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Homo Memor: The Structure of the 19th and 20th Century (Local) Culture of Remembrance

A new ritual appeared on the scenes of the nascent 19th century bourgeois society and became one of the most influential and sensitive factor of community organisation and identity modelling in the 20th century: the *ritual of remembrance*. (See Jakab 2014: 125.) Commemorations were quite varied, popular, and frequent in this period. The culture of remembrance of the turn of the century was characterised by professionalisation, as well as by the maturity and the edited character of the ritual: commemorative ceremonies were preceded by lengthy and careful planning, the events required ritual or ritualised behaviour, the creation of the representative public, and the continuing thematization of the commemorations in the media. In this study,¹ I will conduct a morphological analysis: my attempt is to present the structure of the 19th and 20th century culture of remembrance (and especially of the period between 1867 and 1918). Although my research was conducted with reference to Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca], its results and conclusions based on this local material are of a more general validity.

Sources

The life of the press has become more intense at the end of the Bach-system² and during the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in Transylvania. In this period, as a result of the need for a fast embourgeoisement, the number of press products has begun to rise also in Kolozsvár, and the publications have become increasingly diversified and plural.

From the perspective of my research directed at commemorative practices, the following functions of the press can be identified: (1) it communicates information; (2) manages, controls, and produces ideologies and worldviews; (3) being an instrument of publicity, it functions as a receipt, rendering the use of donations transparent and traceable, while also immortalising the names and the gestures

1 This study was prepared on the basis of my research supported by the Bolyai János Research Grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The description of the social functions of memory (Jakab 2014) and the investigation of the strategies and figures of remembrance related to the Millennium memorial year of 1896 (Jakab 2015) could be mentioned as its precursors; for a shortened Hungarian version of the text, see: Jakab 2017.

2 A period called after Alexander von Bach, the minister of the Interior in Habsburg Empire between 1849 and 1859. He installed a system of centralized control (editor's note).

of the donors; (4) it produces memory and functions as a form of remembrance (urges for memory construction and monitors the commemorative, as well as the inauguration events).

Besides the local and regional press from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, my analysis is based on the auxiliary publications of the commemorative ceremonies and on the various commemorative publications: memorial albums, commemorative plates, published celebratory speeches, protocols, and anniversary volumes. Furthermore, I also reviewed the relevant material of the local historical works. Keeping in mind the history of events as the level of my analysis, I considered these types of sources to be the most important during my research.

Theoretical Framework

The research topic calls for an interdisciplinary approach, and necessitates the reliance on anthropological, sociological, textual theoretical and semiotic research traditions, besides the use of the ethnographic literature.

Publicity and representation • In her research on Hungarian folk customs, Kincső Verebélyi identified their mode of existence in practice and action (cf. Verebélyi 2005: 22–37), and I accept this thesis. The practices socially and structurally relevant for my analysis are the public ones, which people and groups show, publicly represent and manifest, or tell about themselves. I consider the constant endeavours of collective memory, the placement of memorials (the production of memory) and the commemorations (the use of memory) as the functioning, practice, and public manifestation of (local) society.

I conceive the public sphere on the basis Jürgen Habermas' communication theory as an intersubjective and intercultural process, which enables human co-existence, and also realises the transformation of the modes of co-existence. According to Habermas, social formations went through a certain kind of evolution during the typological change of social order. This development – the transition from feudal order to bourgeois and then to modern social order – also brought about the structural change of the social public sphere and the creation and organisation platforms of public opinion, or in other words, by the 19th century a public sphere was created, in which debates, discussions and information flow took place, representing a medium for the production, organisation, and discussion of public opinion. (Habermas 1965)

The primary source used throughout the research (the press) *a priori* determines the research perspective: it does not so much convey the events themselves, but rather the interpretations or the representations of reality. Subsequently, these representations fulfilled their reminding function as part of another context; that is to say, we can also reckon with the representations of representations (cf. Terestyéni 1992).



Ritual • The community practice of memorial and commemorative ceremonies is described by culture researchers with the concept of *ritual*. Different memorial spaces and places of worship are mostly associated with specific locations, but they owe their real life to their use and gain their significance through the festivities and rituals: the places are created through rituals. Based on the theory of Arjun Appadurai about the production of locality (cf. Appadurai 2001), Zoltán Fejős asserts that “without ritual work, physical spaces are places with simpler meanings, or even empty places, kept on record, at best, due to the aesthetic values of the built environment. The places of worship represent important scenes of cultural reinterpretations and changes in meaning” (Fejős 2003: 103). According to Jan Assmann, the ritual and the festival are the primary forms of organising cultural memory (Assmann 2011: 41–44).

In his analysis of the public actions of remembrance, Paul Connerton also calls attention to the ritual mode of collective remembrance, taking place through various rites (Connerton 1991: 41–71).

Durations, temporal regimes • In 1958, Fernand Braudel introduced the concept of *long term* (*longue durée*) in the analysis of historical processes³ as a temporal horizon – along with the concepts designating the temporal horizons of *conjunctural time* (*temps conjoncturel*, social history) and the *short term* or *eventive time* (*temps évènementiel*, history of events, the temporality of event-centred history) –, through which he included social time and space in historical analysis (Braudel 2012). The category of long term can also be successfully applied in my ethnographic and anthropological discussion aimed at grasping the temporal insights and horizons of memory, and at revealing the temporal plane representing the history of societies and commemorative groups.

In François Hartog’s terminology, the *regimes of historicity* (*régime d’historicité*), or the *orders of time* (*régime du temp*) denote the cultural relationship maintained by societies with their own past. According to the author’s definition, this concept “is a heuristic tool which can help us reach a better understanding not of time itself [...] but principally of moments of crisis of time, as they have arisen whenever the way in which past, present, and future are articulated no longer seems self-evident.” (Hartog 2015: 16). In his analyses of the *regimes of historicity*, the author placed the human experiences of time within the spectrum of the past as viewed from the present and of the present viewed as the past, also noting that the past is becoming ever longer, and the contemporary experience of time is growing increasingly static (into a permanent present). Hartog used the term *presentism* for the perception of the present as past, or as history. The “sense of a permanent, elusive, and almost immobile present” creates historical time for itself. “Presentism’ is the name I have given to this moment and to today’s experience of time.” (Hartog 2015: 17–18, for a further discussion of this topic, see: 107–114.)

3 For the most thorough elaboration of the theory, see: Braudel 1958, in English: Braudel 2012.

Cultural and communicative memory • Using the concept of (collective) memory as an umbrella term, Aleida Assmann and Jan Assmann proposed a differentiation between memory and cultural memory. Jan Assmann subsequently also discussed these forms and temporal horizons of collective memory: “The communicative memory comprises memories related to the recent past. These are what the individual shares with his contemporaries. A typical instance would be generational memory that accrues within the group, originating and disappearing with time or, to be more precise, with its carriers. Once those who embodied it have died, it gives way to a new memory. This, too, is formed, vouched for, and communicated solely by way of personal experience and covers the three to four [...] generations that must stand accountable for a debt.” (Assmann 2011: 36.) The events included in this type of memory are the ones at which the overwhelming majority of the people living in a specific society participated; thus, it is based on personal participation and the recent past.

