücke. Der Antrag auf Benennung eines Platzes wurde hingegen abgelehnt.

Für die folgenden Brückentaufen hatte man auf die Anregung eines Stadtrates in der Sitzung am 5. Mai zurückgegriffen. Er hatte empfohlen, „aus Gleichbehandlungsgründen alle drei Brücken nach jeweils einer Partnerstadt zu benennen“¹⁸. Zudem waren bei der Einweihung der Six-Fours-Brücke auch Vertreter der beiden anderen Partnerstädte anwesend, so dass diesen gegenüber eine ausbleibende Benennung der anderen Brücken einen *Faux pas* bedeutet hätte. Wohl weil man die schon 1983 geschlossene Partnerschaft mit dem britischen Newark on Trent nicht hintansetzen wollte, folgte 1999 die Benennung der nördlichen Brücke nach Newark, wobei man sich auf 15 Jahre Partnerschaft mit der britischen Stadt bezog.¹⁹ Im Jahr 2000 wurde dann zum 10-jährigen Bestehen der Partnerschaft mit dem polnischen Sandomierz die verbliebene mittlere Brücke nach dieser Stadt benannt.²⁰

Schon bei der Taufe der ersten Brücke konstatierte die Lokalzeitung, dass sich „das Symbol der Brücke [...] für Partnerschaften zumal über die Grenzen einst verfeindeter Nationen hinweg besonders eignet“. Im Jahr 2000 titelte denn auch derselbe Autor im Vorfeldartikel: „Symbol Sandomierz-Brücke“.²¹ Darin erklärte er die Anordnung der drei benannten Brücken mit der geographischen Lage der Städte, wonach Sandomierz nach Breitengraden auch in der Mitte läge. Ähnliche Ausführungen waren bereits bei der Abstimmung über die Newark on Trent-Brücke festgehalten worden. Möglicherweise handelt es sich hier um eine Verlegenheitsbegründung, denn die Sandomierz-Brücke war als einfache städtische Straße gegenüber den beiden anderen Brücken damals verkehrsmäßig von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Im Juni 2000 fand dann nach einem Gottesdienst die Brückentaufe durch die Emmendinger und Sandomierzener Bürgermeister statt, deren Bedeutung durch die Anwesenheit der polnischen Generalkonsulin aus München noch gesteigert wurde. Folgende Bemerkung des polnischen Bürgermeisters verdeutlicht, dass der Benennung eines Bauwerks ein demonstrativerer und dauerhafterer Charakter zukommt als etwa einem auf Papier festgehaltenen Partnerschaftsvertrag: „Jetzt kann

¹⁸ Protokoll der Gemeinderatssitzung vom 5. Mai 1998: 9.

¹⁹ Protokoll der Gemeinderatssitzung vom 23. März 1999. 32 von 33 Stimmberechtigten votieren mit Ja.

²⁰ [Eine Brücke für die Freundschaft] 2000. Das Gemeinderatsprotokoll zur Abstimmung konnte bisher nicht aufgefunden werden.

²¹ Kiefer 2000.

niemand mehr unsere Freundschaft zerreißen oder kaputt machen“²². Der deutsche Bürgermeister betonte in seiner Ansprache laut Lokalzeitung die Relevanz von Brücken als Bauwerke sowie deren ideelle Funktion: Brücken seien „wichtigster, teuerster und wertvollster Teil der Verkehrsinfrastruktur – und notwendig, um Menschen zusammen zu bringen“.

Ein ganz wichtiger Punkt bei der Brückentaufe ist die Propagierung des neuen Namens und damit verbunden die Verankerung der Partnerschaft in der Stadtgesellschaft.



Abb. Nr. 4: Namensschild der Sandomierz-Brücke in Emmendingen

Foto: Hans-Werner Retterath

Brücken besitzen zumeist keine offizielle Bezeichnung, trotzdem gelingt es nicht immer, zeitnah einen neuen Namen in der Bevölkerung durchzusetzen. Zuweilen tragen die Brücken zudem umgangssprachliche Namen, was eine Erschwernis für die Akzeptanz einer neuen Benennung bedeutet. So wurde die Sandomierz-Brücke vorher im Volksmund „Schützenbrücke“ genannt. Nicht zuletzt deshalb hoffte der Oberbürgermeister auf die baldige Annahme des

²² [Eine Brücke für die Freundschaft] 2000.

offiziellen Brückennamens. Einige Jahre nach der Taufe wurde sie immer noch in einer Zeitung²³, einem Internetmedium²⁴ und einem regionalen Radiosender²⁵ als „Schützenbrücke“ bezeichnet. Hieran zeigt sich, dass der Versuch, über den Brückennamen eine Partnerschaftsbeziehung in der Bürgerschaft zu verankern, mitunter nicht einfach ist, seine Zeit benötigt und kein Selbstläufer ist, gerade wenn Medien hartnäckig an den alten Bezeichnungen festhalten. Immerhin hat die Stadt an allen Brücken gut sichtbare Namensschilder mit Hinweis auf die Partnerschaft angebracht. Ferner hat sie durchgesetzt, dass alle drei Brücken namentlich zumindest auf ihrem eigenen Stadtplan korrekt werden.²⁶ Für eine weitere Verankerung sorgen auch Fototermine – in der Regel mit Bürgern dieser Partnerstädte – auf der Brücke beim Namensschild.²⁷ Allerdings teilte mir die Stadtarchivarin mit, dass solche heute wesentlich häufiger auf dem Europaplatz im Stadtzentrum stattfinden würden, da dieser Platz einen gemeinsamen Ort für alle Partnerstädte darstellt.

Im Gegensatz zur häufig benutzten Brückenmetapher kommt der Benennung von Brücken nach den Partnerstädten eine ungleich größere Wertigkeit zu. Das Ausmaß der Wertigkeit lässt sich auch an dem Aufwand für die Brückentaufen festmachen. Der nimmt zu, wenn etwa Dritte als Eigentümer noch involviert sind. Damit ist oft auch die verkehrstechnische Relevanz der Brücken verbunden. So dürfte die Wertigkeit bei einer Bundesstraße andersgeartet sein als bei einem Fußgängerweg. Ähnliches lässt sich zur Lage sagen, denn eine Brücke im Stadtzentrum besitzt eine andere Aussagekraft als eine am Stadtrand. Diese wird auch durch die Einbindung der Brücken in ein Gedenkensemble gesteigert. Des Weiteren sind die Anstrengungen zur Propagierung des Brückennamens – zum Beispiel durch Beschilderung oder auf Stadtplänen – ein Indiz für die Bedeutung der Partnerschaft. Insgesamt zeugen Brückentaufen von der hohen Bedeutung der Partnerschaften und dem starken Willen, die Verbindungen in der eigenen Stadtgesellschaft zu verankern. Auch wird

²³ Jahn 2014.

²⁴ [Regio Emmendingen] 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/emmendingen/posts/949517931742292>.

²⁵ Pischelsrieder 2021. <https://www.regenbogen.de/kategorie-nachricht/subaden-schwarz-wald/20210421/emmendingen-behinderungen-wegen-elzdamm-sanierung>.

²⁶ [Stadtplan Emmendingen] 2022a. <https://www.unser-stadtplan.de/stadtplan/emmendingen/kartenstartpunkt/stadtplan-emmendingen.map>. Nicht jedoch auf meineStadt.de Karte von 2022: Die Sandomierz-Brücke heißt dort noch Schützenbrücke, die beiden anderen tragen keinen Namen. [Stadtplan Emmendingen] 2022b. <https://www.meinestadt.de/emmendingen/stadtplan>. Überhaupt keine Namen finden sich auf der Michelin-Karte 2006–2021. [Emmendingen] 2016. https://www.viamichelin.de/web/Karten-Stadtplan/Karte_Stadtplan-Emmendingen-79312-Baden_Wuerttemberg-Deutschland.

²⁷ Emails von Stadtarchivarin Juliane Geike an den Autor, 26. August und 1. September 2002.

mit solchen Brücken den Partnerkommunen bedeutet, welchen Stellenwert die jeweilige Verbindung besitzt, weshalb gern mit den Vertretern der Partnerstädte die Brücken aufgesucht werden, und dies mit Fotos dokumentiert wird. Es muss allerdings auch konstatiert werden, dass die Relevanz der Partnerschaftsbrücken mit den Jahren abnehmen kann, nicht zuletzt auch deshalb, weil die Initiatoren nicht mehr in der Partnerschaft aktiv sind, oder die Brücken nicht mehr besucht werden, oder sie im Partnerschaftskontext keine Erwähnung mehr finden.

Potenzielle Partnerschaftsbrücken mit unmittelbarer geografischer Verbindung zwischen zwei Städten

Während Brückenbenennungen innerhalb von Städten eine hohe symbolische Bedeutung zugesprochen werden muss, so ist die Relevanz von Brücken zwischen zwei durch Staatsgrenzen getrennten Städten eine vielfältigere. Sie stellen im Gegensatz zu den Brücken in Städten eine reale Verbindung her, gleichwohl ist hier die Gemengelage wesentlich komplexer. An Grenzen hat man es meist mit unterschiedlichen Ethnien und Sprachen, aber auch mit einem wirtschaftlichen Gefälle und religiösen oder konfessionellen Differenzen zu tun, die vielfältige und oft situationsgebundene Identitäten, Ansichten und Verhaltensweisen bedingen.²⁸ Daher können Grenzbrücken Orte von Konsens und Streit, von Durchlässigkeit und Begrenzung sein. Sie bilden als Symbole und Metaphern zuweilen Nuclei geschichts- und identitätspolitischer Aushandlungen. Mit Brücken sind oft historische und neue Erzählungen verknüpft, die zusammen- oder auseinanderführen können. Aktivitäten rund um die Brücken lassen sie zu Angelpunkten nicht nur kommunalen Geschehens werden. Bei einvernehmlichen Kontakten ist die Bildung von Städtepartnerschaften naheliegend, die dann in der oder den verbindenden Brücke(n) ihren symbolischen und realen Ort *par excellence* finden können. Angesichts dieser Komplexität und Diversität erfordert die Problematik dieser Grenzbrücken eine eigene Untersuchung, die wegen ihres Umfangs an dieser Stelle nicht geleistet werden kann. Gleichwohl sollen abschließend einige Punkte dieser Problematik kurz angerissen werden.

²⁸ Olschowsky 2013: 13.



