



PARTNERSHIP WITHOUT BORDERS

Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENI CBC Programme 2014-2020
(www.huskroua-cbc.eu)

**Promotion of Crafts and Gastronomy, as Relevant Components
of the Cultural Heritage of the Carpathian Euroregion**

Acronym: KRA'GAS
(project ID: HUSKROUA/1702/3.1/0027)

European Union contribution:
EUR 581,954.68

Partners:

Lead partner:

Chamber of Commerce and Industry Maramureş
(Romania, Baia Mare)

Partner:

Babeş-Bolyai University (Romania, Cluj-Napoca)
Uzhhorod National University (Ukraine, Uzhgorod)
University of Miskolc (Hungary, Miskolc)
Chamber of Commerce and Industry for Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
County (Hungary, Miskolc)
Transcarpathian Enterprise Support Fund "Tes Fund"
(Ukraine, Uzhgorod)



**PARTNERSHIP
WITHOUT BORDERS**



PASSING A TRIPLE FRONTIER

PASSING A TRIPLE FRONTIER

*Traditional Civilization and Sustainable Development
in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Maramureş & Zakarpattia*



Co-financed by
the European Union

ISBN 978-606-020-354-4



editura
MEGA

This publication was produced with the financial support of the European Union. Its contents are the sole responsibility of Maramureş Chamber of Commerce and Industry and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Union.

Constantin Bărbulescu

Sorin Mitu

(editors)

Passing a Triple Frontier

Constantin Bărbulescu
Sorin Mitu
(eds.)

Passing a Triple Frontier

*Traditional Civilization
and Sustainable Development
in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén,
Maramureș & Zakarpattia*

EDITURA MEGA – Cluj-Napoca – 2021

ISBN 978-606-020-354-4

© Camera de Comerț și Industrie Maramureș
(Maramures Chamber of Commerce and Industry), 2021

This publication has been prepared with the support of a Research Team who undertook the study in the period 2019–2021. All individuals have contributed as experts and practitioners and not as representatives of their respective organisations. The views expressed in the report and the scientific output expressed are those of the Research Team and do not necessarily represent the views and do not imply a position of Maramures Chamber of Commerce and Industry, of the European Union, any Member State, or any organisation with which any member of the Research Team is affiliated. Neither Maramures Chamber of Commerce and Industry nor any person acting on behalf of this organization is responsible for the use that might be made of this publication.

The reuse is allowed provided appropriate credit is given and any changes are indicated. For any use or reproduction of photos or other material that is not owned by Camera de Comerț și Industrie Maramureș, permission must be sought directly from the copyright holders.

All content © Camera de Comerț și Industrie Maramureș (Maramures Chamber of Commerce and Industry), 2021, except where indicated otherwise.

Image on the front cover – Sorin Mitu. Author's personal collection.

Layout – Sorin Mitu



Editura Mega | www.edituramega.ro
e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

This research was supported by the European Union (Project *KRA'GAS—Promotion of Crafts and Gastronomy, as Relevant Components of the Cultural Heritage of the Carpathian Euroregion*). HUSKROUA/ 1702/3.1/0027. Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine. European Neighbourhood Instrument Cross-Cooperation Programme 2014–2020.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Introduction</i> | 9 |
| Genius Loci: Anthropological Research of Gastronomic and Handicraft Heritage Elements in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County (<i>Barbara Kántor, József Kotics, Klára Gulyás,</i> <i>Veronika Lajos</i>) | 13 |
| Consumer Engagement in Social Media. A Case Study of Five Craft Festivals in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County (<i>Zsuzsanna Török</i>) | 53 |
| Following the Jar in the Dimensions of Personal Contact and Likes. KRA'GAS Cultural Route Planning in Borsod- Abaúj-Zemplén County (<i>László Faragó</i>) | 77 |
| Traditional Food and Gastronomy in Maramureş (<i>Sorin Mitu</i>) | 109 |
| Virtual Food – Is It Really about Food? Insights into a Local Virtual Gastronomy (<i>Elena Bărbulescu</i>) | 141 |
| Four Craftsmen and Their Craft: Miniatures in Bottle. Case Study – Cavnic, Maramureş County (<i>Constantin Bărbulescu</i>) | 156 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Palynka</i> and <i>Palyncharstvo</i> in the Life of the Population in Transcarpathia. An Attempted Historical and Anthropological Analysis (<i>Pavlo Leno</i>) | 182 |
| Local Artistic Features of Folk Clothing Embroidery of Hutsuls in Transcarpathia (<i>Vasyl Kotsan, Nadiia Keretsman</i>)..... | 231 |
| Wooden Spoons' Makers and Spoon Carving in Transcarpathia (<i>Pavlo Leno, Natalia Todorova</i>)..... | 275 |
| Experience of Contemporary Reconstruction of “ <i>Cheres</i> ”, a Traditional Leather Belt of Eastern Carpathian Inhabitants (<i>Volodymyr Hutsul, Yuri Slavik</i>) | 293 |

Introduction

The present volume is the result of a broad project that has as topic the cross border cooperation of Hungary, Romania and Ukraine, applied in the field of recovery the cultural inheritance. The project unrolled within the frame of the *Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Ukraine, ENI Cross-Cooperation Programme 2014–2020*, financed through *European Neighbour-hood Instrument*. This important programme of the European Union follows the improving of the collaboration between the border states of the Union and its neighbours.

Our project is centered upon researching and turning to good account the traditional gastronomy and craftsmanship in the respective area, with the aim of identifying the most appropriate ways of sustainable exploitation of these resources through cultural tourism. Consequently, this approach combines the scientific research (historical, ethnographical and antropological) with the practical aspects offering to all interested (suppliers and consumers of touristic services, entrepreneurs, local public authorities) mark points for a better understanding of the economic and cultural potential of the region we are focused on. The main objective of the project consists in identification, mapping and promotion of major cross-border routes open to cultural tourism.

The perimeter taken into account is part of Carpathian Euroregion, a vast area, extremely picturesque, mountainous in most of its part, having as axis the northern section of

Carpathian Mountains that is situated on both sides of the borders of Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine. The geographical area of this project consists of three administrative units, from three countries, respectively, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (*Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye*, Hungary), Maramureş County (*judeţul Maramureş*, Romania) and Zakarpattia Province (*Zakarpatska Oblast*, Ukraine).

Within this context, the volume we subject to readers' attention gathers the scientific contributions done within the frame of the project by three teams of researchers from the universities in Cluj-Napoca, Miskolc and Uzhhorod.

The ten studies published here approach the topics of traditional gastronomy and craftsmanship from the three areas mentioned, trying to capture each time what was, what is and what can be carried on of this precious cultural inheritance. The resemblances and mutual exchanges that tightly connect the communities from this part of Central Europe are well highlighted in each study as also the particular nuances that offer an unmistakable specific to each village and town, each meal and each traditional clothing accessory that we find in Carpathian Euroregion.

Just as each region has its particularities, so the studies in this volume reflect the methodological and conceptual specific to each team of researchers, the research traditions of the respective country. The Ukrainian authors have put a special stress on ethnographical re-enactment, in detail, of splendid traditional craftsmanships, well kept in a pretty isolated region; the Hungarian ones were interested from an anthropological perspective especially in the way the contemporary realities or social media re-work on tradition and transforms it in products offered to cultural tourism; while the Romanian authors placed somehow in the middle

between these two types of interest, combining the historical perspective, the study of some traditional craftmanships and the attention towards the virtual side of the cultural tourism. All these approaches complete each other in a happy manner through field researches and library investigations, rounded with illustrations, graphics and tables, providing in the end a useful instrument to those interested in knowing better one of the border areas in Europe.

We invite you to read this book, and then, if it stirred your interest, get on the road, first in a virtual manner, on the specific websites, and then by car, by bike or on foot, exploring the guest houses, restaurants, craftsmanship workshops, the festivals and especially the hospitable houses of few European peoples, that live together, crossing three borders, on the valleys and the crests of Carpathian Mountains!

Genius Loci: Anthropological Research of Gastronomic and Handicraft Heritage Elements in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County (HU).

Cultural Tourism Development Based on the Experience of and International Applied Anthropological Research

*Barbara Kántor, József Kotics,
Klára Gulyás, Veronika Lajos*

The topic of Anthropology of (Cultural) Tourism is quite broad in the international literature, however in Hungary there are several gaps compared to the international praxis. This article summarizes anthropological studies of tourism that conceptually could be divided into two main categories: majority of the anthropologist try to understand the origins of tourism (Anthropology of Tourism), others focus the mass tourism's impacts on local communities (Tourism Anthropology). These approaches focus both on tourists' and local communities' emic perspectives – this latest approach has strong connection with applied anthropology. This study demonstrates within the case study of KRA'GAS, these different conceptual backgrounds and shows how the researchers of the University of Miskolc dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic situation and carried out an

ethnographic research among the future stakeholders of the planned touristic route on the basis of KRA'GAS (Promotion of Crafts and Gastronomy, as Relevant Components of the Cultural Heritage of the Carpathian Euroregion – HUSKROUA/1702/3.1/0027, funded by the European Union) between 2019–2021.

Introduction

One of today's major tourism trends is the appreciation of cultural tourism, and this trend is likely to continue if the world's current operational shutdown caused by the COVID-19 virus pandemic ends and the global tourism resumes. Cultural and heritage tourism is a special tourism segment that emphasizes the cultural and heritage attractions of a given area (Christou 2005) – tourism interest in these is also likely to see further growth. The reason for this is to be found in the context of the growing global homogenization where increasing consumer needs aim local specialties instead of mass tourism's supply (cf. Irimiás 2018). Travelers around the world are looking for the authentic experience of the heritage of originality, as tourism, like other ritual activities, drives participants to a state of liminality or an unstructured "out of time" (cf. Stronza 2008: 266).

Heritage tourism is a type of tourism based on cultural values, in which the common cultural heritage of a country, or even a region, can be capitalized as a tourist attraction (Jászberényi 2020). These attractions can be built cultural heritage, such as monuments, even entire neighborhoods, art or gastro festivals, religious events, as well as works of art, artefacts, and other intellectual values, such as traditional recipes. In addition, these living (heritage) values and traditions, which are closely related to the past, can play a key role in the economic and development of

a (cross-border) region (cf. Alzua et al. 1998). One of the common practices today is thematic touristic routes, which usually connects natural and / or artificially created sights and attractions (Nagy 2020:6). The main feature of these tourism products (packages) is that tourists get to know the material and immaterial cultural heritage of each area along the route on the basis of a pre-defined theme (Árva and Deli-Gray 2017)¹. Cultural Routes can function at a national level, thus forming a close network particularly appropriate for internal tourism, or at an international level, which is actually their most appropriate use, as they can strengthen cultural ties between regions and countries and help people realize what they have in common (Kamara 2016:18).

Such tourism product developments, in addition to serve tourists' desires for recreation, experience and knowledge, are also rural development tools that are particularly effective in upgrading disadvantaged, peripheral areas. Linking local activities and tourist attractions not only generates cooperation and partnership in local communities, but also between neighboring areas, thus contributing to the economic development of a given region (Briedenhann and Wickens 2004). However, it is important to emphasize that the integration of intellectual heritage elements into the touristic route(s), which can be linked to settlements in a little-known or disadvantaged region, is full of challenges, like the sustainable operation of a thematic touristic route as well. Therefore, in order to create such a tourism product, it is essential to establish the scientific research background of the development. The anthropologists of the University of

¹ One of the most famous of these routes is the Santiago de Compostela Pilgrimage Route in Europe, launched by the Council of Europe in 1987. See: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/the-santiago-de-com-postela-pilgrim-routes>.

Miskolc participated in the KRA'GAS Project (Promotion of Crafts and Gastronomy, as Relevant Components of the Cultural Heritage of the Carpathian Euroregion – HUSKROUA/1702/3.1/0027, funded by the European Union) between 2019–2021. The aim of the project was to create a cross-border touristic route in each region of Hungary, Romania, and Ukraine (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Maramureş counties and Transcarpathia), which would support the development of the existing local craft and gastronomic activities.

In the first phase of KRA'GAS international research, anthropologists from the University of Miskolc, while processed the history of gastronomic and handicraft cultural heritage values in the region, also searched online for local businesses in the region (desk research) that can be integrated in the KRA'GAS project. In the second phase of the research, researchers conducted semi-structured interviews (more than 60 interviews in total) with pre-identified stakeholders during their ethnographic fieldwork on heritage conservation – however the researchers were forced to conduct this part of the research intermittently and relocated due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation. After selecting the authentic representatives of local gastronomy and handicrafts to be integrated in the Hungarian section of the international cultural route through Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, in the third phase of the research, in cooperation with the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the planned touristic route was tested on the basis of a pre-defined set of criteria developed jointly by the researchers from the participating countries. The present study attempts to summarize the main results of the (applied) anthropological research carried out in the KRA'GAS project, in the context of contemporary international and

Hungarian anthropological and applied anthropological approaches of cultural tourism development. The second part of the paper is a primary analysis of empirical data collected during anthropological fieldwork in BAZ County between 2020–2021. The study presents the two heritage elements organizing the planned route, namely the trends of the local traditional gastronomy and handicrafts, that determines the possibilities of their integration into the KRA'GAS cultural tourism project. In the conclusion of the study, the authors reflect on a completely new research situation and the methodological challenges of digital fieldwork caused by the COVID-19 pandemic situation.

Tourism research in anthropology and the anthropological approach applied in tourism development

The area of tourism anthropology is an important trend within both academic and applied anthropology, but this has not always been the case. Until the 1970s, few anthropologists showed interest in tourism (Nash 1996). The change occurred when anthropologists realized that their fieldwork in villages far from cities was fundamentally influenced by the development of mass tourism, more precisely that the “communities” studied became tourist destinations themselves, and the effects of increasingly global tourism become almost ubiquitous.

The anthropological literature on tourism is divided conceptually into two major parts: one group includes studies focusing on understanding the origins of tourism and the functioning of the phenomenon, and the other one includes the anthropological analysis of the effects of tourism. Nowadays, anthropological understanding of the meetings between locals and tourists, i.e. hosts and guests, has become a very popular topic, as more and more applied (and praxis)

anthropologists undertake to participate in the development of professional proposals based on the evaluation of these meetings, which are also intended to benefit the participants in the meeting.

Tourism anthropology – international and Hungarian aspects

Research aiming the anthropological knowledge of the phenomenon of tourism began in the second half of the 1970s: a study volume edited by Smith, *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1977), “institutionalized” tourism research in anthropology (Wallace 2005: 6). The studies in this volume (see e.g., Crick 1985, 1989, Nash 1977, 1981, Graburn 1977, 1983, and Cohen 1974, 1979a, 1979b, 1984), in addition of incorporating basic concepts into discourse, typically dealt with the effects of tourists and tourism on local communities (Wallace 2005). The common feature of these critically written studies is that they warn of the dangers of transformation mechanisms in local socio-economic relations that are negatively affected by tourism. These have been explained as side effects of globalization (Reid 2003); tourism does not provide real benefits to local people, that it has a detrimental transformative role in changing local socioeconomic relationships, and that it also destroys local cultural practices and artifacts by converting them into commodities that can be bought and sold (Wallace 2005:9).

Anthropologists in recent decades have typically addressed two endpoints of the tourism process (Nash 1981); either they were curious about what makes a person a tourist, what motivates tourists to travel, or what determines the type of places and experiences tourists seek. These are mainly postmodern writings on tourism anthropology

(see, e.g., MacCannell 1976, 1989, Urry 1990, Clifford 1997, and Castaneda 1996), which typically place the ‘tourist perspective’ in the middle of tourism’s experience-seeking practice. As Bódi (2008:4) notes with reference to Urry (2002), “modern tourism is characterized by a specific tourist perspective, which can be interpreted as a desire for signs organized by experts and connected to spaces far from our everyday spaces, as opposed to ordinary forms of social experience”. To meet this, “well-systematized spaces and events (sights) are created worldwide, which the tourist accommodates in proportion to his / her previously acquired (learned) abilities” (Régi 2017: 20). The practice of tourism is driven by a desire for an authentic experience, namely the authenticity that MacCannell captures at the moment of the reproductive practice of history (e.g. heritage), culture (e.g. museums) (Régi 2017:21). The other important direction is the local research of the effects of tourism and the socio-economical, psychological, cultural and environmental changes experienced by the communities of the host destinations (Stronza 2008:263). Typically, the Hungarian anthropology literature² aligns much more into the critical direction of international contemporary postmodern tourism research (see e.g. Pusztai 2016, Fejős and Szijártó eds. 2000; 2003), but less on the basis of the (applied) anthropological approach related to various tourism developments.

² The study of the cultural dimension of tourism in Hungary, following the international practice, began in the mid-1980s – the defining work of the initial period was the study volume *Cul/tours* in 1984 and, after the change of regime, *Tourism as a cultural system* (1998). Since the 2000s, research into the economic, social, and cultural aspects of tourism has also become very popular in Hungarian scientific public life. Since the 2000s, in addition to mainstream tourism research, culturally critical cultural tourism research in Hungary has also become increasingly spectacular.

Applied anthropological approach and methods in tourism

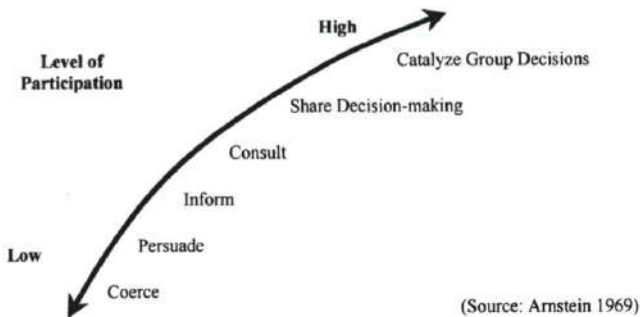
Interest in cultural tourism continued to grow during the 1980s and 1990s. This is due to the ‘recovery of the heritage industry’ (Hewison 1987), the steady increase in international and domestic travel, and the identification of cultural tourism as a ‘good’ form of tourism, which stimulates the economy and also contributes to the preservation of culture (Richards 2001). In the relationship between cultural tourism and anthropology, the anthropological approach is gradually emerging, which means the active participation and active contribution of anthropologists in tourism developments – this applied anthropological assignment can be realized in consulting, research, analysis, management, or even cultural mediation, independently, but also within an institutionalized framework (Wallace 2005).

In international practice, anthropological participation in various tourism projects is typically related to either heritage tourism (see e.g. Lalone 2008, Mason 2005) or indigenous ecotourism (see e.g. McLaren 1998, Stonich 2000, Stronza). “Anthro-planning” in the case of heritage tourism developments refers to the anthropological aspects that are emphasized in the projects and the use of the ethnographic fieldwork method (Lalone 2008³).

