



VILMOS KESZEG

The Forms of Historical Memory: Local Histories¹

The folkloristic research of popular memory. From the 19th century until the present day, historical narratives have been carefully and intensively researched within Hungarian ethnology.

László Kőváry published his anthology under the title of *Száz történelmi rege* [One Hundred Historical Legends], laying thus the foundations for the research on these narratives. Discussing the “philosophy of our historical legends”, he addresses two important ideas to his contemporaries, which have become canonised since, but were new in his own time period. One of these ideas refers to the necessity of keeping track of the past, and the power of our knowledge about the past to shape, strengthen, and preserve the community. The nation lives until it is connected with the past of the homeland, and knows and uses the language, dress, dances, customs, songs, and historical memories of the ancestors. Nations which do not have these traditions are like rootless trees torn out by the storm – the author argues in favour of the knowledge of the past. His other idea urges us to cherish national traditions: “We have learned to admire Homer, the Arabian legends, and Ossian, these legend collectors of nations; yet we do not want to appreciate the great poet of our own nation, who had depicted the past with such vivid colours. We admire all that is foreign, yet we do not want to listen to the poet at home. [...] And who other would this poet be than the genius of the nation, the spirit of folk poetry?!” Kőváry compares the role of the folk, its memory, and folk poetry to that of the basic books of Christianity: “now he steps forward as a prophet, and placing one of its hands on the Old Testament, the history, and the other on the New Testament of the nation, the enthusiasm of the younger generation, speaks in such a charmingly beautiful voice; then he steps forward as a poet, and sitting on the home ruins, sings a song of the heroic deeds in a language adored by the man, which enthuses the child, and makes the girl shed tears.” Both ideas of László Kőváry fit well into the context of “contemporary ideologies”. One can find among these the newly developed national ideology, the discovery of the peasant/popular society and its culture, i.e. folk poetry, and the effort to adopt the methodical character of the scientific disciplines. In his initiative of collecting, literary shaping and publishing historical legends (in Hungarian: *rege*)

1 The original version was first published in Hungarian: *A történelmi emlékezet alakzatai* [The Forms of Historical Memory]. In: Szemerkenyi Ágnes (szerk./ed.): *Folklór és történelem*. [Folklore and History.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007, 18–43. An expanded version appeared as: *A történelmi emlékezet alakzatai: lokális történelmek*. [The Forms of Historical Memory: Local Histories]. In: Keszeg Vilmos (szerk./ed.): *Lokális történelmek. A lokális emlékezet alakzatai* [Local Histories: The Figures of Local Memory.] Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2015, 365–400.

one can recognise the 19th century influence of F. A. Wolf (1795), who expounded the genesis of Greek epics from their oral antecedents, and thus started the wave of the European search for, and writing of epics. While Kőváry previously evoked the Old and the New Testament as metaphors, he now views historical legends as the likely antecedents and fragments of a possible epic: “I see something completely different in popular historical legends and traditions. I recognise in each of them so many episodes of a great epic with which the spirit of national poetry, our homeland, and our nation has accompanied its past. I would like to believe that these episodes and rhapsodies will some time be turned into a whole; that all the fragments will come to light, and a genius will complete them and create a whole from them.” He forecasts the content and the structure of his volume in the following way: “I am no poet, so that I could promise a complete poem constructed from these. I am rather a researcher of history. [...] Being a son of Transylvania, this poor and beautiful homeland is also the object of my studies.” He identifies the fairy legends and the knight legends as the two layers of the “historical legends” (*történeti regék*). The stories presented in the collection recount the hiding of, and the search for treasures, as well as the origins of certain rocks, mountains, streams and rivers, families, clans, and names, and interpret the material documents left behind by the fairies, Romans, Tatars, Turks, and the *Labanc*.²

Following in his footsteps, Balázs Orbán never missed an opportunity for evoking local historical narratives in his monumental monograph (Orbán 1868–1873).

Based on the collection activity of the 19th century, a summary of historical legends was published in the synthetic work entitled *A Magyarország Néprajza* [The Ethnography of the Hungarians] (Solymosy s.a.).³ This work, as well as several other studies published in the 20th century after the Budapest conference of legend researchers,⁴ undertook the task of summarising the narratives related to certain historical characters (King Matthias Corvinus,⁵ Miklós Toldi,⁶ Rákóczi,⁷ Kossuth,⁸ and Petőfi⁹), or to historical events, wars (1848–49),¹⁰ the world of the *betyárs*,¹¹ the World War,¹² the

2 Kőváry 1857. László Kőváry collected and published historical narratives in his former as well as in his subsequent volumes. Kőváry 1853. [*Labanc*: the name of the pro-Habsburg Austrians, and in a smaller number Hungarians; *Kuruc*: anti-Habsburg Hungarians, the end of 17th, beginning of 18th century (editor’s note).]

3 For details, see the Introduction of this volume (editor’s note).

4 The workshop of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research was organised on 13–14 October 1963 in Budapest. For the suggestions raised after the workshop, see: Dömötör 1964, Voigt 1965.

5 Analysed by Ferenczi 1968.

6 Analysed by Szendrey 1914.

7 Analysed by Bálint 1953, Ferenczi 1960.

8 Analysed by Ortutay 1981/1952.

9 Analysed by Dobos 1973.

10 Analysed by Dégh 1947, 1952.

11 Analysed by Küllös 1988a. [Translator’s and editor’s note: The *betyárs* were the highwaymen or outlaws of the 19th century Kingdom of Hungary, called social bandits by Eric Hobsbawm.]

12 Analysed by Környeyné Gaál 1985.



lagers and deportations,¹³ 1956,¹⁴ and military life¹⁵).¹⁶ All these works formed the basis for the image that was later spread by the fundamental syntheses of research history (Luby 1938, Ferenczi 1966, Katona 1977, Lengyel 1988). The first general statement on the issue was published by Gyula Ortutay: “János Erdélyi and [János] Arany have already observed this indifference of our nation towards its own national past.” (Ortutay 1981: 133). The same idea was reinforced by Tekla Dömötör: “We cannot expect scientific credibility. In general, their main direction is correct: the good ruler is preserved as a hero in the memory of the people, while the wicked one is evoked with disdain by posterity. However, historical legends are not at all trustworthy in their details. Their view of time is inaccurate, and the designation of the enemy is uncertain.” (Dömötör 1998: 288). The characteristics of this popular view of history were presented by scientific researches in the following way. Popular history is selective: it keeps track of certain events while completely ignoring others. It is also anachronistic: it does not associate events with specific years, but merely places them into a general timeframe and identifies the historical periods loosely. Some events are repeated cyclically, and certain heroes recur as if to renew their role in shaping history. Personalities who have lived in different historical periods may meet each other. Popular history also polarises and places its heroes into the categories of good or evil. History is episodically repeated, events are isolated from their more general context, and causal relationships are sometimes established arbitrarily.

The accumulation of such narratives made it necessary to also deal with their systematisation. The great categories of Hungarian historical legends are the following: establishment narratives of human institutions, legends associated with certain places, prehistoric legends, war stories, legends related to heroes, and narratives of punishment.¹⁷ Their research brought into the foreground their relationship with legends based on popular beliefs and legends of origins, myths, fairy tales and religious legends, as well as the identities of their heroes and their structure (motifs and legend cycles).¹⁸

In her quoted work, Tekla Dömötör stated the following: “The historical knowledge of the Hungarian people is mistakenly judged by those who only attempt to assess it on the basis of the legends.” (Dömötör 1998: 289). Beside the historical legend, Vilmos Voigt also counted among the folklore genres immortalising the past (historical epic, historical folk poetry) the subspecies of historical songs (historical

13 Analysed by Vasvári 2000, Küllös–Vasvári 2006, Küllös 2012.

14 Bartha–Keményfi–Marinka eds. 2009. Several studies published in this volume place the remembrance of history within the domain of the mythical form of consciousness.

15 Bálint 1979, Ilyés–Keszeg eds. 2008. The further literature on soldier’s books and letters is very rich.

16 Zsigmond Szendrey consistently discussed historical narratives in his works. See: Szendrey 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927.

17 Dobos 1970. The collecting and republishing of the legend corpus is still on the agenda today. See the recent impressive text collections of Ildikó Landgraf (Landgraf 1998), Sándor Bosnyák (Bosnyák 2001), and Zoltán Magyar.

18 Tekla Dömötör published a comprehensive encyclopedia entry on the legendary hero and the legend catalogue in 1980, followed by Vilmos Voigt’s encyclopedia entries in 1982 (Dömötör 1980: 640). Vilmos Voigt’s encyclopedia entries were republished in: Voigt 2014: 250, 251.

ballad, historical folk song), along with – as a liminal genre – the anecdote, the peasant autobiography, and the “true story” (in Hungarian: *igaztörténet*)¹⁹ (Voigt 1965), whereas Imre Katona mentions the historical song (Katona 1982). István Pál Demény follows the history of the oral heroic epic and the historical content represented in it up to the 16th century (Demény 1997). New genre designations have become accepted within the research of 20th century historical events, namely the so-called “true story” (*igaztörténet*), a term which alludes to the external reference of the stories, the “experiential story” (*élménytörténet*), connoting the personal involvement of the narrator, and the “life history” (*életörténet*) and *oral history*, which place the events into the framework of an individual’s life course (Dobos 1964, Nagy 1975, Küllös 1988: 253–259, Réthey Prikkel 1991).

The view of history and the effects of popular literature (calendars,²⁰ pulp literature,²¹ news poems, textbooks, literary adaptations²²) spreading historical knowledge and completing the oral tradition have been explored by basic researches.

Several oeuvres focused on the poetical function of history as narrative.²³

The anthropological approach to time, memory, and history. Besides the approach of genre theories, the scientific disciplines of the 20th century have offered further interpretation frameworks for the study of history.

According to Paul Ricoeur, who moves toward history from the perspective of temporal representation and narration, history associates objective, universal time with national, genealogical, and personal time. The cultural institutions serving as a basis for history are the calendars which structure time according to certain basic elements. The second, in this case biological, basic units of temporal experience, which also ensure its continuity, are the generations, whose succession provides the continuity of time experience, while the contemporary relationship ensures the identity of the historical experience. The third institution of history is the archive, dedicated to store passing time along with the different types of documents and traces. According to a further observation of the author, history forces the people who experienced time to anonymity or an instrumental function in its mediation; history is not interested in people’s intimate lives. The given possibilities of narrative syntaxes and the discourses in force also contribute to its shaping process. This shaping invests history with a poetical function. The fictional world of history

19 The encyclopedia entry on the *anecdote* was published in 1984, and the subsequent entries appeared in 1993 in the *Világirodalmi Lexikon* [Encyclopedia of World Literature]. Republished in: Voigt 2014: 466–473.

20 Analysed by Gellériné Lázár 1974, Dukkon 1988, Szelestei Nagy 1988.

21 Éva Mikos’s book traces the integration of the Hungarian conquest into 18th and 19th century public consciousness. Mikos 2010.

22 The literary treatments of the Hungarian legend corpus encompasses a wide range (János Arany, Elek Benedek, Mór Jókai, Lajos Áprily), and one could also include here the novels dealing with historical subjects (Mór Jókai, Géza Gárdonyi, Zsigmond Móricz).

23 This question reflects upon the literary immortalisation of historical experience. There is a vast literary-anthropological specialist literature on this subject, which exempts me from the duty to review this topic here: Kisantal 2003, Kiss 2003, Thomka 2004, Bényei 2004.



as text is associated with the real world through the use of the text, i.e. the ritual (Ricoeur 1985: 147–185).

It was Marc Bloch, the founder of the Annales School, who asked the provocative question: can the present separate itself from the past? (Bloch 1993, 1996) In 1952, Claude Lévi-Strauss discussed stationary and cumulative histories, and his work introduced the concepts of the cold (stationary) society, lacking in historical sensibility, and the hot (cumulative) society, which keeps pace with history (Lévi-Strauss 1991). In his study entitled *How Myths Die*, Lévi-Strauss discusses the way in which the tribal past and the epic tradition transform itself according to the needs of the tribe. In the case of some tribes, tradition is meant to justify the past, which is wished to be unalterable, while in other cases the changes of the recent past are the ones which should be justified (Lévi-Strauss 2001: 216). The religious historian Mircea Eliade also arrives at a typology of the cultural attitudes towards time. According to this author, who strictly separates the paradigms of the sacred and the profane, “authentic history” is the myth, which recounts the creation of the world and the deeds of the gods. Its forgetting is a sin with the consequence of relapse into a state of chaos. It is not worth it, or it is even a sin to keep track of the deeds of mortal men, i.e. profane history.²⁴ Marc Bloch answers the question from the historian’s point of view. I will emphasise here two ideas from this answer. Culturally and artificially, according to an engineering mentality, the present can in principle indeed be separated from its own past, and the past from its continuation. In practice however, the present cannot break away from its antecedents. Surviving persons, buildings, objects, records, living memory, and archives always store the past and ensure the continuation of its life. The second point of the author is no less provocative than the first one: do the documents tell the truth, or in other words, is history true? In this question, the past as part of reality is separated from history as a representation of the past. The representation of the past in different forms can follow several strategies. This is why the exploration of the strategies of historiography is necessary in order to manifest a critical attitude toward the documents and their processing, i.e. history (Bloch 1996: 32–97).