Abb. Nr. 5: *Brücke der Freundschaft Görlitz-Zgorzelec*, Gemälde von Karl-Heinz Völker, 1958, Stadt Görlitz

Als Beispiele für untersuchenswerte Grenzbrücken sind besonders zwei Brücken anzuführen, die über die Lausitzer Neiße führen und die Partnerstädte Görlitz und *Zgorzelec* – also Deutschland und Polen – verbinden.²⁹ Die verkehrstechnisch wichtigere ist die ehemalige Reichenberger Brücke, die 1945 gesprengt, aber bald wiederaufgebaut wurde. Als am 6. Juli 1950 die DDR mit Polen das Görlitzer Abkommen schloss, in dem die Oder-Neiße-Linie als deutsch-polnische Staatsgrenze anerkannt wurde, erlangte die Brücke internationale Bedeutung. Unter Führung von Ministerpräsident Otto Grotewohl überschritten ostdeutsche Regierungsdelegationen und 1.500 Delegierte aus Betrieben und Organisationen die Reichenberger-Brücke, wurden dort von gleichrangigen polnischen Delegationen empfangen und unterschrieben dann in *Zgorzelec* den Grenzvertrag. In der Folge wurden auf politischer und gesellschaftlicher Ebene zwar Kontakte propagiert und gepflegt, jedoch waren sie beidseitig der staatlichen Kontrolle unterworfen. So waren denn auch bürger-schaftliche Besuche über die Brücke anfangs kaum möglich, was sich auch nach Freigabe der Brücke für den Pkw-Verkehr im Oktober 1958 nicht wesentlich änderte. Zu umfangreichen Kontakten unter den Bürgern beider Städte kam es erst nach dem Abkommen über einen pass- und visafreien Grenzverkehr, das

²⁹ Vgl. Opilowska 2009: 207–258, Seifert 2005 und Grossmann (historischer Überblick 1945–1998).

im Januar 1972 in Kraft trat. Waren vor 1972 schon etliche polnische Arbeitskräfte nach Görlitz gekommen, so bewirkte danach die bessere Konsumgütere Lage in der DDR einen polnischen „Einkaufstourismus“, der zu antipolnischen Ressentiments führte, weshalb im Oktober 1980 die DDR den vereinfachten Grenzverkehr einseitig aussetzte. Auf die kommunistische Ära bezogen firmierte die Brücke offiziell als „Brücke der Freundschaft“ und „Friedensbrücke“, obwohl viele nach Görlitz Vertriebene die „Friedensgrenze“ nicht akzeptierten und viele Görlitzer später wegen der Einkaufstouristen antipolnische Aversionen entwickelten.³⁰

Nach der Grenzöffnung kam es außer Befürchtungen (deutscherseits polnische Händler und Autodiebe, polnischerseits Gefahr der deutschen wirtschaftlichen Expansion) auch zu gesellschaftlichen Annäherungen auf beiden Seiten.³¹ Mit den Jahren bildeten nicht mehr Begegnungs- und Kunstprojekte den Motor der Grenzgängerei, sondern Unternehmungen, von denen beide Seiten ideell und wirtschaftlich profitierten. Schon seit mehreren Jahrzehnten steht die Brücke im Zentrum verschiedenster Aktivitäten. So führen zwei gemeinsame Buslinien durch beide Städte und wegen ihrer Tragfähigkeit und Fahrbahnbreite über die große Brücke.³² Stellt dies aufgrund der Verkehrsroutine heute für die Bewohnerschaft rechts und links der Neiße kein besonderes Ereignis mehr dar, so dürfte dies sich umgekehrt bei der gemeinsamen Fronleichnamsprozession verhalten. Seit 1991 (Gründung der Partnerschaft) ist es zur Tradition geworden, alle vier Jahre Fronleichnam mit einer deutsch-polnischen Prozession zu feiern. 2022 meldete die Regionalzeitung: „Hunderte Katholiken zogen nach der Messe in St. Bonifatius [Zgorzelec] bis zur Görlitzer Stadtbrücke, wo Bischof Andrzej Siemieniewski von Legnica (Liegnitz) und der Görlitzer Bischof Wolfgang Ipolt die Monstranz jeweils in Richtung ihres Landes segneten: ‚Damit wir in brüderlicher Liebe und Frieden leben können‘, schallte es aus den Lautsprechern. Auf deutscher Seite ging es weiter durch den Stadtpark bis zur Pfarrkirche auf der Struvestraße, zum Ausklang der Feier.“³³ Allein schon durch den Einbezug der Brücke in einen religiösen

³⁰ Vgl. hierzu besonders Seifert 2005, der im Titel seiner Projektskizze die „Brücke der Freundschaft“ erwähnt, aber ihre praktische und symbolische Bedeutung nicht weiter behandelt.

³¹ Halicka 2016: 53.

³² [Partnerstädte] o.J. <https://www.goerlitz.de/Partnerstaedte.html>. Dort eine (unvollständige) Auflistung von Projekten: deutsch-polnischer Kindergarten, Schulkooperationen, deutsch-polnisches Jugendorchester, jährliche gemeinsame Sitzung der Stadträte, Umweltschutzprojekt „Saubere Neiße“, gemeinsame Stadtplanung und Begrünung der Uferzonen angestrebt.

³³ Eifler 2022. <https://www.saechsische.de/goerlitz/fronleichnam-zug-deutsch-polnische-prozession-goerlitz-zgorzelec-stadtbruecke-5708392.html>

Brauch wird die Brücke zu einem wichtigen Ort. Die großen zeitlichen Abstände zwischen den gemeinsamen Prozessionen lassen sie weit aus dem Alltag, ja auch aus den Jahresfeierlichkeiten, herausragen. Die Bedeutung der Brücke wird noch gesteigert, indem auf ihr die Prozession innehält, Gebete gesprochen werden und zwei prominente Geistliche die beiden Länder segnen. Wie ersichtlich wurde die Autobrücke nach der politischen Wende für partnerschaftliche Aktivitäten genutzt, aber von einer einschlägigen Benennung wurde abgesehen. Die Erinnerung an die „Brücke der Freundschaft“ wurde 2006 endgültig ausgelöscht, indem der polnische Baulastträger der Brücke den Namen des ein Jahr vorher verstorbenen polnischen Papstes Johannes-Paul II. (Most imienia Papieża Jana Pawła II) verlieh.³⁴

Aleksandra Galasinska hat in ihrer Studie von 2003 zwei reale Ebenen der grenzüberschreitenden Zusammenarbeit der beiden Städte mit zwei metaphorischen Ebenen der Brücke verknüpft.³⁵ Seit die Grenzbewachung Anfang der 1990er Jahre reduziert wurde, arbeiten die beiden Stadtregierungen eng zusammen, wobei der Höhepunkt mit der Proklamierung der „Europa-Stadt Görlitz-Zgorzelec“ im Mai 1998 erreicht wurde. Dies alles läuft auf der oberen, der offiziellen Ebene ab, die von den politischen Eliten repräsentiert wird. Gleichwohl existiert auch die untere Ebene, nämlich die des täglichen Lebens der Einwohner und Einwohnerinnen von Görlitz und *Zgorzelec*. Als Ergebnis ihrer Untersuchung konstatiert Galasinska in beiden Städten eine Bruchlinie und einen Mangel an Übereinstimmung zwischen den beiden Ebenen, oder, um es anders zu sagen, zwischen den Diskursen der Politiker und der lokalen Gesellschaft.

Die erwähnte Auslöschung der Erinnerung an die Autobrücke begann bereits 1993, als Gespräche über den Aufbau einer anderen Brücke, nämlich der 1945 gesprengten Altstadtbrücke, begannen, die aus dem Mittelalter stammte.³⁶ Eine wesentliche Beschleunigung erfuhr das Projekt durch die Bewerbung von Görlitz und *Zgorzelec* um den Titel Kulturhauptstadt 2010. Im Bewerbungsschreiben wurde die Diversität in „Geschichte, Sprache, Kultur, die alltäglichen Sitten und Gewohnheiten“ sowie „Religionen“ herausgestellt.³⁷ Daher bedürfe es „zuerst wirklicher Brücken, um dann auch Unterschiede der Sprachen, Kulturen und Umgangsweisen zu überbrücken“. Nachdem im Beisein deutscher

³⁴ [Görlitz Stadtbrücke] o.J. <https://www.brueckenweb.de/2content/datenbank/bruecken/3brueckenblatt.php?bas=41729>

³⁵ Galasinska 2003.

³⁶ Opilowska 2009: 293–297.

³⁷ Aus dem Bewerbungsschreiben zitiert nach Opilowska 2009: 295.

Politprominenz der Bau im Mai 2003 begonnen worden war, wurde im Oktober 2004 die Altstadtbrücke als Fußgängerbrücke mit einem Brückenfest eröffnet. Zwar wurde ihr städteverbindender Charakter oft betont, gleichwohl sollten mit der Brücke auch die beiden Uferbereiche weiter belebt und mehr Touristen angezogen werden. Vielleicht hat diese Gemengelage mit dazu geführt, dass das Bauwerk bisher erstaunlicherweise nicht als Partnerschaftsbrücke benannt worden ist.



Abb. Nr. 6: Altstadtbrücke Görlitz-Zgorzelec, von der polnischen Seite aus gesehen.
Foto: Frank Vincentz, Wikimedia commons

Als weitere Brücke könnte die 1892 erbaute und über die Donau führende *Erzsébet híd* (Elisabeth-Brücke) zwischen den Partnerstädten *Komárno* in der Slowakei und *Komárom* in Ungarn näher betrachtet werden. Seit 1919 das heutige Komárno der neugegründeten Tschechoslowakei zugeschlagen wurde, steht die Beziehung zwischen den beiden Städten unter dem Damoklesschwert des ethnopolitisch bedingten Streits zwischen den beiden Staaten.³⁸ In diesem Kontext symbolisiert die Brücke aus ungarischer Minderheitsperspektive die Verbindung zum „Mutterland“ Ungarn. Nach 1945 wurden zudem wechselseitig Menschen vertrieben, wobei heute immer noch eine große Anzahl eth-

³⁸ Bottoni 2010.

nischer Ungarn in der Slowakei wohnt. Zwar wurde das Grenzregime ab Mitte der 1960er Jahre gelockert, gleichwohl beobachteten die kommunistischen Verantwortlichen beider Seiten – nicht zuletzt aus vorgenannten Gründen – die Kontakte mit Argusaugen. Nach der politischen Wende schlossen beide Städte 1993 zwar eine Partnerschaft, die jedoch nicht verhindern konnte, dass 2009 – wenn auch nicht zwischen den Städten, aber zwischen den Staaten – die Elisabeth-Brücke eher zu einem Kampfplatz als einem Freundschaftsplatz wurde.³⁹



Abb. Nr. 7: *Erzsébet híd Komárom-Komárno, von der ungarischen Seite aus gesehen.*
Foto: Martin Kozák, Wikimedia commons

Am 21. August 2009 wurde dem ungarischen Staatspräsidenten László Sólyom auf der Donaugrenzbrücke die Einreise ins slowakische *Komárno* verweigert; er musste auf der Brücke umkehren. Der slowakische Staat schob offiziell Sicherheitsrisiken vor. Tatsächlich wählte er durch die Anwesenheit des Präsidenten, der in *Komárno* eine Statue des ungarischen Königs Stefan I. enthüllen wollte und sich vielfach für die ungarischen Minderheiten im Ausland eingesetzt hatte, eine Beeinträchtigung der slowakischen Souveränität. Wenn auch die nationalen Gegensätze zwischen beiden Staaten nicht verschwunden sind,

³⁹ Schmidt 2009. Auch wenn Wikipedia-Darstellungen kritisch zu sehen sind, so kann doch ein Blick in die dort genannten Quellen empfohlen werden. [2009 ban of Hungarian President from Slovakia] o.J. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2009_ban_of_Hungarian_President_from_Slovakia.

so zeugt doch die Einweihung einer weiteren Brücke zwischen den Städten (*Monostori híd* [Monostorbrücke]) im Jahre 2020 von reduzierten zwischenstaatlichen Aversionen. In den Bürgerschaften wird denen etwa durch gemeinsame Sportereignisse entgegengewirkt, wie beispielsweise dem im Juli 2022 zum 46. Mal stattgefundenen Straßenlaufwettbewerb, der von *Komárom* über die Brücke nach *Komárno* führte. Gleiches gilt für das jährliche *Erzsébet híd*-Festival (jeweils Ende August), das 2015 ins Leben gerufen wurde.⁴⁰ Ziel der Musikveranstaltung war es, das Gefühl „Komárom ist eine Stadt“ („*Komárom egy város*“) zu stärken und die grenzüberschreitenden Beziehungen zu vertiefen. Die auf beiden Seiten der Donau gelegene Stadt sieht sich als ein organisches Ganzes. Neben historischen Gedenkfeiern sollten sich durch diese Musikveranstaltung die Kulturakteure und Bewohner gegenseitig besser kennenlernen und ihr Wissen über die kulturellen Werte der jeweils anderen vertiefen können. An diesem Beispiel zeigt sich, dass lokale Erfahrungs- und Erinnerungshorizonte auch in Gegensatz zu zwischenstaatlichen Interessen geraten können.