One of the most important features of applied anthropological research and not only in the case of tourism developments is the active participation of local communities

³ Lalone (2008) began to use this term in connection with the anthropological approach to the design of local heritage tourism development projects, suggesting that in the mid-2000s they were able to work with their university students to develop a presentation of suitable tourist sites. The collaborative proposals were eventually incorporated into ways of presenting traditional mountain culture.

Figure 1. Ladder of Participation



Source: Arnstein (1969)

in research. This participation, depending on the degree, involves the involvement and participation of locals from development to implementation and sustainable operation. There are eight phases in Arnstein's citizen participation ladder, from manipulation to citizen control; see the following Figure No. 1 about the possible levels of participation.

In terms of participants, public participation takes place if anyone and everyone can participate; it is representative participation when representatives of the groups concerned are involved in the decision-making process. The community-based participation process refers to cases in which members of a given community (organized on a geographical basis or based on interests or values) become participants themselves. Depending on the degree (nature and depth) of participation, the grades may range from "sham" involvement to the desired participation in community democracy (Radácsi 2006:256) – for example, at one of the lowest level is passive participation, while the highest are interactive participation or self-mobilization (Radácsi 2005:1–2).

Another important distinguishing feature of applied anthropological research is the use of methods: in addition to participant observation and interviews researchers tend to use a wide range of other qualitative methods, such as diverse rapid ethnographic assessment techniques, various network approaches, and group interviews or mixed methods approaches to applied research, such as ethnographic surveys (Trotter – Schensul – Kostick 2015:675–682).

Genius Loci: the cultural values of the KRA'GAS touristic route in BAZ County, Hungary

In today's tourism destination development concepts, in addition to folk handicrafts, the presentation of the gastronomic heritage of a given region (gastronomic specialties, the use of site-specific ingredients, special ways of preparing food) is increasingly appearing, besides the proximity of nature and the rural way of life, the "exploitation" of these cultural heritage has significant potential for rural (country) tourism. The special function of local products (services) is to be able to connect the residents and local businesses of a region with tourists, which at the same time increases the market competitiveness of the tourist destination of a region.

Among the outstanding gastronomic and handicraft cultural values found in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County today, we will focus on those whose utilization in tourism has played a decisive role for decades – and which can also contribute to the main goal of the KRA'GAS Project, also to strengthen the image of the Carpathian Euro region destination.

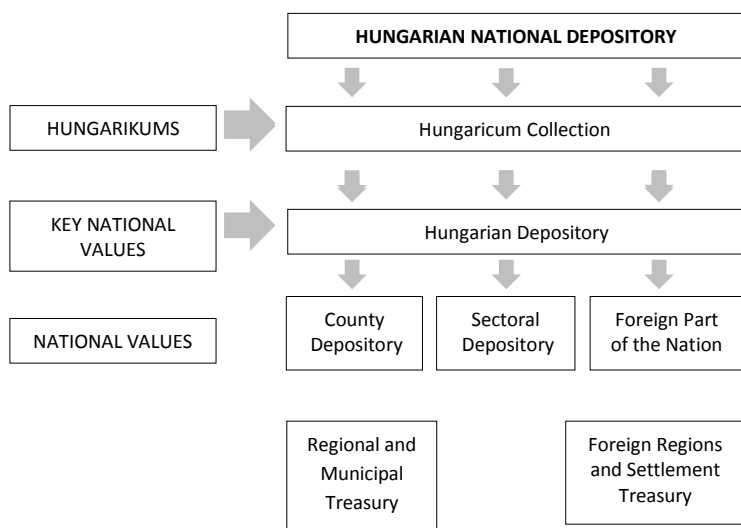
Hungaricums and county cultural values

Act XXX. of 2012 defines the terms used in the Hungarian National Depository, distinguishing three categories:

Hungaricums, outstanding national values and national values. According to the law, Hungaricum is a “collective concept”, *which, in a uniform system of classification, arrangement and registration, represents a value worth distinguishing and highlighting, which is the peak power of Hungarians with its uniqueness, individuality, and quality.*”⁴

In order to declare the values into Hungaricums, a hierarchical system 114/2013. (IV. 16.) was established from the bottom up (Tózsza – Zátori 2013).

Figure 2: Structure of the Hungarian National Depository



There are 6 Hungaricums in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county⁵: Matyo folk art (the embroidery culture of a

⁴ See the Act XXX. of 2012 about the Hungarian National Depository: <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1200030.tv>.

⁵ Hungarikumok Gyűjteménye – Magyar Értéktár / Collection of Hungaricums – Collection of Hungarian Values (2021) <http://www.hungarikum.hu/>.

traditional community), the culture of the historical wine region of Tokaj, the caves of the Aggtelek and Slovak karst, the porcelain from Hollóháza, the Tokaj aszú produced in the Tokaj wine region in Hungary and the Vizsolyi Bible.

The Tokaj wine region occupies a special place among the Hungarian wine regions: among the wines made here, the Tokaj aszú is the most famous Hungarian wine, a centuries-old brand, a Hungarian specialty. In 2002, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee adopted a proposal that made the cultural landscape of the historic wine region of Tokaj-Hegyalja a *World Heritage Site*. The entire Tokaj wine region, including vineyards, settlements with a long history and historic cellar systems, displays a vivid form of a special form of traditional land use.

The inclusion of the Tokaj wine region in the World Heritage List brought about a change mainly in local tourism.

The Matyó heritage was added to the Hungarian national intellectual cultural heritage list in 2010 – the survival of embroidery, wear and folklore, and in 2012 the Borsodnádásd tradition of the miller's cake was added to the list. During the period of the formation of the Hungarian national culture (the 19th and 20th centuries), Matyó folk art became well-known as one of the displays of the representative Hungarian image (Fügedi 1997). The components of Matyó folk culture – the world of folk art, religious tradition, famous days and rites, traditional craft activities, folklore of dance, folk song, folk music and lyrics, folk language – are still living elements of the culture of the community. Mezőkövesd can be considered as the centre of Matyóföld, and Matyó is one of the outstanding places of folk art, especially embroidery culture. In the center of Mezőkövesd is the renewed Hadas district, one of the authentic locations of the Matyó folk art and way of life, where visitors can get an insight into one

of the most famous Hungarian folk-art traditions and get acquainted with the everyday life, objects and residential houses of the Matyó, they can make some folk objects themselves. Authentically renovated 100–150-year-old thatched houses on the winding streets of the Hadas district authentically preserve the architecture and former way of life of Matyós. In Matyófold, the families related to each other had the name “had”. Several generations lived in a courtyard, in a common kitchen – the Hadas district of Mezőkövesd architecturally preserves this structure. (Fügedi 1997).

Table 1. Recognized values of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county in the field of handicrafts and gastronomy

| CATEGORY | VALUE |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Hungaricum</i> | Matyó folk art (embroidery culture of a traditional community) / the cultural landscape of the historical wine region of Tokaj / the caves of the Aggtelek and Slovak karst, / the Hollóház porcelain / the Tokaj aszú produced in the Hungarian Tokaj wine region / the Vizsoly bible. |
| <i>Outstanding national value</i> | Matyó folk art / Szerencsi chocolate / Borsodnádásd miller's cake tradition / Hollóház porcelain / Cave Bath in Miskolctapolca |
| <i>National value</i> | crochet of Cigánd / Borsa dessert / Kádár dance from Erdőbénye / trout breeding in Garadna/ Jelly of Miskolc / Swabian bacon in Károlyfalva / cellar rows in Károlyfalva / open cellars day in Károlyfalva / folk food in Cserépfalu / gingerbread in Sárospatak/ Tokaj dry, dry marc, Furmint, Hárslevelű, yellow muscatel, Szamorodni / short-stemmed black cherry in Szomolya / Hadas district of Mezőkövesd |

Source: hungarikum.hu. Own editing

There are 31 county values in the special category of agricultural and food economy of the county treasury, some

of which serve only the preservation of the local tradition (e.g. the stuffed yolk of the Csernely potatoes, the stalks of the Karcza oven), but there are elements that can also be used. The best known of these are Tokaji Aszú and Tokaji Dry and Sweet Szamorodni, but you can also mention Swabian bacon from Károlyfalva. The Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Treasury included 81 values in the *cultural heritage*⁶. The most important are: the wedding dance in Karcza, canvas crochet and sewn, Karcza style *nyelvecibere* (a special sour soap made of pig tongue, pig heart and pig kidney with vegetables, the Abaúj style crochet, the cooperage dance of Erdőbénye, the Hadas part of Mezőkövesd.

After describing the hierarchical levels of the repository of values, we present the value elements for the KRAGAS project that facilitate the development of thematic cultural routes. A Hungaricum in itself rarely becomes a tourist attraction. In the Hungarian literature of tourism research (Kis-Pesti 2015, Tózsza-Zátori 2013) it is considered a basic premise that Hungarians and national values represent special, authentic values, which are an attractive factor for tourists (Tóth et al. 2017:6). This opinion is based on the fact that Hungaricums can be a source of experience, but they emphasize that by treating Hungaricums as an attraction, their benefits can be realized in tourism. There are Hungaricums that are already an attraction in themselves (with proper marketing) – this applies only to the Tokaj wine region, the karst caves of Aggtelek and the folk art of Mezőkövesd (Tózsza-Zátori 2013:147). The other county Hungaricums by itself cannot be sold as much to tourists, they are not an attraction, so it is worth establishing programs for them that are already attracting tourists (Tóth et al. 2017:6).

⁶ Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Értéktár/ BAZ County Collection of Values (2021) <http://www.baz.hu/ertektar/obj.php?category=0>.

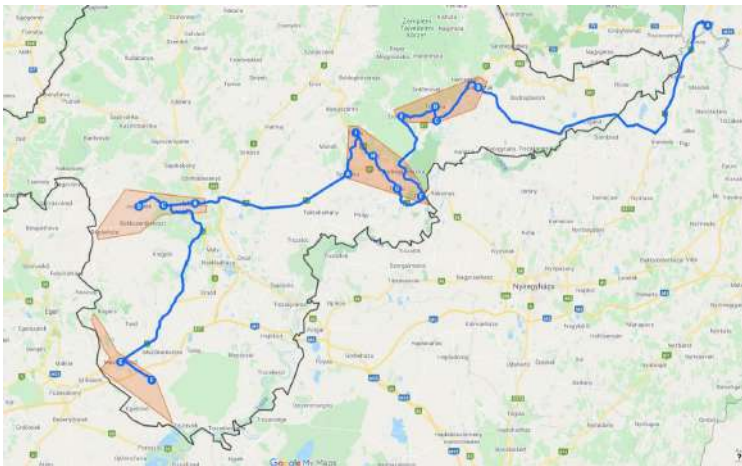
We see that reaching the lowest possible level of hierarchical levels of values, their utilization in tourism seems increasingly difficult. Even in the tradition of baking miller's cake in Borsodnádásd, which is one of the outstanding national values, only a local gastronomic festival can be built, which attracts tourists for only one day (Minorics-Gonda 2015). There are dozens of such gastro-festivals in the county, even though they are at a lower level in the repository of values or not listed at all (Viga 2004, Zátori 2016). This is because the place in the hierarchy does not ensure the usability of tourism. Unique Hungaricums and local values represent an excellent opportunity for the appreciation of localities in the fight against global uniformity and a unified consumer society (Lovas Kiss 2013). In parallel with the appreciation of localities, the need to discover unique tourist destinations and learn about the local culture increases (Tóth 2016). In the case of Hungary, these trends may strengthen the mapping of local culture through Hungarians, which is suitable for the identification of cultural products at the local and regional level, in addition, it can elevate local cultural elements to the national level. For this reason, Hungaricum as a national cultural product is suitable for identification and sale on the international market (Tóth et al. 2017:2).

Today's Hungarian gastronomy has changed significantly in recent years, similarly to international trends; we are now drawing the gastro image of B-A-Z County along these new trends and aspirations. Gastronomic tourism based on local conditions and opportunities is becoming more and more valuable in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county as well. During the trip, the meal becomes an experience, in some cases the primary motivation is to learn about the local gastronomy, to taste the food and drinks of the place visited, to get to know the traditions, or even to master the preparation.

This type of tourism is actually based on local conditions, so it can promote the preservation of values, traditions and identity, as well as the development of a positive image of the place (Horváth et al. 2016, Bene 2020:6). In the county, gastronomic travel cannot be considered decisive in itself, but the representatives of gastronomy are increasingly open to tourism, and in addition to wine, cultural and health tourism, it is a complex tourist experience for travelers (Fehér – Kóródi 2008).

Route planning in the KRA'GAS project

Figure 3: Map of the touristic route proposed in the KRA'GAS project: the Sárospatak, Szerencs, Miskolc and Mezőkövesd regions



Source: Google Maps/own editing

A meeting of new gastro trends and revived traditions

Sustainable gastronomy strives to leave as few ecological footprints as possible, to conserve our resources as much as possible, and to promote the consumption of foods that have

a nature conservation effect. This includes the consumption of artisanal meat products (homemade sausages, homemade ham, pâté), homemade milk, goat cheese, and artisanal cheeses (Könyves – Csobán 2015:98). Health-conscious eating also plays a significant role in today's gastronomy, from restaurants to children's school meals to households. Those who take a healthy diet very strictly usually consume organic products with high mineral and vitamin content produced in controlled agriculture. Organic farms are emerging in increasing numbers in recent years. Thus, nutrient-rich, varied products and foods that improve the quality of life play a key role in today's food culture, but they are not yet gaining ground in the restaurant offer (Könyves – Csobán 2015:86). Nowadays, one of the main global gastronomic trends has undeniably become the *local* one – also called local or *terroir* – meaning that the food has been expected to be made from locally produced, quality ingredients. In addition, the use of fresh, protected, authentic products is an important feature. This endeavor creates new opportunities to rediscover the products of the forgotten, old times, to reinterpret the foods of previous generations (Bene 2020:139).

Due to the growing role of a healthy lifestyle and the need for quality, consumers are more interested in the *origin of raw materials*. The most prominent trend today is the promotion of *local products* in rural tourism and hospitality. The use of *hyper-local*, that is raw materials obtained from one's own garden, is also becoming more and more popular. Preference for local products over foreign suppliers makes a significant contribution to sustainable development, environmental protection, the preservation of local trademarks, the revitalization of the local economy, the promotion of livestock and flora in the area, the preservation and promotion of folk traditions and tastes (Kárpáti 2016:37).

In connection with all this, *the production of artisanal foods* has also become a key gastronomic trend. The essence of hand-made products is that they require unique, special expertise, thus creating a more personal effect, so the customer feels closer to the product, and in some cases, it can also have an emotional impact on the purchase. Handicrafts are not mass-produced, they are usually produced on smaller farms, in households, in manufactories, and in smaller quantities, so they are usually special and of higher quality, so the goods are usually higher (Kárpáti 2016:38). This endeavor can best be illustrated by the presentation of a craft food business established in the county, in Vadna. A young intellectual couple who moved back from the town to their home village initially made jams and syrups for their own consumption, but after a great demand for these products in Vadna and the surrounding settlements, they switched to market-based operation. They have re-learned the traditional cooking methods and now offer syrups, jams, compotes, pickles, dried spices and teas. They also produce special products, such as fig leaf syrup or sage syrup. Their products are made free of chemicals and additives, all raw materials come from their own production. Today, their gastronomic workshop is only visited by mainly foreign tourists on individual occasions, but the workshop is also suitable for a larger group of tourists.

The *apartment restaurants* represent a unique style in gastronomy – the essence of it, is that the guests can feel at home in smaller, home-like rooms and in a family environment. The furnishings can be civilian, modern rural or even antique, with an emphasis on intimate housing. The decoration is often family photos, old furniture and other personal items. The apartment often has a garden and a terrace. Home restaurants are usually run by families, small business owners, and chefs (Kárpáti 2016:49). The Romama

apartment restaurant in Tomor has so far only prepared traditional ‘romungo’ (Hungarian-Gypsy) dishes that live in the local tradition. But soon Beas and Oláh gypsy dishes will also be on offer. In doing so, they take a decisive step in the presentation of the traditional dishes of the Roma linguistic and cultural groups in Hungary. Going beyond its previous goals, the locally driven initiative now seeks to represent Gypsy “national” food.

Among today’s leading trends, the conscious, sustainable economy, natural, locally grown food, organic, healthy food continue to be strongly present and increasingly emphasized in the county’s gastronomic offerings. The guest wants pure authentic flavours and easy serving. Extremism is being replaced by a need to instinctively enjoy food, which is why leading chefs are increasingly returning to more traditional, home-made, more natural food and kitchen technologies. Rediscovering the recipes of old, forgotten food and endowing it with new content, making it personal and unique will also be a trend in the near future (Kárpáti 2016:61).

Among those working in county gastronomy, the gastronomic products considered authentic are defined very differently. *Regional dishes* do not appear, except in exceptional cases for the range of stakeholders involved in the KRA’GAS research. The main reason for this is that these local dishes are either not even known to them, or if they are, they are not suitable for inclusion in the gastronomic offer.

Nevertheless, a frequently used category has become the offer of *traditional food*, *Hungarian food*, which means only the former dishes of peasant culture. In the area under study, there are restaurants in Sárospatak and Miskolc, which offer experiential gastronomy organized around the dishes of historical times. They mainly want to bring to life the medieval, aristocratic eating traditions and present

them to those interested in a spectacular program – in many cases, these events are also considered by the organizers to be symbols of the preservation of national culture. This is exemplified by the complex gastronomic service of the Renaissance feast of the Golden Crown Historical Restaurant, Hotel and Spectacle Cellar in the historical part of Ávas in Miskolc, which is held monthly. According to the organizers, the four-hour feast is not just a dinner night, but a complex Hungarian historical program: those interested can see a falconry show while listening to age-old dishes, while listening to age-old music and even a chief winemaker helping to choose the right drinks.