The theories approaching history from the perspective of the users and from the side of the relationship between the present and the past, the generations, and the contemporaries were born in the middle of the 20th century, and they touch upon the documentation of time, as well as upon the relevance and the reference of the documents. These experiences were summarised in the work of F. Hartog, who designates the various experiences of time, the different forms of relating to the past, and the ways of editing and using history as “regimes of historicity”.²⁵ F. Braudel in the 1950s initiated the treatment of time as a plurality, and after the lengthening of time by 19th century history, the introduction of the concept of *longue durée* (Braudel 1972). French historiography reviewed the initiatives after the French Revolution directed at accumulating, systematising, and researching the past as such, as well as the past of contemporary society. In 1818, the French

24 Eliade 1978: 8–9, 15. A similar idea can be found in: Cusumano 1997.

25 Hartog 2003, especially 18–28.

Academy started the inventory of old buildings. The Minister of Public Education, Guizot emphasised the importance of extending and constructing social memory. Subsequently, he urged the prefects to look for the manuscripts related to national history in their local libraries and archives, and at the same time also requested royal funds for their publishing. In 1834, a historical society was created in order to explore, publish, and research the documents (Theis 1986). Due to this large-scale process, memory is democratised, and the state secret is transferred from the territory of scholars to the public sphere, becoming the property of society as a whole.

Due to its importance, it is worth dwelling on this thought for a while. The change that took place at the end of the 19th century was a radical one, which completely reshaped European mentality. It is the birth of the need and interest for the past and history, as such. Due to its narrative form the past can be kept track of and memorised, and the experiences of the past are comprehensible. Due to its association with certain locations and objects the past can be experienced and relived. The knowledge and the possession of, and the preoccupation with the past, as well as speaking about it become new habits. The discourse types of speaking about the past develop alongside with the occasions and rituals of its representation. The past is heritagised, and the great time dimensions acquire more value. Temporal existence and immersion are turned into a characteristic of things and events. People become aware of the age of certain elements of their environment (buildings, objects, etc.) (Nora 1986b: 359–364).

Epochal consciousness, representing the basis of orientation in time is also born along with historical sensibility.²⁶ This means knowledge of and a conscious attitude towards the present, as well as the awareness of its difference from former ages. The linear conception of time and its structuring into ages also become widespread due to the rational attitude towards time.

Returning to the question of the historian Marc Bloch, there are two main cultural behaviours at work in the preservation of the past: remembrance and forgetting. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the interpretive horizon of scientific discourse was significantly widened by the research on remembrance. Maurice Halbwachs's work published in 1925 sketched out the collective, social frames and norms of the individual's practice of remembrance. Two of his ideas help us develop our train of thought further. Remembering is an individual act; the reception and acceptance of memories takes place in a social framework, under social surveillance. In the act of recollection, the individual is integrated into a community of remembrance and rememberers. The memory community usually shares identical contents related to the past, and their evocation usually takes place in identical forms, and within the framework of identical commemorative events (rituals).²⁷ At the other pole of memory research we have the statement that

26 The concept is used by Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó, who is following here Odo Marquard. Kulcsár-Szabó 2000: 90–91.

27 Halbwachs 1925. The communities of memory identified by the author are the family, the aristocracy, and the Christian community. Remembrance without social control is dreaming.



the act of remembering is in fact a construction of the past (Bartlett 1985/1932, Assmann 1999: 41–42). These statements were followed by the exploration of the different types of remembering and forgetting, as well as by the separation of communicative and cultural memory.²⁸ The (historical) forms of cultural, organised memory are the ritual and the textual memory.²⁹ The first of these takes care of the evocation of the past according to its scripts, in the forms of customs, rituals, and actions. The characteristic form of the second, i.e. textual memory, is the story, which facilitates remembrance through the use of narrative schemes, representing hidden relationships through the specifics contained in the narratives (space, time, and actors) (Pléh 1986, Hoppál 2002).

Besides reproducing knowledge, the act of remembrance has got other practical functions, too. The practice of remembrance is strongly associated with the identity of the individual and the community. The identity represented within the story is the narrative identity.³⁰

The revaluation of space and the discovery of places – as Bausinger calls this process, “the moving of the horizon” and “the discovery of the places” – necessitates a new history (Bausinger 1995). In the introduction of his volume written on the places of memory, Pierre Nora explains the creation of this need in the following way: “Les lieux de mémoire naissent et vivent du sentiment qu’il n’y a pas de mémoire spontanée, qu’il faut créer des archives, qu’il faut maintenir des anniversaires, organiser des célébrations, prononcer des éloges funèbres, noter des actes, parce que ces opérations ne sont pas naturelles.”³¹ Locality represents the decentralised social world in which human relationships are practiced and conflicts are solved, where the individual can withdraw herself from centralised standards and control, and he or she can experience and judge events as a local subject from his or her specific perspective.³² Local history is an outsourced, edited,

28 Assmann 1999, Weinrich 2002. Hungarian literature on this subject: Gyáni 2002.

29 Ritual remembrance represents the contents of memory through certain rituals, while textual remembrance organises it into texts. Assmann 1999: 87. On commemorative rituals, see: Conneron 1997.

30 This question was raised primarily with reference to the life history. According to the psychologist Dan P. McAdams, “identity is the life history itself”, which the individual begins to shape and use in her adolescence. McAdams 2001: 165. Kenneth J. Gergen and Mary M. Gergen use the term *self-narratives* for stories about defining events. The story selects, ranks, interlinks and includes the events into a common framework. Gergen–Gergen 2001: 78–83. Paul Ricoeur assesses the relationship between the life history and personal identity in the following manner: “By ‘narrative identity’, I mean a form of identity acquired by man through the narrative function.” Ricoeur 2001: 15. The editing of the life history makes it possible (1) to understand and search for the continuously changing self, (2) to create this self, and (3) the preservation of the self (*maintien de soi*) through storytelling and the story that is told.” Ricoeur 1985, 1990, 2001. According to Philippe Lejeune, the life history narrates the tale of “how I became myself”. Lejeune 1980: 19. The interpretation of history as narrative identity follows below.

31 “The creation and survival of the realms of memory is motivated by the feeling that there is no spontaneous remembrance, that archives have to be created, anniversaries have to be established, commemorations have to be organised, solemn funeral speeches have to be held, and events have to be collected, since all these procedures are not self-evident.” Nora 1986a: XXIV.

32 On locality, see: Appadurai 2001.

chronological, and narrative form of the locality's past, in which history is revalued and transformed from a scientific discipline into a form of local, social, and cultural knowledge, which produces identities and operates human relationships (Bensa 2001: 3). As the place takes possession of its own past, it constructs its own history and produces its universe (Bensa 2001: 8).

It is in this universe as a public space that the rivalry, the appropriation of statuses and positions, the legitimisation of institutions, habits, and rituals, as well as the designation of relationships and continuities take place. Local history places the existing conditions and relationships within a historical dimension and presents locality with a historical sensibility. The formal rhetoric of this history consists in morphological elements such as miniaturising, magnifying, metonymy, and metaphor (Bensa 2001: 9). Local history takes over/corrects the periodisation and the *topoi* of official history (it places national events into the local space, creates relationships between historical personalities and local residents, projects the episodes of national history into the local space through the evocation of the visit paid by the historical personality, identifies the local participants and victims of national events, the local happenings related to historical periods and events) and thus edits a history for the locality and its dwellers. The local community creates an archive in its living space, in order to store the documents of the past, exhibits in its museums the objects created and used by the ancestors, documenting historical time, as well as establishes roles and occasions for talking about the past. The emphasis is moved from the learning of history to its editing, remembering, experiencing, and to the referencing of the past.

Local history also enters into a relationship with the history of the country. While local history ties the history of the country to a specific place, the country's history also legitimises local history (Fabre 2001: 20). The birth of local history creates a space for the self-affirmation of local autodidacts, who become producers of local history. They represent local interest and give voice to the local knowledge, local memory, and local interests within grand history (Mark 1997). At the same time, these two histories also differ from each other: certain events of the country's history remain echoless in local history, and local history, too, includes certain episodes – on the levels of written and oral traditions –, which cannot be found within grand history, or do not match with the statements of grand history. However, local history sticks to its own convictions in spite of the criticisms received from professional historians.³³

This process has taken place within French society from the beginning of the 19th century. According to Daniel Fabre, the “monograph of settlement” is canonised as a genre after 1850. The author of the first work in this genre is a local reporter, intellectual, and poet. His work can be located somewhere between elite culture and mass literature, and it is of interest to professional historians and to the wider and the local readership alike (Fabre 2001: 19–20). In Hungarian literature, it was Gábor Gyáni who reviewed the history and the trends of Hungarian works in the

33 On the character of this local historical literature, see: Gyáni 1990, Bensa 2001.



genre of the local monograph, focusing exclusively on urban history. This new interest in writing urban biographies appeared at the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries as a self-identification experiment of bourgeois society. “No wonder that the past of royal free cities and sometimes even of certain country municipalities incorporated after 1870 have become of such interest, since the historical establishment of urban identity, identical with the bourgeois one, seemed a particularly timely need. [...] If the nation-state found its legitimisation in historical categories, the bourgeoisie perhaps had an even greater need for the historicisation of its existence.” (Gyáni 2002: 59). This is also the factor which explains its latent opposition to national historiography (Gyáni 2002: 61). The local historiography presented above became professionalised in the 1970s and 1980s, adopting the methodology of the historical sciences (Gyáni 2002: 61–62). The factors which motivated local historiography were: (1) the intellectual hobby of the local intelligentsia, (2) the prestige activity of the municipality and the local council, (3) the “qualitatively different” direction of history as a scientific discipline, and (4) the generation of local situation awareness (Gyáni 1990: 3–5). Among its specific intentions, one finds the local application of general historical processes and the relating of the categories of historiography to the life of the small community, as well as the representation of everyday life (Vörös 1972: 4).

The history born this way is the so-called *histoire à soi*, or “history about ourselves”. This term expresses the hypothesis of the project entitled *Production, producteurs et enjeux contemporains de l'histoire locale* of the French research group on writing and mentalities. Its research findings on local historical literature are the following: (1) The new historical construction creates and “historicises” locality, i.e. it places locality into a historical dimension. (2) It integrates the histories, relationships, and performances of the local social groups and layers, as well as the genealogical researches in a common narrative. (3) It creates a new, narrative representation of local identity. It introduces the “fever of history” into local mentality and perpetuates the gestures, needs, and attitudes of looking into the past. (4) It creates the occasions and rituals of looking into the past, which is to say, of the production and appropriation of history; or history's local public sphere. The local occasions of togetherness are “historicised”, and the festivals and rituals are complemented with the gestures of the popularisation and “safekeeping” of the local past. (5) Additionally, local history decentralises national history and the history of the country. It localises the episodes of the country's history, and associates and complements them with local episodes. (6) Finally, local history establishes the local workshops of historiography (Bensa–Fabre dir. 2001). The *Ethnologie et Monuments historiques* seminar is connected to these researches through its topics and the conclusions it draws. According to the latter, (1) the redirection of attention from the sacred objects to the historical monuments brings about the heritagisation of time. (2) The cult of the historical monuments turns history into a market product and puts it to social use. (3) Historical monuments materialise and spatialise history, and render it visible and visitable (Fabre eds. 2000, Jakab 2003).

Local history. In our interpretation, local history means a narrative form of reminiscence, which represents the past of a local community, the experiences it has gone through, as well as the context of the events from the perspective and for the local community (and its interests). Local history renders the changes and the stability of local life world traceable within the *longue durée* and creates a new locality, in which the social relationships and connections motivate present conditions; through it, the contact with the past and the ancestors is given a place within everyday life. Local history interprets the past and formulates lessons about it, which can be followed. It explores and places the episodes of the past into a chronological order, and identifies turning points and epochs within the past of the community. At the same time, local history also stores the past of a local community and influences the identity of that community. It regulates the relations of contemporariness and the generational relationships between the members of the community, as well as the relationships between the local and the regional community, and between the national and the global world. The production and keeping on the agenda, and the evocation of the local past calls to life and operates local institutions, roles and rituals, customs, and emotions.

The narrative character dominates local history, but is also associated with description, argumentation, and explication.³⁴ It is a secondary, composite text type, which integrates such primary speech genres³⁵ as inscriptions (architectural and church inscriptions, inscriptions on relics, bells, different kinds of objects and paintings), private writings and notes (journals, letters), administrative notes of institutions (church registers, protocols of guilds and various associations), official dispositions (laws, regulations, diplomas, documents), historical narratives of the oral tradition (historical and other kinds of legends, folk ballads, experiential stories and so-called “true stories”, chronicle poems, news poems, anecdotes, sayings and proverbs), journalistic genres (news, reportages), text types specific for genealogical memory (funeral inscriptions, obituaries), the ritual texts of commemoration ceremonies (memorial tablets, commemorative texts deposited during construction works), text episodes of popular literature (textbooks, calendars, pulp literature), and visual representations (photographs, etchings, drawings, illustrations). The extension of local historical genres is varied (it can be long or short), and it can take the form of prose or poetry, or combine the two. It reflects upon the past, just as official/professional history, professional local historical literature, and communicative (everyday memory) does, produces emotions and aesthetic experiences, similarly to fictional literature, as well as informs and creates sensations, as news literature does. Local history prefers to employ objective, festive, local patriotic and cultic types of discourse.