Schließlich lohnte des Weiteren die Untersuchung der Donau-Brücke zwischen dem bulgarischen *Ruse* und dem rumänischen *Giurgiu*, obwohl keine Partnerschaft zwischen beiden Orten existiert.⁴¹ Die Brücke beleuchte ich vor allem deshalb, weil sie sich geradezu anbietet, eine solche Verbindung zu begründen. Das Bauwerk war bis 2013 die einzige Brücke zwischen Bulgarien und Rumänien.⁴² Als sie 1954 fertiggestellt wurde, erhielt sie die Bezeichnung „Brücke der Freundschaft“. Damals war die zweistöckige 2,8 km lange Stahlbetonbrücke für den Straßen- und Eisenbahnverkehr eine große technische Leistung – und sie war die längste Brücke über die Donau. Als sich Rumänien in der zweiten Hälfte der 1960er Jahre ideologisch-politisch zunehmend von der Sowjetunion entfernte, Bulgarien aber auf Sowjetkurs blieb, ließ die Bedeutung der Brücke stark nach. Konnten anfangs auch Fußgänger die Brücke überschreiten, so wurde diese Möglichkeit erheblich eingeschränkt. Erst Ende der 1970er Jahre konnten die Bürger beider Staaten wieder in das Nachbarland reisen. Als Teil des Paneuropäischen Verkehrskorridors 9, der Finnland mit Griechenland verbindet, dient die Brücke heute vorwiegend dem Transit. Mit dem Beitritt Bulgariens und Rumäniens 2007 zur Europäischen Union ist wieder ein Stück Normalität eingekehrt. Jedoch vereiteln relativ hohe Mautgebühren

⁴⁰ Das Festival fand 2018 letztmalig statt, pausierte wegen der Corona-Pandemie und wurde 2022 durch das *Monostori híd*-Festival abgelöst.

⁴¹ Kirova 2013. <https://www.bpb.de/themen/europaeische-geschichte/geschichte-im-fluss/159211/die-donaubruoecke-zwischen-giurgiu-und-ruse/>.

⁴² Im Juni 2013 wurde die Brücke „Neues Europa“ zwischen *Widin* (Bulgarien) und *Calafat* (Rumänien) als Teil der Balkan-Transitrouten eröffnet.

und ein Begehungsverbot für Fußgänger die Brückennutzung. Während Rumänen *Ruse* fast nur als Einkaufstouristen besuchen, nutzen Bulgaren sie vor allem als schnelle Verbindung zum Bukarester Flughafen. Trotz einiger Kooperationsversuche in den letzten Jahren sind *Giurgiu* und *Ruse* bis heute nicht zu Partnerstädten geworden. Entgegen den Wikipedia-Angaben zu *Giurgiu* kam es bisher nicht zur Gründung einer Städtepartnerschaft.⁴³ Wohl aber wurde am 9. Mai 2002 die Euroregion Danubius gegründet, die sich auf größere Regionalkörperschaften bezieht.



Abb. Nr. 8: „Brücke der Freundschaft“ Giurgiu-Ruse, von der rumänischen Seite aus gesehen.
Foto: Tiia Monto, Wikimedia commons

Die schlaglichtartige Darstellung belegt den großen Nutzen von grenzüberschreitenden Brücken für Städtepartnerschaften – sowohl in praktischer als auch in symbolischer Sicht. Um den Brückenbau zu begründen, wird mitunter

⁴³ [Giurgiu] o.J. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giurgiu>; [МЕЖДУНАРОДНО СЪТРУДНИЧЕСТВО НА ОБЩИНА РУСЕ] o.J. <http://www.ruse-bg.eu/bg/pages/200/index.html>.

die Diversität zwischen beiden Seiten sehr betont, um nach dem Beginn der Nutzung die Einebnung derselben zu feiern. Im Brückenkontext bewegen sich die offizielle und inoffizielle Ebene nicht immer im Gleichklang: Während auf einer Ebene zusammengearbeitet wird, kann auf der anderen eher Desinteresse vorherrschen. Problematisch wird es, wenn ethnische, ideologische oder andere nationalpolitische Gegensätze zwischen Staaten dominieren und so die Kooperation auf der Ebene zwischen den Städten erschwert wird. In solchen Fällen kann sich die Bedeutung von Grenzbrücken schnell im Nutzen für den Fern- bzw. Transitverkehr oder der Brücke als nationales Prestigeprojekt erschöpfen.

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Barnabás Kész

Ethnic Peculiarities and Inter-ethnic Parallels in the Traditional Material Culture of the Hungarians of Ugocsa

Abstract

The Hungarians living in the present-day Transcarpathian region have lived peacefully for centuries together with the majority Ruthenian/Ukrainian population, as well as with the Romanian, German, Roma and other ethnic groups, who live in a similar minority to the Hungarians. Ethnographers and tourists visiting the region are convinced that these nationalities have retained the characteristics of their culture to this day. At the same time, it is worth observing how this long historical coexistence is reflected in the way of life and mentality of these people.

The parallels between Ruthenian and Hungarian language and folklore, folk customs are excellent examples of interethnic relations, but I have also encountered similar examples when researching the traditional material culture of the villages in *Ugocsa*. In the field of folk architecture, for example, the gate called *tőkés kapu*, as well as the *abora*, *aszaló* [the dryer] and the barn. Interethnic phenomena between Hungarians, Ruthenians and other nationalities of the region can also be observed in folk costumes (the *guba*, or the shoes called *bochkor*).

Throughout history, in Transcarpathia, which belonged to different state formations, it was noticeable that culture was not strictly tied to peoples. Thanks to the tolerance shown towards each other, the nationalities of the region have preserved their ethnic and religious characteristics and identity, but we can also find many similarities in their cultures. When studying the interactions that mutually enrich each other's culture and provide a colorful and attractive image to the region, it is often impossible to find out who borrowed from whom and when. During the ethnographic research



of the local communities, the main point is to take into account the ethnic interaction of the nationalities living here, as the folk culture of the local Hungarians is determined by the aggregation of the cultures of different ethnicities.

Keywords: Hungarians of Ugocsa, Ruthenian population, interethnic parallels, ethnic peculiarities, historical coexistence, material culture, folk architecture, traditional clothing

Introduction

For centuries, the Hungarians living in the present-day Transcarpathia have been living peacefully with the majority Ruthenian/Ukrainian population, as well as with Romanians, Germans, Roma and other ethnic groups, who are in a minority position like the Hungarians. Ethnographers and tourists visiting the region witnessed that these nationalities have preserved the peculiarities of their cultures to this day. At the same time, it is worth observing how this long historical coexistence is reflected in the lifestyle and mentality of the local people – primarily the Hungarian population I researched – and to what extent these nationalities influenced each other's language, customs and education.

The parallels between the Ruthenian/Ukrainian and Hungarian language and folklore (folk tales, ballads, folk songs, etc.), folk customs (Easter egg painting, nativity scenes, etc.) are excellent examples of interethnic relations, and I personally encountered similar examples while researching the traditional culture of the *Ugocsa* villages.

The purpose of my paper was to illustrate the aforementioned interethnic phenomena with some examples from my field of expertise, material culture, mentioned in the literature and found by me during fieldwork. Of course, I could not aim for a comprehensive description or a complex characterization of the material culture of the local Hungarian population. Within the material culture, I selected a few examples from folk architecture and traditional clothing, but similar examples can be found in work tools, furnishings, folk games, or any other area of traditional folk life. The locations of the research were the former *Ugocsa* (and partially *Ung*, *Bereg*) villages inhabited by Hungarians: *Salánk*, *Tiszaszászfalu*, *Karácsháza*, *Beregújfalu*, *Nagydobrony*, etc.

Folk architecture

Ethnic characteristics and interethnic parallels can be found in the most striking way in the field of folk architecture. According to the Hungarian and Slavic literature, in the researched area these are, for example, the gate called the *tőkés kapu* (it is a tilting, counterbalanced, but reversible structure, where the gate can be easily tilted using the two-arm lifting mechanism), the hay storage *abora*, the drying shed and the barn, which were still in use in the first half of the 20th century. According to ethnographers, the early German settlers in the Upper Tysa region may have introduced them among the Ruthenians and Romanians through the mediation of Hungarian shepherds and peasants. It is no coincidence that when studying the folk architecture of the Northeast Carpathians, social factors must also be considered, such as the ethnic interaction of the nationalities living here. Béla Gunda gives specific examples of these effects on the example of the *abora* and the tilting gate, which are known not only to Hungarians but also to the surrounding Ruthenians.¹ Therefore, in order to detect possible parallels, it is useful to get to know the traditional architecture of the Slavic population of the region.² In the book by ethnographer Pavlo Fedáka from *Uzhhorod*, for example, we find many parallels (*abora*, open entryway, fireplace, carved porch, etc.) between Ruthenian and Hungarian architecture.³

Let's familiarize ourselves with this phenomenon based on the examples I have collected and selected. In the villages of the *Szernye* swamp in the first decades of the 20th century, the so-called *tőkés* [tilting] gate, in some villages was used to close the exit roads. In the specialized literature, the tilting gate is also referred to as *tönkös, gémes* [stump or heron] gate.⁴ The upper beam of the gate was made of a huge stump of oak, and the wall was made of hedges, slats, and boards attached to it. The stump provided the counterweight, thanks to which the gate could be easily tilted, lifted and turned.⁵ Ferenc Katona⁶ gives a precise description of the tilting gate in *Tiszaszázfalu*, which was called a carved or "*sáran*" gate in this settlement, and which was considered the old-

¹ Gunda 1984: 125, 129.

² Sopoliga 1989.

³ Федака 2005. The drawings of Ruthenian porch carvings published in the publication are worth comparing with Hungarian porch carvings.

⁴ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 111; Dám 2014: 220.

⁵ Dám 1997: 222.