“Cultural memory, then, focuses on fixed points in the past, but again it is unable to preserve the past as it was. This tends to be condensed into symbolic figures to which memory attaches itself [...]. Myths are also figures of memory, and here any distinction between myth and history is eliminated. What counts for cultural memory is not factual but remembered history. One might even say that cultural memory transforms factual into remembered history, thus turning it into myth. Myth is foundational history that is narrated in order to illuminate the present from the standpoint of its origins. [...] Through memory, history becomes myth. This does not make it unreal – on the contrary, this is what makes it real, in the sense that it becomes a lasting, normative, and formative power.” (Assmann 2011: 37–38.) Consequently, this time interval refers to great temporal distances and represents a form of memory encompassing a previous time period greatly exceeding the lives of the individuals, in which they were not able to participate personally and are thus lacking any personal ties to it. This is produced partially through historical knowledge, and partially through various rituals, actions, etc. Thus, Jan Assmann includes it in the domain of institutionalised mnemotechnics. In contrast with communicative memory, cultural memory has its special media and requires orientation. The control of its dissemination is also developed, and the experience of initiation is associated with obligations and rights, which brings about the installation of borders as well (cf. Assmann 2011: 38–39.)

István György Tóth and Jan Assmann both consider eighty years to be the threshold value for cultural memory, which replaces communicative memory (cf. Tóth 1996: 100, Assmann 2011: 36–37). Additionally, Jan Assmann considers half of this generational limit, i.e. forty years, to represent a critical threshold (Assmann 2011: 36). The temporal perspective requires the recording of the events living in memory (and it is here that I include the commemorations representing the topic of my research).⁴

4 Jan Assmann interprets this post-scriptural characteristic of social memory as the substitution of *ritual continuity* and the “repetition compulsion” of *textual circularity* with *textual continuity* (Assmann 2011: 72).



The frameworks of memory • In contrast with the spontaneous process of individual remembrance, collective memory requires organisation. Maurice Halbwachs' most important thesis is that individual remembrance always takes place and fulfils its function within a (determined) social framework (cf. Halbwachs 1925,⁵ and posthumously: 1950⁶). According to his statement, the collective character of a specific memory is supplied by the reference to the common state of consciousness; memory reflects the belonging to the social environment. The social framework is posited as an institution overseeing and operating memory, which ensures the social consensus through regulating the remembrance event (Halbwachs 1925: VIII–IX). The author also defined family, religious groups, and social classes as social frameworks of memory (Halbwachs 1925: 199–368). The social frameworks overlap and partially contain each other: for an individual experiencing family, religious, and class ties, an afterimage of memory is all the richer and more complex the more numerous the memory frameworks in the intersection of which it appears and is organised. This common (but not necessarily identical) memory produces a group consciousness.

During my research, I considered social groups (associations, organisations, societies, groups, clubs, etc.) which create, perpetuate, and operate the memory of the analysed events as such regulating institutions.

This theory was further elaborated within Hungarian ethnography. Discussing national narratives, Vilmos Voigt raised the question whether the folk has a cultural memory (Voigt 2008). He worked with the hypothesis that popular culture created genres for the storage and transmission of cultural knowledge; or more specifically: the historical legend is dedicated to processing, interpreting, and structuring the knowledge of the past.⁷ It was also in the 19th century when this genre began to receive attention. It was László Kósa who studied these folk traditions and observed that “historical memory cannot be confined in the stocks of folklore genres” (Kósa 1973: 48).

The sites and figures of memory • Pierre Nora – who elaborated the research on memory, including the thesis on space transformed into sites/realm of memory⁸ – refers to the acceleration of history and to the disappearance of memory in his challenging work: “We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.” Feeling the continuity of past and memory, it is transmitted into sites combining material, symbolic, and functional aspects. “There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of

5 For the partial English translation, see: Halbwachs 1992.

6 English translation: Halbwachs 1980.

7 For the review of this genre, see: Voigt 1965, Dobos 1970, Katona 1977: 191–192, Dömötör 1998.

8 A monumental undertaking on the issue was edited by Nora under the title *Les Lieux de mémoire* in seven volumes between 1984 and 1992. English translations: Nora ed. 2001–2010.

memory.” (Nora 1989: 7)⁹ The author also reviewed the media and the organisation of those places and realities which mediate memory. The “sites of memory” – a term only used by him in the plural form – can be (1) materially oriented or combine (2) symbolic and (3) functional aspects, which can manifest themselves simultaneously, but also in different degrees. In his perception, memory has a *raison d'être* only insofar as it is realised and represented in these places.

European social scientists later also joined the research on the sites of memory. In Hungarian social science, the topic was discussed at a conference associated with an exhibition. The studies included in the volume edited by Tamás Hofer (cf. Hofer ed. 1995)¹⁰ reflected upon one of the most sensitive and debated pair of opposites related to the place of origins and to the traditions of Hungarian national culture, namely the system of relationships between the exotic East and the civilised West. According to the basic concept of the study collection, the places of Hungarian memory developed within this double bond.

For Jan Assmann, memory is always specific. The author calls the culturally developed and socially mandatory, iconic, and narrative formations of memory the *figures of memory* (Assmann 2011: 23–24). Their essential feature is that they are related to a specific time and place, as well as to a particular group, while being reconstructive in nature (Assmann 2011: 24–28).

The edited knowledge about the past strives to become visible. In fact, this is what guarantees its unchanged preservation. Remembrance establishes and restructures spaces; or as Jan Assmann put it, “memory needs places and tends toward spatialization” (Assmann 2011: 25). The author specifically calls spatialization, or “placement”, the “primal element in all *mnemotechnics*” (as the conservation, evoking and transmission of memory) (Assmann 2011: 44).

Invented tradition • To strengthen or re-edit loosened social ties, societies create artificial contexts and ritual communicative situations, which can provide coherence to social co-existence. In other words, they invent and establish new traditions. In Eric Hobsbawm’s interpretation, cultural memory is an invented tradition created in 19th-century Europe, which was shaped by fast-paced socio-economic changes, having a mass-production period of tradition lasting four and a half decades, between 1870 and 1914 (see Hobsbawm 1983). It is not so much the community, as the institutions that play a significant role in their production, while they are also defined to a large extent by different political traditions. “Invented traditions’ have significant social and political functions, and would neither come into existence, nor establish themselves, if they could not acquire them.” (Hobsbawm 1983: 307) Ákos Kovács based his research on the cult of Saint Stephen and of the historical changes related to the St. Stephen’s Day celebrations on the theory of

9 According to the author, the *lieux de mémoire* are created by the interaction between memory and history, while they are maintained by the gesture of remembrance (or “a will to remember”): “Without the intention to remember, *lieux de mémoire* would be indistinguishable from *lieux d’histoire*” (Nora 1989: 19).

10 The same author on the *lieux de mémoire* elsewhere: Hofer 1994.



the invented traditions (Kovács 2006). Ferenc Pozsony conducted his researches on this subject on research sites from the Székely Land and Moldova (Pozsony 1998, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). Vilmos Keszeg also contributed to this topic through his researches on Transylvanian church tower manuscripts and on the figures of local memory from the Torda–Aranyosszék [Turda and Aranyos Seat¹¹] region (Keszeg 2004, 2006, 2008: 328–350, 2014, 2015, Keszeg ed. 2015).

Remembrance and forgetting • The cultural anthropological tradition apprehends the process of collective memory in the contact with the meaningful past, as well as in its selection and editing. Remembrance and forgetting both belong to this process. According to Maurice Halbwachs, forgetting is a social phenomenon, and he explains the process itself with the transformation of the social framework of remembrance. “Forgetting is explained by the disappearance of these frameworks or of a part of them, either because our attention is no longer able to focus on them or because it is focused somewhere else [...]. But forgetting, or the deformation of certain recollections, is also explained by the fact that these frameworks change from one period to another. Depending on its circumstances and point in time, society represents the past to itself in different ways: it modifies its conventions. As everyone of its members accepts these conventions, they inflect their recollections in the same direction in which collective memory evolves.” (Halbwachs 1992: 172–173)

In other words, forgetting is also viewed as a cultural behaviour: it means omitting the use of the representations of the past. In this sense, I endorse the idea that we should see remembrance and forgetting as complementary processes when researching the organisation of collective memory. These two mechanisms mutually presuppose each other in the organisation process of remembrance.