In the following, I will review the types and the historical manifestations of local history.

34 As opposed to the descriptive, argumentative, and explicative text, the narrative text is characterised by the fact that it records an event or a temporal shift which produces consequences. Adam 1994/1984: 10.

35 For the definition of primary and secondary speech genres, see: Bahtyin 1988.



Church Tower Manuscripts

One of the characteristic forms of the wave of memorial inscriptions spreading from the 17th to the 19th century consists in the manuscripts placed into the ball ornaments of protestant churches. Their research was initiated by Imre Dankó (Dankó 1991, 2000).

During a research conducted in Transylvania after 1990, researchers gathered data about the emplacement of 91 ball ornament manuscripts and acquired and made available to the public 59 such memorial manuscripts.

I classified the collected data and texts into five distinct historical periods, according to social and economic historical criteria. Thus, we have 20 manuscripts from the beginnings until the 1848-49 Hungarian War of Independence, 24 from the period between the War of Independence and World War I, 13 from the period of the two World Wars, 14 from the period of the people's democracy and the dictatorship (1945–1989), and 20 from the period after the 1989 regime change. Thus, the practice of writing memorial texts can be considered consistent during a period of four hundred years up to the present day. However, the different denominations have practised this genre to varying degrees.

The earliest memorial manuscript found in the Romanian sources is the manuscript placed in the tower of the fortress-church of Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) in 1601. In the same period, a memorial manuscript was placed in the tower of the Franciscan church from Csiksomlyó (Şumuleu Ciuc) (at the end of the 1600s) and then of the Reformed churches from Nagybánya (Baia Mare) (1619), Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş) (1668), Szilágysomlyó (Şimleu Silvaniei) (1766), Zabola (Zăbala) (1778), Ótorda (Turda) (1782), Szárazajta (Aita Seacă) (1783), and Abrudbánya (Abdrud) (1784).

Our data references a single memorial manuscript placed in the tower of a Roman Catholic church (1.09%). There are also significant differences among the different protestant denominations: 66 memorial manuscripts occur in Reformed churches (72.52%), 20 in Unitarian (21.97%), and 4 in Lutheran (4.39%) ones.

The church tower manuscript is prepared during the construction of the church or at the end of its renovation process. While reviewing the construction work, its text also reports on the status of the congregation regarding the number of its members, the strength of its faith, and its financial status, editing thus a kind of local history. This historical construction uses the following motifs. Of the 59 church tower manuscripts, 18 contain motifs related to local history (30.50%) (foundation of the settlement, its first mentioning in documents, fateful events); 27 contain patterns referencing the history of the congregation (45.76%) (origins of the population, immigration and emigration, the effects of plagues and wars, interdenominational conflicts, proselytisation, the list of the ministers who have served in the locality); 56 present motifs associated with the history of the construction (94.91%) (the construction of the church building and other church property, construction of the school), and 10 contain motifs related to the history of education and the school

(16.94%) (the start of the educational activity, the identities of the teachers, the endangerment of education in the congregation's mother tongue).

The research on the past sometimes directs the attention to the historical traditions (the Hunnic tradition related to King Attila, the Roman age, the age of the Hungarian conquest, the first written records), while at other times to church (the Reformation) and educational history traditions (building of the school, hiring of the teacher). This aspiration manifests the search for greater dimensions, as well as the interest for placing the community's roots into the distant past, and associating them with well-known and undoubtable events. These bold intentions are implemented through the use of eclectic, often unnamed sources, and through the generous editing, lacking in detailed exposition and continuous documentation. With great lacunae, the memorial manuscript of the church tower from Zabola (Zăbala) (1778) encompasses 112 years, while the one from Vidombák (Ghimbav) (1812) reviews 61, the one from Alsósófalva (Ocna de Jos) (1821) 221, the one from Marosvásárhely (1822) 214, the one from Torockó (Rimetea) (1828) 188, the one from Abrudbánya (Abrud) (1858) 1380, the one from Székelydálya (Daia) (1863) 63, the one from Felvinc (Unirea, previously Vințu de Sus) (1881) 1430, the one from Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmăției) (1892) 370, the one from Csernátfalva (1895) 460, the one from Sepsibodok (Bodoc) (1900) 65, the one from Székelydálya (Daia) (1905) 880, the one from Kraszna (Crasna) (1909) 520, the one from Nagyajta (Aita Mare) (1924) 120, the one from Gidófalva (Ghidfalău) (1929) 100, the one from Küküllődombó (Dămbău) (1936) 86, the one from Lécfalva (Leț) (1957) 1500, the one from Székelydálya (Daia) (1962) 650, the one from Oltszem (Olteni) (1971) 640, the one from Kercsed (Stejeriș) (1974) 96, the one from Gyerővásárhely (Dumbrava) (1975) 140, the one from Makfalva (Ghindari) (1980) 60, the one from Bikafalva (Tăureni) (1989) 650, the one from Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmăției) (1999) 100, the one from Szilágypanit (Panic) (1991) 100, the one from Csernátfalva (1993) 566, the one from Gidófalva (Ghidfalău) (1995) 65, the one from Bálványosvára (Unguraș) (1996) 700, the one from Kraszna (Crasna) (1998) 90, the one from Alsóboldogfalva (Bodogaia) (1999) 360, and the one from Káposztásszentmiklós (Nicoleşti) (2001) 800 years.

Church tower manuscripts attempt to locate the connection points between local history and the history of the country, the region, and Europe. Usually, they make timid attempts at exploring the wider historical contexts and the causes of local events (the life of the congregation, the fate of the national minority, denominational education and instruction in the congregation's mother-tongue). The interest, which could be called historical, transcending the dimension of local events and the present, shows similar intensity within certain historical periods.³⁶ It can be found in 23 of the 59 church tower manuscripts (38.98%): in 5 of the 14 church tower manuscripts prepared between 1601 and 1842 (35.71%), in 5 of the 17 church tower manuscripts prepared between 1857 and 1913 (29.41%), in 6 of the church tower

36 In one of his studies, Gábor Barna enumerates the ways in which 19th century local history, memory, and culture is infiltrated with the symbolical sings of national historical consciousness and memory, and the manners in which local, rural, and peasant historical consciousness becomes national and bourgeois in character. Barna 2002: 160.



manuscripts prepared between 1919 and 1944 (54.54%), in 3 of the 7 church tower manuscripts prepared between 1952 and 1989 (42.85%), and in 4 of the 10 church tower manuscripts prepared after 1991 (40%).

The first chapter of the memorial writing from Lécfalva (Leț) (1957) offers a detailed village history. According to its knowledge, the world-conquering people of Prince Attila entered Transylvania coming from the Szeged region, through the valley of the Maros (Mureș), and settled down in three major blocks in the area of Szászsebes (Sebeș), Szászorbó (Gârbova Săsească) and Száskézsd (Saschiz). Moving away from the Saxons who were settled down here, the clan from Sebes founded Sepsiszék (Sepsi Seat), the clan from Kézdi established Kézdiszék (Kézdi Seat), and the clan from Orbó set up Orbai-szék (Orbai Seat).³⁷ The inhabitants of Lécfalva arrived along with the Kézdi clan. After the people had settled on the land, the village was encircled with oak pillars cut from the nearby forest. And since this row of pillars resembled a lath fence, the village was named after it (“léc” means ‘lath’ in Hungarian). The Italian author mentions it as Lezzó-falva (“the village of Lezzó”) in the Register of the Papal Tithes. The most important clans of the village are the Gyárfás, Keresztes, Bodor, Györgybiró, Faggyas, Németh, Rätz, and Bitai.

The first register of births in Lécfalva starts with the year 1760. Based on its records, the author of the memorial names 22 ministers and 48 victims of World War I.

The bells of the village were requisited in 1916. The population of the village fled with carriages from the Romanian occupants to Békéscsaba, where they spent six weeks. The annexation of Transylvania to Romania was followed by such pauperisation of the population that the congregation could not even afford to pay its minister. This deep poverty was worsened by the conversion of 1930. In the World War II, 17 men from Lécfalva lost their lives. The population of the village was put to the test by the 1940 earthquake, the 1943 hail, and the 1945 drought. In the organisational period of the collective economy, two farmers were jailed, and two were sent to forced labour camps. The heads of families excluded from the collective were forced to commute.

The church tower was destroyed in 1835. Its shingle roof was substituted with sheet metal in 1878. This is when the walls of the church were fortified, and a ball ornament was placed on the top of the church tower.

Although a large part of the memorial writings remained unsigned, according to the authenticated church tower manuscripts, the author is most often the local minister or teacher, and more rarely, other religious or secular magistrates or officers (caretaker, scribe, a member of the building committee). This explains their (mostly superficial and general) understanding of contemporary ecclesiastic, state, and political affairs, and their knowledge of local sources, data, and oral traditions.

37 Until the administrative reorganization of Hungary in the 19th century Székely Land / Szeklerland was divided in five territorial units, the seats (*szék*): Aranyosszék, Marossszék, Udvarhelyszék, Csíkszék, Háromszék, each of these having its sub-units. Háromszék [Three Seats] was composed of Sepsi-, Kézdi and Orbaiszék (editor’s note).

In order to take possession of the local past, they research the inscriptions of church relics, textiles, buildings, tombstones, and bells, the records found in church and community archives, passages from family correspondences, as well as the memories of the elderly villagers, and edit a coherent narrative from these eclectic sources. The memorial manuscript is written with a careful calligraphy, in a biblical and psalm type speech, using verses from the Bible, passages from literature, and also Latin rhetorical formulae, while sometimes the literary proficiency of the author is even attested by the employment of poetic forms.

The presentation and the placement of the memorial manuscript happens in a festive setting, in the presence of the village magistrates, invited guests, relatives living abroad who returned to their native village for the occasion, members of the congregation, and the population of the village. The spectacular elements of the festive circumstances (speeches, preaching, recitation of poems, maids of honour and groomsmen who bring the church's ball ornament into which the manuscript is placed to the site of the event, the raising aloft of the ornament using ropes decorated with coloured ribbons, the placing of the ball ornament on the top of the church tower, which puts the courage of the craftsmen and the composure of the bystanders to the test, and finally, the following banquet) render the event of the church tower manuscript emplacement memorable.

The memorial manuscript fulfils its functions enclosed within the ball ornament of the church steeple, safeguarding the past of the settlement for 50, 80, or 100 years, and it only becomes accessible again during the next period of construction work. This is also the moment when the history perpetuated through the memorial manuscript is taken into possession and complemented with further events of the decades that have passed.³⁸

Bishopric and Diocesan Monographs

The work entitled *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania] was published after the General Synod held between the 13th and 22nd of June 1885 in Nagyenyed [Aiud]. Its initiator was the Reformed bishop of that period, Sámuel Bodola.³⁹ The historian of religion István Juhász evaluates the significance of the congregational past's recognition in the following way: "The years of Habsburg autocracy made it clear that the resources of the church's universal life cannot be found at the patrons who have come to take the place of the former princely power, but within the congregations. [...] The universal church movement built upon the congregations was introduced by the name book aimed at keeping track of the congregations and presenting them to each other" (Juhász 1955: 246).

38 For a more detailed analysis, see: Keszeg 2006.

39 The name book was published in Kolozsvár, between 1858 and 1909, in 49 volumes. Its first editor was college professor Ferenc Nagy from Kolozsvár. National name registers were created after 1909.