⁶ He conducted research in an *Ugo*sa landscape and folk research camp in *Tiszaszázfalu*, a Slavicized but mixed-identity settlement in *Ugo*sa in 1943–44.

est form of gate in the village: "... Until about 1910, these gates were common as street gates. The column on which the gate rotates on an axis is called a 'sáranc'. And the 'carved' indicator refers to the main part of the gate, the uppermost horizontal piece made of a tree trunk and its stump."⁷

The tilting gate was also present in other Transcarpathian settlements. The photos taken by the Hungarian ethnographer Judit Morvay, who researched *Salánk* in 1968, prove that it was known in the Hungarian settlement of *Ugočsa* (also inhabited by Slavic and Romani minorities) in the same way as in *Beregújfalu*, which was captured in the photographs of Transcarpathian ethnographer Mária Punykó.



Pic. Nr. 1: *Tilting gate, Beregújfalu, 1975.* Photo: Punykó M.

Some Transcarpathian settlements, such as *Nagypalád*, which was separated from *Szatmár* region, have become famous for their peculiar covered small gates.⁸ Even today, the *lóca* [small bench] is an indispensable accessory of the gate and the fence – it is a favorite place for conversations and smoking the pipe. As Ferenc Katona writes, women used to discuss what had happened in the village on the banks of the ditch, while men used to talk to each other

⁷ Katona 1943–1944: 93.

⁸ Kész 2005/5: 13.

on the *lóca* (a hardwood bench laid on four wooden legs hammered into the ground).⁹



Pic. Nr. 2: *Schwab-style rooftop*. Archive image: Nagydobrony

According to the literature, it is likely that, similar to tilting gates, the so-called Schwab-style roofs became popular instead of the bun-shaped roofs that were previously common in the region, which was influenced by the German carpenters that arrived from *Szatmár*. According to Grozdova and Kovalskaia, the Soviet ethnographers who researched Hungarian villages in Transcarpathia in the 1960s, the most common type of roof for the Hungarian houses here was the *gable* roof, followed by the bun-shaped roof, and *the truncated gable roof* in some settlements.¹⁰ On the other hand, in *Salánk*, the settlement which I examined, longhouses with bun-shaped roofs dominated until the spread of square houses with tent roofs, although there were also houses with gable roofs (Schwab-style) and truncated bun-shaped roofs.¹¹ In other *Ugocha* settlements (*Tiszakeresztúr*, *Karácsháza*, etc.), on the other hand, I mostly observed the transitional type of truncated bun-shaped roofs introduced by the Schwabs, as the

⁹ Katona 1943–1944: 32.

¹⁰ Гроздова–Ковальская 1979: 153.

¹¹ I also base my statement on the opinion of László Dám: “The eastern part of the Hungarian-speaking area, primarily Transylvania, Szabolcs, Szatmár and Bereg, is still predominantly an area with bun-shaped roofs...” Dám 1992: 54–55.

dominant roof form, with the two small characteristic ventilation windows on the pediment.¹²

Another example of the interaction of Ruthenian and Hungarian folk architecture is the prevalence of peasant houses covered with short wooden shingles and long *dránica*, or, for example, the carved porch and the open entryway (open eaves). Ferenc Katona's research in *Tiszaszázsfalu* also confirms that

“... straw or shingles, dránic were used to cover the roof. The shingle was made of beech wood and its two edges were grooved or they were made with a protrusion so that they could be fitted onto each other. These were approx. 25–30 cm long, while the ‘dránica’ was 50–60 cm long and approximately 10 cm wide, made of pine wood and had no protrusions or carvings for fitting together.”¹³

We know from the literature that the *dránica* was a 60–100 cm long and 10–30 cm wide oak or pine plank, which lacked grooves and was attached to the roof slats with wooden nails, and it was less durable compared to grooved shingles.¹⁴

As for houses with porches, they became widespread from the middle of the 19th century and markedly defined the architecture of the *Tisza* area. László Dám also comments: “Besides the open eaves, the distinctive feature of the region's folk architecture is the widespread use of gable and round porches.”¹⁵ The porch became the best-known and most spectacular formal element of Hungarian folk architecture.¹⁶ Geyza Deák also emphasizes the role of *porches* in his research of the *Ung* region.¹⁷ The simplest form of a porch that surrounds the house on one or two sides (its technical names are side porch and front porch) had eaves supported by wooden columns. The columns between the porches were most often supplemented with a 1–1.2 m high railing, i.e. an elbow beam, or a parapet made of carved boards. This was called a *rédeh*

¹² “The truncated bun-shaped roof is a transitional form, which is also indicated by the fact that it spread during the decline of the bun-shaped roof in the second half of the 19th century in the characteristic regions of the bun-shaped roof... The change of roof form is expressed in the vernacular of the Upper *Tisza* region, where the name of the gabled roof is svábos [schwab-style], that of the gable roof is félsvábos [half-schwab], while the original bun-shaped roof has no distinguishing name.” Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 121–122.

¹³ Katona 1943–1944: 46.

¹⁴ Cseri 1997: 137

¹⁵ Dám 1989: 98.

¹⁶ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 125.

¹⁷ Deák 1998: 84.

or a *gang* in Hungarian. The board parapet is considered in the specialized literature to be a distinctive feature of the north-eastern regions (“*rédegy* houses”).¹⁸ The often ornately carved porch was the main decoration of the side of the house facing the yard, which also expressed the social and economic status of the owner of the house.¹⁹ Russian (Soviet) ethnographers also observed the peculiarities of the *porch*, *gador* (*gator*), *gang*, their Ruthenian and Slovak parallels, and the transformation of the porch into a windowed corridor and terrace.²⁰



Pic. Nr. 3: *House with porches in preseny-day Salánk*. Photo: B. Kész

The surviving longhouses with porches still illustrate that the traditional peasant dwelling usually consisted of three rooms: front house (clean room) + hall/kitchen + back house (pantry).²¹ The hall served as a kitchen in the summer (in many places also in the winter), and the front door and a yard window were placed here. A room opened to the right and left of the hall: the front house and the back house, i.e. the former pantry.

As Iván Balassa M. pointed out, in the north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, including Transcarpathia, unlike in other regions, the hall was a room with a general function (transportation, storage, etc.), but it did not mean the

¹⁸ Barabás–Gilyén 1979: 97.

¹⁹ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 137; Bakó 1997: 265.

²⁰ Гроздова–Ковальская 1979: 156–157.

²¹ Kész 2016: 65.

kitchen, but its front room. As László Dám writes, this is a typical phenomenon of the *Alföld* [lowland] house type.²² Unlike the closed oven-heated kitchen, the hall was often open. There was no heating equipment in it, as in the food-processing room, i.e. in the kitchen.²³

Here we have to discuss the question of the so-called open eaves: it occurred mainly in Slavic and Transylvanian houses that the central room of the three-room house did not function as a heated kitchen, but as an empty, unheated storage room. According to László Dám, the open hall, also known as an open eaves or dog's room, was a characteristic of the houses in *Szatmár*, which Zsigmond Móricz already drew attention to in the description of a house in *Tiszaabát*. According to Dám, the house with a completely open eaves is typical of a narrow area, and it has parallels only in *Székegy* land.²⁴ He considers it possible that this is an example of an archaic form of the house culture of the eastern region of the Carpathian Basin that once had the same roots and which survived in isolated areas – for example, *Salánk* in *Ugocsa* – until the present day. The originality of the house with an open eaves was also noticed by Nándor Gilyén, who managed to find nine more such buildings on the *Tiszaabát* and in the nearby regions in the late 1950s and 1960s, according to the example of the *Milota* house from the Upper *Tisza* region exhibited in the landscape unit of the Szentendre Ethnography Museum. He notes that Márta Belényesy also found similar houses in *Mezővári* in Transcarpathia in 1943. Previously, Tivadar Lehoczky presented the floor plan of a “Russian” house in *Bereg* County, in which the open eaves are called a hall, and the room in front of it is called a pantry.²⁵ As Gilyén writes, the name of the open eaves is uncertain, it is called a free hall, a hall, a porch, smoke house, oven, dog's room etc.²⁶

The Soviet ethnographers researching in Transcarpathia in 1968 and 1969 also noticed the *open eaves* as one of the rare and archaic elements of the traditional Hungarian peasant house.²⁷ Both Grozdova and Kovalskaia emphasized that the *open eaves* is an ancient, transitional form that was typical of the 19th century, but in some places was still built in the 1930s. They provide a photo of an open hall from *Salánk* from the end of the 19th century, and also a floor plan of a house with an *open hall* in *Tekebáza*, built in the middle of the 19th century.²⁸

²² Dám 1992: 173.

²³ Balassa 1989: 75.

²⁴ Dám 1989: 97.

²⁵ Lehoczky 1881. II: 200.

²⁶ Gilyén 1989: 53–54.

²⁷ Гроздова 1972: 102.

²⁸ Гроздова–Ковальская 1979: 159–161.

The authors write that the Ukrainian population of the Carpathians still have such cold open eaves to this day, because, unlike the Hungarians, they did not transform it into a warm kitchen.²⁹

In addition to the residential building, we can also find beautiful examples of interethnic relations among other objects of the peasant yard. As in other regions, in the villages of the researched area, the yard was decorated with a *well with a wheel* or a so-called *heron well*. The open or closed *heron* or *whip end* of the heron well were often carved, decorated, which was typical of the region of the Upper *Tisza*.³⁰ Deák Geyza also mentions the carved decoration of the wells.³¹ At the end of the heron, wooden stumps, stones or scrap pieces of iron were hung as weights. The bucket was held by a hook at the end of the whip (heron) of the well. While there are fewer and fewer heron wells, the roller well known as a wheel well is still common in *Ugočsa*. In its well house, covered with a tent roof and covered with slats, there is a cylinder driven by a crank, which moves the chain-mounted bucket up and down.³² The casing, reservoir of the well was most often made of wood, more recently it is made of concrete rings. There were³³ also³⁴ called *bodon* wells carved out of thick tree stumps. But the walls of most dug wells were not lined with wood, but were laid out with stone from the second half of the 19th century, and more recently they are lined with concrete rings. Next to the well, there was a cow trough hollowed out of a tree trunk, a water tank and a washing chair. We know from Ferenc Katona, who described the situation in *Szászfalu* in January 1944, that the heron wells placed near the street sometimes obstructed traffic on the sidewalk, which is why the authorities did not approve of them.³⁵ Áron

²⁹ Гроздова–Ковальская 1979: 179. Grozdova and Kovalskaia write, for example, that the Hungarians, wedged between two great cultures – the Germanic and the Slavic – developed over centuries under their influence. This is how they first adopted the cold open porch characteristic of the Slavs, and later the warm closed porch (kitchen) from the Germans. From a Hungarian point of view, we accept this with some skepticism, although we do not deny the mutually enriching relations and interaction of the peoples living in the region – Hungarians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Romanians.

³⁰ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 114; Gunda 1984: 60; Kész 2005/4: 10. László Dám writes that in some villages of the *Bereg Tiszahát* wells were equipped not with a fork-shaped stick, but with carved ones, the top of which was decorated like a wooden headstone, with buttons, stars, and horse heads. Dám 2014: 244.

³¹ Deák 1998: 86.

³² See Dám 1997: 220.

³³ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 114.