In the case of county stakeholders, the introduction of organic, additive-free, healthy foods (artisanal cheese, organic wine, smoked meat products, dried fruit, juice, artisanal chocolate, dessert, jam and pickles) in the field of gastronomy can also be interpreted as complying with a new trend. Mádi artisanal cheese and Miskolc organic wine can be considered as such handicraft brands present in the examined region. The founder of the latter is a local patriot born in Miskolc, apostrophizing himself as an organic winemaker, with a degree in mechanical engineering of about 50 years, who regularly visited Tokaj as a consumer of quality wines, where he also became interested in the method of making it. It was then that the challenge of making organic wines and linking them to reviving the traditions of the Bükk wine region came into play. He started grape and wine production in 2013, bought vineyards in Mályi and Miskolc, and also a cellar in Kis-Ávas, Miskolc. The wine is produced by him, and his wife assists the business in administrative and marketing activities. Casual workers are also involved in the grape picking and winemaking process. It makes only the organic wines it calls organic. By organic cultivation is meant

viticulture without hard chemicals, i.e. without insecticides or other absorbents. Its wines contain no additives at all and are made with minimal sulfur. They also experiment in the production of wines, because although they basically make wines from the Bükk wine region, they also produce sweet Tokaj wines from grapes bought in the Tokaj wine region. It also follows a unique practice in the naming of wines, e.g. the wine called Sanfran Sikszo is actually a Sardszo Chardonnay. Together with two winemakers, the association established an organization called the Bükk Wine Region, which aims to produce only premium quality wines in the Bükk Wine Region in order to regain its old reputation. In today's wine gastronomy, the practice of tradition-making, the mythization of the past and the present, is emphasized. These mythization procedures are based on long-term, meaningful social communication processes related to originality, tradition, memory, landscape (Pusztai 2020).

In examining local festivals, Bali (2007) distinguishes between festivals based on living, renovated, revived, rediscovered, and new (created) food. If we apply these categories to the county's restaurant gastronomic offerings, it can be said that in it we find only live food in special cases. These are primarily the restaurants that are responsible for the furtherment of ethnic food (Romama apartment restaurant in Tomor), the Bükkalja Tastes Guest Table (in Bükkszentkereszt) and some restaurants with typical regional dishes (Vadász Restaurant in Répáshuta), they also appear prominently in the supply of trout from Garadna, as well as in catering establishments offering traditional fish dishes. However, in addition to local examples that provide and demonstrate authenticity, in most cases such an 'authenticity base' cannot be identified at all (Pusztai 2020), and there is

no effort to make it appear. The vast majority of restaurants offer Hungarian food with goulash soup and stew.

The development of wine and gastronomy tourism in the county is primarily aimed at the utilization of the culinary values of Tokaj-Hegyalja as a tourism product. The primary promises of experience of the destination are grouped around wine-gastronomic and cultural products. The World Heritage Tokaj Wine Region is a defining keyword in the domestic and international market. The international popularity and recognition of Tokaj wine is the starting point for experience-centric, guaranteed gastro and wine tours and gastronomic experiences. In addition to Tokaj, Mád, Tállya, Tarcál, Sárospatak, Tolcsva, Herceghút are among the most significant settlements, where several outstanding wineries offer premium wine tasting programs and vineyard tours (Bene 2020:91). Currently, three settlements (Olaszliszka, Sárospatak, Herceghút) in the Sárospatak destination have *settlement wine* created as a result of community cooperation. However, these wines alone are not enough to attract tourists, it would be necessary to combine it with local folk gastronomic specialties, because the uniqueness of a food-drink pairing can be better to build the wine and gastronomy marketing on (Bene 2020:139).

Creative artisan or mass product craftsman?

One of the main concerns of anthropologists in the 1970s and 1980s was related to the commodification of culture (Cohen 1988). Researchers have been keenly wondering what the consequences will be if a cultural item or ritual that has already been marketed loses its “original” meanings to locals.⁷ In discussions about the marketing of

⁷ See in this regard e.g. Hall’s (1994) research on the bark paintings of the Australian natives, or Picard’s (1990) insights into the commodity of

local cultures, the possibility of losing cultural identity has often been mentioned.

Today, the anthropological literature is more balanced, and anthropologists do not automatically judge the impact of tourism on local communities, especially for alternative forms of tourism that are “in line with natural, social and community values and that allow both hosts and guests to gain positive and valuable interactions and share experiences” (Eadington and Smith 1992:3). One manifestation of this is cultural tourism, where the intellectual cultural heritage of a country, region or region plays a major role. “Walking through the field of cultural tourism, we get to know foreign and ‘domestic’ venues where the primary commodity to be received and sold is culture itself – in the broadest possible sense: historical events, venues, performances, religious rites, souvenirs and the stories that surround them.” – shows the special features of this unusual tourism segment from the point of view of anthropologists Bruner (2005: 8).

Nowadays, only artisans in areas with significant tourist traffic can make a living from the market, but in recent decades the number of artisans in the county has decreased significantly. In Tokaj-Hegyalja and Mezőkövesd, in the case of certain handicraft activities (pottery, embroidery, furniture painting, gingerbread, wood carving), subsistence is ensured, in other areas, all this can only be achieved with exceptionally profitable craft activities (craft cheese maker, knife maker, jam maker, craft soap maker, organic wine producer). Crafts in addition to the main occupation are a significant addition to earnings, but in this case the income is cyclical, but it is risky

Balinese culture, and Greenwood's (1977) writing, which used the term to describe how the Alarde Festival in the Basque city of Fuenterrabia lost cultural and symbolic meaning for locals as it became increasingly popular with tourists.

to base a livelihood on it. On the one hand, the difficulties of livelihood reduce the number of artisans, and in addition, artisans have to make serious concessions in the field of direct service to customer needs. An excellent example of this is the commercialization of Matyó embroidery: the patterns have a complementary function to fashion: they are put on modern and youthful dresses, or they just give necklaces and earrings a special decoration, a new style and identity. The so-called Matyó embroideries made by embroiderers, whether made in Mezőkövesd, Szentistván or Tard, are mostly sold in folk art shops in Budapest and other large Hungarian cities. Matyó design is a special family business, the brand, the traditional Matyó design world is back in casual clothes. The handmade products, which are also sold in the web shop, now employ 27 local women. The social enterprise is also unique because, in addition to team-building trainings, tourists can spend up to an entire day at Matyó design's headquarters, embroidering and tasting home-style food.

Today, not only in the case of Matyó embroidery, but even in the case of a cooper and a potter, the compulsion to meet individual and in many cases specifically extreme customer needs is crucial. Some potters follow the strategy of producing two types of products: pieces made specifically for artistic purposes, on the other hand, meeting specific individual expectations. At the same time, several artisans have indicated that although it is extremely important for them to be able to sell products and serve customer needs, there is a limit and they do not make the product they consider tasteless. The view of furniture painters is similar. What they insist on in all cases is local motifs, but beyond that, they are open to customer orders. In the case of furniture painters, this is of particular importance because the vast majority of their products are labor-intensive and take a long time to

make a handicraft. Handmade soap makers already produce the vast majority of their products in such a way that they can reach the widest possible customer base in their case, the design is more permissive, however, it is not that the products are made from natural ingredients.

It can also be examined that the hybrid style became dominant, whose various practices can be identified. In the case of the Matyós, the preservation of the original tradition is almost obligatory for certain artisans (embroidery, furniture painting). This is accompanied by the inner convictions of artisans, which also meet wider social expectations. In the case of potters, there is already a clear combination of preserving traditions and creating a unique, own artistic style. This DIY type of craft is gaining ground in other craft activities, e.g. also for furniture painting, gingerbread, embroidery, wood carving. In their case, this means that their activity is based on the use of elements of traditional folk art. But this does not mean the preservation and carry-over of an earlier cultural element linked to a specific region, but the completely free use of traditional elements known by the artisan, their combination and variation. This creative DIY helps them create their own style and colour scheme. This is associated with the attitude that they preserve the tradition, they do not break away from it, but they do not merely copy, but create works of art with independent colours, forms and specific motifs.

Motives for becoming a craftman and characteristics of the activity

The vast majority of artisans visited during anthropological fieldwork have membership in local or regional folk art associations. They are seen as a community of value and identity, and because of their extensive network of

contacts, they provide sales (producer fairs, craft markets) and exhibition opportunities for local artisans. Craftsmen, grouped in associations, see themselves as a community with the same value system, respect for and preservation of traditions, the intention to pass on cultural heritage is primary, and the desire to create, which is realized through self-expressing artistic activity. The following Table 2 summarizes the motives for becoming a craftsman.

Table 2. Motivations of handicraft activity in BAZ county

| Reasons for becoming a craftsman | Characteristic | Example |
|--|--|---|
| <i>CONTINUATION OF A FAMILY TRADITION THROUGH GENERATION</i> | A strong local identity is associated with the need to continue the family tradition | <i>Szabolcs Kovács, a folk furniture painter, comes from a family of carpenters in Mezőkövesd. Both his grandfather and father were famous carpenters. He has had his own workshop in the Hadas district since 1984. Although he used to do carpentry, today he only paints furniture. His painted furniture (cabinets, chests, chairs, dressers) is in demand, but he also makes painted badges and fridge magnets. He has no local or national competitors. His children do not continue their craft.</i> |
| <i>THE INTENT TO RECOVER A DISAPPEARED TRADITION</i> | A strong local identity drives the craftsman | <i>Tibor Fehér, a potter, was born in Mezőkövesd, her grandparents moved to the settlement from the Jászság. His parents were intellectuals. He studied the basics of the pottery profession at the High School of Fine and Applied Arts in Budapest, where he obtained a degree in ceramics. After graduating from high school, he worked as a ceramicist in Budapest, and then moved home to Mezőkövesd in 1982. Initially, he was occupied with wage diskling and then bought a farmhouse in the Hadas</i> |

| Reasons for becoming a craftsman | Characteristic | Example |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| | | <i>district, which he set up as a pottery workshop. In his works, he builds on the motif treasures of the pottery traditions of the Middle Tisza region, primarily incorporating the traditions of Mezőcsát and Tiszafüred into his creative activity. His children do not continue his work.</i> |
| REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS | Crafts are not valued because of local identity, but their cultivation is assumed to be a value for the person who becomes a craftsman | <i>Anna Pető. The gingerbread maker from Mezőkövesd moved from Miskolc to Mezőkövesd in 1993, and it was then that the idea came to start dealing with gingerbread. She learned the tricks of the craft from László Radics, a gingerbread maker from Debrecen, whose products she has been selling ever since. In 1999, he took possession of one of the most beautiful monumental buildings in Mezőkövesd in the Hadas district, which has been the location of the family business ever since. Its workshop is open, the reception of tourists is the part of the workshop's activity from the beginning, it also holds craft classes (children's camp), where the children make gingerbread products themselves. The store in the workshop sells a significant portion of the finished products. Previously, there were 4 gingerbread makers in the city, but now there is no local competition. The craft will be carried on by his son.</i> |
| UNIQUE, CHANGED LIFE SITUATION | Maintaining activity after retirement with a new hobby (typically women) | <i>After the retirement, the founder of the Hegyalja Soap Workshop (Mád) started making soaps with chemical-free, handicraft technology at the hobby level. Soaps produced under manufactory conditions are typically made by using herbs, spices and various vegetable oils, but it also uses raw materials from the area (e.g. goat's milk,</i> |

| Reasons for becoming a craftsman | Characteristic | Example |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| | | <i>zeolite and kaolin). She often holds presentations in her open workshop and also sells her products to resellers. Her children do not carry on the craft.</i> |
| | Use of leisure time by housewives | <i>The female member of the intellectual family, who moved back from Ózd to Vadna, started making organic jam to spend her free time usefully, and since her family did not consume too much, she began to offer her unique products to her friends. Her innovative products are now the main source of livelihood for the family. Since their open workshop is located in a settlement which is not visited by tourists, they initially sold at craft fairs, but after a while switched to online sales.</i> |
| | Those who become unemployed in the period after the change of regime | <i>The 67-year-old wood carver Mátyás Kiss comes from an old family in Mezökövesd, his ancestors did not deal with handicrafts. He clearly experiences the communist period as being persecuted for his critical views of the system. He previously worked for Volán, had a college degree, was fired in 1989 for his political views, and thus looked for a new livelihood. At first he worked as a carpenter, made fences, later he discovered the memories of the woodcarving folk art of Mezökövesd, and later he extended his activity to the mapping of the entire Hungarian motif. He was not a master. He started his business in 1993, making custom gates, fencing elements, paneling, planking, edge protectors and friezes, corner brackets, corner decorations, gable decorations, top decorations, door crowns, window decorations. Based on the customer's needs, he typically uses landscape patterns, so he mainly</i> |

| Reasons for becoming a craftsman | Characteristic | Example |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| | | <i>produces unique products. There is no competition in the region or in the country. There will be no one to continue his business.</i> |
| <i>CURIOSITY</i> | | <p><i>Sándor Bodnár is an artisan cheese maker, who was driven by curiosity in the direction of cheese making, because he wanted to understand what kind of process milk becomes into hard cheese.</i></p> <p><i>The owner of the Mádi cheese brand was so determined that he was able to study cheese-making processes even in a Swiss alpine cheese manufactory, taking advantage of his family connections. He experimented in a self-taught way with the steps of quality production of goat and cow cheeses. The company, which makes matured cow and goat cheeses, has also been producing hard, semi-hard and soft cheese products since 2010. The products include special 'orda' (ricotta) cake, whey honey, fruit yoghurt, but they also make cheese candies (these are cheese snacks rolled in different spices and seeds). They work only with natural ingredients; no artificial additives are used. The workshop is open to tourists, there is a group cheese tasting, if there is a demand, the process of making cheese can become familiar to anyone. There are no other artisanal cheese makers in the settlement, nor has there been before.</i></p> |
| <i>REHABILITATION</i> | (Re) integration of certain social groups (e.g. people with disabilities) | <i>The Vámosújfalu Wheatflower Foundation operates three handicraft workshops. In 1997, the idea was born that in the lives of blind and visually impaired young people it would be important to create a</i> |

| Reasons for becoming a craftsman | Characteristic | Example |
|----------------------------------|----------------|--|
| | | <i>rehabilitation residential home in a rural environment that would provide a greater chance of integration into society. The remedial teacher who was the leader of the institution moved to the country from the city with the motivation of renewing the rehabilitation profession. The three core craft activities are pottery, weaving, and the making of canes by young artisans capable of permanent care and independent living. The leader of each workshop is proficient in the particular craft. The two leaders of the weaving and basket weaving workshop themselves are also changed ability workers. Among the pottery products, they carry on the Putaki traditions primarily at the level of design and motifs. In the workshops, they operate as a manufactory, each employee performing a specific work process, but each work process is a craft activity. Presentations are held regularly in the workshops.</i> |

Source: own collection

The *continuation of the intergenerational family tradition* is almost unlikely in the area among the interviewees, only a furniture painter in Mezőkövesd and a cooper in Tokaj and Erdőbénye, who carry on the activities of several generations of craft families. But it seems that the continuity will be broken, except for the cooper in Erdőbénye. This suggests that within a few decades, becoming this type of artisan will play a completely insignificant role, making it fundamentally difficult to continue the local artisan tradition further.

Becoming an artisan *can also be motivated by the desire to revive a disappeared tradition* – in most of *these* cases, a strong local identity guides the person moving from the area and then returning to revive traditional craft activities with their own craft activities and take on a role in reviving the local tradition. The only potter working in Mezőkövesd moved back to his homeland for such a reason and mastered the pottery in such a way that his family had no connection with handicrafts before. In the case of the embroidery women who revived the gentleman's embroidery in Sárospatak, we also see that the goal is to continue the local cultural heritage representing unique values. But in the case of gentleman's embroidery, since it is extremely labor-intensive and the products can only be sold at extra high prices, gaining a market profit is not a priority in most cases. A more important role is played by the production of demanding products that are made by using careful original motif treasure. These are offered to church communities and museums. It can also be *a motivation to revive craft activity* – in this case, the craft is not valued because of the local identity, but its cultivation is assumed to be a value for the person who becomes a craftsman. In such a case, the intention to revive or carry on the local tradition is not strong. If it appears at all, the treasure of the motif is available in partial use merely in action.

In addition, a unique, changed life situation can cause you to turn to craft activities. The first typical type of this is when, *after retirement*, someone becomes an artisan to maintain an active activity. These are people, primarily women, who previously had no connection to the craft and they started their career as a so-called *hobby craftsman*, which now brings a significant source of income in addition to the joy of creation. A second subtype is when housewives engage in *craft activities for leisure purposes*. Another type is

those who became unemployed *in the period after the change of regime* and craft activity appears as a different source of livelihood than before. In this context, *the main motivation for the interest in handicrafts can be curiosity even on an individual level, but handicraft workshops can also be set up for rehabilitation purposes*. In the examined area, the initiative of the Búzavirág Foundation can be found in Vámosújfalú, where the three handicraft workshops were organized and operate profitably with the aim of promoting the independent living and rehabilitation of the blind and severely visually impaired people. In the case of the ceramic manufactory in Sárospatak, offering opportunities to disadvantaged people is also key.

Heterogeneity of the recruitment base of artisans, clarification of the livelihood difficulties based on this activity, and the interruption of the family transmission of craft knowledge is leading to a significant proportion of the older generation of artisans working in the county today, more precisely, it belongs to the age group over 60 years. In most cases, there is no chance of a child or family member pursuing the craft activity.

There may also be a permanent cessation of the activities of multi-generational craft families, which often endangers the continuation of the craft activity in the settlement itself. This is emblematically illustrated by the extinction of the gingerbread tradition in Sárospatak. Ten years ago, the gingerbread made by Sándorné Veres in Sárospatak was considered unique and special because, in addition to making her products on the basis of her own secret recipe for four generations, she was almost the only one in the country to buy the products from, but also made it possible for the visitors to inspect the workshop. After her death in 2015, not only did her open workshop cease

to exist, but in the absence of her crafts, there is no longer a gingerbread master in Sárospatak. The valuable workshop can be seen in the Visual Gallery of the Rákóczi Museum. The open gingerbread workshop became a museum attraction, the living cultural heritage was musealized.

Summarizing thoughts: hybrid digital fieldwork

Between 2019 and 2021, the anthropologists of the University of Miskolc carried out anthropological research applied within the framework of the European Union-funded INTERREG program (HUSKROUA / 1702 / 3.1 / 0027) in Hungary (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Romania (Maramureş County) and Ukraine (Transcarpathia region). The aim of the project is to create a cross-border touristic route that will support the development of local handicrafts and gastronomic activities. However, the global COVID-19 pandemic situation has created an unexpected situation for all parties involved in the research.

From mind March 2020 the situation caused by the Covid-19 pandemic made our ethnographic research significantly difficult, the only way around pandemic restrictions was doing temporarily so called hybrid digital ethnography. Digital ethnography is a method used to study societies and cultures in the digital space without a necessity to travel. Digital field sites can comprise anything that the web is made of – texts, videos, images, platform infrastructures, user behaviours, social relations, or an information network (Góralaska 2020). Unlike conventional fieldwork, it is not geographically constrained, nor does it require clear boundaries. It can be open-ended and dispersed, with the researcher being the binding force of the fieldwork (Burrell 2009).