In the first volumes of the series, the sensitivity towards the past is best represented by the studies of Sámuel Bodola. His writings reflect the conviction according to which the construction of the church and its historical knowledge are mutually inseparable. The biographies of Péter Bod, György Zágoni Aranka, Péter Csernátoni Vajda, and Zsigmond Eperjesi are published one after the other, along with the histories of the Reformed Church from Bucharest and Pitești, etc. The church historical studies of Sámuel Bodolai represent the topics of the General Synod of 1860 and 1862. It is at these synods that the following decision was adopted: “Regarding the discourse to be printed at the beginning of the Holy Mother Church’s name book, it was decided that the history of the dioceses should be printed each year. For this to be achieved, the dean and the notary of each diocese are obliged to write up the history of their diocese and its churches, from its first foundations to the present day, according to the data found in the archives of the church and the diocese. Then, the priests will also be obliged, at the request of the dean, to write up the histories of their own churches and hand them in to their deans.”⁴⁰

Let us again cite the church historian at this point: “The first volumes of the name book publish the toponyms of the individual mother churches, the numbers of the congregations and the pupils, the name of the ecclesiastical teacher, and the toponym(s) of the sister church, or sister churches, classified according to dioceses. Starting with the year 1861, they also contain, along with the data referring to the dioceses in the strict sense, data regarding the Reformed congregations in Romania, and beginning with 1867, from Bukovina as well. The name books are rendered even more user-friendly by including, beginning with 1867, the alphabetical name list of the church magistrates and, starting with 1871, the alphabetical list of the toponyms. From 1873 onwards, first only some of the dioceses, then all of them publish along with the number of the pupils, the number of school age children, and the number of the pupils studying in the Reformed school, as well as in other schools. One can find a particularly interesting extension of the data in three name book volumes: the volume from 1895 publishes records related to the church and its bell under the name of each diocese, along with data regarding the school room and about the budget of the popular movement within the church and the diocese; the 1896 name book contains the starting dates of the diocese records, birth registers, and former archives; and the name book of 1906 offers the congregational data of the 1900 population census, published by the statistical office, according to municipalities” (Juhász 1955. 247). This is the manner in which the presentations of the diocese of Vajdahunyad,⁴¹ Károlyfehérvár,⁴² Nagyenyed,⁴³ Kolozsvár,⁴⁴

40 Cited by Juhász 1955: 248.

41 Dáné 1863: 3-30.

42 Elekes 1864: 3-49, 1865: 7-66, 1866: 3-21.

43 Basa 1867: 3-39, 1868: 1-27.

44 Szász 1869: 3-39, 1870: 3-31.

Kolozs-Kalota,⁴⁵ Szilágy-Szolnok,⁴⁶ Dés,⁴⁷ Szék,⁴⁸ Nagysajó,⁴⁹ Görgény,⁵⁰ and Maros⁵¹ were prepared.⁵²

Encouraged by their bishops and deans, the local ministers prepare monographs of their dioceses, based on the documents found at their parishes. The mandatory elements of these monographs include the number of congregation members (and its evolution over time), the history of the church properties and the relics, the list of the ministers and their congregation- and property-building activity worthy of remembrance as well as the history of denominational education. During the Transylvanian⁵³ period between the two world wars, congregational calendars are prepared and included in the living spaces of people in thousands of copies, thus creating a forum of local community history.⁵⁴ As a result of the sociographical interest of the university students of Kolozsvár, the writing of village monographs becomes more professionalised. The descriptions of the religious calendars turn to the sources of local archives in an intense and professional manner.

Monographs on the Administrative Units

In the second half of the 19th century, county monographs are prepared and published after lengthy preparations and basic researches. While summarising the past, the institutional system, and the general conditions of individual administrative units, they also focus upon the specific settlements.⁵⁵

In 1889 Balázs Orbán published the 6 volumes of his work entitled *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi és népismereti szempontból* [The Description of the Székely Land from a Historical, Archaeological, Natural Historical, and Ethnological Perspective], subsequently completing it with a new volume published

45 Szakács-Mihálc 1871: 3–54, 1872: 3–44.

46 Biró 1874: 3–55, 1875: 3–51, Nagy 1876: 3–51, 1877: 3–29, Nagy 1878: 3–45, Szabó 1879: 3–64; Magyarósi 1880: 3–56, 1881: 3–71.

47 On the basis of Sámuel Almási's data collection: Almási 1882: III–XVI, 1883: 3–30.

48 Széki... 1884: 3–25, 1885: 3–41, 1886: I–XXX, 1887: 3–26, 1888: 3–18, 1889: 3–22.

49 Nagysajói... 1889: 23–38, 1890: 3–42.

50 Görgényi... 1891: III–XLIII, 1892: 1–48, 1893: 1–45, 1894: 1–50.

51 Marosi... 1895: 1–27, 1896: 3–55, 1897: 3–27, 1898: 3–23, 1900: 3–25, 1901: III–XVII, 1902: III–XXX–VIII, 1903: III–XCVII, 1904: III–LXIV, 1905: III–LXVIII.

52 From 1906 onwards, the yearbooks did not continue the historical review of the dioceses. Thus, the presentations of the dioceses of Küküllő, Nagyszeben, Udvarhely, Erdővidék, Sepsi, Orbai, and Kézdi seats, as well as those of Dés, Nagyenyed, Fogaras, Illyefalva, Szászváros, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Székelyudvarhely, Kézdivásárhely, and Marosvásárhely were omitted. Juhász 1955: 249.

53 Transylvanian period: an *-ism* (Hungarian: transzilvanizmus, translated also: Transylvaniamism) in interwar Transylvania, promoted mainly by Hungarian writers who struggled for minority rights and believed that a peaceful ethnic coexistence is possible in Transylvania (editor's note).

54 Erdélyi Magyar... 1924–, Szilágysági... 1926–1940.

55 Szilágyi 1876, Jancsó 1892–1913, Ortvy 1896–1914, Lázár 1896, Kádár-Réthy-Tagányi 1900–1905, Petri 1901–1904, Benkő 1904.



under the title *Torda város és környéke* [The City of Torda and Its Surroundings] in 1889. The author visited every settlement mentioned in his book. He has spent time in local, county, and ecclesiastical archives, created extracts from the document collections of local scholars, fanatic collectors, and family archives, listened to the oral traditions and interviewed the eyewitnesses of the events of the recent past.

Balázs Orbán attempts to write a history of the Székely Land / Szeklerland and the individual seats in which every settlement would find its own contribution. In the following, I will present the working method and the perspective taken in one of the volumes of his work. In the fifth volume of his *Description*, the author's aim is to demonstrate the unity of the society and history of Aranyosszék / Aranyos Seat and the richness of its culture. He recounts the "prehistory" of the region, or the foundational event, in the following manner. The foundation of the settlement dates back to "the second establishment period of our homeland", the "renewed organising from the 13th century, following the devastation by the Mongolians". "Our Székely ancestors have fought their victorious battle against the Mongolians around this fortress, standing proudly on the pinnacle of the rock of the Székelykő and staring at the sky, winning the territory of Aranyos Seat as their reward" (Orbán 1871: 2–3). "They were about to lose the treasure and the fortress full of people, when a rescue troop of the heroic Székelys appeared and crushed the Mongols in a bloody battle also supported by the guards of the fortress, liberating the one thousand Hungarian captives fallen into the hands of the Mongolians and the fortress from the siege; for which they received as a reward the fortress and its territory from the lord they have saved. Thus, the mountain where the battle took place was named Székelykő [the Rock of the Székelys], and the fortress they saved and received into their possession was named Székelyvár.

Soon, the heroic Székelys also obtained countrywide recognition and an even greater reward when the King donated to them the beautiful and fertile lands lying to the east under the Székelykő, now devoid of population after the campaign of the Mongolians, detaching it from Torda [Turda] County and the fortress of Torda, to which it belonged, received by the victorious Székelys and turned into the fifth seat of the Székely Land.

But the Székelys did not only raise their victory banners here, on the proud pinnacle of the Székelykő. According to many historians, the Székelys of the inland have also come to help the Hungarians of the county against the Mongolian devastation, and hid themselves in the unoccupiable chasm of the Torda Gorge and in the holes and caves of the mountains of Torockó [Trascău Mountains] és Abrudbánya [Abrud], attacking and harassing the barbarians [i.e. the Mongolians] spread throughout the area with such heroism that the King Béla IV of Hungary, returning from Dalmatia, separated the area from between the Maros and the Aranyos, whose inhabitants have been either massacred or carried off into captivity by the Mongolians, and donated it for perpetuity to the Székelys, placing it under Székely rules and laws.

Thus, Aranyos Seat was set apart from the area of Torda County, and the Székely heroes settled here brought with them their families and relatives from their ancient homeland as well as their ancient national customs, institutions, antique traditions,

manners of administration and jurisdiction, creating another little Székely Land among the counties of this region, different and separate from the latter and related to the Székely mother region due to the identity of its institutions” (Orbán 1871: 3).

During his researches, Balázs Orbán visited the actual sites of the events, surveyed the area and asked his companions to prepare reports on earlier findings, which he sometimes examined carefully, while also conducting new archaeological researches on site. In each case, he personally ascertained the validity of his informants' claims or came up with his own hypotheses. When visiting the village of Sinfalva, he surveyed the barren land between the villages of Sinfalva [Cornești] and Szentmihály [Mihai Viteazul], where Alsó-Sinfalva once lay. In Székelyföldvár [Războieni], hearing the toponym *Csetátye* [meaning ‘fortress’ in Romanian] used for the boundary area of the village, he walks out to the edge of the settlement, where he concludes – on the basis of the remains dug up through ploughing – that a Roman fortress once stood here. In Székelykocsárd [Lunca Mureșului], it is the toponym of *Veresek és lovasok* [literally: “the Red and the Horsemen”] designating the village boundary area that grabs his attention. He hypothesises that the place name preserves the memory of the battle between the red guardsmen (*veres darabontok*) and the Székely horsemen (*székely lovasok*). According to the memory of the village, weapons are sometimes brought to the surface through ploughing, and Balázs Orbán even believes that he discovered the grave-knoll of the two armies. The village Harasztos [Călărași] once lay in the valley of the Roszpatak, and its church stood on the hill on the right side of the valley. Orbán's description vividly immortalises his field study. “If we study these traces more carefully, we can immediately recognise the foundation walls of the church. It is surrounded by graves.” The author sends his aides to the tomb beneath the church and asks them to bring the caskets to light. Unfortunately however, due to the destructive effect of time, he is unable to reconstitute their inscriptions (Orbán 1871: 80). When visiting the boundary area of the village known as *Pusztatemplom* [Empty Church], he confirms the assumption of the villagers that the church has fallen prey to a wicked attack. On the basis of the ruins and the bones found among them, Orbán considers the devastation to have taken place in the Kuruc age,⁵⁶ and hypothesises that the attack was levelled against the helpless population during worship.

The presence of the author probably represented a significant event for the settlements he visited. When visiting the settlements and surveying their boundary areas, he asked his aides to find the elderly villagers and the eyewitnesses, paying close attention to every detail recounted by them. He treats local knowledge with due respect and a critical attitude. In Harasztos, the local oral tradition holds that the village grew out of the settlements named Bogát [Bogata] and Hori [the former name of the village]. Balázs Orbán is happy to confirm this assumption and is also pleased to record some facts about the Orbán castle, a fortification surrounded by bastions, gabions, and a wall, with a church built into the fortress. In Kercsed [Stejeriș], he smiles cheerfully while recording the legend according to which the population

56 See footnote 2. (editor's note)



fleeing from the devastating attack of the enemy hurled the church bells into the nearby Lencsés well, and the bells are supposed to be still there to this day, since they are cursed and sink ever deeper every time someone tries to pull them out from the depths. In Kercsed, he is informed that the village used to lie somewhere else, and the population moved to the present location after the Tatars have burned down their original village. In this case, the author corrects the knowledge of the elders: the village that was destroyed is not Kercsed, but Fejéregyháza. He also identifies the foundation walls of the lost village and circumscribes the site on the basis of the wall remains and cellar holes. The Unitarian inhabitants of Bágyon [Bădeni] tell him the story of their women's heroism from the period of the renewed expansion of the Catholic Church. As the Unitarian church seemed to fall to the enemy, the women of the village throw the beehives of the priest on the attackers, thus definitively deciding the outcome of the confrontation. He soon records the very same story again in Kövend [Plăiești], where the women are said to have put the Tatars to flight with this method recommended by Bardóczné. In Sinfalva, the locals inform him that there is a treasure guarded by ghosts in the village's boundary area. In the same village, he again gives credit to the oral tradition on the recapture of the church at the top of the hill by the Catholics. He also meticulously presents the traumatic memories of the events from 1848 and 1849. Let us cite here verbatim his description from Székelykocsárd: "Being a great enemy of the lords and trusting the Wallachs, the notary of the village, Zsigmond Nagy, stayed put; however, his house was soon surrounded, his two sons were slaughtered, his third son and his wife were hanged, and he shot himself at this terrible sight. Another man, a certain Bodó, was put in front of the firing squad, and his son came out of hiding, asking them to kill him instead and spare his elderly father, but these cruel people massacred the son along with his father; and others, who were wounded, they covered with straw and set on fire" (Orbán 1871: 73.). In the case of Bágyon, the author presents with a similar level of detail the reactionary conniving of Baron János Jósika and the patriotic stance taken by the villagers of Bágyon.

Balázs Orbán also surveyed the buildings and cemeteries, recording the inscriptions he found here. The durability of his work is founded upon the documents he reviewed, the great number of historiographic syntheses and publications, the consensus established with contemporary scholars, the accumulation of local knowledge, and his analytical field surveys. He was the first to decode the etymology of their toponyms for the people of Aranyos Seat and to establish the morphology of the settlement, the genesis of the population and its mixing with foreign elements, as well as its denominational variations and conflicts. He also established connections between the great figures of national history and the various settlements, and identified the sites of the events deciding the fate of the region and Transylvania, or at least of the local settlements, thus creating the possibility for others to visit these sites. He created an order of priority within the architecture of the region and the dates of the preserved relics and objects. In his work, he names the literary men who brought fame to their region with their activity in the villages of the Aranyos Seat region or in other places of the world. Overall, he edited a kind of history that could

nourish self-esteem and historical consciousness, establishing his popularity to the present day.⁵⁷ His monumental work is also appreciated from a scientific perspective for its impressive richness of data and the author's synthesising ability.