Peter Burke defined *social amnesia* as the complementary process of remembrance. According to him, amnesia has a community forming function similar to that of memory. In accordance with the Halbwachsian conception, he held that the selective elimination of certain events is as important within the social reconstruction of the past as the evocation of others, since organised forgetting also serves the censoring of the compromising elements of memory. (Cf. Burke 1997.) Paul Connerton uses the term *organised forgetting* for the official censoring of memory (Connerton 1991: 14–15).¹²

Community. Speech community, memory community, and interpretive community • Among the concepts of community used within this research, the term *speech community* of Dell H. Hymes needs to be clarified first. In his interpretation,

11 See Vilmos Keszeg’s article in the present volume (editor’s note).

12 In one of his later studies, the author identifies seven types of forgetting: *repressive erasure*, *prescriptive forgetting*, *forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity*, *structural amnesia*, *forgetting as annulment*, *forgetting as planned obsolescence*, *forgetting as humiliated silence* (Connerton 2008). He considers cultural forgetting a characteristic of modernity (Connerton 2009).

the members of the speech community “know and apply the rules of language and language use, and are furthermore members of the same speech network, participating in the same speech situations and speech events. Since they possess this knowledge and these habits, the communication between the members of the speech community has an event character. The speech community is established and functions through speech events. The basis of speech events is offered by the routines and habits of communication and consensus.”¹³ Speech communities are shaped and operated by speech situations and occasions, as well as by communication links.

The evoked content – in a more general interpretation: the practice of remembrance itself – is organised along socially sanctioned and varied interaction processes and consensuses of which the participants as individuals are not fully conscious.¹⁴ One also must emphasise here the group organising force of the common experiences discussed by Maurice Halbwachs. The experience of togetherness is supplied by the common past based upon collective experiences. This observation can also lead to the consequence that there are similarities also within individual memory.¹⁵ The remembrance of the past, its continuous production, and the practice of remembrance also has an identity establishing function – Jan Assmann speaks about *foundational memory* (Assmann 2011: 62–63) –, as it integrates the individual into a community and transforms the local community into a *memory community* (Halbwachs 1925: 191–198, Keszeg 2015: 370). The concept represents the circle of people with common experiences. Vilmos Keszeg’s interpretation also alludes to the original Halbwachsian definition: “The concept denotes communities which keep record of the same memorial motives and contents, and associate identical interpretations to them, while practicing remembrance in an identical social framework and in the form of identical or similar habits and rituals of remembrance.” (Keszeg 2013: 27)

The term *interpretive community* was introduced by Stanley Fish (Fish 1980). “In his interpretation, an interpretive community is a formal or informal social formation, which interprets certain objects (facts, events, material objects, texts) in an identical manner at a given time and in a certain context.” According to him, the meaning of objects is community- and context-dependent, and it is not necessarily identical with the object’s original meaning (e.g. the meaning attached to the object by its creator). At the same time, meanings are reorganised and changed within

13 Presentation by Vilmos Keszeg (Keszeg 2013: 27). On the ethnography of speaking, see: Hymes 1962, 1964.

14 For this reason, several researches use the term of *distributed memory*, thereby also emphasising the differentiation of memory according to individuals: the social memory of the group is unevenly distributed among group members, and this distributed memory is evoked within the jointly performed rituals, on ritualistic occasions. According to Fredrik, rituals are used within certain societies, on the one hand, for organising distributed memory, and on the other, they fixate certain representations, forms of knowledge, and meanings, which subsequently define perceptions and actions (Barth 1987).

15 The research on situationally and contextually dependent story-telling within the community was carried out by Miklós Réthey Prikkel and Mihály Hoppál in Hungarian ethnography (Réthey Prikkel 1991; Hoppál 1977, 1998).



the more recent contexts.¹⁶ Vilmos Keszeg mentions two research results related to Hungarians: the concept of *interpretive capital* introduced by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, who applies it to the common knowledge of the community accumulated during the process of becoming a community, and the volume edited by György Kálmán C. discussing the issue of the interpretive communities (Kristóf 1998: 67, Kálmán ed. 2001 – cf. Keszeg 2013: 28).

Local history • The theoretically founded research on *local histories* is the consequence of the latter decades. According to the theoretical conclusion of these researches, “history is revalued within local history and it is transformed from a scientific discipline into a local form of social and cultural knowledge as well as practice, which produces identities and operates human relationships. When the locality takes possession of its past and constructs its own past, it creates a universe.” (Bensa 2001: 3, 8 – presented by Keszeg 2008: 329) The perspective according to which local history localises national events and the country’s history legitimises local history is well-known within the specialist literature (Cf. Fabre 2001: 20; Keszeg 2008: 330, 2015: 372; Vajda 2013: 249, 2015: 46).

The Structure of Remembrance. Typology

In this chapter, I will briefly present the instruments, forms, and frameworks of the structure of remembrance identified as a result of my research. The typology presented here systematises the most important local traditions of remembrance related to the examined period (occasion, space, procedures, institutions, and persons) and reveals the structure of the commemorative ceremonies.

Feast-days – Commemorative Occasions

Commemorative occasions were supplied by the periodically recurring anniversaries of mourning events, individual and national achievements, as well as community events.

Anniversaries • At the beginning of the researched period, commemorative occasions were primarily related to the turning points of human life, to accumulated performances and achievements, as well as to the round anniversaries of events that took place in the past. The birth and death anniversaries of noted personalities, the milestones of fulfilled life careers, professional and artistic jubilees, as well as the occasions of retirement represented important anniversaries to be celebrated. The round anniversaries of the community or of historical events, and of the establishment or construction of certain institutions can also be included in this category.

16 For the Hungarian presentation of Stanley Fish’s theory, see: Keszeg 2013: 28.

All Souls' Day • All Soul's Day represents one of the most important commemorative occasions of this period. It is one of the most significant occasions for commemorating not only specific persons but also community events – most significantly, the events of the 1849 freedom fight – at the beginning of the researched period. After the establishment of national festival times and the extension of the physical spaces of the city marked with commemorative monuments, the events associated with these new memorial spaces will draw away the attention from this day. In other words, this day will lose this event commemoration character, and will remain merely an occasion for remembering certain individuals (noted personalities). (For instance, we know from the reports of the *Egyetemi Kör* [University Circle] that from 1904 university students organised annually commemorative ceremonies in the cemetery and/or elsewhere, during which they visited the graves of the city's notable personalities and held memorial speeches.)

National holidays • These are not all public holidays. The most important and widely accepted high days for Hungarians, mobilising the largest crowds, the 15th of March and the 6th of October, were not official public holidays. In the latter category, we have the Kaiser's birthday, the day of Saint Stephen (Hungarian king), the coronation anniversaries, and, for a short period, the 11th of April.

Places – The Spaces of Commemoration

In the following, I will review the most important spaces of the city, serving as sites for the 19th century and turn of the century celebrations.

Promenade • One of the most important public spaces of the city was the wooded parkland between the *Nyári Színpark* [Summer Theatre] and the lake (skating rink in the winter), the site for early commemorative monuments and the planting of memorial trees, later – or along with these – the space of commemorations, ceremonial events accommodating large crowds, and recreation opportunities.

Town square • In the 1860s, it only served as the city's market square, a zone for communication and a forum, as well as the site for some community events marked by the Státua column¹⁷ erected here in 1831. In the 1890s, the appropriation of the buildings surrounding the church and their demolition marked the beginning of the efforts for establishing a festive urban space. The widening space of the town square – due to the construction of several buildings of important administrative and community institutions, as well as to the beginning of the space planning process and its implementation – now permitted the organisation of processions, mass events, and commemorations. After the most important commemorative act of the period – the raising of the King Matthias statue group (1902) –, it has evidently become the most important ornamental space of the city.