³⁴ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 114; Móricz 1995: 103.

³⁵ Katona 1943–1944: 98.

Bocskor vividly describes the types of wells that were used in *Akli* in the past, describing in detail the construction and operation of the *deben well*, the *heron well*, the *wheel well*, as well as other types of wells.³⁶

Moving on to the rear, farmstead part of the yard, we come across structures for storing crops as the next examples of interethnic relations. Referencing Péter Lizanec, Jenő Barabás claims that the barn could have spread relatively late in Tanscarpathia, from two directions. The name *csűr* was brought here from the lowlands, and the name *stodola* from the regions inhabited by Ruthenians.³⁷ In the past, in the villages of our region, cross barns or barns with cross corridors at the end of the yard were common, in which the livestock's winter food was stored, and it was possible to drive straight into it from the yard with a cart.³⁸ The entrance to such barns was on the longer side of the building, under the eaves, and according to the literature, this type, typical of our region, dominated over other types of barns.³⁹ The inside dimensions and height of the barn were set so that the hay wagon could comfortably fit under it.⁴⁰ As the land plots became narrower and narrower, the place of the cross barn was taken over by barns built along the plot and by other farm buildings. Today, we can only rarely meet cross-barns in our settlements. The wall of the barn was made of wood, and covered with adobe or plank covering, and the top was covered with straw. The beams making up the frame were provided by the nearby oak forests, and their carving and assembly did not cause any problems for the skillful carpenters of the villages. The structure, also called a threshing barn, sometimes had a double-winged barn gate on both sides, but usually had no door, and it was possible to walk through it without obstacles. In winter, poles were propped up at its entrance and covered with straw to prevent snow from blowing in. Only an opening wide enough to walk through was left out. The wider, central, open part of the barn in our region was called *csűrpiaccá* (in other regions, *szerű*), and the two sides *fiók* (elsewhere, *csűrfia*).⁴¹ Barns were usually double-ended, rarely single-ended. The ends of the barn were divided into additional compartments by the base beams and the perpen-

³⁶ Bocskor 2008: 50, 72. Árpád Csiszár describes the various wells in the same way in his paper entitled Village water supply, dug wells. Csiszár 2002: 164–183.

³⁷ Barabás 1989: 87.

³⁸ According to László Dám, to the north and west of the *Tisza*, in *Bergg*, cross-corridor barns were widespread, while around the *Ecsedi-láp*, and between *Tisza* and *Szamos*, long-corridor barns were common. Gunda 1984: 50; Dám 2014: 235.

³⁹ Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 39.

⁴⁰ Bocskor 2008: 50.

⁴¹ Selmeczi Kovács 1989: 313; Kész 2005/4: 10.

dicular columns supporting the roof beams. Clover, alfalfa, hay, bran and chaff were stored in these. The *csűrpiacca* was a place for loading and threshing, but sometimes dance parties also took place here. In winter or in rainy weather, the cart stood on the *szerű* (in some places, a separate carriage house was built for the cart).



Pic. Nr. 4: *A barn with a straw roof in Nagydobrony in the first half of the 20th century. Archive image*

The barn enclosed the rear and of the yard and separated the yard from the garden. The *abora* (hay storage with an adjustable roof) was mostly built near it,⁴² in which the hay was better protected from moisture.⁴³ The *abora* or *zabora* was a construction very typical of our region, and it was also a unit of measurement, which has a long history. According to some assumptions, it was brought to *Ugocsa* by German settlers in the 11–14th centuries.⁴⁴ In some

⁴² László Dám writes about the *abora*: “A hay storage structure with a movable roof, which is a characteristic structure of the Hungarian and Ukrainian villages of the historic Zemplén, Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa, Máramaros and Szatmár counties in the northeastern part of the Carpathian Basin.” Dám 1992: 191–193.

⁴³ Gunda 1984: 53–55; Gunda 1989: 125; Kész 2005/4: 10.

⁴⁴ “... the *abora* is common in the plains adjacent to Transcarpathia, elsewhere it occurs only sporadically. It appeared presumably the XIII–XIV centuries from Western Europe in the northeastern, rainy regions of the Carpathian Basin. In the XVI–XVII century, it was already widespread among Hungarians in the Upper Tisza region. It is still common today in the

yards there were two or three *aboras*.⁴⁵ Holes were drilled in the four columns and poles of the *abóra*, into which pegs, iron rods or nails could be inserted to adjust the height of the tent roof.⁴⁶ Ferenc Katona, who collected data in *Tiszaszázsfalu* in *Ugocsa* in 1943–1944, writes: “The roofs of the *aboras* were covered with shingles or thatch. In one or two places, I saw a case where the *abóra* was placed above a small stable, or the bottom of the *abóra* was converted into a stable.”⁴⁷ Nowadays, the traditional *abóra* with a mobile roof has only remained in 1–2 yards, most of the time hay and straw are stored in stable hay storages or in drafty attics of barns.



Pic. Nr. 5: *Abóra* in Nagydobrony. Archive image

North-Eastern Carpathians.” Barabás–Gilyén 2004: 45. Attila Paládi-Kovács also describes *abóra* in detail in his research. See e.g.: Paládi-Kovács: 1969; Paládi-Kovács 1979: 254.

⁴⁵ Katona 1943–1944: 2.

⁴⁶ Bocskor 2008: 50.

⁴⁷ Katona 1943–1944: 2.

Clothing

Similar to traditional construction and farming, we can also discover certain ethno-cultural similarities and parallels between the Hungarian folk clothing of Transcarpathia and the traditional clothing of other peoples in the vicinity. Such common points can be defined, for example, as *guba*, *bocskor*, clogs, etc. in addition to the individual elements of the motif treasure that adorns the garment. Clothes make a person, they say, and based on what they wore, in the past you could not only find out which social class they belonged to, what their family status was (e.g. mourning), but also their ethnicity. What's more, the traditional clothing differed by areas and even by village, until the globalization process of the last half century put an end to the centuries-old traditions.

The Slavic ethnographers who visited Transcarpathia were amazed to see that the Hungarians living here, although they have lived together with several other nationalities for centuries, stubbornly stick to their traditions and culture, thus preserving the specific features of their clothing.⁴⁸

Attila Kopriva, who as a painter from *Munkács*, as a teacher at the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education, has extensive knowledge on the research of both Hungarian and Ruthenian folk clothing, approaches the Transcarpathian folk clothing from a slightly different perspective. In his dissertation *Embroideries in the National Clothing of Transcarpathian Hungarians*⁴⁹, published in Ukrainian, he writes that the clothing of the Hungarians of *Bereg*, *Ung*, *Ugocea* and *Máramaros* was not overcrowded with embroidery. According to the author, the reason for this is the specific aesthetic sense and taste of the Hungarians, which contradicts the aesthetic standards of the Slavic-speaking *Boykos*, *Lemkos* and *Hutsuls*, and on the other hand, the Transcarpathian Hungarians wanted to distinguish themselves from the surrounding Ruthenians. This is how the terms "*hutsul object*" (overly decorative object) and *hutsul blue* (bright blue, which the *Hutsuls* painted the walls of their houses with) appeared in the Hungarian language. The content of these expressions shows that the Hungarians were wary of overly ornate, gaudy objects and colors. According to Kopriva, this is the explanation for the fact that in terms of decoration, the Hungarian folk clothing of Transcarpathia lags

⁴⁸ In the 1960s, ethnographers from the Soviet Academy of Sciences conducted research in the Hungarian villages of Transcarpathia, and tried to reconstruct the traditional clothing of the 20s of the 20th century. The results of the research were summarized in Grozdova I's thesis in Russian. Гроздова 1972: 105–107.

⁴⁹ Коприва 2008.

behind not only the costumes of the surrounding Slavic peoples, but also the Hungarians living in the central and western areas of the Carpathian Basin.⁵⁰ Attila Kopriva also highlights the well-known colorful and unique character of the *Nagydobrony* clothing. According to the author, this traditional folk clothing was able to survive because the people of *Nagydobrony* were rigidly isolated not only from the Ruthenian population, but also from the surrounding Hungarian villages.⁵¹

Even though the Transcarpathian Hungarian folk clothing is markedly different from the traditional clothes of the Ruthenians and Romanians, parallels can be found here as well. For example, the *guba* (a characteristic piece of clothing of *Ugočsa*, *Bereg* and *Ung*), or the wearing of *bocskor* boots, which in the Hungarian public is considered Slavic or Romanian footwear.

The cheap *guba*, which was once considered a poor version of the *shuba* [fur coat], was considered a characteristic piece of clothing in *Ugočsa*, similar to the neighboring *Szatmár* and *Máramaros*.⁵² This is what the saying also refers to: “*guba gubával - suba subával*” [*guba with guba, and shuba with shuba*]. Mária Kresz writes that “the *guba* was worn in one of the particularly poor regions of the country, in the northeastern part of *Alföld* [the Great Plain]. It was mainly manufactured in *Munkács*, *Beregszász*, *Szatmárnémeti*, *Miskolc*, *Gömör* County and *Debrecen*.”⁵³ According to István Györffy, the making of *guba* cloth, the crafting of *guba* cloth spread from *Ungvár*, *Munkács*, and *Beregszász* to the interior of the country, towards the *Alföld*, from the beginning of the 18th century.⁵⁴ The smooth and curly versions of *guba* thus conquered the Carpathian basin from present-day Transcarpathia and *Debrecen*, and these regions preserved the making of *guba* for the longest time. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, *guba* was woven in *Tiszahát* and *Szamosbát* of *Szatmár*, *Bereg*. The last examples of these short white *gubas* have been kept by the women of the upper *Tisza* region almost to this day.⁵⁵ The *guba* was primarily worn by the common people, but sometimes the nobles also wore it. Although the *guba* was worn by both sexes, men’s and women’s *guba* were designed differently.⁵⁶ Jenő Nagy also notes that the *guba* is also used as a ceremonial outerwear in Transcarpathia and Transyl-

⁵⁰ Kopriva 2008: 3–4.

⁵¹ Kopriva 2008: 12.

⁵² Luby 1927: 145; Ratkó 2014: 603–610.

⁵³ Kresz 1956: 36.

⁵⁴ Flórián 1997: 630.

⁵⁵ Flórián 1997: 632.

⁵⁶ Men’s *guba* had round sleeves, while women’s *guba* had flat sleeves. The “eyes” of the *guba* were made of rolled up linen, also called *cifra* or *rózsa*. Luby 1927: 154.

vania.⁵⁷ This is proven by the part of Kálmán Móricz's monograph on *Nagydobrony* dealing with the description of the settlement's clothing.⁵⁸ The prevalence of *guba* is also evidenced by a saying collected in the south of Ugocsa: *Örök harag – gubadarab* [Eternal anger – *guba* piece; Margit Celics, *Nevetlenszék*]. The *guba* was also a popular winter garment of the Ruthenians under the name *hunya* (*gunya*), so the interethnic parallel can be observed here as well.