The synthesis entitled *Aranyosszék* [Aranyos Seat] is the fifth volume in the series, and it was published in 1871. Although the microregion in fact consists of 22 settlements, the author presents 63 municipalities and villages. He starts from Marosvásárhely [Târgu Mureş] and descends along the Maros [Mureş] valley to Nagylak [Noşlac], then visits the localities from Torda County along the valley of the Aranyos [Arieş]. He centres his book upon the villages of the seat, subsequently discovering further settlements while passing through the Torockó [Trascău] Valley. Sometimes, his descriptions are disproportionately lengthy (as in the case of Felvinc [Unirea] and Torockó [Rimetea]), but none of the settlements escape his attention.

Regarding Mészkö [Cheia], he establishes that the toponym first appears in 1332 in the register of the papal tithes. It is a "secondary colony" of the Kézdi Seat, since it was founded by the people fleeing from the attackers who destroyed their original villages (Átaltelek, Pardéfalva). Orbán admires the alabaster foundation of the village, and identifies archaeological remains from the Roman period. As a result of his investigations, he finds out that George II Rákóczi donated a house in this village to one of his soldiers in 1655 and that András Mészköi Miklósi served as an interpreter under the rule of Michael I Apafi, around 1675.

According to his researches, Felvinc was donated under the name Vincz by King Andrew II of Hungary to the chapter of Esztergom in 1219. The 1291 document confirming the deed of gift issued by King Ladislaus registers the village as belonging to Aranyos Seat. In the beginning it is the *philia* of the neighbouring Harasztos (or Földvár) village, and therefore it is not included in the 1332–1338 register. Due to the destruction of its documents, it is not certain when it was raised to city rank, presumably by King Sigismund of Hungary. Queen Isabella Jagiellon once stopped for a rest in the city, and Stephen Báthory camped here in 1575. The rules of the city were accepted by Prince George I Rákóczi in 1643. Expelled from the throne, Ákos Barcsai established himself in Felvinc with his Turkish troops in 1659, and called from here on the Székelys to join his camp. The city was devastated by the Turks. In 1729, the anti-Kuruc general Tiede died here.

The city's population converted to Protestantism, and the Catholic faith only returned to Vinc as a result of the encouragement by the Austrian house. Later, it acquired *philiae* (Sinfalva and Harasztos) through violent means.

The author presents the tragic events of the recent past, the years 1848 and 1849, in a much more detailed manner. 52 persons have fallen prey to the Romanian attack from the 13th of November 1848. The local population fled the village and only returned in the spring of 1849 to a by then barren settlement. A new wave

57 László Kósa found that Balázs Orbán collected a tremendous amount of historical data, but was unable to edit a coherent history on their basis: "That which he could accomplish in the case of the smaller unit, he could not achieve on the whole, since he was inhibited by his attachment to the place." Kósa 1968: 90, 2001: 54.



of violence washed over the locality on the 14th of August 1849 and left only 500 survivors from a population of 2000.

True to his former habit, Orbán's description contains the list of the ministers who have served in the locality as well as the register of the general and magistrate assemblies held in the city.

When writing the volume on Aranyos Seat, the author epitomises the charters and the two-volume collection of *A nemes széket illető eredeti levelek* [The Original Documents of the Noble Seat] found in Felvinc. His reference base consists in the document corpus of the Reformed College from Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca] and the charter archives from Gyulafehérvár [Alba Iulia], the *História* of Farkas Bethlen, the scholarly work of László Kőváry, József Kemény, and József Benkő, as well as the sources published in contemporary scholarly journals. In order to reconstruct the past of Székelykocsárd, he uses the autobiography of local-born János Gálfi, published in the *Erdély Történelmi Tára* [The Historical Repository of Transylvania] series and József Kemény's collection of Transylvanian diplomas. He discovers the description of the 1662 battle between the Germans and the Turks, which took place in the boundary area of the village, in the domestic history of the Franciscan monks of Torda and copies the record on the 1707 battle between the Kuruc and the Labanc from the memoirs of Mihály Cserrey.

Orbán periodises the history of Aranyos Seat in the following way: the remains of the Roman age, the age of the Hungarian conquest and the settlement of the Székelys from the Kézdi Seat, the period of the Turkish and Tatar attacks, the reign of the Transylvanian princes, the age of the Kuruc uprisings, and the glorious and tragic events of 1848-49, tying in the individual settlements in this deeply embedded historical narrative.

After the years of absolutism, it was no doubt a welcome relief for the Székely people – and to the inhabitants of the individual villages as well – to read this heroic history. This was also the stated purpose of the author. According to his call for subscriptions: “Since our homeland is undergoing transformation, self-knowledge is among our most important tasks.”⁵⁸ Although historiography could later use this great synthesis only in fragments, it has been in continuous use ever since its first appearance until the present day within the local societies themselves. As the historian of science observes: “For six long decades, the Székely ministers and teachers presented the histories of their settlements to their congregations and pupils on the basis of these six volumes” (Kósa 1968: 90). One might say that there are almost no other works similar to Balázs Orbán's enterprise, which could continuously captivate such a large audience for such a long period of time of a century and a quarter.

58 Cited by Kósa 1968: 88.

Regional and Settlement Histories Edited and Used as Teaching Material

Several researches directed at the beginnings of the teaching of history as well as textbook analyses reconstitute these narratives, in which the national past was born and lent itself to description. László Lajtai L. has analysed 15 textbooks published between 1777 and 1848 in Hungary and Transylvania. His conclusion is that the nascent nationalisms and the writing and teaching of history were closely related. The stereotypes related to the ancestors and relatives, the conquest of the homeland, the adoption of the Christian religion, the establishment and the maintenance of the feudal society have become a recurring motif within the solidifying national narrative (Lajtai 2004).

The authors of the three proposals debated in 1897 within the teachers' corporations were presumably teachers themselves. Their manuscripts were preserved under the title *Javaslatok Torda-aranyosmegye földrajzának megírására* [Proposals for the Writing of the Geography of Torda-Aranyos County].⁵⁹ József Borbély advanced his proposals at the teachers' circle of Torda. In his opinion, the geography book of the 3rd elementary grade should contain the following chapters: *I. Orientation outdoors, II. Orientation within the school, on the slate, and on other objects, III. The concept of scale and layout, IV. Locality, domicile, homeland, and township, V. Boundary, VI. Atmosphere, weather, seasons, VII. Inhabitants, VIII. Crops, IX. The county, X. Description of the counties' communities according to rivers, XI. The government of the county, XII. Neighbouring counties, XIII. Seat and county.* Károly Kolumbán presented his ideas on the 27th of February 1897, at the teachers' circle of Felvinc. In his proposal, he emphasises the selection of oral, written, and printed sources to be used: "these should also be used only after having been strictly selected, according to the author's true convictions". Another essential criterion consists in expressing the attachment to the region: "they should feel that the author loves the land and its people". The manual should contain the description of the city of Torda and Torda-Aranyos County. In this context, the settings of the historical as well as cultural historical events should be presented along with the history of the localities. The early definition of the lieu de mémoire is as follows: "As the author discusses the streets, he should also find the opportunity to present the churches, the offices and their rooms, schools, the town square or the marketplace, the banks, pharmacies, and the more notable buildings of the congregations, associations or private persons, the jailhouse, the hospital, the association for helping the sick, the historically significant squares, perhaps the memorial columns, and some of the more distinguished restaurants, expounding their necessity especially from the perspective of the needs of the country-folk. Furthermore, he should also describe the more frequented dance and concert halls of the city, the telegraph building of

59 The manuscript can be found in the manuscript archives of the Romanian Academy's Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) branch under reference number MsU 1670 A–B. (Editor's note: the former Torda-aranyos county nowadays is part of Cluj and Alba counties.)



the post, the birthplaces of our historic figures, the train station, and the great olden wooden bridge over the Aranyos. If there are some wells with better water, this fact should be mentioned along with an encouragement made from a health perspective for constructing a general aqueduct for those places where there is a shortage in drinking water. Attention should also be called to the underground channels used for public sanitation. The author should present the salt mine, the baths and their medicinal properties, gardening and its use, the lumber yard, the cellulose factory and generally the importance of factories, the public cemetery, the wood and animal marketplace, the most efficient mill of the city, etc.

In the description of the city's geographical location, the Aranyos River as city boundary and the mountains should be mentioned. As the author presents the boundary of the village, he should explain the purposes for which the plow lands, meadows, pastures, vineyards, orchards, and forests at the city boundary are used and what their crops are. [...] The air, animals, grain crops, and industry trades can also be discussed here. Finally, the author should briefly summarise the history of Torda.”

These plans were indeed implemented in 1897 as 29 teachers prepared the geographical descriptions of 24 localities and the historical descriptions of 13 settlements. At the request of the teachers, their manuscripts were edited and compiled by Dániel Kovács. This edited manuscript was put to educational use under the title of *Községek ismertetése Tordaaranyosmegyéből az elemi iskolai III. osztály tananyagának megfelelő terjedelemben* [The Presentation of the Municipalities of Tordaaranyos – in an Appropriate Extent for the 3rd Grade Curriculum].⁶⁰ The authors presenting the individual settlements relied on the work of Balázs Orbán, as well as on oral tradition. On one, two or sometimes three manuscript pages, they edited short histories appropriate for school use. Usually they presented the distant past and the recent past still alive in the collective memory of the settlement. Instead of a documented presentation, they often elaborated certain episodes from village history hypothetically.

Settlement Monographs

In his autographic work *Erdélynek Rövid leírása vagy Geográfiája* [The Short Description, or Geography of Transylvania] from 1820, consisting of 19 pages, Stephanum Sako presents the region according to the following criteria: geographical location, neighbours, atmosphere, soil fertility, waters, magnitude, and inhabitants. He discusses in succession “the counties of the Hungarians” (Belső-Szolnok, Doboka, Kolozs, Torda, Küküllő, Fejér, Hunyad), the Székely seats, the Saxon seats, and the «border troops» (the Hátszeg region, Szeben Seat, the Fogaras area, Bardoc Seat, Csík and Gyergyó, Doboka, Belső-Szolnok, the region of Beszterce, and Aranyos Seat).⁶¹

60 The manuscript can be found in the manuscript archives of the Romanian Academy's Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) branch under the reference number Ms U 1670/A. Several textbooks on different settlements were published in this period.

61 The manuscript can be found in the manuscript archives of the Romanian Academy's Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) branch under the reference number MsU 1420.

The monograph entitled *Thorockó* of Samu Szentmártoni was written in the second half of the 19th century at the request of the locals.⁶² It presents the locality in ten chapters. These are the following: 1. Geographical location, lords of the settlement, and surroundings. 2. Its earliest age, Styrian colony, inhabitants. 3. Its privileges, the noble family of the Thoroczka, magisters. 4. The history of the city's life before the peasants' revolt of Dózsa. 5. The Torockószentgyörgy castle. 6. Livestock farming and agriculture. 7. Miners' life, sicknesses, population. 8. Mineral products, iron mines, blacksmithery, income, expenses. 9. School, festive customs, hygiene. 10. Insignia of power and authority, hieroglyphic of the blacksmith industry.

According to Szentmártoni's knowledge, the "earliest inhabitants" of the settlement lived in the Remete valley, located in the vicinity of today's village.⁶³ "They have built melting furnaces at the edges of the forest, providing wood supply according to their knowledge, and operated the bellows with great effort, using their feet. The traces of this difficult iron work are to be seen even today as iron slag remains in many places, even where one would not expect. The ancestors of the people of Thorocka, an industrious German colony of the settlement named Eisen wurzel, whose correspondent today must be Eisen arz, was brought in to help this stagnant domestic blacksmithery. [...] This was the colony that established the foundations of today's city and built it closer to the iron mines, along the creek operating the bellows of the furnace and the machinery used for stretching the iron. [...]" The author cannot, or does not consider it important to document the settling process of the Styrian population. Along with this ethnic element, he also presumes the presence of a Jewish stratum of the ancestors. His argumentation is as follows: "Those Hungarians, or at least a small portion of them, were Hungarised Jews, or either they themselves or their fathers were, with respect to their trade, the subordinates of Jews who managed the money-making mining trade here as they did in other mining towns. A long time has passed since then, but the region still preserves these Jewish traces in some of the words that are used, as well as in the names of the places and the trade tools, as one can see in the printed and manuscript works of the ecclesiastical writers."⁶⁴ In the period following the reign of King Matthias, the Hungarian population of the surrounding Hungarian villages fled from the Romanian invasion to Torockó, leading to the renewed enrichment and mixing of the local population. The author is again forced to dispense with the supporting documents and to rely upon assumptions and oral tradition. Let us quote again the description: "Torockó as well as Sz[ent]györgy received new inhabitants from the localities annexed to them, populated under the reign of Matthias, with few exceptions, by Hungarians, but only in small numbers. [...] The reason of the resettlement was probably that, although half of the population of these villages was Hungarian before the reign of Matthias, they perished as a result of some

62 The manuscript can be found in the manuscript archives of the Romanian Academy's Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvar) branch under the reference number MsU 1386, containing 44 pages.

63 This motif was previously also present in the description of Balázs Orbán: Orbán 1871: 214.

64 Balázs Orbán borrows the elements of the Jewish language spoken in Torockó from Sándor Székely's writing published in 1838. Orbán 1871: 199–200.



calamity. Now, Wallachs flooded here in great numbers from Wallachia and from the Eastern Mountains, in spite of the harsh orders and the almost unfair measures that have been taken. Nevertheless, they settled down on these barren lands and populated the emptied villages, as it might have also happened here. Now, the few Hungarians who remained here could not get along with these new elements, and thus they moved out to their blood and language relatives. And even more so, since it was in the spirit of these times to conquer anyone who could be conquered, and the domestic laws also remedied the cause of the people writhing in desperation by trampling them to the ground, they could not even rise up. Thus, in this respect it was easier to deal with the Wallachs who have moved in. [...]"