Churches • Churches were among the earliest and most enduring commemoration sites. Due to its central location, the *Saint Michael Church* was one of the most frequently used commemoration sites. Its importance was due not only to

17 The first lay monument of Kolozsvár, commemorating the visit of the king and his wife to the city in 1817 (editor's note).



its location but also to the church's denominational character, since during the period under consideration, the age of the monarchy, the religion of the monarchs was Roman Catholicism. The worship celebrations of the cult of the king and the Habsburgs (royal birthdays, name days, and other similar events) were celebrated here. At the same time, this church also served as an important site for celebrations with a national character. Commemorations were also held in churches: the Jesuit, the Minorite, the Franciscan, the Reformed, the Unitarian, and the Lutheran churches, while the city's synagogues also often served as celebration sites.

Train station • After the construction of the railways and the establishment of the train station, the latter served as a kind of “gate” to the city. It functioned as a site for greeting notable personalities visiting the city, and for taking farewell from the dead who were not to be buried within the city but in other localities, on their family estates.

Cemetery • The cemetery was among the earliest commemoration sites. Due to conceptions related to the other world and to its physical reality, the cemetery represents an adequate site for remembering the dead. Besides the commemoration of people buried elsewhere, deceased at faraway locations – e.g. the participants of the 1848-49 events –, the cemetery also served as a commemoration site dedicated to the noted personalities buried here. This category includes, along with the commemorative acts related to family bereavement, the raising of funeral monuments – mostly financed from public donations – for the prominent dead of the city and their yearly commemoration on the round anniversaries of their death.

Theatre • As the public education institution and important cultural forum of the city, the theatre adjusted itself to festive occasions, anniversaries, and commemorations, serving as a site for public speeches, festive programs and events. (The theatre served this function not only as an institution, but also as a specific place.)

Trencsin Square • The *Trencsin* square¹⁸ is one of the later, but often used places of urban spatial organisation and spatial construction. This is where the new theatre was built, and the barracks, the justice palace, the palace of the EMKE (*Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület* – Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania), the Reformed Theology were also erected in its vicinity.

Redut • The city *Vigadó* (“Place of Merriment”) or *Redut* served as a location for events dedicated to the general public or the masses. It was the leisure venue, assembly hall, and festive space of Kolozsvár. It was used by the city institutions (city council, university, and different associations) that organised their festivities here, and also held importance as a commemorative space, since it was the location of the 1848 Transylvanian Diet, which pronounced the union of Transylvania with Hungary.

Town Hall • The Town Hall served as a venue for celebrations held not only by the City Council but also by other city institutions (the university, as well as various associations).

18 Nowadays Piața Avram Iancu Square and Piața Ștefan cel Mare Square (editor's note).

County Hall • The County Hall was also used for different festivities by the City Council as well as by other institutions of the city, as indicated above.

University • The hall of the university established in 1872, and after the completion of the construction work of its main building in 1902, its auditorium has also become the site for commemorative ceremonies and gatherings.

Institution auditoriums • The strongest associations and societies of the increasingly modern and socially differentiated city also constructed their headquarters and established their seats. These institutions were also mindful of creating festivity halls in their buildings.

Acts and Gestures of Remembrance – the Event Types of Discussing the Past

The revival of the past and the acts of discussing the past took place in specified forms and materialised in established event types. In the following, I will highlight the most frequent practices of the historical period.

Burial • Burials are the most obvious and natural occasions for remembrance. The burial of the deceased offered an occasion for interpreting and evaluating a career that had just ended, for manifesting and strengthening the relationships between the living as contemporaries, as well as for representing their relationship to the deceased (genealogical or ideological kinship and identification).¹⁹

Commemoration • The earliest identifiable and simplest form of commemoration is the *commemoration of the deceased*. For researchers of popular culture, shorter time intervals are more familiar, as they usually study the events taking place at a determined time interval measured from the occurrence of death. History-shaping memory has another temporal scale than the remembrance of the deceased. Historical events have to be revived from a longer temporal perspective than the memory of the dead, whom we commemorate at shorter time intervals (at six weeks, six months or a year) (cf. Verebélyi 1998: 413). The cult of the dead is also at the root of the bourgeois culture of remembrance. Here, periodicity manifests itself in the same way as in the case of the commemoration of the deceased, and it is only the time scale which grows larger, as the major and *round anniversaries* become more important. (Commemoration also has a rhetorical content: it emphasises that the historical epoch of the commemorators is at 50, 75, 80, 100, etc. years of temporal distance from the great event, and remembrance is a moral imperative of societies at such an anniversary.)

I also include in this category the celebration of individual life careers and achievements. Professional anniversaries of 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35 or more years were also celebrated in Kolozsvár. Institutions most often honoured the life careers of teachers, ministers, politicians, actors, typographers, and institution directors.

Wreathing ceremonies • As a gesture of tribute, the wreathing ceremony is also associated with periodical commemorations. The festive wreathing of the

¹⁹ Vilmos Keszeg on the speech situation of the funeral: Keszeg 2010.



deceased's grave on certain occasions (All Souls' Day, and later, on various anniversaries) was a frequent practice.

Portrait unveilings • This gesture could be considered an early but widespread form of commemoration. In this case, a certain institution ordered the painting of the deceased's portrait and then installed it at its own premises or in other institutions (associations, educational and cultural institutions, etc.) in festive circumstances.

Unveiling of commemorative monuments • The installation of commemorative monuments as it is generally known today, was established as a practice in the last third of the 19th century. Its first location was the cemetery, as the funeral shrines were created and inaugurated by the community. Then, by the end of the century, the practice has also become standard for other public places and buildings of the city. The elevation of honorary monuments in the cemetery, dedicated to persons who are not buried there or to certain events, could be regarded as a transitional practice in this category. The preparation, structure, and ceremony of the installation followed similar patterns in each case.

Reburial • The reburial represents a procedure for interpreting, reinterpreting, and reviving the past which was practiced since the end of the 19th century, at the anniversary of the event of death or of the genesis, functioning, or effects of the idea which he embodied. This practice had several forms: the relocation of the mortal remains of the person buried in the cemetery, most often to a place of honour; the repatriation of his remains and their reburial in the city cemetery; and I also include in this category the joining in the national celebrations following the repatriation of the remains of politicians and princes, i.e. the celebration of reburials taking place elsewhere within one's own locality (in our case, in Kolozsvár).

Ground-breaking ceremonies • Schools, public institutions, and association headquarters were continuously built in the city of Kolozsvár, involved in the process of institutionalisation and modernisation in the 19th century. The beginning of the construction work was marked in a ritualistic form through laying the foundation stone for the future building, and the completion of the most important stages of the building process or the completion of the building was celebrated through *bouquet feasts* or through the *laying of the keystone*.

Flag inauguration • The inhabitants of Kolozsvár also strived to ritually represent the establishment of the different kinds of social associations in their city. The newly established societies created their own flags, which they inaugurated publicly right after, or at a round anniversary of their existence, following established rituals.

Ritual Instruments

One of the key findings of media and genre genealogical analyses refers to the fact that if a given society or a historical epoch wants to tell something about itself, then it first has to create the necessary medium or the genre in order to do this. In fact, the genres already appear simultaneously with this need. According to Tzvetan Todorov, "genres are born from other genres. New genres integrate the substantial

and formal characteristics of previous genres, and when they disappear, their features are built into other genres” (Todorov 1988: 285 – referenced by Keszeg 2011: 18). János Péntek calls attention to the constraints surrounding the appearance of ritualised texts (routine, ritualistic or ceremonial character) (Péntek 1997: 333). Commemorative situations and festive occasions search for their adequate forms and traditional genres, while they simultaneously also reflect back upon these and shape them. According to Vilmos Keszeg “every age has its stories and preferences, rules, and habits surrounding the recounting and listening of narratives” (Keszeg 2011: 36). Jan Assmann also emphasised the linguistic, pictorial, and ritualistic shaping of memory (Assmann 1988: 14).