In Hungary during the first (March–May 2020), the second (November and December 2020) and the third lockdown (March–April 2021) no places was allowed to be visited, and it seemed to be very difficult to conduct interviews with stakeholders since they were suffering from the elimination of rural tourism and the uncertainty of their business future. Because of the pandemic, many of the potential stakeholders lost interest both involving in the KRA’GAS research and – in a way – in their craftsmanship as well. Those who have some presence in the online space (social media appearance) were a little bit more optimistic, according to the interviews. Although the seasonal craft shows are postponed or cancelled, they do receive some income through their online sales. Many of them started to produce homemade fabric face masks. Others entered into the realm of online selling by joining a community or some kind of an umbrella organization. One way or another the global pandemic has turned people’s lives upside down, not only posing a danger to their health, but also affecting their social relationships and financial situations (Górska 2020).

References

Act XXX. of 2012 about the Hungarian National Depository.
See: <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1200030.tv>.

BAZ County Collection of Values (2021) <http://www.baz.hu/ertektar/obj.php?category=0>.

Hungarikumok Gyűjteménye – Magyar Értéktár / Collection of Hungaricums – Collection of Hungarian Values (2021) <http://www.hungarikum.hu/>.

ALZUA, A.– O’LEARY, J. T.– MORRISON, A. M (1998): *Cultural and heritage tourism: Identifying niches for international travellers*. In: Journal of Tourism Studies. 9 (2), pp. 2–13.

ÁRVA, László – Deli-GRAY, Zsuzsa (eds.) (2017): *Turizmusmarketing esettanulmányok II.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.<https://doi.org/10.1556/9789634541516>, Downloaded on 25th January 2021 from: https://mersz.hu/hivatkozas/dj282te_45_p1#dj282te_45_p1).

ARNSTEIN, Sherry R. (1969): *A Ladder of citizen participation.* In: Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 35, 4:216–224.

BALI, János (2007): *A lokális tradíció és a helyi közösségszerveződés a falusi főzőfesztiválok tükrében.* In: Kovács Teréz (eds.): *A vidéki Magyarország az EU-csatlakozás után: VII. Falukonferencia.* MTA Regionális Kutatások Központja, Pécs, 376–384.

BATA, Tímea (2007): „*Mesék a terepről*”. *Az etnográfus és a kulturális turizmus esete.* In: Tabula 10/2.

BENE, Zsuzsanna (2020): *A tokaji borvidék közösségi borainak bemutatása és gasztronómiai küldetésének tanulmányozása.* In: Dankó László (eds.) *Sárospataki turizmusfejlesztési tanulmányok 2020.* Sárospatak és Környéke Turizmusáért Egyesület, Sárospatak. pp. 129–145.

BÓDI, Jenő (2008): *A turistatekintet mögött.* In: Debreceni disputa VI. évfolyam, 5. szám, (május) <https://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~btkvat/doc/pub/ilyes/etnoturizmus.pdf>.

BRIEDENHANN, J., Wickens, E. (2004): *Tourism routes as a tool for the economic development of rural areas – vibrant hope or impossible dream?* In: *Tourism Management*, 25:71–79.

BRUNER, Edward M. (2005): *Culture on Tour. Ethnographies of Travel.* Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press.

BURRELL, J. (2009): *The Field Site as a Network: A Strategy for Locating Ethnographic Research.* In: *Field Methods* 21, no. 2:181–199, doi: 10.1177/1525822X08329699.

CASTANEDA, Quetzil E. (1996): *In the Museum of Maya Culture: Touring Chichen Itza.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

CHRISTOU, E. (2005): *Heritage and cultural tourism: a marketing-focused approach.* In: Sigala, M., Leslie, D. (eds.) (2005): *International Cultural Tourism. Management, implications and cases.* Part One, Chapter 1. Butterworth-Heinemann (Elsevier), Oxford, UK.

CLIFFORD, James (1997): *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

COHEN, Eric (1974): *Who is a Tourist? A Conceptual Clarification*. In: Sociological Review 22:527–555.

COHEN, Eric (1979a): *The Impact of Tourism on the Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand*. In: Internationales Asien Forum 10:373–392.

COHEN, Eric (1979b): *A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences*. In: Sociology 13:179–202.

COHEN, Eric (1984): *The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings*. In: Annual Review of Sociology 10:373–392.

COHEN, Eric (1988): *Authenticity and commoditization in tourism*. Annual Tourism Res. 15:371– 86.

CRICK, Malcolm (1985): *Tracing the Anthropological Self: Quizzical Reflections on Fieldwork, Tourism, and the Ludic*. In: Social Analysis 17:71–92.

CRICK, Malcolm (1989): *Representation of the International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility*. In: Annual Review of Anthropology 18:307–344.

EADINGTON WR, Smith VL, (eds.). (1992): *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

FEHÉR, István – KÓRÓDI, Márta (2008): *A vidéki turizmus fejlesztése*. Szaktudás Kiadó Ház, Budapest.

FEJŐS, Zoltán – SZIJÁRTÓ, Zsolt eds. (2000): *Turizmus és kommunikáció: Tanulmányok*. Budapest – Pécs: Néprajzi Múzeum, PTE BTK Kommunikáció- és Médiatudományi Tanszék.

FEJŐS, Zoltán – SZIJÁRTÓ, Zsolt eds. (2003): *Helye(in)k, tárgya(in)k, képe(in)k: A turizmus társadalom tudományos magyarázata: tanulmányok*. Budapest – Pécs: Néprajzi Múzeum, PTE BTK Kommunikáció- és Médiatudományi Tanszék.

FÜGEDI, Márta (1997): *Mítoszésvalóság: a matyó népművészet*. Officina Musei 6. Miskolc.

GÓRALSKA, Magdalena (2020): *Anthropology from Home. Advice on Digital Ethnography for the Pandemic Times*. In: Anthropology in Action 10.3167/aia.2020.270105. <https://www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/aia/27/1/aia270105>.

xml?rskey=Vr66nS&result=1&utm_source=TrendMD&utm_medium=cpc&utm_campaign=Anthropology_in_Action_TrendMD_0.

GRABURN, Nelson (1977): *Tourism: The Sacred Journey*. In: *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. In: Valene Smith (eds.), pp. 17–32. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

GRABURN, Nelson (1983): *Anthropology of Tourism*. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* 10(9):9–34.

GREENWOOD, DJ. (1977): *Tourism as an agent of change: a Spanish Basque case*. In: *Annual Tourism Res.* 3: pp. 128–142.

HALL, CM (1994): *Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley.

HEWISON, R. (1987): *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a climate of decline*. London: Methuen.

IRIMIÁS, Anna (2018): *Az örökségturizmus menedzsmentje* [Digitáliskiadás.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, <https://doi.org/10.1556/9789634542285>, Downloaded on 25th January 2021 from https://mersz.hu/hivatkozas/m306_aoe_1_p6#m306aoe_1_p6.

JÁSZBERÉNYI, Melinda (eds.) (2020): *A kulturális turizmus sokszínűsége* [Digitáliskiadás.] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, <https://doi.org/10.1556/9789634545224>, Down-loaded on 25th January 2021 from: https://mersz.hu/hivatkozas/m700akts_2_p1#m700akts_2_p1.

KAMARA, Afroditi (2016): *Cultural heritage enhancement as a means for touristic empowerment of regions and entrepreneurs*. In: Edited Luis Ochoa Siguencia – Martin Gomez-Ullate – Afroditi Kamara: *Cultural Management and Tourism in European Cultural Routes: from theory to practice*. <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/project-result-content/2d749475-4fd5-474b-a90c-58a2296424ea/> CMTECR_2016%20(1).pdf.

KÁRPÁTI, Nóra (2016): *A gasztronómia fejlődéstörténete és aktuális trendjei*. Szakdolgozat, Miskolci Egyetem. <http://midra.unimiskolc.hu/document/23869/19584.pdf>.

KIS, Krisztián – PESTI, Kitty (2015): *Az élelmiszeripari hungarikumok helyzete, lehetőségei a globalizáció és a lokalizáció kölcsönhatásában: eredet, hagyomány és minőség szegediesen*. In: *Jelenkori társadalmi és gazdasági folyamatok* 10 (2): 9–34.

KÖNYVES, Erika – VARGÁNÉ CSOBÁN, Katalin (2015): *Gasztronómia és turizmus. Elméleti jegyzet*. Debreceni Egyetem, Debrecen.

LALONE, Mary B. (2008): *An anthro-planning approach to local heritage tourism: case studies from Appalachia*. In: The Annals of Anthropological Practice. DOI:10.1525/NAPA. 2005.23.1.135 Corpus ID: 143857061.

LOVAS, Kiss Antal (2013): *A helyiértékek és hungarikumok azonosításának jellemzői a 21. Századi lokális kultúrákban*. Debreceni Egyetem, Debrecen.

MACCANNELL, Dean (1989) [1976]: *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 2nd edition. London: Macmillan.

MASON, Amanda (2005): *Applied anthropology and heritage tourism planning: working for the western Erie canal heritage corridor planning commission* In: NAPA Bulletin Volume 23, Issue1 Special Issue: Tourism and Applied Anthropologists, pp.151–169.

MCLAREN, Deborah (1998): *Rethinking tourism and ecotrail: The Paving of Paradise and What You Can Do to Stop It*. West Hartford, CN: Kumarian.

MINORICS, Tünde – GONDA, Tibor (2015): *Kézműves és gasztrokulturális örökségünk turisztikai hasznosítása*. In: Oroszi Viktor György (eds.) Szőlő, bor, turizmus: tanulmányok a szőlészet, borászat és a borturizmus témaköréből. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Kultúratudományi Pedagógusképző és Vidékfejlesztési Kar.

NAGY, Katalin (2020): *Kulturális utak fejlesztése, menedzselése a nemzetközi tapasztalatok tükrében* In: Dankó L.: Sárospataki turizmus fejlesztési tanulmányok 2020. Publisher: Sárospatak és Környéke Turizmusáért Egyesület.

NASH, Dennison (1977): *Tourism as a Form of Imperialism. In Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. In. Valene Smith, (eds.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 33–77.

NASH, Dennison (1981): *Tourism as an Anthropological Subject*. In: Current Anthropology 22(5): pp. 461–481.

NASH, Dennison. (1996): *Anthropology of Tourism*. New York: Pergamon.

PICARD, M. (1990): *Cultural tourism in Bali: cultural performance as tourist attractions*. Indonesia 49:37–47.

PUSZTAI, Bertalan (2016): *A turizmus mint médium*. In: Replika 96–97 (1–2. szám): 11–17. Downloaded on 25th January 2021 http://epa.oszk.hu/03100/03109/00001/pdf/EPA03109_replika_96-97_011-017.pdf.

PUSZTAI, Bertalan (2020): *A rurális fesztivál szcéna a közösségi fesztiválok és a tervezett események keresztútján*. In: Dobák J. – R. Nagy J. (eds.): DOCENDO DISCIMUS. A 60 esztendő Kotics József köszöntése. Kulturális és Vizuális Antropológiai Tanszék, Miskolc. 323–332.

RADÁCSI László (2005): *Együttműködés a tervezésben, döntéshozatalban és a megvalósításban*. In: *Parola* 2005/3–4: pp. 1–22.

RADÁCSI, László (2006): „Részvétel és fenntartható fejlődés.” In BULLA Miklós és TAMÁS Pál (ed.). *Fenntartható fejlődés Magyarországon. Jövőképek és forgatókönyvek*. 256–274, (Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2006), 256.

REID, Donald G. (2003): *Tourism, Globalization, and Development: Responsible Tourism Planning*. London: Pluto Press.
Nash D. 1981. Tourism as an anthropological subject. In: *Current Anthropology*. 22:461–81 pp.

RÉGI, Tamás (2017): *A turizmus és társadalmi változás kapcsolatának néhány antropológiai és szociológiai értelmezése*. In. Régi Tamás – Rátz Tamara – Michalkó Gábor eds. (2017) *Turizmus és transzformáció*, Kodolányi Janos Főiskola, MTA CSFK Földrajztudományi Intézet Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Orosháza–Budapest, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/83551832.pdf>, pp. 11–27.

RICHARDS, G. (2001): *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*. Wallingford: CABI.

SÁNDOR, Dénes (2012): *A gasztronómia szerepe Magyarország idegenforgalmi földrajzában*. [PhD értekezés] PTE Földtudományok Doktori Iskola, Pécs.

SMITH, Valene L. (eds.) (1977) [1989]: *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. 2nd edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

SMITH, Valene L. – EADINGTON, William R.: (eds.) (1992): *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the Development of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

STONICH, Susan C. (2000): *The Other Side of Paradise: Tourism, Conservation, and Development in the Bay Islands*. New York: Cognizant Communications.

TÓTH, Benedek (2016): *Helyi kultúrák újratöltve: a turizmus késő modern mediatizációja és a tér értelmezésének modern fordulata*. In: Replika, 96–97. / 27–37.

TÓTH, Bettina – NAGY, Gyula – HEGEDŰS, Gábor (2017): *A helyi értékek és hungarikumok turisztikai attrakció vávaló fejlesztési lehetőségei alföldi példákon keresztül*. In: Turisztikai és Vidékfejlesztési Tanulmányok II. (2) 4–19.

TÓZSA, István – ZÁTORI, Anita (2013): *Hungarikumok*. Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem Gazdálkodástudományi Kar Környezettudományi Intézet Gazdaságföldrajz és Jövőkutatás Tanszék Turizmus Kompetencia Központ. Budapest.

TROTTER, II, Robert T. – SCHENSUL, Jean J. – KOSTICK, Kristin M. (2015): *Theories and Methods in Applied Anthropology*. In: BERNARD H. Russel – GRAVLEE, Clarence C. (eds): *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, pp. 661–693.

URRY, John (1990): *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

VIGA, Gyula (2004): *Tájak, ízek, ételek Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megyében*. Miskolc.

WALLACE, Tim (2005): *Tourism, tourists, and anthropologists at work*. In: NAPA Bulletin 23, pp. 1–26., http://www.osea-cite.org/tourismworkshop/resources/TW_Wallace_Tourism_Anthro_at_Work.pdf.

ZÁTORI, Anita (2016): *A fesztiválturizmus elméleti aspektusai*. In: Jászberényi Melinda – Zátori Anita – Ásványi Katalin (szerk.): *Fesztiválturizmus*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest. 15–33. <https://doi.org/10.1556/9789634540083>.

Consumer Engagement in Social Media. A Case Study of Five Craft Festivals in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary

Zsuzsanna Török

In my article I focus on the craft festivals of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, Hungary with a strong emphasis on their online presence, representation and social media coverage. The research I have been carrying out provides insight into the social media use (or non-use) of festivals, focuses on the possible extension of (social/online) media coverage and gives an overall analysis of the festivals' online presence.

Our first task is to understand the role and importance of online sphere in promoting craft festivals, after which we must turn our attention to the largest festivals organized in our area in focus. Finally, we have to take a look at the online representation of the festivals and analyze its effectiveness.

The study was carried out under the research project of KRA'GAS (Promotion of Crafts and Gastronomy, as Relevant Components of the Cultural Heritage of the Carpathian Euroregion – HUSKROUA/1702/3.1/0027, funded by the European Union) in 2019–2021.

Why is it important to be online?

As Getz points out, festivals are temporary themed public celebrations and, as such, they are an important sector of

the tourism industry.¹ Because of their impermanence they need to find a way to draw in and engage their audience even at times when the event itself does not take place. The best way to ensure engagement is via marketing communication tools that have changed a lot in the last decade. The current marketing environment is, in some ways, similar to that of the pre-World War 2 era. Before the emergence of mass media and mass marketing, producers produced products that suited their customers specific, personal needs and the marketing dialog between producer and customer generally remained personal and focused.²

By the mid 1990s, or – in case of post socialist countries – by the end of the 1990s, the spread of the internet and the social media changed the way of our consumer behavior. Customers started to deliver their own marketing messages in the form of comments, customer reviews and/or blog posts and the old “marketing tradition” of word of mouth gained influence again.³ Technology gives us a chance to interact with companies, brands, producers and festivals, and – as Court et al. reveal⁴ – we, as customers, are eager to enter into an open-ended relationship with the purchased brands and to share our experiences online. The traditional consumer

¹ Getz, Donald (2008): Event tourism: definition, evolution and research. *Tourism Management*, 29 (2008), pp. 403–428.

² Saravanakumar, M. and Suganthalakshmi, T. (2012): Social media marketing. *Life Science Journal*, 9 (4), pp. 4444–4451.

³ See also Stephen, A. T. & Galak, J. (2012). The effects of traditional and social earned media on sales: A study of a microlending marketplace. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 49(5), pp. 624–639.

⁴ Court, D., Elzinga, D., Mulder, S. and Vervik, O.J. (2009): The consumer journey. *McKinsey Quarterly*, June, available at: <https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/marketing-and-sales/our-insights/the-consumer-decision-journey> (accessed November 17, 2020).

decision process has changed from consider-evaluate-purchase to consider-evaluate-buy-advo-cate and bond.⁵

After a brief overview of the folk art/handicrafts tradition of the region I am going to introduce the largest craft and gastronomy festivals of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county after which I point out how the craft festivals of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county perform at each stages of this new consumer journey.

Folk art in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county

Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county has a rich folk art and crafts heritage. According to the desk research carried out at the early phases of the project, local heritage, crafts and events can be categorized in accordance with historical, ethnographic traditions, ethnicity, folklore traditions and gastronomy. As Márta Fügedi points out in her edited volume on the folk art of the region, crafting revolves mostly around textiles, especially embroidery, and wood working.⁶

The production of home-made textiles was common up to the 1950s and gained popularity again in the 2000s. Embroidered clothes, shawls or linens were the accessories of folk customs and celebrations. In the villages of Bodroghöz and Bükkalja richly decorated linens were woven for every turning points of life.⁷ The embroideries of the Matyós have become known all over the world as THE representatives of Hungarian folk art. The Matyó Rose or peony is probably the most well-known motif of the Matyó embroidery. The

⁵ See also Süveges, G. (2013) Management Accounting and Case Studies in Harmonizing Practical and Theoretical Education: The Birth of a New Subject. *Practice and Theory in Systems of Education*, (2)8, pp.135–145.

⁶ Fügedi, M. (szerk.) (1997a) *Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye népművészete*. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum.