Ethnic separation and interethnic interaction can also be demonstrated in the case of footwear: in the collective consciousness of Transcarpathian Hungarians, the wearing of *bocskor* boots is associated with the Ruthenians. According to the interviewees, the Ruthenian harvest workers brought *bocskors* to the Hungarian villages for sale. At the same time, the Hungarian men of *Salánk* also wore *bocskor* in the summer, and during harvest, the women also wore round *bocskor* with wrinkled noses on their feet. According to the literature, the round-nosed *bocskor* is known by the Hungarians of the *Alföld* as the *borjúszájú bocskor* [calf-mouthed *bocskor*], and Ottó Herman considered this to be the Hungarian *bocskor* form.⁵⁹

Ferenc Katona, who collected data on the wearing of *bocskor* in *Tiszaszázsfalu* in 1943–44, also confirms that:

“The *bocskor* is made from boot shafts and is considered very comfortable because it is light. Sunday clothing for people under 30s is generally trousers and shoes, and for those over 30 it is usually boots. Older people wear only boots. I saw some poor old men in the church in wide pants and *bocskor* boots.”⁶⁰

Hungarians therefore mostly wore boots, but not always. In summer they usually walked barefoot (especially women and children), in winter and on holidays they wore boots, and later shoes. The boots, and later the shoes, were mainly made by the bootmakers from *Tiszaújlak*, who were the most famous in *Ugocsa*.

The types of boots and their production are described in detail in the literature.⁶¹ The men's boots were *bokszicsizma* [black boots] with a hard or ruddy shank, studded soles, and sewn at the back. In the past, women's boots were side-stitched, hard-soled, and had studded soles. Its color was also mostly

⁵⁷ Nagy 1959: 443.

⁵⁸ Móricz 1995: 121.

⁵⁹ Flórián 1997: 687; Györffy 1941: 359–361.

⁶⁰ Katona 1943–1944: 40.

⁶¹ Flórián 1997: 692–693; Györffy 1941: 362–364.

black, but one of my interviewees (G.E., *Salánk*) also wore red boots when she was a maiden. Those who could afford it, had two pairs of boots made for themselves. One was used for celebrations and the other for everyday use, but in rainy weather it was also possible to replace soaked boots.



Pic. Nr. 6–7: *Guba and gúnya* (folk clothing of Tiszahát and a Ruthenian couple as depicted in the 19th century. Archive images

Conclusions

The listed examples prove the words of Zsigmond Bátky, according to whom culture is not connected to peoples, and peoples are only temporary carriers of education and culture. This is particularly noticeable in the multi-ethnic Transcarpathia. Throughout history, the nationalities of the region belonging to different state bodies have preserved their ethnic and religious characteristics and identity thanks to the tolerance shown towards each other, and at the same time, we can find many common features in their cultures. When studying the interactions that mutually enrich each other's material culture and provide the

region with a colorful and attractive image, it is often impossible to find out who borrowed, from whom and when. Maybe it's not even that important. The point is to take into account the ethnic interaction of the nationalities living here during the ethnographic research of the local communities, since the folk culture of the local Hungarians is determined by the combination of the material culture of the different ethnicities.

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Éva Bihari Nagy

Memory and Enculturation

Abstract

It may be safely stated at present that the triad of past, tradition and memory has accelerated at an incredible pace. Memory seems to keep the events of the past alive for ever shorter periods of time. Rites, memories and remembrance are now handed down as written sources in the form of textbooks. How does the narrative of the teaching aids that have emerged in the 21st century then evolve and what are/have been their achievements in the construction of national identity? How do *hon- és népismeret* [Our homeland and its people] textbooks function as tools for building a national community? The subject *hon- és népismeret* taught in grade schools examines and discusses national culture and the processes of cultural reconstruction in a rather specific cross-section. Beyond exploring the interdependence and interlocking of the context and practice of 'knowledge creation'/'knowledge transmission' in primary educational institutions, this paper aims to explore some salient observations on its generational relationship to memory. The importance of this subject and textbook is/has been undeniable, both as a tool for national and social community-building on the one hand and as a tangible archive of the process of heritage transmission/patrimonization on the other hand.

Keywords: cultural reconstruction, patrimonization, textbook, national identity, memory

The role of schools in shaping national identity has been present since the 19th century, but research is only now beginning to shed light on the processes at work.¹ Without some knowledge of the history of our ancestors, we have but little chance of understanding who we are and why we live exactly the lives

¹ This research and study have been made possible through support and funding from NKFI K 143711 OTKA. The paper has been translated by Pál Csontos.



we do. Would it be correct to assume that national trends and the changes in schooling have reciprocally motivated each other? International literature calls this process national *enculturation*.²

Representation of the past, as well as memories from the past, can only be truly alive if they educate us, stimulate our senses, prompt our thoughts and add to our existing knowledge. The methodology of patrimonization and adaptivity³ display similarities. In other words, the development and advancement of the heritage approach, as Vilmos Keszeg put it⁴, represents parallels with the interaction system of traditions.⁵

Digital (virtual) databases, textbooks (smart textbooks⁶, etc.) should be used to present elements of tradition by reflecting on contemporary culture and taking into account the evolution of the visual language of the young generation.⁷

Becoming socially aware requires not only the acquisition of up-to-date knowledge and the development of expected skills, but also the acquisition of a level of literacy that helps individuals to manage their everyday lives and contributes to improving their quality of life. This literacy includes learning about the culture of the community, which encompasses several forms of cultural memory (religious, local, political-national and memories of smaller social groups).⁸

If we accept that pedagogy aims at transmitting the knowledge accumulated throughout the history of mankind, such as science, arts and other forms of activity, i.e., the values created by collective memory⁹ and, in doing so, also encourages the creation of new values,¹⁰ then, in the process of heritage preservation and memory forms, public education is both an ethical duty and a natural expression of transmission for all generations.¹¹

Apart from economic considerations, the mission of schools' is to transmit national culture and develop a sense of identity.¹² The age group of school-children is exposed to different enculturation influences, which develop their

² Barrett (ed.) 2006.

³ About the concept of adaptivity, see Dávid 2015. For a similar concept of adaptivity, see also: Rapos-Gaskó-Kálmán-Mészáros 2011.

⁴ See [Interview with Vilmos Keszeg] 2013.

⁵ Bihari Nagy 2015: 5–26.

⁶ Connected to the article, see the smart *hon- és népismeret* textbook prepared for *Nemzeti Alaptanterv* [National Curriculum] 2020: Baksa 2020a.

⁷ See also Rab 2004; Rédly 2023.

⁸ About the concept of memory, see Assmann 1999.

⁹ Nagy 2020: 181–196.

¹⁰ Tóthpál 1998. 8: 29.

¹¹ Tóthpál 1998. 8: 29.

¹² Dancs 2016: 405.

own specific knowledge and memory, taking into account, of course, cultural differences, which also influence the effects of enculturation. It is the sum of all these that forms and creates a specific national pattern.¹³

The effects of community-level variables are mediated by family, peers and schools.¹⁴ Of course, according to Halbwachs,¹⁵ individual memories are greatly influenced by the society in which the next generation lives and grows up.¹⁶

21st-century students consider the technical world as their own; they do not protest or rebel against it, as they have grown up together with technical tools and information technologies and have adapted to them with the ability to perform multitasking.¹⁷ They are also able to incorporate and adapt a heritage approach to their own technical world, simply by being present in the interaction system of tradition.¹⁸ To use Pierre Nora's phrase: it is safe to state that the triad of past, tradition and memory has incredibly accelerated. Memory seems to keep the events of the past alive for ever shorter periods of time.¹⁹ Today, a number of disciplines (anthropology, history, literature, etc.) discuss places of memory as parts of an extended terminology, although not in our minds but in objectified forms around which rites are woven.²⁰

Rites, memories and remembrance are transmitted as written sources in the form of textbooks.²¹ Cultural heritage is handed down by one generation to the next in an institutionalized framework. Educational institutions adapt to the challenges of the times and develop increasingly complex fields of knowledge.²² The role of the general education subjects requires a continuous methodological renewal of personal skills and competences.²³ This represents a series of new challenges for educators and teachers. The challenges of our times (the online/internet generation, technological challenges, social and environmental expectations and opportunities, etc.) and cultural memory have created a number of teaching aids and textbooks for teaching national culture. The National Curriculum (2020) lays considerable emphasis on the following:

¹³ Dancs 2016: 412.

¹⁴ Dancs 2016: 416.

¹⁵ Halbwach 2021.

¹⁶ On new opportunities for supporting education, see Kis-Tóth 2013.

¹⁷ Singer n.d.

¹⁸ Here, I will not discuss the problem between tradition and remembrance: namely, that tradition has been created to maintain continuity, while remembrance makes us aware of the fact that it is no longer around.

¹⁹ Nora 1999: 142.

²⁰ Nora 1999: 142–157.

²¹ Keszei 2010: 5–34.

²² On the concepts of education policy, see Mann 1977: 195–214.

²³ Kotshy 2000.

“...an important part of our national culture is folk culture, which is taught in the framework of the subject *hon- és népismeret*.

Its aims include:

- to provide an incentive to discover the traditions and historical relics of the Hungarian language area, i.e., the narrower and broader homeland.
- the aim of the *hon- és népismeret* curriculum is to strengthen attachment to the motherland through ethnographic knowledge and to establish national identity...”²⁴

An important element in institutionalized transmission of tradition²⁵ are textbooks, since textbooks are “reflectors of the complex relationship between knowledge and power”.²⁶ The *hon- és népismeret* textbook can also be regarded as the source of collective memory.²⁷ A textbook²⁸ is a document of an age/period, a carrier and transmitter of an officially accepted body of general knowledge and values. The study of textbooks is not a new research area; it gained momentum mainly after the Second World War through the support of UNESCO. The impact of public education and textbooks on society has been studied mainly in German and French areas.²⁹ Using the methods developed for the analysis of textbooks, a broader research effort has been launched³⁰ on how the narrative of the educational tools produced in the course of traditional education is evolving in the 21st century and what results are being or have been achieved in the construction of national identity. How do they function as national community-building tools?

²⁴ Baksa 2020a: 4, 6; see also: “The aim of the study of *hon- és népismeret* is for the student to: 1. discover that the community tradition, built up over generations, brings the past closer and helps to understand the present, while at the same time providing a direction for the future 2. understand that folk traditions are the carrier of general human values, and therefore knowledge about them is part of general education. 3. to establish their own national self-awareness, to understand the significance of national identity from the aspect of both the individual and the community 4. to be motivated to discover the traditions and historical relics of their narrower and broader homeland, in the Hungarian language area.” [Nemzeti alaptanterv] 2020: 356.

²⁵ On the teaching of tradition, see: Bihari Nagy 2019: 314–322.

²⁶ Beke 2021: 3.

²⁷ Dévényi–Gózszy 2013.

²⁸ For the definition of the concept of textbooks, see Karlovitz 2000: 47–59; Tóth 2018.

²⁹ On the history of textbook research, see more in the two volumes of *Tankönyvkutatás, tankönyvfejlesztés külföldön* by Dárdai–Dévényi–Márhoffer–Molnár-Kovács 2014, Dárdai–Dévényi–Márhoffer–Molnár-Kovács 2015; Dárdai 1999: 44–53; F. Dárdai 2005.

³⁰ Completed with support from NKFI K 143711 OTKA.