In the following, I will present the ritual language and the codes of remembrance, i.e. the collection of instruments, which represented the form and the content of the commemorative ceremonies in 19th century Kolozsvár.

Festive illumination, decorative flags • I include in the category of ritual instruments and among the celebratory forms the festive illumination from the eve of the commemoration and the decorative flags used during the event. The former encompasses the illumination of the more important streets and town squares, agencies and institutions, as well as of the walls, balconies, and windows of private houses, using different techniques (candles, petroleum, gas, electricity) and with different shapes (coat of arms, crown, inscriptions), while the use of decorative flags also includes the installation of national flags, as well as of the various flags and symbols of the city’s associations and societies. These instruments were sometimes employed at the summons of a minister, the mayor, or the land-steward (*ispán*), but also more spontaneously, at the initiative of the citizens themselves, or of public officials.

Speech, festive speech • The (festive) speech is one of the most important elements of commemoration ceremonies. The texts included in this category can be (prepared) speeches read by the speakers or freely presented (impromptu or seemingly impromptu). According to the mood and character of the event, the genre can be identified as a *festive speech, eulogy, welcoming speech, farewell speech, salutation speech, acknowledgement, toast*, etc.; and, depending on the social or political status of the speaker, it can also have a political, literary, or historical character.

Recitation • A frequent and almost indispensable element of the commemoration ceremonies consists in the free recitation or reading of poems, most often included in the genre of the ode. The recited poem could be an occasional one, written especially for the specific commemoration event, or the work of a known poet selected for the occasion. It could be recited by the author himself, an invited actor, or by others.

Hymn, singing • This category includes the hymnic texts of the *Szózat* [Appeal] of Mihály Vörösmarty and the *Himnusz* [Hymn] of Ferenc Kölcsey. These two works are almost equivalent in this historical period, and they are also mostly inseparable from each other: usually, one of them begins and the other concludes the commemoration ceremony. One of the characteristics of the period (or maybe of



Hungarians in general?) is that these texts are sung by one of the “singing societies” (*dalegylet*) of the city, and the public listens to them respectfully (standing, with their hats off), but without joining in the singing. Press articles often specifically discuss whether the hymns were only listened to or also sung by the audience.

The official imperial anthem was the *Gott erhalte* of Haydn. The festive repertoire usually included the *Hunyadi-induló* [Hunyadi March] (Ferenc Erkel) and/or the *Rákóczi-induló* [Rákóczi March] (Hector Berlioz).

Besides the hymns, religious songs and coral works especially written or selected for the occasion were also frequently sung in the researched period. The inclusion of religious songs was primarily motivated by events organised in ecclesiastical contexts (church and religious school festivities). By the last quarter of the century, the singing of “*magyar nóta*” (Hungarian folk songs) is already common.

Church service • Church services were also among the common, widespread, and frequently practiced commemoration forms of this period. Festive church services (or requiems) and field masses in the army barracks were held on the birthday and name day of the ruler (the members of the ruling family) and of prominent statesmen, at the anniversary of their deaths as well as at the jubilee of important community and historical events.

Procession • The demonstrative presentation of the masses also counted as a figure of memory. The procession was used as a form for beginning the celebration (e.g. before the church service or the national celebration). Its forms included the *parade march*, the *festive procession*, and the *funeral procession*. It could be a *pedestrian parade*, a *cavalcade* (equestrian banderium, festive banderium), and I also include here the *military parade*. Processions required lengthy preparations and editing, while the fixed sequence and the decoration also represented the socio-political status of the participants.

I also mention here one of the common practices of the historical period, the *torchlight procession* and the *torchlight procession with music*. Noted or celebrated personalities (politicians, actors, scientists, teachers, etc.) were honoured through simple or torchlight procession and singing at various festive occasions (on their name days, when arriving in the city, or for their political, scientific, or artistic achievements) on a route established according to the specific character of the celebration (leading to the train station, to the domicile of the celebrated person or to the institution of the celebrated official, etc.).

The event known as *ováció* (“ovation”) was also an organised occasion and a form of remembrance based on the celebrating crowd.

Hammer blow • The ritual of the festive hammer blows was a fixed content element of the foundations stone’s laying ceremony. The country-, county-, and city-level leaders and officials as well as the heads of institutions administered hammer blows to the foundation stone of the work to be built (memorial monument or building), accompanied by slogans.

Driving in nails • The ritual of driving in nails was also a fixed content element of the flag dedication ceremony. At the inauguration of the ornamental flags of certain associations and institutions, country-, county-, and city-level leaders and

officials as well as the heads of institutions and associations drove nails into the flagstaff under festive circumstances.

Common meal, banquet • The common meal or banquet was an event following the ceremonies, but also belonging to them as their organic part. Depending on the time of day, it could be termed as a festive lunch (*díszebéd*), festive dinner (*díszvacsonya*) or a so-called “social dinner” (*társas-vacsora*). (These can be regarded as the precursors of today’s receptions.) Banquets were an important festive and social event: while enjoying their meals, the invited guests held toasts and improvised speeches in honour of the leaders of the country, the county, and the city (and their families, etc.), and praised the event or the individual accomplishment.

Decorative general assembly • One of the most frequent forms of festive occasions in the historical period under consideration was the celebratory or decorative general assembly. This form of remembrance was used by the city, the county, the different authorities, associations, institutions, clubs and societies. These get-togethers had a fixed structure, mostly containing the act of gathering, the invitation of the guest of honour or a high-ranking official (e.g. minister, land-steward [*ispán*], mayor, the president of the society, etc.), the delivery of the opening address, the memorial discourse(s)/celebratory speech(es), the proposals and their discussion, respectively their acceptance, the formulation of the welcoming or tribute inscription (addressed to the king, to the government or the parliament), and finally the festive closing of the event.

Festive performance • The festive performance held at the theatre can also be interpreted as one of the most frequent figures of memory of this historical period. This gala performance could sometimes be one of the festive program’s highlights and also a separate event. One of its frequent forms was the *tableau vivant*, or the human formation (*élőkép*), the statuesquely frozen historical or community event represented with the participation of professional actors or amateurs.

I would also like to mention here the festive community event termed as *táncvigalom* (“dance merriment”), which could also function as a figure of memory. (It was used, for example, to observe the birthday of the emperor, on national holidays or in order to celebrate more prominent personalities).

Textual messages (inscription, telegram, recognition, obituary) • One of the content elements of commemorative ceremonies consisted in editing, receiving or reading aloud text messages written for the occasion. Depending on the occasion of the get-together, the text message could be a decorative inscription (*díszfelirat*) or tribute inscription (*hódolófelirat*) addressed to the king or a prominent statesman, a congratulatory telegram (*dísztvérvirat*), protocolary recognition (*jegyzőkönyvi elismerés*), felicitation (*jókívánság*), letter (*levél*), condolence telegram (*részvéttvérvirat*) or commiseration statement (*részvétnyilatkozat*). The necrology (*nekrológ*) and the obituary (*gyászjelentő*) as well as the mourning frame (*gyászkeretezés*) used by newspapers can also be related to this category, although not organically.



Formations – The Representations of Cultural Memory

In the following, I will present the memorial formations created during the use of the past, i.e. objects, which are the representations of a certain past or an ideology. These are simultaneously the results, products, as well as the storage and maintenance media of remembrance.

Memorial tablet • One of the most widespread and frequent memorial formation. Since I have already offered elsewhere a typology of memorial tablets (see Jakab 2012b: 89–90), here I would only like to remind their definition as objects having the function to serve as reminders, containing shorter or longer inscriptions. (On the textual genre of the memorial tablet, see Jakab 2012b: 87–88.)