⁷ Siska J. (1986) *A Bodroghöz népi textilművészete*. Sárospatak: Rákóczi Múzeum Baráti Köre.

original, or traditional rose is red, blue, yellow and green (sometimes black), but more vibrant colors have been introduced as soon as the dying techniques became more sophisticated. The Matyó Rose is something people associate the Matyós with and, as such, serves as the most important signifier of the region.⁸

In the regions rich in wood, especially in Bükkalja and the Zempléni mountains, a lot of craftsmen worked in carving and furniture making. The furniture of the region was decorated with colorful paints and patterns: chests for clothes, armed benches, wall cupboards, bedposts and chests of drawers are among the most famous products of the region.⁹

After the regime change of 1989 folk art, and folk traditions in general “left” the villages and moved to the cities, urban centers. In Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county such centers are: Miskolc, Mezőkövesd, Tokaj and Sárospatak. In villages most of these crafts disappeared completely or they exist in a form that cannot be presented to the tourists.

The reasons for this shift are many-folded. First, we shall conclude that the economy of the 21st century does not need such artifacts that have been produced by craftsmen in the past. At least, it does not need them as functional objects. Secondly, the financial and moral support of such activities

⁸ About the rich craft heritage of the Matyós see also: Dajaszászné Dietz, V. (1952) Adatok a matyó íróasszonyok életéhez. *Ethnographia* LXIII. (1952) pp. 139–149.; Fél Edit – Hofer Tamás (1975) A matyó hímzés alakulása és a magyar népművészet stíluskorszakai. In *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* XIII–XIV. pp. 433–453.; Fügedi Márta (1997b) *Mítosz és valóság: a matyó népművészet*. Officina Musei 6. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum.

⁹ Petercsák, T. (1988) A sátoraljaújhelyi festett bútor. In *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 25–26. *Tanulmányok Szabadfalvi József tiszteletére*. pp. 667–682.

is scarce, even today. Although it is a known fact that folk traditions play an important role in the identity building of a nation, it is still not a priority to give support to associations working on preserving the art of the region(s).

Associations and groups that have been active during the 1980s did not continue their work after the regime change. Rare examples are those associations that are part of the NESZ/AHFA (Népművészeti Egyesületek Szövetsége/ Association of Hungarian Folk Artists).¹⁰

In Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén two distinct regions of local traditions/heritage can be distinguished (corresponding to the ethnographic regions): Tokaj-Hegyalja and Matyóföld.

Tokaj-Hegyalja covers the eastern part of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén. In terms of crafts, its most significant settlements are: Szerencs, Sárospatak, Tokaj, Tállya, Miskolc and Kisgyőr.

The ethnically and culturally diverse population of Tokaj-Hegyalja and its surroundings is largely the result of the region's commercial value. Culturally the region has been influenced by Greek, Serbian, Russian, Polish, Slovakian and German traditions (due to commerce). Sárospatak is also known as the North Hungarian center of the Protestant church, meaning that the church also has a significant religious influence on its local crafts. In Tokaj-Hegyalja the embroidery, ceramics and woodcarving are probably the most well-known and established crafts. It is in parallel with the number of craftsmen living in the region. According to our research findings, 146 people are engaged in some form of embroidery, while 71 persons do woodcarvings and 27 make folk-jewelry. Compared to the other parts of Hungary, a relatively large number of people make folk costumes. Most

¹⁰ <https://nesz.hu>.

of the craftsmen here are part of the associations Hegyaljai Mesterek Népművészeti Egyesülete and Fügedi Márta Népművészeti Egyesület. Both associations operate open workshops, organize exhibitions, and participate at festivals and markets.

The region Matyóföld includes three settlements with rich cultural heritage: Mezőkövesd, Tard and Szentistván. Mezőkövesd serves as the center of the region, most of the events are organized there. The folk art of the region gained international recognition in the 19th century with its costumes, embroidery, woodcarving and ceramics. The number of people doing embroidery is very high: 26.

In Mezőkövesd a large open-air museum (Hadas district) operates, showing all kind of crafts. It is the picturesque, ancient town center of Mezőkövesd. Buildings have been preserved in their original form in the heart of the city. They show the architectural traditions of the local Matyó and reflect their way of life, too. The district is open to the public during the summer but after registration the shops and barns accept visitors all year round.

Craft festivals in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county

Craft festivals in the region of research are held regularly or annually, often together with events and markets. Although most of them is held on a specific date, i.e. they are not permanent attractions, some organizations offer experiences and attraction that are available for the tourists all year round.

1, Őszi Népművészeti Sokadalom (Kisgyőr)

The festival has been organized for the 36th times in 2019. COVID-19 has made it impossible to organize the festival in 2020, but the organizers are devoted to the event and wish to organize it again as soon as possible. It is both a gastronomic

and craft event, since it is connected to the grape-harvest of the region. Not only the local and regional craftsmen have open workshops, but dance performances and a craft fair are also held.

2, Borsodi Fonó

The Borsodi Fonó is probably the most famous folk festival of the region. For the aims of the project, it is important to note that the Borsodi Fonó is indeed an international folk festival, with artists, dancers, craftsmen from Ukraine and Romania as well. The event is usually organized in June. Besides the traditional dances, performances and cultural programs, a large craft fair is held as well.

3, Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál

In 2019 the Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál (Matyóföld Folklore Festival) celebrated its 17th birthday. The Festival is held in August, usually at the second weekend of the month. Dance groups, bands, artists give performances, craftsmen offer their goods, and the visitors have a chance to try some special gastronomical treats as well.

4, Középkori Forгатag (Medieval Bustle)

The Medieval Bustle is an annual event organized in the Castle of Diósgyőr in Miskolc. Although this event focuses on the historic traditions of Hungary we still need to list it among the folklore festivals, and craft fairs of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, since a large craft fair is held during the festival.

5, Matyó Húsvét

Matyó Húsvét (Matyó Easter) is an annual folklore event held in the Hadas district, in Mezőkövesd. It focuses on kids and families, offers several programs, traditional toys,

folklore shows for children to watch, try out and learn to love. During the program all houses and barns of the Hadas district are open and have workshops organized.

Festivals in the online sphere

The handicrafts/folk art of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county is well represented in the online space. Most of the active craftsmen are members in associations that help them with their presence at exhibitions, workshops and festivals. Most associations are also active in the social media, especially on Facebook.¹¹ Facebook posts cover their activity, present their works and call attention to certain events. Some of them even operates websites, have Instagram and Twitter accounts.¹²

In terms of the folk art/craft festivals, the online presence is scarce. Even though research shows that social media platforms are the dominant communications channel especially for people under 34 years of age,¹³ the festivals of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county do not engage themselves actively with their audiences via social media platforms.

¹¹ Hegyaljai Mesterek Népművészeti Egyesülete: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/256119784570808>; Bükkaljai Mesterek Népművészeti Egyesülete: <https://www.facebook.com/Bükkaljai-Mesterek-Népművészeti-Egyesülete-120331373206504/>; Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület: <https://www.facebook.com/matyofolk>; Fügedi Márta Népművészeti Egyesület: <https://www.facebook.com/kezmuvesekhaza.hu>; Sajómenti Népművészeti Egyesület: <https://www.facebook.com/SajomentiNepmuveszetiEgyesulet>; Libabőr Népművészeti Egyesület: <https://www.facebook.com/libabor.nepmuveszetiegyeselet.5>.

¹² websites: Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület: <https://matyofolk.hu>; Fügedi Márta Népművészeti Egyesület: <https://www.kezmuvesekhaza.hu>; Sajómenti Népművészeti Egyesület: <http://sajomentine.hu>.

¹³ Chappuis, B., Gaffey, B. and Parvizi, P. (2011) Are your customers becoming digital junkies? *McKinsey Quarterly*, July, available at: <https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/marketing-and-sales/our-insights/are-your-customers-becoming-digital-junkies> (accessed March 6, 2021).

If we look at the recent statistics of internet and social media usage in Hungary, we shall immediately realize that the festivals miss a great opportunity to present themselves and grab the attention of potential customers.

According to the website [statista.com](https://www.statista.com) the internet penetration rate in Hungary is 87,5% with 5.4 m people using Facebook. With its 5,1 m users, YouTube is the second most popular social media platform, followed by 2.61 m Instagram users.¹⁴ DataReportal cites similar results. 8,01 m people use the internet, and 7,09 m use social media platforms, which is 73,5% of the population. Facebook is the absolute favorite among users; it is the second most visited website with only a search engine, [google.com](https://www.google.com), preceding it. Facebook was also the most common query people entered in Google search between 01 January and 31 December 2020. In terms of mobile apps, we see the same trend: Facebook Messenger leads the statistics, followed by Facebook, Viber and Instagram, three of which is owned by Facebook. Recently Whatsapp is also gaining popularity.¹⁵ With these data in mind, we shall now turn our attention to the consumer journey the audience/participants likely take when deciding to visit the festivals in our focus.

The consumer journey

In order to find out how the audience decides on participating at certain festivals of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, to see how online and especially social media presence influences their decision, and how they communicate with the event,

¹⁴ <https://www.statista.com/topics/6592/social-media-usage-in-hungary/> (accessed: 28 February, 2021).

¹⁵ Kemp, Simon (2021) Digital 2021: Hungary. DataReportal, available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-hungary> (accessed March 6, 2021).

a small-scale survey has been carried out among Facebook users. The online survey was available at [survio.com](https://www.surveymonkey.com) between 01 November 2020 and 30 January 2021. The request for participation was sent out to 2,300 people following the festivals or the organizers in focus on Facebook or posting comments on the events. We received 937 answers, based on which we can conclude the followings:

Stage 1 – consider

Every consumer decision starts with considering our choices. When choosing a festival to visit, we have to consider the topic of the festival, our interest, the time at which the festival is organized, some additional factors (available accommodation, other attractions in the area, etc.) and the overall experience the event shall deliver.¹⁶ At this stage of the decision-making process, “word of mouth” seems to be the most influential in which social media plays an increasingly important role. Word of mouth in the era of the internet is immediately followed by or runs parallel with the Zero Moment of Truth, a term introduced by Google in 2011.¹⁷

From the festivals in our focus, only Borsodi Fonó and Középkori Forgatag have their own Facebook pages.¹⁸ If we

¹⁶ On satisfaction, event tourism and experience tourism see also: Alegre, J., & Garau, J. (2010) Tourist Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), pp. 52–73; Bosque, I.R., & Martín, H.S. (2008). Tourist Satisfaction a Cognitive-affective Model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), pp. 551–573.; Yoon, Y., & Uysal, M. (2005). An Examination of the Effects of Motivation and Satisfaction on Destination Loyalty: A Structural Model. *Tourism Management*, 26, pp. 45–56.

¹⁷ Lecinski, L. (2011), “Winning the Zero Moment of Truth”. (e-book), available at: <https://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/future-of-marketing/emerging-technology/2011-winning-zmot-ebook/> (accessed March 1, 2021).

¹⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/BorsodiFonoMiskolc>; <https://www.facebook.com/kozepkoriforgatag>.

take a look at their statistics, we see that Borsodi Fonó received 577 likes and has 580 followers, while Középkori Forгатag has 1017 like and 1032 followers as of 7 March 2021. Borsodi Fonó appears in 89 comments, while Középkori Forгатag in 176. The latest post by Borsodi Fonó is from 2019, while Középkori Forгатag gives updates to its followers regularly (weekly posts). According to our survey, a significant number of former visitors received news of both events first by word of mouth on social media sites (89% on Facebook, 10,2% on YouTube) and 72,5% of them immediately run a query with using one of the popular search engines. This fact calls our attention to the importance of competing for the attention of “shoppers of experience” online long before an attendance/purchase decision is made.¹⁹

To learn more about the consumer journey, for the purpose of the study, we shall also give birth to a hypothetical family, called The Smiths. The Smith family represents an average Hungarian family with two children aged 10 and 12. They are interested in experiences rather than just relaxing by a lake or a pool, so they want to spend their vacation in a place that offers a craft or gastronomy festival at the time of their travel. They choose Northern Hungary as their destination. Let us assume that they are active Facebook users, with 250 friends.²⁰ So, what happens when words of mouth reach Mrs. Smith about our festivals in focus? There comes the Zero Moment of Truth: she enters the festivals to

¹⁹ see also Süveges, G. (2017) Main characteristics of management case studies for Hungarian students: Chapter 3. In Berényi, L. (ed.) *Management Challenges in the 21st Century*. Volume IV. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing. pp. 37–44.

²⁰ [www.statista.com](https://www.statista.com/statistics/1113856/hungary-number-of-facebook-friends/) claims that the average number of Facebook friends of users in Hungary in 2018 was 100–500. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1113856/hungary-number-of-facebook-friends/>.

her favorite search engines, probably Google as suggested by Kemp's report.²¹ Here is what she finds:

Őszi Népművészeti Sokadalom is only mentioned in some local, regional online news sites. Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál has a massive online presence. The festival is present in the national online media, its connection to the renowned Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület is well documented. Several sites dedicated to experience/event tourism²² mention the festival, give link to its programs, offer reviews and recommendations. Borsodi Fonó is somewhere between: it has a significant online presence, with local and regional news coverage, program sites and even some YouTube videos, but the number of search results is lower. Középkori Forгатag is another big hit, it has its own Facebook page, the direct link to the Castle of Diósgyőr is obvious, the media coverage extends to the national media and the number of reviews, mentions, comments and reports is high. Matyó Húsvét is also organized in cooperation with the Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület, so its online presence is similar to that of the Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál. The Zero Moment of Truth shows Mrs. Smith that she has only four viable choices if she wants something meaningful for her family. She eliminates Őszi Népművészeti Sokadalom from her potential choices.

Stage 2 – evaluate

At the second stage of the consumer journey the customer reaches out and starts reading reviews, in our case reviews

²¹ Kemp, Simon (2021) Digital 2021: Hungary. DataReportal, available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-hungary> (accessed March 6, 2021)

²² as an example: www.programturizmus.hu; www.fesztivalportal.hu; www.csodalatosmagyarorszag.hu; www.utazzitthon.hu; www.travelo.hu; www.folkfeszt.hu; www.falusiturizmus.org.

of nearby attractions, hotels, or the festivals themselves.²³ Festivals have a good chance of building brand communities. Brand communities are “specialized, non-geographically bound communities, based on a structured set of social relationships among admirers of a brand”.²⁴ Looking at the festivals in focus, the research shows that only Középkori Forгатag (1032 followers) and Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál/Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület (1909 followers) have brand communities at the time of the report. The challenge in building brand communities is that, even though the encouragement of interactions by the brand itself has a positive influence on the community, marketers should only employ a passive role when facilitating these communities.²⁵

How does Mrs. Smith’s evaluation phase turn out? She already eliminated Őszi Népművészeti Sokadalom, but she still has four choices. Borsodi Fonó, Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál, Matyó Húsvét (Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület) and Középkori Forгатag all have their own Facebook pages. Borsodi Fonó does not engage actively with its community, but the other two post regularly. Mrs. Smith wants to make an educated decision, so she checks other social media sites,

²³ Lab42 (2012), “Techie traveler. The behavior of today’s tech-based travel aficionado”, available at: <http://blog.lab42.com/techie-traveler> (accessed February 25, 2021).

²⁴ p. 45. Bagozzi, R. and Dholakia, U. (2006), “Antecedents and purchase consequences of customer participation in small group brand communities”. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, Vol. 23 No. 1, pp. 45–61.

²⁵ see also: Algesheimer, R., Dholakia, U.M. and Herrmann, A. (2005), “The social influence of brand community”. *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 69 No. 3, pp. 19–34.; Lee, D., Kim, H. and Kim, J. (2011), “The impact of online brand community type on consumer’s community engagement behaviors: consumer-created vs marketer-created online brand community in online social-networking web sites”. *CyberPsychology, Behavior & Social Networking*, Vol. 14 Nos 1/2, pp. 59–63.

namely YouTube, Instagram and Twitter.²⁶ Borsodi Fonó has 24 YouTube videos uploaded. On Instagram we find 29 posts with #borsodifono, 22 with #borsodifonó, 5 with #borsodifonofolkfesztival, and 3 other post with different, but related hashtags. Borsodi Fonó is not a popular tweet on Twitter, only 4 results can be found. Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület has the most active Facebook community and the same is true in terms of the YouTube presence of Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál. As of March 2021, 78 videos are uploaded with the festival mentioned in the description. If we add Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület and Matyó Húsvét, we have an additional 34+62 videos, which means Matyóföld and its programs are the absolute favorite on YouTube. Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál is not present on Instagram and Twitter. Matyó Húsvét has some Instagram mentions: 29 posts with #matyóhúsvét, 4 with #matyohusvet and 13 with #hadasvarosresz can be found. Középkori Forгатag has its own Facebook page, 54 videos are uploaded to YouTube with KözépkoriForгатag – Diósgyőrivár mentioned in the descriptions. The Castle of Diósgyőr has its own Instagram profile and more than 1,000 posts mention the castle and its most famous program. The number of tweets is lower, we only find 104 mentions. Mrs. Smith now has only two options: to take her family to Matyóföld or to visit the Középkori Forгатag.

Stage 3 – buy

The point of purchase – placement, packaging, availability, pricing and sales interaction – is a very powerful

²⁶ Kemp concludes that these are the most popular social media sites in Hungary. Kemp, Simon (2021) Digital 2021: Hungary. DataReportal, available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-hungary> (accessed March 6, 2021).

touch point in the consumer journey. Most of the programs of the Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál and Matyó Húsvét are free of charge, while Középkori Forгатag has only a limited number of programs available for free. Both Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál and Középkori Forгатag offers tickets online, so – based on the online presence at this stage – it is impossible to assume the final decision of Mrs. Smith.

Stage 4 – enjoy, advocate, bond

After purchase, a new chapter begins. With the rise of social media, consumers started to interact with the products, services and experiences they bought. While on vacation and after returning travelers are active on social media networks. They post reviews, give “likes” to pages related to destinations, events or experiences.

Geosocial networking is also gaining popularity and has a significant role in stage 4 of the consumer journey. These apps are primarily designed for mobile devices and their most popular function is to inform others on the current location of their users. The first geolocation based social media platform was Foursquare, which did not become popular in Hungary. The location-based services within Facebook and Google and the specialized services of Waze are used much more. Some applications even allow users to add their own points of interest and become “local travel guides” thus influencing our consumer decisions.

Social media at the fourth stage of the consumer journey can also work as a tool of crowdsourcing.²⁷ Crowdsourcing in this case means an innovation project that

²⁷ the term „crowdsourcing” was coined in 2006 by Jeff Howe, the contributing editor of Wired magazine. Sullivan, E. (2010), “A group effort”. *Marketing News*, February 28, pp. 22–28.

invites the members of brand communities to help improve products and services. Ideally, consumers get products and services that reflect their needs better and the brands gain more insight that can be translated into innovations for far less money than an average R&D initiative.