The discourse on places of memory in the *hon- és népismeret* textbook

As I have already mentioned above, the need to strengthen national identity is also emphasized in the new National Curriculum (2020).³¹ During the course of textbook analysis, it is worth paying attention to the shaping of self-images, along topics such as the construction of tradition, national culture, the representation of community traditions and national values (world heritage, *Hungarikums*) in textbook texts and illustrations.

In this paper, it is my intention to set out the strategic points of an ongoing research project. I will outline the process of analysis and investigation of the textbook *hon- és népismeret*³² and, in this sense, a school textbook should be treated as a source. The analysis applied here employs both qualitative and quantitative methods. The primary question is how self-image is shaped by the textbook(s)? Can it be changed? The subject of the present study is textbook interpretations and their changes, focusing on thematic emphases specific to traditional culture.

Hon- és népismeret examines and (hopefully) transmits national culture and the processes of tradition and culture reconstruction in school education in a specific cross-section. This paper explores the context and the practicalities of the ‘knowledge creation’/‘knowledge transmission’ of educational institutions, beyond the mutual interaction and interlocking of its practical parts, to some salient observations on the generational relationship to memory, while formulating research cornerstones.³³

A summary of criteria for textbooks written for the teaching of traditions.³⁴

1. The context in which the textbook was created (the political, cultural and social history of the period) must be reviewed,³⁵ while at the same time, the aim is to examine the content of the textbook in the context of the literature of the period and the period before it. (The first “real” *hon- és népismeret* textbooks³⁶ were produced for the first National Curriculum, which was published in 1995.)

³¹ [Nemzeti alaptanterv] 1995, [Nemzeti alaptanterv] 2003, [Nemzeti alaptanterv] 2007, [Nemzeti alaptanterv] 2009, [Nemzeti alaptanterv] 2012.

³² Baksa 2020b, Baksa 2020c.

³³ Lajta L. 2006: 101.

³⁴ Lajta L. 2006: 102.

³⁵ For more details, see Baksa 2015.

³⁶ Baksa 2003, Baksa 2005, Baksa 2008; Balázs 2006a, Balázs 2006b; Bánhegyi 2002, Bánhegyi 2009, Bánhegyi 2013; Makádi–Taraczközi 2002, Makádi–Taraczközi 2006. Textbook comparison completed by Gécziné Laskai 2013.

2. It is necessary to become familiar with the educational policies and the educational philosophy of the period under study³⁷ (sources: legislation, teachers' KKK [training and outcome requirements], documents on the process of becoming a subject in the curriculum, writings published by educational policy-makers, opinions published in the specialized press).

3. We need to pay attention to the identity of the author(s): we need to know their work, their textbook writing activities, their professional attitude.

4. We need to take into account the background information about the commissioner or publisher, including their intentions and expectations.

In the case of the *hon- és népismeret* textbook (like in the case of all textbooks), it is necessary to be fully aware the following:

- the target audience of the textbook (age group – according to *Nat*, *hon- és népismeret* can be taught once a week for one year in primary school grades 5-8; from 2020 onwards, the framework curriculum prescribed this for the 6th grade but it continues to depend on the specific pedagogical program of the given institution; type of school; the textbooks prepared for national minorities – for Hungarians living in Hungary or living outside the borders of present-day Hungary in a minority; for example, the textbooks *Hon- és népismeret I-II* published by the Hungarian Pedagogical Association of Subcarpathia³⁸),
- the curriculum requirements,³⁹
- structural emphases depending on the historical facts, educational policies or even social expectations of the period. (Textbooks of the 21st century prefer different topics). Not only thematic emphases are important for research (e.g.: the ratio of customs to material culture), but also aspects of omissions and selection (text folklore, folk music or folk dance).

It has also become necessary to examine the textbook implementation of certain topics and lessons:

1. The weight and position (length, through quantitative analysis) of a topic within the textbook in relation to the other sections, and its possible marginalization. In the 2020 *hon- és népismeret* textbook, the proportion of the presence of customs and material culture can be formulated as follows:

- a) in the case of customs: a significant portion of the book focuses on the presentation of Hungarian folk traditions and customs. These include

³⁷ Explored in detail by Baksa 2015.

³⁸ Kész–Kész–Gabóda–Hutterer 2022a, Kész–Kész–Gabóda–Hutterer 2022b.

³⁹ National Curriculums, e.g. [Kerettanterv] 2020.

festive customs, folk traditions, rituals related to religious holidays, and customs related to the life cycle, such as those surrounding birth, marriage and death. The role of customs is emphasized because the aim of the textbook is to strengthen students' cultural identity and to stress the importance of community life and the preservation of traditions.

- b) in the case of material culture: the presentation of material culture, i.e. the tools, clothing, buildings and other physical objects related to everyday life, is also important. However, this part receives proportionally less emphasis compared to customs. The sections on material culture focus rather on folk art, handicrafts (e.g.: embroidery or pottery) and traditional architecture, but these are not as much detailed as the descriptions of customs. In terms of content, the book conveys a tangible heritage of the 18th and 19th centuries and gives ample leeway to the teacher to connect it to the 21st century.

Overall, therefore, customs are more prominent in the textbook than material culture, although both are important elements of the ethnographic content. Customs [12 of the 34 teaching units recommended by KKK (training and outcome requirements)]⁴⁰ are perhaps given more space because they are more directly linked to community life and the maintenance of cultural identity.

2. It is also worth examining the weight of textbook lessons and topics through qualitative analysis.

3. Researchers may get an even more nuanced picture by analyzing the ideological message associated with certain events discussed in school textbooks. The topic of nationalities appears in several chapters of the 2020 *hon- és népismeret* textbook (However, the culture, traditions and customs of the nationalities living in Hungary are discussed in separate chapters in the block titled “Our heritage, traditions and greats,” for which the total number of proposed teaching units is 8). The curriculum here focuses on how nationalities contribute to the cultural diversity of Hungary. Nationalities are mentioned in the context of, among other things, folk culture and regional differences, which illustrate the specificities of different areas of our country.⁴¹ The term “*nemzet*” [nation] appears several times in the 2020 *hon- és népismeret* textbook, especially in the context of cultural identity, traditions and Hungarian history. The book

⁴⁰ For details, see [Kerettanterv] 2020.

⁴¹ Among the notions in the framework curriculum, find the following: *néprajzi csoport* [ethnographic group], *nemzetiség* [ethnicity], *néprajzi táj* [ethnographic region], *határainkon túl élő magyarok* [Hungarians living across the borders], *szórvány* [diaspora], *nemzeti összetartozás* [national unity], *haza* [homeland], *hazaszeretet* [patriotism], *hungarikum* [a collective term indicating a value worthy of distinction], *világörökség* [world heritage]. [Kerettanterv] 2020. A tight connection is required with the subjects geography and history.

discusses national history through presenting different periods and emphasizing the importance of the cultural heritage of the Hungarian nation. The concepts of nation and homeland are devoted special attention to, as the aim is to strengthen the national identity of the students. The term “*nemzet*” [nation] and the discourse surrounding it also adds an interesting touch, as the topic is present throughout the teaching material.

4. We should also consider the logic of the discussion of individual events and the issues of cause and effect. The textbook content displays the character of cause and effect relationships; yet, due to constraints of space, rather concise statements are also formulated in the textbook texts. The reason for this is that the age specificity of the target audience prompts the author(s) to go for a simplifying way of representation.⁴²

5. During the course of analyzing the content of the textbook, it is also necessary to consider which aspects or characters within each lesson are brought to the fore or are left in the background during the period, or how the perception of certain characters changes over time (e.g.: farmers, peasants, citizens, servants, children, girls, etc.). The 2020 textbook also touches upon the topic of student life,⁴³ while the inclusion of several interesting aspects of urban life in the textbook can also be seen as a result of the given period.⁴⁴

6. It is essential to analyze the pool of didactic tools:

- What function do pictures, diagrams, sources and exercises and what emotions do they evoke? [A precise list of sources is included in *hon- és népismeret* textbook. For illustrating cause and effect relations, it would also be useful to include 21st-century photographs and photographic archives.]
- As regards wording, attributes/adjectives, value judgements and elements expressing mood and emotion (through the analysis of the text and its appendices), the textbook under study gives an emotional surplus through literary sources. E.g.: The chapter called *A magyarság összetételének történeti alakulása és a magyar nyelvterület nagytájai* [Historical development of the composition of the Hungarian people and the major Hungarian-speaking regions] is introduced with the help of an excerpt from a literary source written by Sándor Petőfi: “*Magyar vagyok. Legszebb ország hazám...*” [I am Hungarian. My home country is the most beautiful...].⁴⁵

⁴² See more in Dévényi–Gőzsy 2014: 151.

⁴³ Baksa 2020b: 51–52.

⁴⁴ Baksa 2020b: 53–55.

⁴⁵ Baksa 2020b: 81.

A list of items in the framework for research:

1. The formation of a collective self-image through the textbook. The aim of the textbook is to reinforce the sense of belonging to a national culture (there are numerous examples of textbook references to its characteristic features).

2. The presentation of ethnographic groups and national minorities (the issue of coexistence, changes that have taken place, the culture of ethnographic groups and minorities, the way of representing positive/negative features).⁴⁶

3. World Heritage elements and motifs (under the heading *Közösségi hagyományok és nemzeti értékek* [Community traditions and national values]. The examples shown here are also places of memory: *Hollókő – őfalu* [Old Village], *Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság* [Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma], *Budai vár* [Buda Castle], *Kilenclyukú híd* [Nine-Hole Bridge], etc.)

Realms of Memory (*Lieux de mémoire*)

Since the publication of *Lieux de mémoires* (Realms of Memory), a major work edited by Pierre Nora, the term ‘realm of memory’ has become an inescapable concept in social and cultural history. Katalin Takács⁴⁷ and Franciska Dede has also taken note of Nora’s notion of place:

“Although the term *realm* is used in the name, a realm of memory is not necessarily a geographical location in the literal sense, but can be a person, an object, or even a region, a celebration/holiday, a historical event, a literary work or a national symbol.”⁴⁸

What realms of memory do is they recall shared and collectively experienced details of the past for a community. The poem *Nemzeti dal* [National Song] is such a realm of memory that stands for a lot more than its mere self. It is more than a poem.⁴⁹

According to Jan Assmann, who theorized cultural memory in the footsteps of Maurice Halbwachs,⁵⁰ who had in fact pioneered the study of social memory, it is the relationship to the past that provides the elements of self-

⁴⁶ Baksa 2020b: 81–100.

⁴⁷ Takács 2018: 175; Dede 2022.

⁴⁸ Dede 2022.

⁴⁹ See more in a similar wording in relation to literature. Dede 2020.

⁵⁰ Halbwachs 1971.

imagination of the present, as the basis for the goals of action. In Jan Assmann's formulation of cultural memory, "memory needs places, as it involves 'spatialization'."⁵¹

Eric Hobsbawm,⁵² on the other hand, sees "invented traditions" as the social anchoring of values or behavioral norms through repetition that emphasize continuity with the past. Pierre Nora's idea is similar to that of Jan Assmann: it is based on the juxtaposition of memory and history. That is to say, "the collective memory or community of memory embodied in tradition is transformed over time into history, into a memory carried by history."⁵³

Reflecting on this, *Gábor Gyáni* raises the point that

"ethnic identity [...] is a spontaneous manifestation of collective memory conceived in tradition, while national identity is the recollection of a past that has already become history, and the conscious and programmatic assumption of its heritage."⁵⁴

Thus, the question arises as to which elements of tradition can become "realms of memory."