Sculpture and memorial • Due to its more expensive material, it is not as frequent in the historical period under consideration, but it is the most significant figure of memory from the perspective of its symbolic weight. (For my typology of statues and memorials, see Jakab 2012b: 90). I consider it important to mention and emphasise here that the memorials and funeral monuments erected in honour of the dead held the same semantic and pragmatic character as the monuments installed in public spaces. Their production was also based on the participation of the community (implying financial sacrifices and participation), and their “use”, the remembrance practices associated with them, were not restricted to family relatives either (several social and political groups laid wreaths periodically at these monuments). In fact, this remembrance practice preceded the cult of the prominent personalities in public spaces.

Memorial space • The memorial space is a figure of memory born as a result of 19th century urban planning and spatial organisation. It is mostly accompanied by other types of memorial practices: the installation of memorial tablets and the erecting of statues, as well as the naming ceremonies of public squares.

Memorial museum, memorial house • One of the forms of commemorating historical events and notable personalities. The memorial museum and the memorial house is often connected with the event or the idea from the past. I consider it important to mention this category here, although we do not have any initiatives related to such figures of memory from the historical period under consideration.

Memorial room • The memorial room is a figure of memory created at the place of birth or residence of notable personalities. I know of two such initiatives from Kolozsvár in the studied period: there were discussions to establish memorial rooms for Count Imre Mikó and Count Géza Kuun (cf. Vincze 2014: 252–254).

Memorial tree • The memorial tree is one of the most frequent figure of memory from the studied period. This form of commemoration was practiced at the anniversaries related to monarchs and famous personalities as well as in order to commemorate their deaths. The planting of the memorial trees and the course of the ceremony followed the general structure of commemorative actions.

Paintings, portraits • One of the frequent procedures for the maintenance of memory in the studied period consisted in painting the portrait or the full-body picture of the noted personality. The installation and inauguration of the finished work

followed the habits characteristically associated with the commemorative actions of this historical period. Portraits of monarchs, superiors, leaders and role models were prepared for the halls of different offices, institutions, and associations, being mostly inaugurated already during the lifetime of these personalities.

I would also like to mention here that, besides the installation of painted pictures, the increasingly widespread use of photography in the period under discussion also prompted the trend of preparing *group tableaux*: in the spirit of presentism, the participants (meeting participants, excursionists, people celebrating anniversaries) and organisers (members of memorial committees and organising committees of different festivities) of certain events have had themselves immortalised as a form of memorial action. These photography sessions themselves were an integral part of the program at these celebrations.

Memorial foundations/donations • One of the widespread procedures for perpetuating memory in the period under discussion consisted in the establishment of memorial foundations, practiced in many forms, such as *scholarships* created at the anniversaries related to the milestones of a life career, at class reunions or dedicated to the memory of someone or something and established at various social, cultural or educational institutions; *donations made in lieu of wreaths* within a social, cultural or educational institution; or *donations made with the purpose of installing commemorative monuments* (memorial tablets, statues or funeral monuments).

Memorial coins, medallions, and plaques • Memorial coins, medallions, and plaques are among the most widely used figures of memory from the period under consideration. Such memorial objects were prepared for celebrating the anniversaries of significant events, individual accomplishments, and scientific, artistic, or political careers. These objects were handed over or presented under festive circumstances, while memorial medallions and plaques were also prepared in order to pay homage to living persons and in their recognition as well as in order to commemorate the dead.

Memorial albums, memorial plates, and memorial books • These are usually ornate and richly illustrated printed publications. Memorial publications were issued for the celebration of anniversaries or at various other celebrations – their two main types are the decorative brochure issued for certain celebrations/anniversaries and the festive publication presenting the event and containing the speeches that were held there – or as festive volumes at a career anniversary. Some of these publications immortalised the idea, event, or an accomplishment begun in the past or already carried out, and sometimes its effects reaching into the present, while others recorded the events related to celebrating the past, to an idea born in the present or to a gesture made for the future.

Besides the memorial albums, memorial plates, and memorial books, one can also include in this category the *festive protocols* recorded at the formal sittings of various societies and associations, made available as publications to the larger public. Memorial publications followed the character of the commemorated event



also in their presentation. These were issued in colour, with decorated or gilded margins or a black border around the edge.

Street, square, and institution names • This commemorative practice dates back to the end of the 19th century, when the names of monarchs, statesmen, scientists, and artists have started to become eternalised in this manner. The name-giving required ample preparations and official procedures. At the same time, it also had more spontaneous forms, known from the middle of the century: at events such as the proclamation of the union (1848) or the death of Lajos Kossuth (1849), streets and squares were given new names unofficially.

Institutions – The Operators of Memory

Here I would like to refer back to the idea according to which, in contrast with the spontaneous process of individual remembrance, collective memory requires organisation (cf. the theses of Halbwachs). In the following, I will present the institutions and social groups, which organised and regulated memory in Kolozsvár.

The press • The press (i.e. daily and weekly newspapers) had an undisputed role in organising local and regional memory. From the perspective of our research, it even serves as the primary source. As an institution, the press revived the events of the past, initiated commemorative actions, and monitored the events. Besides organising and shaping the events, the press also evaluated them constantly: it designated, defined, corrected, and condemned. At the same time, the press also functioned as a legal entity and an institution: it collected donations, organised events, and publicly acknowledged donations, while also publishing accounts of the various funds.

The role of the publication entitled *1848–49. Történelmi Lapok* [1848-49: Historical Journal] (1892–1903) can be particularly emphasised among press products and institutions.

Március 15-i Állandó Bizottság [The 15 March Standing Committee] • The committee was created in 1873 for organising the March celebrations. Its first president was Béla Hóry, followed by Albert Deáky (1876–1903) and József Sándor (1903–1918, 1941–1945?). After the first celebration, they became a standing committee, which organised the anniversary celebration of the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence every year.

The committee was dissolved after the regime change following the war, since the 15th of March could not be officially celebrated anymore. In 1941, the standing committee was reorganised, and it functioned until 1946.

1848–49. Országos Történelmi és Erekllye-Múzeum [National Historical and Relic Museum of 1848-49] • The museum was established in 1890 by the 15 March Standing Committee under the leadership of István Kuskó. (It was later financed by the *Kolozsvári Országos Történelmi Erekllye Múzeum-Egyesület* [National Historical Relic Museum Society of Kolozsvár].) The Relic Museum had its official opening on the 19th of September 1892, on the 90th birthday of Lajos Kossuth, under the care of the committee led by president Albert Deáky and vice-president Béla Hóry.

The museum organised local and national commemorative celebrations and commemorative actions, and “undertook as its main task, along with the exploration and conservation of collectible memorabilia, to identify and mark the places of historical interest with commemorative plaques as well as to keep the record of the freedom fighters and their graves. Although not all commemorative plaques of the 1848 events were installed by them, they always reported their unveilings and the yearly celebrations held at them in their journal.” (Gaal 2005a: 408; on the collection, see: Jakab 2012b: 244–245.) (From August 1892, the collection was placed in the building of the *Tornavívoda* [Fencing school], and the museum moved its collection to the birth house of King Matthias in 1897.)

In 1896, while preparing for the millennial general assembly and the inauguration of the commemorative monument of the *honvéds*, “the assembly considered it necessary to establish a committee in order to supervise, under the name of ‘Memorial committee’, the preservation of the memorials established at the initiative of the Relic Museum.” (*Kolozsvár*. 1896/234: 3.)

In 1903, the running of the Relic Museum was taken over by József Sándor. After the World War, the committee disbanded. The Relic Museum opened again in 1925 and functioned until the 1930s. The committee was also revived in 1941, and the last exhibition of the museum’s material was organised in March 1946 (cf. Gaal 2005a: 408.) (The director of the museum, archaeologist Endre Orosz, died in 1945.) The Relic Museum ended its activity in 1949 (Gaal 2005b: 76).