But how do our festivals in focus perform at this stage of the journey? As we have seen at stage 2, most of the festivals have taken some steps in engaging their audiences and forming brand communities.

In terms of geolocation-based networking we need to look for the locations/venues of the festivals to gain some insight on the subject. Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál and Matyó Húsvét is based in Mezőkövesd, in the Hadas district. Google Maps offers 160 reviews on the district, 65 reviews on the Kis Jankó Bori Emlékház and 48 reviews on the Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület. Középkori Forгатag is organized in and around the Castle of Diósgyőr. As of March 2021, we have 6,882 reviews of the castle itself and an additional 137 of the Lovagi Tornák Tere. It is worth to mention that companies have a chance to reply to the reviews, something the Castle of Diósgyőr does not fail to utilize. They not only say thank you for the review (and by doing so encouraging other reviewers to submit their opinions), but also ask the reviewer to follow their Facebook page, check their official website regularly, see the YouTube videos of the castle and participate in an online survey.²⁸ This survey is the only sign of a move toward crowdsourcing innovation in the case of our festivals in focus.

²⁸ <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSd-RQFnktEBnJEmzoEKEfXYsoVzntU2USmYTpuNluZoNOGjyQ/viewform> (accessed 5 March, 2021).

Conclusions and recommendations

As we spend more and more time online and on social media networks, our consumer decisions more and more reflect interactions with companies, brands and friends. Some of the festivals in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county have embraced social media to some extent and realized its potential for engagement and collaboration with the audiences. Our research supports the model of consumer journey. The results of the online survey confirm that word of mouth, zero moment of truth and consumer reviews, i.e. consumer driven social media marketing, has increasing impact on the festival-goers decision making process. Social media is making stage 1 (consider) and stage 2 (evaluate) more relevant.

As online engagement plays an increasingly important role in the success of an event, festival organizers shall realize that social media and blogging web sites are effective tools to reach potential consumers during the considering and evaluation stages. Although both Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület and Középkori Forgasat are actively using Facebook to engage consumers, the majority of engagement occurs right before and during the events organized. The research suggests that post-festival experience is overlooked in both cases. As Clawson and Knetch argues, tourism is a multi-phase experience. It starts well before attendance and continues way beyond the visit.²⁹ In the previous stages of our research interviews with festival organizers were undertaken. The results revealed that social media marketing and online presence is often taken on without a formal strategy. It is also suggested that social media presence is often handled by someone on top of other responsibilities. If we take the

²⁹ Clawson, M., & Knetsch, J. L. (2013). *Economics of Outdoor Recreation*. London: Routledge.

assumed importance of social media into account, it is a viable recommendation that festivals should employ staff whose expertise is or includes social media engagement. As Hudson & Hudson suggests building relationship with bloggers to generate excitement and awareness can offer a great help as well.³⁰

Festivals should consider engaging their attendees on social media throughout the year. It could help to enhance the overall relationship with the festival organization. Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület (co-organizer of Matyóföldi Folklórfesztivál and Matyó Húsvét) and the Castle of Diósgyőr (organizer of Középkori Forgatag) have taken steps to do so, they regularly post on Facebook. We recommend extending their reach, intensify their online activities and use Instagram and Twitter as well.

As Lee et al. argues, the festival environment provides a unique atmosphere.³¹ Festivalscapes influence satisfaction and reactions and offer a chance to engage attendees in posting their experiences online. Festivals should encourage their audiences to tweet, Instagram and Facebook their way through the festival. It can be achieved by posting photos and asking the attendees to tag themselves in the pictures or rewarding posts and tweets with unique merchandise.

Post-visiting online activities should also be encouraged. Kim and Fesenmaier's study shows that sharing positive

³⁰ Hudson, S. & Hudson, R. (2013) Engaging with consumers using social media: A case study of music festivals. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 4. 10.; available upon request at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263074201_Engaging_with_consumers_using_social_media_A_case_study_of_music_festivals (accessed 10 January, 2021).

³¹ Lee, Y.-K., Lee, C.-K., Lee, S.-K. and Babin, B.J. (2008), "Festivalscapes and patrons' emotions, satisfaction, and loyalty". *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 56–64.

experiences post trip increases travelers' positive affect and leads toward more positive evaluation, which is an important part of today's consumer journey.³² With its online survey, the Castle of Diósgyőr took a great step toward learning about consumer experiences. We recommend extending these activities and target more people with social media posts to share their post visit impressions. Our research also shows that the traditional marketing budget should be reconsidered. A large portion of marketing budgets are spent on the consider and buy stages, even though consumers are influenced more during the evaluation and enjoy-advocate-bond phases (phases 2 and 4). The festivals should therefore consider dedicating more resources to their owned media (web sites, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter accounts) and earned media (customer-created channels, brand communities, etc.), besides/along paid media.

We shall point out that the organizers in our case study still regard social media as minor, insignificant marketing tool. The realization of its importance comes slowly. The results of our online survey among festival-goers shows that visitors seek to personalize their experience, expect customized products and services. Social media offers a great chance to provide such customization. The organizers can create mobile apps or dedicated sites to enhance to experience and consider the idea of crowdsourcing via involving attendees in the generation of new programs, logos, innovations, etc.³³

³² Kim, J. and Fesenmaier, D. (2015). Sharing Tourism Experiences: The Posttrip Experience. *Journal of Travel Research*. 56. available upon request at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/288041305_Sharing_Tourism_Experiences_The_Posttrip_Experience (accessed 10 January, 2021).

³³ A great way to enhance participation in the organization process was applied by another festival of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. In 2020, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the CineFest Miskolc International

Organizers may turn to social media analytics tools to identify key influencers and find customers with the best social media footprint. By rewarding such influencers, they can further enhance their online presence in social media. They can also use social media monitoring tools to locate mentions and to find online influencers.³⁴

A more aggressive digital marketing strategy can lead to more knowledge about the festival-goers and result in more satisfactory services. We shall also note though that lack of privacy and unwanted communication can become an issue with aggressive digital marketing. Therefore, festivals must engage their audiences empathetically, constantly monitoring their communications from the fans' point of view. Social media marketing is about relationship, and it is a delicate balance to be present but not violate privacy and enter too much into the costumers' lives. There is also a downside of actively encouraging evaluation process. As Kim and Hardin points out, reasonable criticism could lead to improvement of services, but consumers can also distribute damaging information using social media.³⁵

Film Festival was not able to organize its usual 10-days event. The organizers turned to the locals of Miskolc and asked them to show their love for the city and its surroundings in the form of short, amateur videos. Entries were uploaded to the CineFest website, a pre-jury selected 30 works for screening and valuable prizes were given to the best films selected by the jury and the audience. This way the festival was able to engage locals, keep up their interest in the festival, even though there was no "real" CineFest that year, and generate online media presence.

³⁴ The most popular social media monitoring tools are: Brand24, Talkwalker, BrandMentions, Brandwatch and YouScan.

³⁵ Kim, J. and Hardin, A. (2010), "The impact of virtual worlds on word-of-mouth: improving social networking and servicescape in the hospitality industry". *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, Vol. 19 No. 7, pp. 735–753.

While the social scientific literature on social media is growing in its scope, more research is needed to guide festival organizers. Most of the research published focuses on online behavior, while a little attention is given to brand relationship, the influence of marketing strategies on brand relationship quality or the impact of the zero moment of truth. The ever-changing online environment makes it a bit more complicated to carry out research that results in data of long-term applicability. In my article I analyzed the online presence of the five craft festivals of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, with a special focus on their activities in social media. I followed a hypothetical family through its consumer journey and showed how the consumer decision is made. Finally, I gave recommendation to festival organizers to enhance their social media footprints and engage their costumers on a more satisfying way.

References

- Alegre, J., & Garau, J. (2010) Tourist Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(1), pp. 52–73.
- Algesheimer, R., Dholakia, U.M. and Herrmann, A. (2005), “The social influence of brand community”. *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 69, No. 3, pp. 19–34.
- Bagozzi, R. and Dholakia, U. (2006), “Antecedents and purchase consequences of customer participation in small group brand communities”. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, Vol. 23 No. 1, pp. 45–61.
- Bosque, I.R., & Martín, H.S. (2008). Tourist Satisfaction a Cognitive-affective Model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), pp. 551–573.
- Chappuis, B., Gaffey, B. and Parvizi, P. (2011) Are your customers becoming digital junkies? *McKinsey Quarterly*, July, available at: <https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/market->

ing-and-sales/our-insights/are-your-customers-becoming-digital-junkies (accessed March 6, 2021).

Clawson, M., & Knetsch, J. L. (2013). *Economics of Outdoor Recreation*. London: Routledge.

Court, D., Elzinga, D., Mulder, S. and Vetvik, O.J. (2009): The consumer journey. *McKinsey Quarterly*, June, available at: <https://www.mckinsey.com/business-functions/marketing-and-sales/our-insights/the-consumer-decision-journey> (accessed November 17, 2020).

Dajaszázyiné Dietz, V. (1952) Adatok a matyó íróasszonyok életéhez. *Ethnographia* LXIII. (1952) pp. 139–149.

Fél, Edit – Hofer Tamás (1975) A matyó hímzés alakulása és a magyar népművészet stíluskorszakai. *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* XIII–XIV. pp. 433–453.

Edelman, D. (2010), “Branding in the digital age”, *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 88, No. 12, pp. 62–69.

Fügedi, Márta (szerk.) (1997b) Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megye népművészete. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum.

Fügedi, Márta (1997a) *Mítosz és valóság: a matyó népművészet*. Officina Musei 6. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum.

Getz, D. (2008) Event tourism: definition, evolution, and research. *Tourism Management*, 29 pp. 403–428.

Hudson, S. & Hudson, R. (2013) Engaging with consumers using social media: A case study of music festivals. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*, 4. 10., available upon request at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/263074201_Engaging_with_consumers_using_social_media_A_case_study_of_music_festivals (accessed 10 January, 2021).

Kemp, Simon (2021) Digital 2021: Hungary. DataReportal, available at: <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2021-hungary> (accessed March 6, 2021).

Kim, J. and Hardin, A. (2010), “The impact of virtual worlds on word-of-mouth: improving social networking and servicescape in the hospitality industry”. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, Vol. 19, No. 7, pp. 735–753.

Kim, J. and Fesenmaier, D. (2015). Sharing Tourism Experiences: The Posttrip Experience. *Journal of Travel Research*.

56., available upon request at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/288041305_Sharing_Tourism_Experiences_The_Posttrip_Experience (accessed 10 January, 2021).

Lab42 (2012), "Techie traveler. The behavior of today's tech-based travelaficionado", available at: <http://blog.lab42.com/techie-traveler> (accessed February 25, 2021).

Lecinski, L. (2011), "Winning the Zero Moment of Truth". (ebook), available at: <https://www.thinkwithgoogle.com/future-of-marketing/emerging-technology/2011-winning-zmot-ebook/> (accessed March 1, 2021).

Lee, Y.-K., Lee, C.-K., Lee, S.-K. and Babin, B.J. (2008), "Festivalscapes and patrons' emotions, satisfaction, and loyalty". *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 56–64.

Lee, D., Kim, H. and Kim, J. (2011), "The impact of online brand community type on consumer's community engagement behaviors: consumer-created vs marketer-created online brand community in online social-networking web sites". *Cyber Psychology, Behavior & Social Networking*, Vol. 14, Nos 1/2, pp. 59–63.

Saravanakumar, M. and Suganthalakshmi, T. (2012), "Social media marketing". *Life Science Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 4444–4451.

Siska J. (1986) *A Bodrogeköz népi textilművészete*. Sárospatak: Rákóczi Múzeum Baráti Köre.

Stephen, A. T. & Galak, J. (2012). The effects of traditional and social earned media on sales: A study of a microlending marketplace. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 49(5), 624–639.

Sullivan, E. (2010), "A groupeffort". *Marketing News*, February 28, pp. 22–28.

Süveges, G. (2013) Management Accounting and Case Studies in Harmonizing Practical and Theoretical Education: The Birth of a New Subject. Practice and Theory in Systems of Education, (2)8, pp.135–145.

Süveges, G. (2017) Main characteristics of management case studies for Hungarian students: Chapter 3. In Berényi, L. (ed.) Management Challenges in the 21st Century. Volume IV. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing. pp. 37–44.

Yoon, Y., & Uysal, M. (2005). An Examination of the Effects of Motivation and Satisfaction on Destination Loyalty: A Structural Model. *Tourism Management*, 26, pp. 45–56.

Social media sites:

Hegyaljai Mesterek Népművészeti Egyesülete:
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/256119784570808>.

Bükkaljai Mesterek Népművészeti Egyesülete:
<https://www.facebook.com/Bükkaljai-Mesterek-Népművészeti-Egyesülete-120331373206504/>.

Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület:
<https://www.facebook.com/matyofolk>.

Fügedi Márta Népművészeti Egyesület:
<https://www.facebook.com/kezmuvesekhaza.hu>.

Sajómenti Népművészeti Egyesület:
<https://www.facebook.com/SajomentiNepmuveszetiEgyesulet>.

Libabőr Népművészeti Egyesület:
<https://www.facebook.com/libabor.nepmuveszetiegyesulet.5>.

Borsodi Fonó:
<https://www.facebook.com/BorsodiFonoMiskolc>.

Középkori Forgalag:
<https://www.facebook.com/kozepkoriforgalat>.

Websites:

Matyó Népművészeti Egyesület:
<https://matyofolk.hu>.

Fügedi Márta Népművészeti Egyesület:
<https://www.kezmuvesekhaza.hu>.

Sajómenti Népművészeti Egyesület:
<http://sajomentine.hu>.

Following the Jar in the Dimensions of Personal Contact and Likes. KRA’GAS Cultural Route Planning in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Hungary

László Faragó

There are significant differences between the virtual and real-life presence of gastronomic and touristic handcraft supply: in other words, I researched social behaviour, the differences among the cultural traditions in the Borsod area, in the framework of the KRA’GAS research¹. The inquiry presents today’s online and real time touristic activity and the ability to transfer cultural capital in case of the differing presences. Taking the expectations of tourism into consideration, I attempted to explore the events accompanying gastronomy in the certain towns during my anthropological field trips. At the same time, I also looked at how craftsmen could organize their own articulations in the given situation. The change of habits in supply and demand, the cultural shift and the social discourse also affect the private segments of the virtual space, and I am going to show that in detail at the data collection. How is it possible to preserve the cultural value in

¹ The study was carried out under the research project of KRA’GAS (Promotion of Crafts and Gastronomy, as Relevant Components of the Cultural Heritage of the Carpathian Euroregion – HUSKROUA/1702/3.1/0027, funded by the European Union) in 2020–2010.

the virtual attraction? I also asked whether and how catering and wine trade work without the virtual space. We need to agree with Zsolt Szijártó, who says that ‘the generally present virtual behaviour must be placed in local perspectives and then interpreted from them’ (Szijártó, 2015). Therefore, the present field work of cultural anthropology reveals a research that shows the gastronomic and tourism handcrafting traditions and their articulation in the real and new media community space.

Virtual/community spaces cannot be excluded from tourist marketing

In the future, gastronomic and touristic attractions must be redesigned according to their construction and structure: this is what we had not thought of at the time of starting the research. I am attempting to give a summary on what changes will be needed, based on my experiences during my research-field trip. However, back at the beginning of the preparation of my research interview I had the question whether catering, wine trade works without the active use of the virtual space. Also, whether a workshop supplying the local needs can attract as many orders and customers without using the cyber space as it would be enough to provide for the owner (caterer, craftsman, winemaker). The latter questions and the previous statement – together – give a clear outline of the basic statements of this study. Namely, that virtual/community spaces cannot be excluded from tourist marketing or from attracting guests and customers. as I also have heard many times. According to Daniel Miller, ‘the extraordinary ability of social networking sites is to lead the world back to forms of social life, which are traditionally connected to the interest of anthropology’ (Miller, 2018).

Which fields profit more from the personal relationships and handshakes than from likes on the internet? Obviously, virtual ‘word of mouth marketing’ is part of a family business starting a breadmaking course just as it is part of the distillery with an exclusively English webpage, where there is not wine but whiskey ripening in the Zemplén oak tree barrels, however, they use the forest pine buds as a spice from the Zemplén. How the news of an exciting, tasty, and interesting touristic attraction from Borsod and Zemplén spread and what is the velocity of the news? ‘Following the Jar’ is one of the possible guidelines of the whole research project. The jar (or it could have been a barrel as well) is the metaphor of a manufactured product in a local workshop. Taking part in making the tool (a touristic ritual) we can get informed by friends and acquaintances in the forms of pictures, texts, and shares. I am paying a special attention to festivals, that were mostly cancelled in the Tokaj-Hegyalja in 2020 – however, one of them was a full house event – it was not a mass event, though – a concert was presented. I am also going to review the touristic attractions which are inevitably in need of using the online space and why others could be popular even without the opportunities given by the cyber space. There are obviously touristic segments which do not appear in the virtual matrix at all. Note that virtual gastro tourism was forced upon the hosts by the strange, closed, masked situation of this past time, and, not without a result: this ‘cyber touristic experience’ is also sustainable and can probably be improved. Next, I am researching the connection between the real and virtual touristic landscapes and their social construction: the representation of the workshop of a touristic experience. I am using more than a dozen of research interviews supplemented with relevant literature and annotated bibliography edited from January

2020. (The interviews were made between February 2020 and February 2021). I am also inspecting the motivation of touristic travels and the value, quantity, and the modes of sharing (news) messages about the attractions.

Active and lonely and still online surfaces

Only very rarely can we find touristic attraction or handcraft (experience) workshops where there is no online representation in the examined Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Region. A social profile can also be assigned even to a less active, hobby level (craft or gastro) activity, in case of which, the individual posts of the owner are in focus and not the activity or the local product itself. (Erika Oszlanczi/ceramist, Erdőbénye)². I am going to go into details in connection with virtual presence based on the interviews, however, firstly, I would like to raise the attention to one of the smaller touristic regions of the area. During the research I made almost a hundred posts about the gastronomic and handicraft tourist landscapes of the region, and I found that not all webpages are active which are available online and not all online websites offering available touristic attractions update the content regularly on their websites (minimum once a week). In other words, they prove to be irresponsible for tourist organizers and individual tourists. At least my check assay proves so. For example, the ‘hellozemplen.hu’ webpage has not updated its content in the last year, until the time of the study (09.02.2021). Its inactivity is so obvious that this well-structured website contains program recommendations only from 2019 and

² The scripts and original voice and photo documentation of the interviews can be found in the Google Drive account set up by the University of Miskolc/AFTI participants. Among the references more detailed information about the interviews can be found as well.