Besides the sociogenesis, this settlement history uses the motif of the origins and the further fate of the mining town's privileges. It is not known which prince first started to support the miners. The patent granted by King Béla IV was destroyed during the Tatar invasion. In the absence of the original document, the town was at the mercy of the princes. The fate of the residents was worsened by the fact that the Thoroczka family claimed a right to taxes from the miners. And although the peasant armies of György Dózsa destroyed the archives and the stamps of the family, they gain the support of the prince for their feudal rights. The claims of the Thoroczka family are vindicated in 1702 by the German army. The men who flee to the churchyard are tied up and hanged. This bloody retaliation ends with the capitulation of the demanding party. The city renounces its mining privileges, and the patents of the city and the church are confiscated. Those still alive look for shelter in the surrounding mountains. The last turn of events is the resurfacing of a copy of the patent received from King Andrew III, which solves the century-old problems of the settlement.⁶⁵

The author of the monograph demonstrates his knowledge of the settlement and local life world. In his footnotes, he references the knowledge of the local population. On page 16, he lists the expenses to be taken into consideration by someone traveling by cart. His footnote here presents the humorous remark of a local: "A spirited old man from the descendants of the Styrian colony, while counting on his fingers their many offenses, finally made the remark: if the German colony settled in Thorockó had known how hospitable the Hungarians were, it would never have abandoned its own language, in order to enjoy the benefits of this cordial nature to this day. But trying to curry its favour, it merged with this nation, and thus fared very badly!" On page 22, the author discusses agriculture. He determines precisely the amount of the crops: 6500 hattocks, the tithe of which amounts to 650, leaving thus 5850 hattocks. His footnote regarding the tithe: "This tithe contains the quarter due to the priesthood of Thoroczka, approximately 120 hattocks." The main text on page 26 reviews the most frequent illnesses of the settlement. The author attaches

65 The limitation of the mining town's privileges forced the population of Torockó to lengthy litigations, during which the Styrian (Austrian) origin of the population promised to be a success-guaranteeing factor. The original "copy" mentioned above was created for the demonstration of these origins, and although unfounded, it influenced the population's consciousness of its origins with effects reaching to the present. On the origins, history, and effects of the forgery, see: Jakó 1977.

the following footnote to his discussion of the goitre affecting the population: “Once there were two people [...], living on either side of the river, who became involved in a dispute. As one of them ran out of swear-words, at last he angrily grabbed his goitre, and shouted: you miserable man, you! You don’t even have one of these!”

The author has made a detour within his multifaceted oeuvre in order to write the monograph of Torockó: *Honunki jelen ’s hajdani idegen népek ösmertetése* [The People of Today and of Yore Living in Our Homeland] (copy, 1837), *Unitárius írók életére és munkáira vonatkozó adatok* [Data on the Lives and the Works of Unitarian Writers] (1876), *Az unitárius vallás kifejlése ’s történelme különösen Erdélyben* [The Development and History of the Unitarian Religion, with Particular Regard to Transylvania] (copy, the second part of the 19th century), *Keresztény vallásos erkölcs tudomány* [Christian Religious Moral Science] (19th century).

His knowledge of the settlement’s past is uneven and the presentation of the historical periods and events is disproportionate. The author does not hold himself to the canons of historiography. He often relies on presumptions and does not hide his ignorance and hesitations; he often makes statements without naming his sources and takes a stand in favour of one or the other participant of the events. His attachment to his model, the monograph of Balázs Orbán, is quite apparent and can sometimes be recognised even on the level of his wording.⁶⁶

Thus, local historiographical literature proves to be a very fertile and sought-after genre of popular literature.⁶⁷ Its current popularity is increased by the fact that the settlement’s past is repeatedly rediscussed within the framework of the local celebrations, and those who have moved away from the settlement are always happy to buy and to read monographs on their native localities.

Conclusions

The analysed sources significantly alter the initial hypothesis. The society invigorating selective oral memory has also gradually taken writing into its possession, and the use of writing significantly influenced local memory.

The sources presented here had very different backgrounds, since they were produced with very different intentions. The church tower manuscripts and deanery reports originate within an ecclesiastical and religious framework, the county monographs and Balázs Orbán’s descriptions attempted to offer a complex description of the administrative units, the teaching materials of the rural educators from

66 Here is a selection of the correspondences: the earliest age of the iron production, using pedals; the referencing of the heaps of iron slag; the guesses about the identity of the first charter’s author; the 1373 border dispute with Enyed and Orbó; the devastation of Dózsa’s armies produced in the archives of Torockószentgyörgy; the Thoroczka family’s new deed of gift, received from the child king Lajos II in 1516; the relinquishment of gold and silver mining to strangers by the Thoroczka family; the spread of serfdom in Torockó during the reign of Ákos Barsay; the town’s destruction in 1702.

67 Miklós Szilágyi reviews the monograph production of a decade (from 1970 to 1981), consisting of 120 items. Szilágyi 1984.



Torda-Aranyos County followed pedagogical objectives, and Samu Szentmártoni and his colleagues laid down in handwritten notebooks their knowledge about their settlements in their provincial literary workshops. Nevertheless, this great variety is based on the same essential motivation: interest for the local past and the desire to edit their local history. The church tower manuscripts give us a glimpse of this practice from the earliest times, and its subsequent existence, which could be considered general, is demonstrated by further sources from the 19th century. This practice reveals the following motifs:

1. The structuring of space and the discovery of regions and settlements is followed by their projection into the past. History is a narrative form, which establishes relationships between the settlements and the social units within the specific localities, deduces temporal relationships between the visible elements of space, which are used (buildings), and places past events into the local space. The protagonist of local history is local society, and history edits the heroic deeds and the defeats suffered by the local society into a narrative form, along with its persistent struggle for survival. The glimpses offered of certain aspects of the country's history and some of its episodes project the life of local society onto a macro dimension and illustrate the relationships and connections between events of regional and/or countrywide significance.

2. Histories attempt to extend the *longue durée*, thus transforming history into cultural memory. As unified and unilineal narratives, the monographs written by a single author, as well as the parish and deanery reports integrate the available data into the framework of a story of progress or decay, while incorporating the subjective interpretations of their authors and their historical period. Thus, local societies acquire narratives in which they are present along with their ancestors, and the successors take on the traumas, as well as the successes of their ancestors as their own. Through local history, the knowledge related to the ancestors is transformed into the heritage of society. Its preservation must be taken care of by society, and this care produces a collective identity consciousness.

3. Local histories divide the local past into periods. They designate momentous events within the past of the settlement, and the historical periods are filled up with local events and populated by local actors (the activity of local ministers, teachers, founders and entrepreneurs, perhaps the visit of a prince or a bishop etc.). The periodisation of local history approximately follows the official one, and uses stereotypical idioms, as well as narrative clichés for the individual periods. This procedure brings local life world and grand history closer to each other. It turns the members of local society into actors of the country's history, reviews the relationships of history-shaping personalities with the settlement, and begins to impose the periods of the country's history within the local historical narrative.

4. The discovery, presentation, and evocation of history through rituals put literary history into service. The manifestation of the remembrance of the past, i.e. history, consecrates and reorganises through various rituals (inauguration ceremonies, anniversaries) the relationships between the generations on the diachronic level, as well as that between the groups determined on the basis of ethnicity,

religion, property, and trade, within the synchronic dimension. Commemorative festivities are occasions for togetherness and remembrance for natives and people who have moved away from their native settlement, as well as for persons and groups sympathising with the locality, while the reading of history offers another form of putting the local past to use.

5. These practices deposit and “domesticate” history. Buildings are embedded into the public consciousness as settings of the past, relics and memorial objects become evidences of the past, while memorial houses and rooms, museums as well as commemorative plates are also created in order to present the past. History explored in this way is material, concrete, and palpable. The documents and fragments of the past are integrated into public consciousness as parts of the national heritage.⁶⁸

6. The local workshops of historiography are created and established within institutions such as the church and the school, or within the homes of local specialists. The research, documentation, accumulation, and editing of local history is intense, as well as ongoing in these workshops. The author of local history is often an “intruder”, i.e. a self-taught writer (Lyons 2001) who appropriates the right to writing and collecting data wantonly. His methods of research and data collection, as well as his approach as a writer are based on his own ideas and on randomly chosen models. He appropriates, reframes, selects, arguments, and completes the assessments of official history and the antecedents of local history, compiles and anonymises assessments, or conversely, ostentatiously cites the specialist literature and treats it with special recognition and respect. Due to these methods and to the rhapsodical use of critical attitude, his work (mostly) belongs in the category of naïve science.⁶⁹

Local society begins to respect this person as a connoisseur of the past as well as an author of history and contextualises him as a specialist in this respect. It turns to him for help and advice, brings him the newly emerging data, invites him to take an active part within commemorative rituals, and offers him recognition in different forms.

7. During this process, the specialist literature is put into local use and comes into contact with the local oral tradition. As a new type of text, local history establishes new narrative clichés and stereotypes of storytelling, including the citation of specialist literature and sayings and narratives derived from communicative memory.

8. History is personified in a significant measure through the inclusion of the members of local society into history, as the biographical narratives of the members of local society (epitaphs, obituaries, autobiographical writings, and letters) are presented as special documents of the past. Following the birth of national history and patriotism in the 19th century and the establishment of the cult of 1848, history itself, as well as the participation within history, becomes an important motif of funeral texts. From this perspective, history appears as a kind of aggression against individual life, while it can also ennoble the life of the individual, endowing it with meaning and the merits of serving the community and the future.

68 The concept of historical and cultural *heritage* (*patrimony*) is related to the *longue durée* and imposes the indisputable respect for and protection of objects. Chastel 1986: 410–436.

69 According to the conceptual apparatus and technical phraseology employed here, the major types of science are normative, naïve, and pseudo- (or fake) science.



References

- ADAM, Jean-Michel
1994 *Le récit*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France
- APPADURAI, Arjun
2001 A lokalitás teremtése. [The Production of Locality.] *Regio* 12. (3.) 3–31.
- ASSMANN, Jan
1999 *A kulturális emlékezet. Írás, emlékezés és politikai identitás a korai magaskultúrában*. [Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination.] Budapest, Atlantisz Könyvkiadó
- BAHTYIN, Mihail M.
1988 A beszéd műfajai. [The Genres of Discourse.] In: Kanyó Zoltán – Síklaki István (szerk./eds.): *Tanulmányok az irodalomtudomány köréből*. [Studies from the Field of Literary Science.] Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 246–282.
- BÁLINT Sándor
1953 Régi szegedvidéki néphagyományok Rákóczi halhatatlanságáról és a Rákóczi-nótáról. [Ancient Folk Traditions from Szeged Region regarding the Immortality of Rákóczi and the Rákóczi Song.] *Ethnographia* LXIV. 290–292.
1979 A régi szegedi katonaélet. Népi emlékezet és helyi hagyományok. [Soldier's Life in Old-Time Szeged: Popular Memory and Local Traditions.] *Ethnographia* XC. 54–68.
- BARNA, Gábor
2002 Idő és emlékezet. [Time and Memory.] In: Árva Judit – Gyarmati János (szerk./eds.): *Közelítések az időhöz. Tanulmányok*. [Perspectives on Time: Studies.] (Tabula könyvek, 3.) Budapest, Néprajzi Múzeum, 152–171.
- BARTHA Elek – KEMÉNYFI Róbert – MARINKA Melinda (szerk./eds.)
2009 *1956 a néphagyományban*. [1956 in Popular Tradition.] Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Néprajzi Tanszék
- BARTLETT, Frederic C.
1985 *Az emlékezés: kísérleti és szociálpszichológiai tanulmány*. [Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology.] Budapest, Gondolat
- BAUSINGER, Herman
1995 *Népi kultúra a technika korszakában*. [Folk Culture in a World of Technology.] Budapest, Osiris-Századvég
- BENSA, Alban
2001 Fièvres d'histoire dans la France contemporaine. In: Bensa, Alban – Fabre, Daniel (dir.) : *Une histoire à soi. Figurations du passé et localités*. Paris, Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme (Collection : Ethnologie de la France), 1–12.
- BENSA, Alban – FABRE, Daniel (dir.)
2001 *Une histoire à soi. Figurations du passé et localités*. Paris, Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme (Collection : Ethnologie de la France)
- BÉNYEI Péter
2004 Regény és történelem. A 19. századi történelmi regény lehetőségei a múlt reprezentációjában. [Novel and History: The Possibilities of the 19th Century Historical Novel in the Representation of the Past.] *Tiszatáj* LVIII. (11.) 51–74.

BLOCH, Marc

1993 *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*. Édition critique préparée par Étienne Bloch. Paris, Armand Colin

1996 *A történezmestersége. Történelemelméleti írások*. [The Historian's Craft: Writings on the Theory of History.] Budapest, Osiris

BOSNYÁK Sándor (gyűjtötte/coll.)