Erdély(rész)i Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület [Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania] (1885–) • The fundamental goals of the society included identity construction, the establishment of cultural institutions, and economic revitalisation. The society also took an active part in organising and conducting commemorative actions and ceremonies. Its administrator and secretary was József Sándor from Páké, who led the society practically until his death.

Városi Tanács [City Council] • The municipal committee was one of the most important institutions involved in the organisation and supervision of memory. According to its nature, it organised events within the boundaries of the locality and was one of the primary organisers and operators of the king’s cult and the commemorations related to the royal family. Additionally, they participated at almost every celebration or provided a framework for external initiatives.

Kolozsvári (Ferenc József) Tudományegyetem [Ferenc József University of Kolozsvár] (1872–) • Ever since its establishment, the university regularly organised various anniversary celebrations. Its members commemorated each year in May the establishment of the university by the grace of the king, their deceased teacher colleagues, as well as their colleagues celebrating significant anniversaries. Paying attention to major political and historical events, the university also organised grandiose anniversary celebrations. Besides these commemoration events the university, through its delegations or as a collegiate body, participated at the commemorations organised by other institutions. The university Rector held annual report speeches on the internal and external activities of the university (including commemorative ceremonies), and his speeches, memorial discourses,



and the descriptions of the commemoration events were published in the university gazette, the *Acta Universitatis*.

Egyetemi Kör [University Circle] (1874–) • The university’s student association participated at various celebrations and also organised its own commemoration ceremonies, sometimes jointly with the university and sometimes independently. Along with celebrating certain anniversaries of the university teachers, the 6th of October celebrations from Kolozsvár and the commemorations on All Souls’ Day in the cemetery were mostly organised by the student youth of the university. Their activity is known to us from the reports of the daily newspapers, as well as from their own yearly statements. The rector’s reports published in the *Acta Universitatis* also touched upon the activities of the university students, and starting from 1904 separate reports were prepared on the University Circle, presenting in detail their role in organising commemorative celebrations.²⁰

Erdélyi Magyar Irodalmi Társaság [Transylvanian Hungarian Literary Society] • The Literary Society was established in 1888. It organised public readings and commemorative ceremonies at which the society’s members held speeches. Already in its 1888 regulations, the Transylvanian Hungarian Literary Society made arrangements for the final respects to be paid to deceased members, disposing that “a memorial speech will be held in honour of the deceased member by a regular member at a public or a festive general assembly” (EIT Évkönyve... 1889: 25).

Teleki Blanka Kör [Blanka Teleki Circle] • The Blanka Teleki Circle was established on the 1st of May 1890 by the former students of the girls’ high school, under the presidency of Antonina De Gerando. Its general assembly was held on the 10th of May, on the President’s name day. The circle issued yearbooks (1890–1895), commemorative books (1893–1901?), and other publications.

Vasvári Kör [Vasvári Circle] • This society was established in November 1892 at the initiative of the Relic Museum. Its president was Sámuel Szabó, who also served as the president of the *Honvédegylet* [Honvéd Association]. The members of the Vasvári Circle dedicated themselves primarily to the cultivation of the great Hungarian revolutionary’s memory.

Kossuth Lajos Asztaltársaság [Lajos Kossuth Table Company] • The “table company” seceded from the 15 March Standing Committee in 1898 and was formally established in September 1900. Its first president was Sámuel Benigni, followed by Albert Deáky. The antecedent of the company’s establishment was that the 15 March Standing Committee has acquired one of the marble tables and cups of Lajos Kossuth. The cup was cast in silver. The soirées of the society established in honour of Lajos Kossuth were held on the 19th of every month – the birthday date of Kossuth –, and they invited someone each year to give a toast with the cup of Kossuth at their 15th of March receptions.

Other, transitional committees • The installation of funeral monuments, commemorative plates, and statues, the creation and inauguration of the associations’

²⁰ Incidentally, the university youth started to celebrate 15 March starting from 1884 (cf. Ferenczi 1885: 12, Emlékbeszédek... 1898: 16).

ornamental flags, as well as the anniversary celebrations were organised by committees especially established for these tasks. These committees initiated and carried out the collection of funds, supervised the production of the memorial sign, and organised the inauguration celebrations. The presidents, secretaries, committee members, and treasurers were appointed from the most highly respected magistrates and citizens of Kolozsvár.

The Specialists of Remembrance (and Commemoration) – The Organisers and Supervisors of Memory

Some aspects of the edited interpretation relative to the past, of certain events, and of memory itself are not accessible to individuals. The so-called *formulaic notion of truth* is a knowledge to which not everyone, but only specially selected people, i.e. the specialists have access to. Anthony Giddens calls these people “*guardians*”. “Tradition involves ‘formulaic truth’, to which only certain persons have full access. Formulaic truth does not depend on referential properties of language but rather on their opposite; ritual language is performative, and may sometimes contain words or practices that the speakers or listeners can barely understand.” (Giddens 1994: 64) In modern societies, the specialists of this knowledge are *experts*, and truth is especially *propositional truth*.

Researchers of popular culture have long noticed the role of the individual in shaping culture. Vilmos Keszeg and his research group analysed the life stories of several such individuals at the beginning of the 2000s (Keszeg ed. 2005). Vilmos Keszeg himself developed and defined the concept and the role of the *popular specialist* on the basis of this research. According to his definition, the term ‘popular specialist’ “designates a person who, according to his/her own and/or his/her social environments’ consideration, practices a certain occupation as a role, in a different manner than his/her environment, from a quantitative or a qualitative point of view.” (Keszeg 2005: 20–21)

This definition could also be applied to the protagonists/actors of the urban society whom I examined in the course of my own research. In the following, I will present the biographies of a few such individuals. The specialists of remembrance are agents that belong to the local intelligentsia (teachers, political agents, journalists, heads of institutions, etc.), of various age categories, and mostly recruited from the bourgeois and the aristocratic social stratum. The group is also characterised by a strong male dominance. It can also be observed that their role as organisers of memory is substituted with the role of the commemorated individual after their demise.

László Kőváry (1819–1907) • Editor, historian, statistician. He played an important role in the establishment of the memory of the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence, and has written the histories of various associations and societies for their anniversaries. Kőváry also published a work on the national millennial celebrations and the history of millennial commemorative actions.



Péter Nagy (1819–1884) • Former *honvéd*, Reformed bishop. He also served as president of the *Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet* [Transylvanian Museum Society], and was a famous preacher and great orator. His memorial speeches were memorable and had lasting effects.

Elek Jakab (1820–1897) • Historian and academician with a prominent role in establishing the memory of the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence. His imposing monograph of the city served as an example already for his contemporaries.

Gerő Szász (1831–1904) • Former *honvéd*, litterateur, Reformed archdeacon. As the first vice-president of the *Erdélyi Irodalmi Társaság* [Transylvanian Literary Society], he held memorial speeches in honour of the notable personalities of Kolozsvár and its region.

Károly Haller (1836–1911) • Jurist, university professor, city mayor between 1884 and 1886, member of the municipal council. As one of the prominent personalities of the city's public life, he was the initiator, organiser, and president of a dozen of institutions and associations. Although his tenure as a mayor of the municipality was short, the reforms and plans he initiated have largely determined the cityscape (and also the memorial actions of Kolozsvár).

Miklós K. Papp (1837–1880) • Editor, organiser, publisher entrepreneur.²¹ As a journal editor, he started the daily newspaper entitled *Magyar Polgár* [Hungarian Citizen] in 1867, the journal *Történeti Lapok* [Historical Pages] in 1874, publishing documents and historical articles, and the *Hölgyfutár* [Ladies' Courier] in 1879, a publication with a more literary profile. Starting from 1874, he continuously collected and published the documents related to the 1848-49 events in his journal.