2020 (primarily invitations to local festivals), so they are outdated, moreover, due to the pandemic only the Zemplén festival was organized in 2020. However, all people with an average digital media knowledge recognize all this and so they move on right away and search for information on another portal. It is also a fact that people with average digital knowledge find it important to enquire in more places and compare the contents. Regarding regional brand building these recessive contents prove to be harmful. While festivals promote the image of the region and the increase of visits, 'outdated information' affect the decision to travel. Old and not updated or refreshed information can be the objectivity of creatively scribbled media content (Faragó, 2019). There are always common points between the sets of post truths and reality – although the two – overall – obviously do not overlap each other, thus concealing one of the one of the most brutal, hard-to-recognize and discernible device of media influence. However, mediative facts are objective on purpose, the basic principle of media consumption is the 'ab ovo' trust the other is superficiality.

By our will to understand reality brings about difficulties as well: the reason for not understanding can be found in the act of the psyche and mental laziness. According to Machiavelli some do not want to understand reality and the message, whilst others cannot grasp the message due to their lack of abilities. Francis Fukuyama says 'many people do not have the time or the mood' to think twice about things, so they just accept whatever is presented to them as truth, reality on a screen for instance (Fukuyama, 2007). Speaking of lonely people, Eric Berne says they spend time in one of the following two ways: they either engage in some activities or their use their fantasy (Berne, 1984). In addition to the intended control, based on the objectivity of

the media fantasy, we can believe the non-updated message and probably face reality only on the spot. All the above-mentioned phenomena may not result only in the negative comments on the given website of the tourists' narratives but more in the devaluation of the region's brand.

The webpage of the previously mentioned Zemplén Festival (ZF)³ showed the very opposite, as it was showing the programs in August 2020 very precisely, with all events marked with the note: the event will be organized following the recommendations of the pandemic situation. About the special situation Miklós Turjányi, the festival manager said that the Zemplén Festival is organized in 70 sites, which is the celebration of music every year. The events were planned to have maximum 100–120 people, and at that time (Summer of 2020) there was a 500 people limit for having events in the summer. 'Limited audience, not a mass event and half of the programs were free of charge' – On the webpage of the ZF there was an option for purchasing tickets as well, so this touristic attraction was fully meeting the expectations of the visitors. Of course, the ZF also had activity on Facebook. Tickets were not available on Facebook, but news made their way instantly. There were 20 000 followers of the festival. This community page is one of the basic points of orientation for people searching for tourist destinations.

A 2017 survey made among the Hungarian citizens, 64% of travellers (regarding tourist destinations) get information with the help of the internet. The study of Süli and Martyin-Csamangó claims that this virtual media platform proves to be the first in making a travel decision with tourists' preference for active experiences.

³ Miklós Turjányi interview, 04.08.2020.

Moments instead of memories

This seems to be true in case of the number of visitors of the most comprehensive and visited tourist summary webpage in the Tokaj region. The 'tokaj-turizmus.hu' was established in 2010, was made user-friendly five years later and is worked by the Tokaj-Hegyalja, Taktaköz and Hernád valley Tourism and Cultural Association. The organization has more than 150 winemakers, accommodation, restaurants and other touristic service members, and the companies all have virtual representations as well on the webpage. Among the posts we can find all touristic data that is regarded important by Mátyás Fekete, which affect touristic demand, such as the natural assets, availability, and events of a place (Fekete, 2004). There are 120–130 thousand monthly downloads of the page, obviously in a virus-free touristic season.⁴ Most of its users are 25–40 years old living in cities and belong to the middle-class. More and more people navigate on the webpage or they move on from here. The page is not static, one of the staff in the Tourinform Bureau in Tokaj has the job of updating the webpage, collecting the news of the service providers from their Facebook pages. 'The problem is not why we share something but when we miss sharing something' – notes László Ladomérszky. The world heritage site of Tokaj-Hegyalja Wine region has a Facebook page, however, the number of followers of our Instagram increased dynamically (by 100–150 people daily) at the time of the spring quarantine of 2020. 'We see that many people between 25–40 do not use Facebook anymore, tourists purchase tickets (for festivals, concerts) on the webpage. 'Young people do not want memories; they prefer ceasing the moments.' Therefore, Instagram is more effective for this.

⁴ László Ladomérszky interview, 07.09.2020.

The Castle Hotel in Lillafüred has managed to go one step further in case of community space – the 90-year-old hotel concentrated on renovation and not accepting guests at the time of writing the article. Nevertheless, my latter comment is not true in the sense that the hotel management is preparing a ‘gate opening’ after the virus situation: they share 5 Facebook and Instagram posts a week, and they consider using TikTok in their marketing communication. They offer the rite of an electronic folklore (Veronika Lajos, 2016) for those who wanted to return at the time of this study. ‘It is an important question where people would like to travel after Covid, when it will be possible to spend some time in hotels, explore Hungary, and what panels make people have free time and travel?’⁵ Interactions show that former guests and their acquaintances like taking part in watching or reading a document from the history of the hotel built in the 1930’s or a short video about the winter and spring life of the Bükk or about the renovation of the hotel. Interactions like, ‘I used to sit in that armchair’ are also welcomed and followed. The marketing staff of the hotel think that these types of ‘posted contents’ are needed to keep up interest (memories) and to keep contact as well. Assmann says that cultural memory comes from people trying and can remember past happenings with the help of objects. When our memory remembers a communicative activity is also part of the cultural memory, called communicative memory and Assmann says it is used for recalling events happening not long ago. Grasping and sharing a moment can also count as that, however, Assmann did not attach the possible applications of the cyber world and community space to the theory of cultural memory (Assmann, 2004).

⁵ Krisztina Borda interview, 08.02.2021.

Conscious users of communicative memory are competent memory shapers, who document the story with a picture, series of pictures or video, they are the ones to distribute the good news and sometimes less pleasant news of a touristic attraction: it is the virtual articulation of the 'oral history'. Because we should not forget that there is so much interest in the posts of the community spaces, because (almost) everybody likes to see other people's everyday lives. The most important feature of cultural memory that it helps setting up the 'knowledge ensuring identity' by providing information that can be stored, edited, and deleted, there is a chance of remembering through common memory rituals and is presented in a collective space that can be seen by others (fit for publication). In connection with sharing and publication I am sharing Assmann's opinion in saying that the publication of a memory or place of memory is the responsibility of the owner of the post in any case and the scope of share is his opportunity.

Tourism representation and the extended community space

New media means a community space where cultural memory is made by the consumption of the content and the making of text-picture-sound-video, and it is characterized by interactive behaviour from the communicative aspect. That is why the platform is worth defining in an extended way, that used to include only the community of Facebook, and today it means the TikTok matrix, while – in our extended case – it means all surfaces where there is a chance to post content, opinion, and experience as well. The experience and its sharing are almost instant; there is no significant difference in time. The extended community space holds the validation of the content and the experience: these opinions

in text and picture appear – a little moderated – not only on FB, Instagram, or Snapchat pages, but on touristic business websites where operating the website is a business and opinions play important role in choosing the touristic destination and the decisions on purchases. Therefore, the scope of the extended community spaces can be outlined as follows: a) the choice of touristic destination b) the decision or the clicking c) the chance of searching further experiences. It may mean that the original destination encourages its guest to search in a separate community space (complex experience – attraction – service). Local value attraction (where gastronomy appears together with some festival). d) Gastronomy destinations and catering. e) Preserving experiences through cultural memory, it is intended for self, it can be developed any time, made history, and narrated as an experience. Personal visual domains. f) Sharing experience, especially in a community space close to me, a proof, and a show-off. g) Exchange of ideas about products, witness opinions, sharing experiences, highlighting good and bad qualities. Opinion marketing and word of mouth marketing. e) Purchase: I am putting it into a separate category since purchases cannot be done in traditional platforms in most cases. However, it is the task of the touristic service to have product reserves or the chance for purchasing in a webshop, e.g., the Tokaji wine.

The extended virtual community space is especially important for those touristic attractions where the site tries to provide experience-like travelling program on their own. Close to Mezőkövesd, in Négyes, the Vándorkovács Porta makes authentic local cultural value, its touristic representation is attractive in the virtual space as well. One of the characteristics of the village guest table is bread making

but the family is going to serve the previously registered guests in every gastronomic aspect.

Figure 1. Touristic Representation and Extended Community Space (own figure)



Peasant romanticism and the willingness to online updates

Our hostess, Dorottya Kiss⁶ is a biologist, ecologist, she calls herself ‘intellectual peasant’, but in fact she is a researcher and a conscious farmer, who alloys scientific solutions with local experiences for the sake of the village guest table. ‘Along with

⁶ Dorottya Kiss interview, Négyes, 07.07.2020. (online)

self-sufficiency we also would like to sell the surplus locally. We are planning on a guest house and we have a building for this purpose. We are happy to welcome visitors any time. There are professional tourists, but most visitors are people visiting their relatives and come to us, and if they are here, they have a look at our animals. Many like the idea of peasant romantic experience and follow us on Facebook, too. I was looking at the posts before and after the interview as well and there was a constant willingness in online updating, almost 1 000 people were following the lives of the animals in the farm. More hundred people watched the video in which only the small whiteness of the Moon could be seen and the roar of the cranes passing by Lake Tisza could be heard.

“Almost 10 years ago, in 2011, we moved to Négyes with my husband, and we would like to get to know and make the lifestyle of people who lived long ago alive; how they lived self-sufficiently, what methods they used and which of them can be used in our modern world as well.” In other words, we have our kitchen garden, that is the basis for our own consumption, and it results in keeping seeds as well, which serves the reservation of the species. ‘For example, I plant 60–70 kinds of tomatoes.’ Besides that, there are some long-forgotten special plants, such as garden orach, which was used instead of spinach for centuries, *szümcső* or field beans (like peas), and grass peas, too. From the foregoing, it is not surprising that tomatoes grow almost at a “trade volume” in their home in Négyes, and so they make a lot of tomato sauce. Let alone jams that we make from the harvest of the fruit trees. ‘The financial safety of the farm is from organic bee keeping.’ You can visit Négyes whenever, in person or through a virtual gate and it seems they are welcoming visitors warmly. Experience shows that there is

no difference between real and cyber representations and a visitor can meet his expectations in both platforms.

In establishing the Négyes touristic site the Vándorkövász Porta had a significant role. This creating process with conscious, partly individually initiated activities from more people is called collective bricolage by Márta Kiss (Kiss, 2013), which basically mean gadgeteering. The concept was used by Claude Lévi Strauss, and Kiss refers to it in her study, as ‘the tools used for creating a touristic site are constantly changing and are defined by the environment, the community and some active participants’. At the same time, I think this eventuality gives the attractiveness and provides the charm of the touristic attraction. Bricolage is far from being a cobbled tinsel, on the contrary. Moreover, in case of the Vándorkövász Porta, eventuality is ensured by the natural diversity, while the activity in the site is conscious and even scientific.

‘Experiencing and consuming the product’ means learning and have a direct connection and gastronomic experience. However, for example in the Tokaj-Hegyalja wine region, there is not much change in the quality of the ever-golden Hárslevelű wine, and the recipe and the taste of the fried trout in Lillafüred is the same: these make them attractive. In the rearrangement of the touristic landscapes, I am guessing a similar eventuality in the post viral crisis in Hungary. The manager of the Castle Hotel in Lillafüred thinks hotel hospitality must be overly reconsidered. One of their tasks is to make hospitality virus-proof. It does not only mean the hygiene and keeping social distance, but how to make guests trust and preserve ‘faith, professionalism and team spirit’ in the staff. All that is not enough, since all hotels would like ‘to be seen’. ‘Our world is extremely impulsive, posts and news are overwritten in seconds, we need to there

and make ourselves visible. An important question is where people will go after the Covid pandemic? When the gates are open, and it will be possible to book hotels and touristic attractions, what will be the panels of the where-to decisions?’ According to Krisztina Boda media advertising is undeniably important and unavoidable, but the recommendations of guests who have already been to the hotel has much greater power; and also, the comments and experiences written on the websites of the accommodation pages. Everybody knows that some of the texts of the comments are deleted by the moderator, but it is still relevant in a decision-making process. Recent experiences revealed a sharp difference in the target audience, namely, in case of 25–30-year-old guests, the decision of an actual destination belongs more to men. Note that this is true for couples who are in the early stage of their relationship, when the travel is a surprise or a present. Later this decision becomes matriarchal.

Folklore enhanced with digital space

The once cave-apartments have become an exciting cave-hotel in Szomolya, thanks to the work of László Sós.⁷ It is an example in the sense that it is not worth dividing the folklore given by the real space and the virtual communities. The 51-year-old man based his touristic business on the stone culture found in Szomolya. In the neighbourhood of the hive stones (hive cabins) there were more than 150 cave apartments before WW2: room, kitchen, and courtyard. 3 apartments are rented from the rundown roma settlement by the host, who used to gain money from stone-carving. ‘A man is Szomolya carved anything from stone: once a chicken feeder other time a tombstone. In the Middle Ages, even the

⁷ László Sós interview, Szomolya, 31.07.2020.

Italian fortress makers praised the stone carvers in Szomolya – they said ‘bene’ – which could be the reason why there is so many people with Bene as their surname here. Mastering stone, carving stone and cherries – that is what Szomolya has been famous for.’ According to László Sós there is a demand for showing stone carving in the framework of workshops. In the apartments he made the tuff table and beds. ‘The greater the contrast is in the room carved out of stone the more exciting it becomes. He believes that ‘you can make some value even from nothing’. He manages to rent 80–90% of the accommodation by himself: guests tell the news to others, but it is important that the place has a Facebook page, which strengthens the special atmosphere of the place and thus complements the supply: the followers can have a look at the spaces in Szomolya when there are not many people travelling.

In some part, folk traditions live on in Erdőbénye with the help of the work of László Czeglé⁸, who is a wood crafter, folk artist. He has his own webpage and Facebook account as well, but he believes in personal communication. ‘I spent a lot of time with my grandparents in my childhood, in a small village called Nagyberek. My grandfather was a carpenter, he made houses, cradles, and coffins, too. That is where I got to know wood. Today he makes kitchen utensils, original wooden toys. ‘I tried to insert moving, opening and closing parts. I am making vehicles that others do not: grips, military vehicles, vintage tractors, scale copies of wood. There are collectors who want to buy the entire collection’.

He uses 8–10 cubic metres of wood. They are primarily hard wood: beech, ash, maple, cherry, black walnut, pear, apple. He inserts a contrasting tree for different parts.

⁸ László Czeglé interview, Erdőbénye, 11.12.2020.

The dry wood from the surrounding forest should be considered in advance for all 4–5 years, since the wood dries one year per cent, a wooden sword cannot bend at all. This would surely show in the comments, or if something goes wrong, instead, customers say that the toys are too good, you cannot trash the tractors.

Online wine-tasting with a video blogger sommelier

The goal of touristic marketing is to find those who are open to accept at least a one-two second experience and not move on among an inconceivable amounts and types of offers – as Mitey-Kelemen-Erdős puts it: in this case the goal of marketing is to ‘lure the consumer across the threshold in both physical and psychological terms, which means turning him from a distant admirer into an active collaborator’ (Mitev, Kelemen-Erdős, 2017). Even if – as I was referring to it – it means only seconds. ‘This is a mutual process where both parties’ contribution and commitment are needed.’ The question is what catches the eye of a person looking for a touristic service? Obviously, he stays more than a second at a visual experience if it is close to his needs, and there is a close connection to acceptance in his own attitude-scale (Sherif, Muzafer). Needs have changed as we can call the 21st century tourism postmodern or as Katalin Nagy puts it ‘new tourism’ (Nagy, 2019). Where adventure and excitement are among challenges and experiencing something with excitement and danger during a journey. We also expect new knowledge or ability, and the travel should be exotic offering aesthetic, historic and art experiences (even if we do not go far places). It must be a community space as well (Mihalkó-Rácz, 2005). All these splits into the following segments: education, entertainment, and excitement (Nagy, 2019). In Lillafüred, at the time of the research, the hotel could

not welcome guests because of the virus. However, in the 'background' they expanded the 'downloadable' experiences. The IT team of the business had developed a geocaching game, helping the visitor explore the hotel with the help of QR codes. There are numerous archive photos, postcards, books, and other documents, which were made available virtually. However, among many other things, the tower of the hotel is worth exploring in person as well, where there is a spiral staircase leading up to two, even more romantic rooms above each other. (How did they manage to take all the furniture up there?) These rooms can be visited by its renters; however, the staircase and the tower are available for everyone with their hotel cards. 'The objects are indeed speechless storytellers full of symbolic and narrative power, so they can tell different stories about the original owners and their new environment' (Mihalkó-Rácz, 2005). In conclusion, today only the beta version is available, but soon it will be an accessible game for the hotel public and it meets all the conditions of the previously mentioned learning, entertainment, and excitement, and it is ageless as well. It can be used by romancing young couples, children full of energy and the elderly, who years for the quiet nostalgia of the once SZOT hotel.

In Tárca, in the Count Degenfeld Castle Hotel I have found a special marketing tool that can be used in the future as well. The hotel belongs to the not so many Hungarian vineyards and castles, which have their original owners. Gastro and wine tourism are both present in their offer. It is not the hotel that has its vinery but vica versa: everything is built on the authentic wine making, even the hotel. They welcome those who are interested in quality wines and authentic environment. The vineyard has its own orchard of loquat, apples, pears, plums and, of course, grapes: furmint,

lime-leaf. (They make jams as well.) ‘We are surrounded by the vines, and guests can make a journey in the 200 years old cellar system, which has an entering hall as big as a horse and carriage. The wine making facility is in the immediate surroundings of the castle hotel.’⁹ There is a chapel on the property, with a great view of the Great Plain from the top of the chapel if the weather is fine. The hotel has its own webpage, all touristic attractions are available there, for example, a webshop selling wines. Moreover, in the virtual shop, one can order a complete wine-tasting experience, meaning that you can choose the package that sounds the best for us, and you can order the bottles of wine and a video, that contains a wine show by the sommelier of the house. It is Covid-safe, you do not need to book an appointment either, but you can get some of that experience that we could enjoy in the hotel, and we can take part in a touristic rite from afar that is similar only in Tarcál in person.