2001 *1100 történelmi monda*. [1100 Historical Legends.] Budapest, MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézete

BRAUDEL, Fernand

1972 *A történelem és a társadalomtudományok. A hosszú időtartam*. [History and the Social Sciences: The Longue Durée.] *Századok* 106. (4–5.) 988–1012.

CHASTEL, André

1986 *La notion de patrimoine*. In: Nora, Pierre (dir.) : *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Vol. II. 2. Paris, Gallimard, 569–592.

CONNERTON, Paul

1997 *Megemlékezési szertartások*. [Commemorative Rituals.] In: Zentai Violetta (szerk./ed.): *Politikai antropológia*. [Political Anthropology.] Budapest, Osiris, 64–82.

CUSUMANO, Nicola

1997 *Mnémoszüné – Lészmoszüné. Emlékezés és feledés, mítosz és történelem*. [Mnemosyne – Lesmosyne: Remembrance and Forgetting, Myth and History.] *Korunk* VIII. (8.) 71–78.

DANKÓ Imre

1991 *A toronygombokról és a toronygombiratokról*. [On Church Tower Ball Ornaments and Church Tower Manuscripts.] In: Dankó Imre – Küllös Imola – Molnár Ambrus (szerk./eds.): *Vallási néprajz V*. [Religious Anthropology. Vol. V.] Debrecen, 177–201.

2000 *A református toronygombok elhelyezésének szokásai és a toronygombiratok műfaji sajátosságai*. [Customs Related to the Placement of Ball Ornaments and the Genre Characteristics of Church Tower Manuscripts.] In: *Folklorisztika 2000-ben*. *Folklór–Irodalom–Szemiotika. Tanulmányok Voigt Vilmos 60. születésnapjára I*. [Folklore – Literature – Semiotics: Studies for the 60th Birthday of Vilmos Voigt. Vol. I.] Budapest, ELTE, 284–308.

DÉGH Linda

1947 *Beszámoló az 1848-as néphagyománygyűjtés eddigi tapasztalatairól*. [An Account on the Experiences of Collecting 1848 Folk Traditions.] *Ethnographia* LVIII. 230–235.

1952 *A szabadságharc népköltészete*. [Folk Poetry of the War of Independence.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó

DEMÉNY István Pál

1997 *A magyar szóbeli hősi epika*. [Hungarian Oral Heroic Epic Literature.] Csíkszereda, Pallas-Akadémia Kiadó

DOBOS Ilona

1964 *Az „igaz” történetek műfajának kérdéséről*. [On the Issue of the Genre of “True” Stories.] *Ethnographia* LXXV. (2.) 198–217.

1970 *A történelmi mondák rendszerezéséről*. [On the Systematisation of Historical Legends.] *Ethnographia* LXXXI. 198–217.

1973 *Petőfi mondák*. [Petőfi Legends.] *Ethnographia* LXXXIV. 97–112.

1982 *történelmi monda (szócikk)*. [historical legend (encyclopedia entry).] In: Ortutay Gyula (főszerk./ed.): *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon 5*. [Hungarian Ethnographic Dictionary. Vol. 5.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 343–344.



DÖMÖTÖR Tekla

- 1964 A mondakutatók nemzetközi értekezlete Budapesten. [The International Conference of Legend Researchers.] *Ethnographia* LXXV. 166–167.
- 1980 monda, mondahős, mondahősnő, mondakör (szócikkek). [legend, legendary hero, legend circle (encyclopedia entries).] In: Ortutay Gyula (főszerk./ed.): *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian Ethnographic Dictionary. Vol. 5.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 640–641.
- 1998 Történelmi mondák. [Historical Legends]. In: Voigt Vilmos: *A magyar folklór*. [Hungarian Folklore.] Budapest, Osiris, 287–293. (Originally published in: Ortutay Gyula (szerk./ed.): *A magyar folklór*. [Hungarian Folklore.] Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó, 1989, 266–274.)

DUKKON Ágnes

- 1988 A kalendáriumok művelődéstörténeti jelentőségéről a XVII–XVIII. század fordulójáig. [On the Cultural Significance of Calendars until the Turn of the 17th and 18th Century.] In: Hopp Lajos – Küllős Imola – Voigt Vilmos (szerk./eds.): *A megváltozott hagyomány. Folklór, irodalom, művelődés a XVIII. században*. [Tradition Transformed: Folklore, Literature, and Culture in the 18th Century.] Budapest, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet–ELTE Folklore Tanszék, 295–312.

ELIADE, Mircea

- 1978 *Aspecte ale mitului*. [Aspects of the Myth.] București, Editura Univers

FABRE, Daniel

- 2001 L'Histoire a changé de lieux. In: Bensa, Alban – Fabre, Daniel (dir.): *Une histoire à soi. Figurations du passé et localités*. Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme (Collection : Ethnologie de la France), 13–41.

FABRE, Daniel (dir.)

- 2000 *Domestiquer l'histoire : Ethnologie des monuments historiques*. Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme (Collection : Ethnologie de la France)

FERENCZI Imre

- 1960 Rákóczi alakja az abaúj-zempléni néphagyományban. [The Figure of Rákóczi in the Folk Tradition of Abaúj-Zemplén.] *Ethnographia* LXXI. 389–436.
- 1966 Történelem, szájhagyomány, mondahagyomány. [History, Oral Tradition, and Legend Tradition.] *Ethnographia* LXXVII. (1.) 49–73.
- 1968 *Adatok a Mátyás mondkörhöz* [Data on the Legend Circle around King Matthias.] Szeged

GELLÉRINÉ LÁZÁR Márta

- 1974 A magyarországi kalendáriumirodalom a kapitalizmus korában. 1850–1945. Előzmények, hipotézisek és módszerek a tömegkultúra egy jellegzetes termékének vizsgálatához. [Hungarian Calendar Literature in the Age of Capitalism. 1850–1945. Antecedents, Hypotheses, and Methods for the Investigation of a Characteristic Product of Mass Culture.] *Századok* CVIII. 1226–1254.

GERGEN, Kenneth J. – GERGEN, Mary M.

- 2001 A narratívumok és az én mint viszonyrendszer. [Narratives and the Ego as a Relations System.] In: László János – Thomka Beáta (szerk./eds.): *Narratívák 5. Narratív pszichológia* [Narratives. Vol. 5. Narrative Psychology.] Budapest, Kijárat Kiadó, 77–120.

GYÁNI Gábor

- 1990 A helytörténet-írás jelentőségéről. [On the Significance of Local Historiography.] *Honismeret* XVIII. (1.) 3–7.

- 2000 *Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélése.* [Remembrance, Memory, and the Narration of History.] Budapest, Napvilág Kiadó
- 2002 A városbiográfia és a mikroörténet. [Urban Biography and Microhistory.] In: Idem: *Történelemszövegek.* [Historians' Discourses.] Budapest, L'Harmattan, 59–66.
- HALBWACHS, Maurice
1925 *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* Paris, Librairie Félix Alcan (Collection: Les travaux de l'Année sociologique)
- HARTOG, François
2003 *Régimes d'historicité. Présentisme et expérience du temps.* Paris, Seuil
- HOPPÁL Mihály
2002 Elbeszélés és emlékezet. [Narration and Memory.] In: Idem: (ed.): *Elbeszélés és emlékezet. Tanulmányok Istvánovits Márton emlékezetére.* [Narration and Memory: Studies in Memory of Márton Istvánovits.] Budapest, Osiris, 118–129.
- JAKAB Albert Zsolt
2003 Emléktábla-állítás Kolozsváron. [The Placing of Memorial Tablets in Cluj.] In: Szabó Á. Töhötöm (szerk./ed.): *Lenyomatok 2. Fiatal kutatók a népi kultúráról.* [Imprints 2. Young Researchers about Popular Culture.] (Kriza Könyvek [Kriza Books] 19.) Kolozsvár, Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság, 135–158.
- JAKÓ Zsigmond
1977 A torockói legenda születése és kritikája. [The Birth and the Critique of the Torockó Legend.] In: Idem: *Könyv, írás, értelmiség. Tanulmány Erdély történelméhez.* [Book, Writing, Intelligentsia: A Study on the History of Transylvania.] Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 62–79.
- JUHÁSZ István
1955 Az erdélyi református egyház névkönyvei. [The Name Books of the Transylvanian Reformed Church.] *Református Szemle* XLVIII. (9–10.) 246–250.
- KATONA Imre
1977 Parasztságunk történelemszemlélete. [How Our Peasantry Thinks about History.] *Népi Kultúra – Népi Társadalom* X. 189–206.
1982 történelmi ének (szócikk). [historical song (encyclopedia entry).] In: Ortutay Gyula (főszerk./ed.): *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* 5. [Hungarian Ethnographic Dictionary. Vol. 5.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 342–343.
- KESZEG Vilmos
2006 *Egy Hír adás a' Késő Maradékhoz. 17–20. századi erdélyi toronygombiratok.* [A Message to the Late Descendants: Transylvanian Church Tower Ball Manuscripts from the 17th to the 20th Century.] Marosvásárhely, Mentor Kiadó
- KESZEG Vilmos – ILYÉS Sándor (szerk./eds.)
2008 Az eltűnt katona. [The Disappeared Soldier.] *KJNT évkönyve* 16. Kolozsvár, Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság
- KISANTAL Tamás (szerk./ed.)
2003 *Tudomány és művészet között. A modern történelemelmélet problémái.* [Between Science and Art: Problems of Modern Historical Theory.] Budapest, L'Harmattan
- KISS Noémi
2003 Antropológia az irodalomtudományban és irodalom az antropológiában. Egy új paradigma vázlata. [Anthropology in Literary Science and Literature in Anthropology: The Outlines of a New Paradigm.] In: Biczó Gábor – Kiss Noémi (szerk./eds.): *Antropológia és*

irodalom. Egy új paradigma útkeresése. [Anthropology and Literature: The Way-Seeking of a New Paradigm.] Debrecen, Csokonai Kiadó, 431–437.

KÓSA László

1968 Orbán Balázs könyvének évfordulójára. [On the Anniversary of Balázs Orbán's Book.] *Valóság* XI. (10.) 88–94.

2001 *A magyar néprajz tudománytörténete.* [The Scientific History of Hungarian Ethnography.] Budapest, Osiris

KÖRNYEYNÉ GAÁL Edit

1985 *Az első világháború emlékei a népi kézíratos forrásokban és a színhagyományban.* [Memories of the First World War in Popular Manuscript Sources and in the Oral Tradition.] (Studia Folcloristica et Ethnographica, 15.) Debrecen, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Néprajzi Tanszéke

KŐVÁRY László

1853 *Erdély földje titkaságai.* [Secrets of the Land of Transylvania.] Kolozsvár, Tilsh János

1857 *Száz történelmi rege.* [One Hundred Historical Legends.] Kolozsvár, Stein János

KULCSÁR-SZABÓ Zoltán

2000 A „korszak” retorikája. (A korszak- és századforduló mint értelmezési stratégia). [The Rhetoric of the “Epoch”: The Epochal Turn and the Turn of the Century as Interpretive Strategies.] In: Bednatics Gábor – Bengi László – Kulcsár-Szabó Ernő – Szegedy-Maszák Mihály (szerk./eds.): *Az irodalmi szöveg antropológiai horizontjai.* [Anthropological Horizons of the Literary Text.] Budapest, Osiris, 90–105.

KÜLLŐS Imola

1988 Igaz történet, élettörténet, önéletrajz. [True Story, Life History, and Autobiography.] In: Vargyas Lajos (főszerk./ed.): *Magyar Néprajz V. Magyar népköltészet* [Hungarian Ethnography. Vol. V. Hungarian Folk Poetry.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 251–266.

1988a *Betyárok könyve.* [The Book of Betyárs.] Budapest, Mezőgazdasági Kiadó

2012 A II. világháborús hadifogság és a sztálini légerek folklórja [The Folklore of World War II Prisoners and of Stalin's Lagers.] In: Idem: *Közkézen, közszájon, köztudatban. Folklorisztikai tanulmányok.* [In Public Circulation and in Public Awareness: Folkloristic Studies.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 340–350.

KÜLLŐS Imola – VASVÁRI Zoltán

2006 *Áldozatok. A második világháborús hadifogolytáborok és a sztálini légerek folklórából.* [Victims: From the Folklore of the Second World War's Prison Camps and of Stalin's Lagers.] Budapest, L'Harmattan

LAJTAI L. László

2004 *Nemzetkép az iskolai történelemoktatásban. 1777–1848. A nemzeti történelem konstruálása az első magyar történelemkönyvekben.* [National Representation in Historical School Education. 1777–1848. The Construction of National History in the First Hungarian History Textbooks.] Pécs–Budapest, Iskolakultúra – Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár – Országos Pedagógiai Könyvtár és Múzeum

LANDGRAF Ildikó (szerkesztette és a bevezetést írta/ed. and introduction)

1998 *„Beszélt a világ, hogy mi magyarok...” Magyar történelmi mondák.* [“It Is Said that We, Hungarians”: Hungarian Historical Legends.] Budapest, Magyar Néprajzi Társaság – Európai Folklór Központ

LEJEUNE, Philippe

1980 *Je est un autre.* Paris, Seuil

LENGYEL Dénes

1988 Történeti monda. [Historical Legend.] In: Vargyas Lajos (főszerk./ed.): *Magyar néprajz V.* [Hungarian Ethnography. Vol. V.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 148–166.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, Claude

1991 *Race et histoire*. Paris, Denoël

2001 Hogyan halnak meg a mítoszok? [How Do Myths Die?] In: Idem: *Strukturális antropológia II.* [Structural Anthropology. Vol. II]. Budapest, Osiris, 207–217.