Domokos Szász (1838–1899) • Reformed bishop, founder of various Protestant institutions and vice-president of the *Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet* [Transylvanian Museum Society]. He used to hold eulogies at the funerals of prominent personalities from this historical period.

Gyula E. Kovács (1839–1899) • Actor and poet who often recited his own poems or those of other authors at various events. He became sick while reciting a poem at a commemorative ceremony and died afterwards.

Antonina De Gerando (1845–1914) • Women's educator and school principal who established the girls' high school and served as its headmaster (1880–1891, 1893–1912). She was also the founding president of the Teleki Blanka Circle. She annually organised school ceremonies and edited memorial volumes.

Albert Deáky (1846–1903) • Organiser, president of the 15 March Standing Committee (1876–1903), president of the Relic Museum (1892–1903?) and of the Lajos Kossuth Table Company. The committee mostly held its meetings at his home. Until his death in 1903 he had actively shaped the local memorial celebrations related to the 1848-49 Revolution and War of Independence, as well as the commemorative actions of the city.

21 On his organising activity and extended network, see the study of Eszter Szabó (Szabó E. 2014).

Sándor Hegedüs (1847–1906) • Parliamentarian, Minister of Commerce, one of the most influential and active people of the city, who later also became a member of the Academy.

István Hegedüs (1848–1925) • University professor and later academician who served as the vice-president of the 15 March Standing Committee in 1899. He played an active role in organising various commemorative ceremonies, and holding memorial speeches at several of them. He moved to Budapest in 1891.

József Sándor (1853–1945) • Organiser, journal editor, parliamentarian. He was the secretary of the *Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egylet* [Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania] since its establishment (1885), and later became its general secretary and honorary president. Vice-president of the *Erdélyi Kárpát-Egylet* [Transylvanian Carpathia Society] and head of the 15 March Standing Committee, as well as the president of the Relic Museum starting from 1903. He urged for commemorative actions throughout Transylvania and particularly in Kolozsvár, while also organising commemorative celebrations.

Sándor Márki (1853–1925) • Historian, university professor, and academician, effective and then honorary councillor of the municipal committee. After arriving in Kolozsvár and being appointed as a university professor, he became one of the permanent speakers at the local commemorative celebrations. He continuously published his festive speeches in the daily newspapers and in separate publications. Márki also published two collections of his speeches (Márki 1907 and 1915). His collection of speeches entitled *Nemzeti Ünnepeken. Történelmi beszédek* [On National Celebrations: Historical Speeches] was published by the city. The foreword of the 1907 volume was written by mayor Géza Szvacsina, who praised the role of the historian in the organisation of the city's memory:

“Dr. Sándor Márki made historical speeches endeared to Kolozsvár.

For we did not have any memorable general assembly in our municipal life and no uplifting ceremony in our city during the last 12 years, when eternal truths had to be proclaimed about the imperishable merits of great times and great men or great historical events had to be praised, at which the city of Kolozsvár, its institutions and associations did not turn to dr. Sándor Márki, did not resort to the treasures of eternal value of his historiographical knowledge and did not ask him to hold a celebratory speech.” (Szvacsina 1907: V–VI.)

In the first year of the World War, as university rector for the 1914-15 academic year, he also held speeches at the doctoral inaugurations for the candidates who most frequently went to the war immediately after receiving their title, or were already in military service, but have been excused for a few days when receiving their degrees. Márki also published these 35 speeches in a separate collection under the title *Háborús beszédek* [War Speeches] in 1915. These were patriotic discourses built on historical examples:

“Thus, it is only natural that the words of farewell addressed by the Rector to the inaugurated doctors, according to the decade-long tradition of our university, encouraged the graduates to fulfil both their military and scientific duties. At every such occasion, the Rector took leave from those fine young men of whom many



stepped before the university council carrying wounds or decorated with medals for their bravery and who had to head back to the war in only a couple of days or sometimes even on the same day, with a couple of inspirational and encouraging words, but always in hope of meeting again. He reminded both them and their colleagues remaining on civilian career paths that, as accepted doctors of the university, they further the benefit of their country through the cultivation of their scientific disciplines.” (Márki 1915: III–IV.)

Zoltán Ferenczi (1857–1927) • Litterateur, literary historian, (university) teacher and later academician. As the secretary of the *Erdélyi Irodalmi Társaság* [Transylvanian Literary Society], he organised commemorative ceremonies, held memorial speeches, and edited memorial volumes.

Lajos Szádeczky (1859–1935) • Historian, university professor and later academician. He took an active part in commemoration ceremonies and held memorial speeches at such events.

Géza Szvacsina (1849–1917) • City councillor, later mayor of the city between 1898 and 1913. He has made several motions at the general assembly related to commemorative actions, initiated the installation of commemorative monuments, and has held speeches at various commemorative ceremonies.

István Kuskó (?–after 1916) • Organiser, editor. He was the museum guard of the Relic Museum of 1848–49 (from 1892 until his death), the compiler of the *1848–49. Történelmi Lapok* [1848–49: Historical Journal] and its editor after 1893. Kuskó played an important role in collecting the relics of the 1848–49 Revolution and War of Independence as well as the life stories of the *honvéds*, also initiating the creation of several commemorative monuments in honour of the *honvéds*.

Summary

The aim of the analysis directed at the 19th and 20th century culture of memory is to structure the (local) commemorative tradition. I have discussed in this typology the instruments, figures, and frameworks of the structure of reminiscence, identified during my research. My analysis reviews the types of events, motives, and content elements which defined commemorative ceremonies, the spaces occupied or appropriated by community togetherness as well as the rhetorical and narrative strategies of commemorative actions and memorial ceremonies. Besides the institutions, I also considered it important to present those persons who played key roles in shaping the local culture of memory through organising and supervising the commemorative ceremonies as specialists (Keszeg) or guardians (Giddens).

The most important result of the research underlying this study is to present the morphology of commemorative action and memorial practice in their current sense, as well as the process of their institutionalisation. My investigation convinced me that the practice of remembrance has grown out of the cult of the dead and the rituals organised in an ecclesiastical setting. From the perspective of its roots, choreography, context, and character, this practice originally represented

a commemoration related to the family/the deceased. In the historical period under consideration, its choreography and context have widened – towards the national –, and this development increasingly projected the image of the historical/glorious past on its horizon.

In any case, 1867 represents a threshold regarding the structure of the public sphere and the experience of the memory related to community events. A new kind of politics of remembrance was born, namely the cultivation of memory which establishes national identity and presents it within the public sphere. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 created an opportunity to represent national memory within the public sphere (both in the press and in physical spaces).

The establishment of the bourgeois culture of celebration drove new management techniques with itself. Committees were formed for organising commemorative celebrations and implementing commemorative actions, fundraising actions were organised to create the necessary financial basis, and the citizens got involved in the culture of remembrance also through the gestures of donating and philanthropy.

Commemorative actions in fact created the space for later memorial ceremonies and periodical commemorative festivities, practically constructing the space for the culture of celebration. This is also demonstrated by the fact that, after the creation of the new memorial spaces, the festive community celebration has left its former settings (I am thinking here especially of churches and assembly halls) in a spectacular manner, and the culture of commemoration developed further in these new spaces created especially for this purpose. Besides these new spaces of remembrance, the practice of installing commemorative monuments in its current sense was also born: along with the invasive spatialisation of memory, commemorative celebrations have also become differentiated and were democratised. Along with the cult of the royal family, the celebration of the bourgeois ideal and image of the past, the exploration and commemoration of community events as well as their highlighting as points of reference were also born and have become emancipated.

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