"Realms of memory are created at the intersection of personally experienced and spontaneously acting memory (i.e., tradition) and history (i.e., the reconstructed past) at a moment when there is still something to build on in the historical memory that is coveted and desired."⁵⁵

Realms of memory can take a variety of forms, for institutions, topographical points, objects, cultural works of art or even social customs can all be transformed. What all these examples have in common is that they owe their survival to written sources (culture).

The aids for the reconstruction of tradition (textbooks) used both in education and outside institutional education enhance the transmission of cultural memory and are key mediators in the preservation and transmission of realms of memory.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Assmann 2004: 40.

⁵² Hobsbawm–Ranger 1983; Hobsbawm 1987: 127–189.

⁵³ Lajta L. 2006: 102.

⁵⁴ Gyáni 2000.

⁵⁵ Lajta L. 2006: 102.

⁵⁶ In a similar fashion in the examination of history textbooks. See more: Lajta L. 2006.

Pierre Nora's conceptualization of realms of memory⁵⁷ has been incorporated into several academic disciplines and has also become a focal point in research. For example, in 2010, *Magyar Emlékezhelyek Kutatócsoport* [Hungarian Research Group on Realms of Memory] was established at the Faculty of Humanities at UD, which adapted this notion to the Hungarian context as "*lieux de mémoire*"⁵⁸. These realms of memory should be consciously integrated into education, using the work and findings of the research group. What is the potential of the subject *hon- és népismeret* in this respect?

The evolution of memory of the past

During recent decades, more and more cultural heritage sites have become accessible to visitors at home and abroad. There are historical sites that everyone likes to visit (as a destination for violence or buildings and locations that have been reconstructed to help remember violence).⁵⁹

There are museums dealing with processing traumatic historical experiences (such as the Hungarian *Terror Háza Múzeum* [House of Terror Museum] and *Holokauszt Emlékközpont* [Holocaust memorial Center] or the Jerusalem-based Yad Vashem Institute) and heritage sites or books (*Heimatbuchs*).⁶⁰ The ethnographic and anthropological research of *Heimatbuchs* in the heritage process has been carried out in recent years by Melinda Marinka. According to her, these sources are "Interpretations of the Heimatbuch genre, which present a condensed snapshot of certain individual settlements."⁶¹

These memorial locations may turn out to be even more personal than a traditional museum. In these museo(-cultural) institutions, the recorded recollections of eyewitnesses form an important part of the collections. It is important both for individuals and communities to visit places related to the past. Oftentimes, it is not enough to see or hear about a place in a textbook, a photograph or a film. It is not only the interpretations of these memorial sites that strengthen the sense of belonging to the community, but also the actual memory of the place, through the content of the experience lived in reality.

⁵⁷ A volume of selected works was published in 2010 in Hungarian, edited and translated by Zsolt K. Horváth: Pierre Nora (ed.) *Lieux de mémoire* originally planned to be 7 volumes. K Horváth 2010.

⁵⁸ See the Hungarian Realms of Memory website: [Magyar Emlékezhelyek] n.d. <https://deba.unideb.hu/deba/emlekezethely/index.php>

⁵⁹ Tulipán 2020.

⁶⁰ Takács 2018.

⁶¹ See also Marinka 2019: 310, Marinka 2012: 344–368.

In these places, space and time as good as merge. At places of memory, not only are new emotions attached to the story being told, but the individual's relationship to the events gets also reshaped.

As Pierre Nora puts it, the purpose of having or creating realms of memory is to help stop forgetting.⁶² Disregarding their physical extent, places of memory can be speeches (wedding texts), battles (the Battle of *Mohács* – *busójárás* [a ritual celebration of the end of winter]), memoirs, books (calendars, peasant diaries, reminiscences), photographs, literary poems (*Sándor Petőfi's "Magyar vagyok"* [I am Hungarian]), folk customs (*Betlehemezés* [nativity plays]) or even symbolic acts.

According to Assmann and Halbwachs, textbooks facilitate a two-way process. Thus, memory (either by learning to locate places on maps) tries to recall symbolic, ideational content by recalling places, while cultural memory places symbols or markings in space (geographical), but these places can also become symbols (e.g.: *Gellért-hegy*, Nine-Hole Bridge).⁶³ It is also true that memorial sites are created for the purpose of preservation and to prevent forgetting (e.g.: the so-called *botlatókövek* [stumbling stones] in Debrecen). The chief aim is to make sure that the experience would not be lost for future generations. Through 'objectification' in the process of teaching about traditions, we can create a concept of our environment and thus make the unknown tangible, understandable and comprehensible for the next generation. Of course, this process is also true in reverse.⁶⁴

In the present study, I have explored the literary and ethnographic representation of realm(s) of memory, offering an alternative for strengthening national identity in education and for coordinating and harmonizing interdisciplinary relations (literature - *hon- és népismeret*; history - *hon- és népismeret*, etc.).

According to Nora, memory is a "topical phenomenon,"⁶⁵ i.e., the places of memory created by tradition are nowadays replaced by timeliness and by the feelings attached to places.⁶⁶ If these memories were still experienced, there would be no need for places of memory.⁶⁷ The same formulation can be applied to heritage constructions and heritage transmission models in schools. "A purely functional phenomenon, such as a school textbook, ... can only be considered a place of memory if there is a ritual connected to it."⁶⁸

⁶² Nora 1999.

⁶³ Tulipán 2020.

⁶⁴ Tulipán 2020.

⁶⁵ K. Horváth (ed.) 2010: 13–15.

⁶⁶ See also K. Horváth (ed.) 2010: 19.

⁶⁷ K. Horváth (ed.) 2010: 19.

⁶⁸ K. Horváth (ed.) 2010: 27, 30.

The question arises as to why this happens to be related to *hon- és népismeret*. For one of the goals in the case of realms of memory, Nora also identifies the task of stopping forgetting. Since collective memory fades and disintegrates over time, it is precisely in realms of memory that it is realized. As a methodological revival of this, the model of tradition construction is (/may be) introduced within the framework of the subject *hon- és népismeret*.

The collective memory associated with a place or event is constantly changing. It can either intensify or fade in response to different social, economic or political influences, as the cultural memory of a nation is always a reflection of the current social and power system.⁶⁹

The fact that the content of a memory is either negative or positive is also very noticeable in school education. It is easier to mediate and explain because the process of remembering itself always takes place in the “now” of the present and it shapes the future.⁷⁰

Realms of memory provide a basis for strengthening national identity and national consciousness in education (prominently in the case of teaching history and literature, and also in the case of teaching *hon- és népismeret* since 1995). However, the majority of these are traditional forms of knowledge transfer. In *hon- és népismeret*, beyond alternative pedagogy, a combination of constructive, creative and digital pedagogy should be used (e.g.: Easter in *Hollókő* – custom-place-landscape; *busójárás* in *Mohács* – custom-place-nationality; *birkapaprikás* [lamb stew] in *Karvag* – custom-place-gastronomy, etc.).

When the internal experiencing of memory becomes difficult, the need for external reinforcement becomes stronger and stronger.⁷¹ When the members of the generation that actively lived through the events (as an integral part of their lives) die, it will be up to the next generation(s) to provide and transmit the discourses of memory, the reconstruction of tradition, and the elements of heritage.⁷² This is why it is essential that the institutionalized transmission of tradition (the subject of *hon- és népismeret*) should have a strong place in the school curriculum as a means of remembrance. How can we make the past and memories relevant to the online generation in a knowledge-based society? By processing heritage elements in digital form in search of connections with the current events of the present.⁷³ By using photographs, contemporary reports, objects of the specific period, literary works of the period (music, texts)

⁶⁹ Assmann 2004: 40.

⁷⁰ Assmann 2004: 40.

⁷¹ K. Horváth (ed.) 2010: 20.

⁷² See more in Bihari Nagy 2016, Bihari Nagy 2019.

⁷³ Kloiber 2020.

in order to process everyday life of the era. It is necessary to offer classes (both in primary and secondary education) in which teenagers are confronted with reflections on issues of generational memory.⁷⁴ The method of work has to be frontal class work, where the questions from teachers are followed by explanations. The complexity of *hon- és népismeret* requires the listing and juxtaposition of findings on topics from several disciplines.

“When we discuss memory, we also discuss perception and learning, as well as knowledge”.⁷⁵ We can also agree with Zsigmond’s formulation:

“Literary texts can also be understood as cultural documents because their cultural context encompasses the social, political, economic and individual conditions of the creation and development of the piece, as well as the cultural milieu, collective thinking and mental thought structures.”⁷⁶

Among the works of fiction that are directly or indirectly related to Hungarian folk/national culture, there are countless examples that appear in school (in textbooks, as compulsory or recommended reading, as memoriter texts or as parables). The best known of these are by Csokonai, Jókai, Móricz, Gárdonyi, Mikszáth, Petőfi, Ferenc Molnár and contemporary authors.

* * *

The need to pass on memories has led to studies that (have) focus(ed) on textbooks. Changing times have also shaped and molded human aspirations for literacy and education. The “folk” values passed on to art can live on and their educative influence will nurture the tastes of the next generation.⁷⁷

In order to strengthen national identity, the concept of the 20th century (the first *Nat* in 1995) has resulted in the institutionalization of the construction and reconstruction of tradition. The effect of the *hon- és népismeret* textbook on national and ethnic studies in the educational institution is that, through its creation and appearance, it “merges the past (tradition), the present and the future.”⁷⁸

The genre specificity of textbooks is that some statements are often included in them without an introduction and, as a consequence, concise sentences

⁷⁴ Plonyi–Abari–Horkai–Tisza 2017.

⁷⁵ Zsigmond 2011 245–254.

⁷⁶ Zsigmond 2011: 246.

⁷⁷ See Molnár 1982: 25.

⁷⁸ Lajta L. 2006: 102.

and series of sentences appear in the texts. Naturally, this may be due to the fact that the information has to be selective for reasons of volume restriction. Detailed cause-and-effect relationships cannot be included in textbook texts with a thorough explanation. A short, concise wording can be responsible for reinforcing stereotypes, and teachers must pay particular attention to this.

An essential part of the patrimonization process is the subject *hon- és népismeret*, taught in public education. It has an important role in the development of personality, in preserving the sense of national identity, and in providing the foundation for general education.⁷⁹

The assumptions according to which the 2020 *hon- és népismeret* textbook review is underway seem to have a solid foundation. The rites, customs, material culture of Hungarian national culture displayed in the textbooks, the depiction of landscapes and the local lifestyles, the characteristics of each region, the way in which minorities and nationalities are presented in them have developed according to the goals identified by the ruling power and social expectations. The subject *hon- és népismeret* and its textbook are / have been of particular importance. On the one hand, they are a tool for creating a national and social community, while on the other hand, they represent a tangible archive of the patrimonization process.

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⁷⁹ In a way similar to history. For more, see Tóth 2018: 27.

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