LUBY Margit

1938 Népünk történeti tudásáról. [On the Historical Knowledge of Our People.] *Társadalomtudomány XVIII.* 169–176.

LYONS, Martin

2001 La culture littéraire des travailleurs. Autobiographies ouvrières dans l'Europe du XIX^e siècle. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales.* (4–5.) 927–946.

McADAMS, Dan P.

2001 A történet jelentése az irodalomban és az életben. [The Meaning of Stories in Literature and Life.] In: László János – Thomka Beáta (szerk./eds.): *Narratívák 5. Narratív pszichológia.* [Narratives. Vol. 5. Narrative Psychology.] Budapest, Kijárat Kiadó, 157–174.

MARK, Vera

1997 L'écriture de soi entre Histoire et autobiographie. In: Fabre, Daniel (dir.) : *Par écrit. Ethnologie des écritures quotidiennes*. Paris, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme (Collection : Ethnologie de la France), 361–376.

MIKOS Éva

2010 *Árpád pajzsa. A magyar honfoglalás-hagyomány megszerkesztése és népszerűsítése a XVIII–XIX. században.* [The Shield of Árpád: The Editing and Popularisation of the Hungarian Conquest's Tradition in the 18th and 19th Century.] Budapest, MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézete – PTE Néprajz-Kulturális Antropológia Tanszék – L'Harmattan

NAGY Olga

1975 Mesék és igaz történetek Széken. [Tales and True Stories from Szék (Sic).] *Népi Kultúra – Népi Társadalom VIII.* 303–334.

NESSELFELD Miklós

1890 Hogyan gyűjtötte Orbán Balázs az adatokat Torda város monographiájához? [How Did Balázs Orbán Collect the Data for the Monograph on the City of Torda?] In: Boros György (szerk./ed.): *Orbán Balázs emléke.* Írták: barátai és ismerői. [The Memory of Balázs Orbán: Written by His Friends and the People Who Knew Him.] Kiadja a Dávid Ferencz-Egylet, Kolozsvárt. Nyomatott Gámán János örökösseinél. 20–23.

NORA, Pierre

1986a Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problématique des lieux. In: Idem (dir.) : *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Vol. I. Paris, Gallimard, XVII–XLII.

1986b Les mémoires d'État. In: Idem (dir.) : *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Vol. II. 2. Paris, Gallimard, 355–400.

ORBÁN Balázs

1868–1873 *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi és népismei szempontból.* I–VI. [The Description of the Székely Land from a Historical, Archaeological, Natural Historical, and Ethnological Perspective. Vols. I–VI.] Pest–Budapest, Tettey Nándor és Társa Bizománya



1871 *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi és népismei szempontból*. V. [The Description of the Székely Land from a Historical, Archaeological, Natural Historical, and Ethnological Perspective. Vol. V.] Pest–Budapest, Tettey Nándor és Társa Bizománya

ORTUTAY Gyula

1981 Kossuth Lajos a magyar nép hagyományában. [Lajos Kossuth in Hungarian Popular Tradition.] In: Idem: *A nép művészete*. [Folk Art.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 131–184. Originally published in: *Ethnographia* LXIII (1952). 263–307.

PLÉH Csaba

1986 *A történet szerkezet és az emlékezeti sémák*. [Narrative Structures and Memory Schemas.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó

RÉTHEY PRIKKEL Miklós

1991 *Az igaz történet. Szöveg, műfaj, módszer és valóság generatív kapcsolata az élő elbeszélésben (Ontológiai megközelítés)*. [The True Story: The Generative Relationship between Text, Genre, Method, and Reality in Live Narration (An Ontological Approach).] (Folklor és Etnográfia [Folklore and Ethnography] 58.) Debrecen, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Néprajzi Tanszéke

RICOEUR, Paul

1985 *Temps et récit*. Paris, Seuil

1990 *Soi-même comme un autre*. Paris, Seuil

2001 A narratív azonosság. [Narrative Identity.] In: László János – Thomka Beáta (szerk./eds.): *Narratívák 5. Narratív pszichológia*. [Narratives. Vol. 5. Narrative Psychology.] Budapest, Kijárat Kiadó, 15–27.

SOLYMOSSY Sándor

s.a. [1933–1937] Történelmi mondák, Helyi mondák. [Historical Legends, Local Legends.] In: *A magyarság néprajza*. III. [The Ethnography of the Hungarians. Vol. III.] Budapest, Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 165–225.

SZELESTEI NAGY László

1988 Kalendáriumok a XVIII. századi Magyarországon. [Calendars in 18th Century Hungary.] In: Hopp Lajos – Küllös Imola – Voigt Vilmos (szerk./eds.): *A megváltozott hagyomány. Folklor, irodalom, művelődés a XVIII. században*. [Tradition Transformed: Folklore, Literature, and Culture in the 18th Century.] Budapest, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet–ELTE Folklore Tanszék, 313–361.

SZENDREY Zsigmond

1914 Szalontai mondák a Toldiakról és a Csonka-toronyról. [Legends from Szalonta on the Toldi Family and the Truncated Tower.] *Ethnographia* XXV. 164–168.

1920 Történelmi népmondák. [Historical Folk-Legends.] *Ethnographia* XXXI. 45–59.

1921 Történelmi népmondák. [Historical Folk-Legends.] *Ethnographia* XXXII. 130–133.

1922 Magyar népmonda-típusok és tipikus motívumok. [Hungarian Folk-Legends Types and Typical Motifs.] *Ethnographia* XXXIII. 45–64.

1923 Történelmi népmondáink. [Our Historical Folk-Legends.] *Ethnographia* XXXIV. 143–149.

1925 Történelmi népmondáink. [Our Historical Folk-Legends.] *Ethnographia* XXXVI. 48–53.

1926 Történelmi népmondáink. [Our Historical Folk-Legends.] *Ethnographia* XXXVII. 29–35, 78–86, 132–138, 183–187.

1927 Történelmi népmondáink. [Our Historical Folk-Legends.] *Ethnographia* XXXVIII. 193–198.

SZILÁGYI Miklós

1984 Helyi kiadású helytörténeti monográfiák 1970–1981. [Locally Published Monographs in Local History between 1970 and 1981.] *Ethnographia* XXXX. (1.) 118–133.

THEIS, Laurent

1986 Guizot et les institutions de mémoire. In: Nora, Pierre (dir.) : *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Vol. II. 2. Paris, Gallimard, 569–592.

THOMKA Beáta

2004 A történelem mint tapasztalat, regény és retorika. [History as Experience, Novel, and Rhetoric.] In: Jankovics József – Nyerges Judit (szerk./eds.): *Hatalom és kultúra*. Az V. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus előadásai. [Power and Culture: Presentations at the 5th International Congress of Hungarian Studies.] Budapest, Nemzetközi Magyarágtudományi Társaság, 310–320.

VASVÁRI Zoltán

2000 „Erőt a Jó Istenbe vetett hitünkéből merítettünk”. A hadifogolyemlékek néprajzi kutatásáról (nyugati hadifoglyok visszaemlékezései alapján). [“We’ve Received Strength from Our Faith in God”: The Ethnographical Research on the Memories of War Prisoners (Based on the Reminiscences of Western War Prisoners).] *Néprajzi Látóhatár* IX. (3–4.) 545–556.

VOIGT Vilmos

1965 A mondák műfaji osztályozásának kérdéséhez. [On the Question of the Genre Classification of Legends.] *Ethnographia* LXXVI. 200–220.

2014 *A folklorisztika alapfogalmai*. Szócikkek. [The Basic Concepts of Folkloristics. Encyclopedia Entries.] Budapest, Argumentum–Enquinter

VÖRÖS Károly

1972 A helytörténeti kutatásról. [On Researches in Local History.] *Valóság* XV. (2.) 42–51.

WEINRICH, Harald

2002 *Léthe. A felejtés művészete és kritikája*. [Lethe: The Art and Critique of Forgetting.] Budapest, Atlantisz Könyvkiadó

Sources

ALMÁSI Sámuel

1882, 1883 A deési ev. Ref. egyházmegye ismertetése. A deési ev. Ref. egyházmegyében levő egyházak leírása, ismertetése. [The Presentation of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Deés: The Description and Presentation of the Churches of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Deés.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve*. [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

BASA Mihály

1867, 1868 A nagyenyedi ref. egyházmegye és az abban levő egyházak történelme. [The History of the Reformed Diocese of Nagyenyed and the Churches of This Diocese.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve*. [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

BENKŐ József

1904 *Hunyadmegyéről*. [On Hunyad County.] Déva



BIRÓ Károly

1874, 1875 A szilágy-szolnoki ev. Ref. egyházmegyének rövid története. I. rész. Érmelléki egyházak. [A Short History of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Szilágy-Szolnok. Part I. Churches of the Érmellék Region.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

DÁNÉ István

1863 A vajdahunyadi Zarándival egyesült egyházmegye és azon egyházmegyébeni egyházak történelme. [The History of the Diocese of Vajdahunyad, United with the Diocese of Zaránd, and of the Churches of This Diocese.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.] 3–30.

ELEKES Károly

1864, 1865, 1866 A károlyfehérvári egyházmegye és ezen egyházmegyébeni egyházak történelme. [The History of the Diocese of Károlyfehérvár and the Churches of This Diocese.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania].

ERDÉLYI MAGYAR...

1924– *Erdélyi Magyar Református Naptár* [Transylvanian Hungarian Reformed Calendar]

GÖRGÉNYI...

1891, 1892, 1893, 1894 A görgényi egyházmegye története. [The History of the Diocese of Görgény.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

JANCSÓ Benedek (szerk./ed.)

1892–1913 *Arad vármegye és Arad szabad királyi város monográfiája I–IV.* [The Monograph of Arad County and the Royal Free City of Arad. Vols. I–IV.] Arad

KÁDÁR József – dr. RÉTHY László – TAGÁNYI Károly

1900–1905 *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monographiája I–VII* [The Monograph of Szolnok-Doboka County. Vols. I–VII.] Deés

LÁZÁR István

1896 *Alsó-Fehér vármegye magyar népe.* [The Hungarian People of Alsó-Fehér County.] Nagyenyed

MAGYARÓSI István

1880, 1881 A szilágyszolnoki ev. Ref. Egyházmegye története. V. rész. A zilahi ref. Egyházközség története. [The History of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Szilágyszolnok. Part V. The History of the Reformed Diocese of Zilah.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

MAROSI...

1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905 A marosi egyházmegye története. [The History of the Diocese of Maros.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

NAGY László

1876, 1877 A szilágyszolnoki ev. Ref. Egyházmegye története. II. rész. A Berettyó (és Kraszna) menti egyházak. [The History of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Szilágy-Szolnok. Part I. Churches along the Berettyó (and Kraszna) Rivers.] *Az Erdélyi*

Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve. [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

1878 A szilágyszolnoki ev. Ref. Egyházmegye története. III. rész. Szilágysomlyó. [The History of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Szilágyszolnok. Part III. Szilágysomlyó.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

NAGYSAJÓI...

1889, 1890 A nagysajói egyházmegye története. [The History of the Diocese of Nagysajó.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

ORTVAY Tivadar

1896–1914 *Temes vármegye és város története a legrégebb időktől a jelenig I–IV.* [The History of the County and City of Temes from the Earliest Times to the Present. Vols I–IV.] Budapest

PETRI Mór

1901–1904 *Szilágyszolnoki vármegye monographiája I–IV.* [The Monograph of Szilágyszolnok County. Vols. I–IV].

SZABÓ Pál

1879 A szilágyszolnoki ev. Ref. Egyházmegye története. IV. rész. A Kraszna és a Szamos közötti egyházak. [The History of the Evangelical Reformed Diocese of Szilágyszolnok. Part IV. The Churches between the Kraszna and Szamos Rivers.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

SZAKÁCS István – MIHÁLC Elek

1871, 1872 A kolozs-kalotai egyházmegye rövid ismertetése. [A Short Presentation of the Diocese of Kolozs-Kalota.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

SZÁSZ Gerő

1869, 1870 A kolozsvári ev. Ref. egyház történetének rövid vázlata. [A Short Outline of the History of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Kolozsvár.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

SZÉKI...

1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889 A széki egyházmegye egyházközségeinek története. [The History of the Bishoprics of the Diocese of Szék.] *Az Erdélyi Reformata Anyaszentegyház Névkönyve.* [The Name Book of the Reformed Holy Mother Church of Transylvania.]

SZILÁGYI István

1876 *Máramaros vármegye egyetemes leírása.* [The Universal Description of Máramaros County.] Budapest

SZILÁGYSÁGI...

1926–1940 *Szilágyszolnoki Református Naptár.* [Reformed Calendar of the Szilágyszolnok Region.]