The property has a Facebook and Instagram account where all their marketing campaigns and programs are always presented. Opinions and guest experiences arrive primarily from the mediator pages. Posts cannot be deleted. There is a conscious effort to provide answers to the comments as soon as possible. Our online presence is expanding – adds Tamás Gábri: they are going to provide an application for the guests that can be used for all services.

Virtual word of mouth marketing

Excitement and experience, so postmodern tourism must provide such a complex service that was not so in the past. It is worth cooperating with the future consumer (traveller) in the online and offline contexts of the destination during

⁹ Tamás Gábri interview, 07.11.2020.

the decision-making process. In other words, new tourism is an interactive type of tourism, where the touristic landscape and the touristic service are formed through a collaboration with the guest. In this way, the guest becomes the shaper of the touristic landscape. According to Mitey-Kelemen-Erdős corporate value making (making something together) can produce a more valuable consumer experience ((Mitev, Kelemen-Erdős, 2017). The goal is to win the participation of both the touristic service and the consumer using the supplied attraction in the conversation about the product. Therefore, touristic recommendation becomes interactive marketing, with the previously outlined community space as its field. It is more so, because the 4P principle of marketing is about to change as well. The emphasis used to be on the product, place, price, and publicity. Instead, the environment of the market and the marketing activity are better explained in the 3E model, i.e., engage, equip, empower (Brent, 2014). This principle is met in the story of the Diósgyőr Valiant Sausage, that used a spicing recipe from the 16th century by Ottó Lantos.¹⁰ The description of cooking was compiled for the sake of the 16th birthday feast of Zsigmond Báthori (he became adult, i.e. 16 years old in 1588). At the time, the fortress was owned by the Bebek family, the recipe book was made by their cook and he made the sausage as well following the recipe. ‘Pork trinkets.’ The five hundred years old tradition had been renewed. The sausage is popular with the Facebook group, there is contact that is needed for the information on where one can purchase the product. Positive feedback is from the restaurants, since there are many restaurants in Miskolc where the menu contains valiant sausage in a cattle ranch, pasta scones with Valiant sausage, and it is in a risotto and as a pizza topping as well.

¹⁰ Ottó Lantos interview, Miskolc, 02.08.2020.

In hotels it is not too complicated organize a 24/7 availability, however, it means that it is important to provide and set the contact with the consumers, who become followers of the touristic attraction on one of the community spaces.

Service providers can become the instructors of the conversations about the touristic products if they actively take part in it and so they know what the guest needs. On the other hand, it is always worth posing new topics in the conversation (setting a topic, thematic schemes) and start discourse about a positive or even a negative comment (Whitler, Kimberly 2014). Finally, the consumers of the touristic products must be encouraged and motivated to give more and more publicity to their experiences. 'Media ads are important, too, however, the recommendations of former guests have even greater power'...- as I heard in Lillafüred. The 3E – engage, equip, empower help a lot in starting the word-of-mouth marketing, that seems to be the greatest help in marketing the touristic products. A survey made in 56 countries (based on the results of an online survey filled in by more than 28 000 people in 2012) showed that 92 % of the buyers trust in media ads and word-of-mouth marketing (messages and recommendations from friends and business partners) the most (Marisa Grimes, Nielsen, 2012). A good topic in word-of-mouth marketing is believable, man-centred, easily repeatable, has measurable results and respects its target audience (Markos- Kujbus Éva, 2013).

Wine family

In Erdőnénye, there is a cooper, called Attila Hotyek, says that the craft and the marketing that belongs to it are basically the same, just as it was a hundred years ago: it is the Zemplén oak, with a similar scent and consistency to the

trees found in North America and France only. He chooses the log himself from the woods in the area, they saw it up, and the dong wood dries two or three years out in your backyard. They also use mulberry trees and wild cherries. 'the barrel is a matter of trust, we don't have a website, we can be reached on the FB, but I prefer to have customers and interested people come in person.'¹¹ Therefore the customers give the good news fast and with trust. They sometimes post on their community page, but 'we make minimal business there, the one who comes from Facebook is not a serious customer. I believe that a talk in person or a handshake mean more than a like online.' I see that someone coming in person is more likely to order something and return later for another barrel or passes on his experience. Attila Hotyek says that they have cooper shows as well, where the barrels are burnt on site and the dong wood is bent, there is personal enquiry. The workshop was built in 2004 with the purpose of teaching the profession and welcoming visitors as well. Before the virus crisis, he used to have 5 groups of visitors a month in Erdőbénye.

Norbert Bakk¹², who is a mechanical engineer according to his university degree, considers word-of-mouth marketing the first thing. He says vineyards and wineries can be learned on the mountain. 'My father came here, to Mád, as an architectural engineer.' Five acres of fields were planted with vines in the Fall Hill. It has great soil with no stones, there is some furmint, lime and some Muscat. We talked outside among the slopes in the chilly weather in the beginning of December, that is when he was pressing the late harvest grapes. 'Similar to our predecessors, I gained experience from the neighbours and the elderly. This is a

¹¹ Attila Hotyek interview, Erdőbénye, 02.12.2020.

¹² Norbert Bakk interview, Mád, 11.12.2020.

lifestyle, and I willingly give anyone a hoe if he is interested. It is worth trying how much work is needed for a litre of wine.’ The ‘wine family’ had a website from 2000, and it is now updated and a webshop will be added to it. For now, we count on the word-of-mouth marketing. My father sent some bottles of muscatel to the Vatican ambassador. Pál Tar has recently visited us since his French wife wanted to see where that wine was produced.

A great example of the excellently working word-of-mouth marketing is presented in the Trout Plant in Lillafüred, where people go for roasted trout. It is typical that they sell most of their seventy tons of trout locally, in the Erdei trout roaster. In the neighbouring hotel, it is also well-known that there is no guest who would not walk, take a train or car ride to the trout plant. ‘I do not want to advertise and get another customer because the roaster just sells all the fish’ – says the 63-year-old fish-biologist, fish engineer, gastronomist, author, and co-author of 12 books. ‘Many people ask whether I like trout. I never eat trout, we have about 1 200 mother fish, I take them in my hands many times and pat them. I have the eggs incubated for 42 days, then I have to feed them in every half hour: they are so many times in my hands that I can’t put them on my plate.’¹³

Going back to Tokaj-Hegyalja: Polish, Slovak, and Ukranian and Romanian tourists take the good news about the Dereszla Wine Shop and ‘Pincelabirintus’. Ab ovo only word-of-mouth marketing makes the news of this wine and wine tasting places. Foreign customers cannot even use the webshop. Before the virus-crisis, mostly Polish and Slovakian came here especially for a wine tasting trips, who take cases of wines. Those are the one who return of ‘affected’ by the

¹³ György Hoitsy interview, Miskolc-Lillafüred, 08.07.2020.

word-of-mouth marketing. ‘We are not a party place – says the manager of the Wine Shop, Hedvig Dömény Petróczi, referring to the fact that their real attraction means the cellar tours and champagne tasting tours, and one needs to travel to Bodrogkisfalud.¹⁴ They can have 20–40 groups of people. The cellar as a touristic attraction consists of five different cellars. They used to belong to five winemakers and then the cellars were united: it resulted in a more than one-kilometre labyrinth, it is said to be the longest cellar that can be visited in Tokaj-Hegyalja. Outside, in the wall of the wine shop there is a cannonball that was shot in the brick wall in January 1849 (during the 1848–49 Freedom fight, spring campaign). It is a three-storey cellar, the lowest used to be royal tithing cellar carved in the 15–16th century. After the change of the regime. it was renovated by a French investor, Patric D’Aulan. So, the history of today’s Dereszla began in 2000, which was a special year in Tokaj-Hegyalja. They use more kinds of marketing communication besides the good word-of-the-mouth messages. Such as, Google map, where the cellar is visible. ‘It generates 2–3 calls or more a day.’ This also enhances word-of-the-mouth marketing as well because tourists want to experience programs and our opening hours in person. The words mean even more confidence and confirmation of later purchases.

Direct marketing in the ports is the most effective to sell tickets for the pleasure boats in Tokaj. Gábor Tarnai, the owner of the business and webpage called hajokirandulas.hu, has his seat and one of the ports in Tokaj.¹⁵ He did not learn but ‘worked his way into tourism, he is a 65-year-old vet. Most of the tickets are sold via the webpage. His ships were manufactured in the 1970’s. They are in good condition, not

¹⁴ Hedvig Dömény Petróczi interview, Bodrogkisfalud, 07.09.2020.

¹⁵ Gábor Tarnai interview, Tokaj, 07.09.2020.

the nicest and most comfortable, but a new boat would cost 500 million forints. Programs are organized based on the festivals: 2–2,5-hour buffet dinners on the boat. The news of the boat gets to the travellers at the concerts.

After all, here is a summary of the features of the face-face word-of-mouth marketing and the messages generated and articulated in the close matrix points of the virtual space.

- earning trust and commitment, consumers are more like to be faithful
- it does not or just lightly cost real money
- personal involvement
- fast flow of information in the virtual space
- services get feedback of what is good, what is needed to be developed, or modified
- validates information
- teaches resolving conflict
- direct, personal, live word connection with the consumers
- stories are attached to all brands
- mutual content making
- participants are independent from the service
- interpersonal change of information with great scattering
- increases the intention of repurchase
- the evaluation via word-of-mouth marketing is more trustworthy,
- the popularity of the product may increase

Interaction found in virtual posts is one of the best validators of the touristic attraction. We tend to believe this kind of word-of-mouth marketing than surfing through photos or a self-praising description. It is more authentic,

shorter, and more factual. Of course, there are outright malicious posts, but they can be evaluated and checked if one reads a sufficient number of entries. Anyway, I am comparing the checking role of word-of-mouth marketing to street publicity (Faragó, 2015). I used to explain street publicity as the fifth virtual matrix after the power branches; it is over the media or formal media space checking the community virtual matrix.

Beyond the showcased entries

The Kincsem Castle that was opened in 2020 after a renovation near Tolcsva, has a peculiar story among the brand stories. The original building is from the 18th century. It was highly rated online, although due to the viral situation it was only open for a few months. I scrolled through the entries and experience the true ratings in person as well during the research. Next to the Kincsem (my treasure) castle used to be owned by the German Waldbott family. The name was given by the first-born girl's nickname. (Another rumour says there were treasures found in the land). István Matyasovszky, the owner of the property would like to have this place as a quality site of the Tokaj-Hegyalja, where concerts, cultural programs and wine dinners could be presented, putting the wines of the Kincsem property in focus. 2013 was a great year here, the young winery won more 1st places: best white wine, 2014, the nicest Hungarian sweet wine, 2013. 'What God gives us in its due time, we try not to ruin.' The webpage of the Kincsem Castle Property is also adequate, and is concentrating on the webpage now, and I have seen how they would like to keep contact with their guests via their Facebook page with a series of posts – pictures show the actual state of the landscape in Tolcsva. There is a 18 second

video that can be called actual – it shows how the property awaits its visitors from a bird's eye view.

Tolcsva is accurately represented in the virtual space, however, it shows more in person than in the showcased posts and entries. The settlement itself is a peculiarity, with five castles built there. This agricultural town is situated almost in the middle of the Tokaj-Hegyalja and has a special micro-climate. It used to be one of the starting stations of the wine route leading up to the East Sea, that is why aristocrats liked to settle here. The castles of Tolcsva, the touristic attractions, and the last three years show more than 50 thousand visitors. (Dessewffy-kastély, Hélia-D Herba Kastély) The Szirmay-Waldbott Castle is in the ownership of the local government has been recently renovated in 1300 square meters: it is attractive and has an interactive exhibition waiting for the visitors. It is suitable for weddings and conferences as well. The castle parc is the site of the Tolcsva Wine Festival. They have an all-day event during the Zemplén Festival and they also have summer theatre performances. Word-of-mouth marketing could have more role in making the values of the town more popular.

Conclusion

Guest-keeping, accommodation or wine trade do not work without the active use of the virtual space; however, it is effectively complemented with word-of-mouth marketing. The good news spreading orally must be understood in the virtual space as well, moreover, the organizers of touristic attractions can find many opportunities in word-of-mouth marketing. First and foremost, it is true, because it often does not cost money and the effectiveness of the theme depends on fantasy and creativity. Word-of-mouth-marketing is a factor in earning the trust and commitment in business and

catering. Experience gained during the research show that consumers are more like to become faithful if we have them take part in the personal or virtual conversation about the product. Based on the public virtual matrix, there are many potential touristic consumers to be reached. Comments with criticism help in replanning the touristic services and mapping the demands of the guests as well. Word-of-mouth marketing offers the opportunity for touristic services to keep the attention that also increases the intention of repurchase. Not to mention that the evaluation via word-of-mouth marketing is more trustworthy, the popularity of the product may increase.

References

Assmann, Aleida (2004): Az emlékezés terei. A kulturális emlékezet formái és változásai (ford. Szabó Csaba). In: (ford. Szabó Csaba) Debreceni Disputa, II. évfolyam, 10. szám, 2004. Október.

Berne, Eric (1984): Emberi játszmák, Háttér Kiadó, Budapest, ISBN 96393650804.

Brent Pohlman (2014): Engage, Equip, Empower The 3E's are the new way to market; <http://marketing.directorblog.com/2014/07/18/engage-equip-empower/>.

Cheng, C. M. K. – Thadani, D. R. (2012): The impact of electronic word-of-mouth communication: A literature analysis and integrative model. Decision Support Systems. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0167923612001911>.

Eco, Umberto (1998): Nyitott mű; (Információ és pszichológia tranzakció), Európa.

Faragó László (2015): Mediatizált kapcsolati hálók a 20. és 21. század fordulóján, KE, <http://www.gtk.ke.hu/tartalom/kutatas/21-7NBTK.pdf>.

Faragó László (2019): A médiatartalom kreatívan átfirkált objektivitása, 112–120; The Creatively Transcribed Objectivity

of the Media Content; <https://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~btmtt/almanach/-112-120.pdf>.

Fekete Máttyás (2004): Hétköznapi turizmus; A turizmuselmélettől a gyakorlatig, NYME, PhD értekezés, <https://mek.oszk.hu/04100/04167/04167.pdf> pp. 36–65.

Fukuyama, Francis (2007): Bizalom; A társadalmi erények és a jólét megeremlése, Európa.

Grimes, Marisa, (2012), Nielsen: Global Consumers' Trust in 'Earned' Advertising Grows in Importance, <https://www.nielsen.com/us/en/press-releases/2012/nielsen-global-consumers-trust-in-earned-advertising-grows/>.

Katz, E. – Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1955). Personal influence: The part played by people in the flow of mass communication. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Kiss Márta (2013): Turisztikai tájformálás és kollektív cselekvés, Szociológiai Szemle 23(1): 69–88. 2013_01.

Lajos, Veronika (2016) Internet és etnográfiai jelenkor-kutatás. Tárgyi és módszertani kérdések, etikai természetű dilemmák. In: Diptichon. Tanulmányok Bartha Elek tiszteletére. DE Néprajzi Tanszék, Debrecen, pp. 830–851.

Markos-Kujbus Éva (2013): Az online szájreklám, mint a marketingkommunikációeszköze; <https://emok.hu/tanulmany-kereso/konferenciakotetek/d337:az-online-szajreklam-mint-a>.

Michalkó Gábor, Rátz Tamás. (2005): A kulturális turizmus élmény-gazdaságtani szempontjai. In: Enyedi Gy., Keresztély K. (eds.): A magyar városok kulturális gazdasága. MTA Társadalomkutató Központ, Budapest. ISBN 963 508 470.

Miller, Daniel (2018): Közösségi oldalak, Replika 108–109, 157–172 pp. https://www.replika.hu/system/files/archivum/replika_108-109-10_miller.pdf.

Mitev Ariel – Kelemen-Erdős Anikó (2017): Romkocsmá mint bricolage: Élményközpontú szolgáltatásérték-teremtés a romkocsmákban, TURIZMUS BULLETIN XVII. évfolyam 1–2. szám pp. 26–34.

Nagy Katalin (2019): Társadalmi innovációs lehetőségek a turizmusban, ME GTK, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342529940>.

Pohlman, Brent (2014) Engage, Equip, Empower <https://www.business2community.com/strategy/engage-equip-empower-0948145>.

Sherif, Muzafer, (1980): Social judgment, assimilation and contrast effects in communication and attitude change. Westport, Greenwood Press. ISBN 0313224382.

Süli Dorottya, Martyin-Csamangó Zita (2017, reload 2020): A közösségi média szerepe a fesztiválturizmusban – a Szegedi Ifjúsági Napok és a Green Future példáján, Turizmus bulletin, XVII. évfolyam 3–4. szám.

Szijártó Zsolt (2015): Irányzatok és korszakok a média-etnográfia kutatásában. Replika, 90–91 (2015/1–2. szám); https://www.replika.hu/system/files/archivum/90–91_02_szijarto.pdf.

Tóth Bettina – Hegedűs Gábor (2019): Helyi érdekcsoportok szerepe a vidéki gasztrofesztiválok működtetésében dél-alföldi példák alapján, TVT (Turisztikai és Vidékfejlesztési Tanulmányok, ISSN 2498–6984, <https://www.turisztikaitanulmanyok.hu/2019/04/17/toth-bettina-hegedus-gabor-a-helyi-erdecsoportok-szerepe-a-vedeki-gasztrofesztivalok-mukodteteseben-del-alfoldi-peldak-alapjan/>).

Whitler, Kimberly (2014): Why Word Of Mouth Marketing is The Most Important Social Media; <http://marketingdirectorblog.com/2014/07/18/engage-equip-empower/>.

Appendix 1: The Interviewees' Features **László Faragó, KRA'GAS Research 2020/2021**

Interviewees' features – László Faragó, KRA'GAS Research 2020/2021

| Name | Age | Home-town | Profession | Significance | Place and date of the interview | Interview method |
|---------------------|-----|-----------|---------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Bakk Norbert | 50 | Mád | winemaker, engineer | family vinery assu wine, late harvest wines, for groups as well | Mád, 2020. 12.11 | on site |

| Name | Age | Home-town | Profession | Significance | Place and date of the interview | Interview method |
|----------------------------------|-----|--------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Borda Krisztina | 47 | Miskolc-Lillafüred | tourism economist, hotel manager | Hunguest Hotel Palota Lillafüred, one of the most exciting hotels | Miskolc-Lillafüred, 2021.02.08 | on site |
| Budaházy Péter | 59 | Budapest | economist, investor | Hélya-D, Herba, Dessewffy Castle, Tolcsva | Tolcsva, 2020. 09.29 | online, zoom |
| Czegle László | 54 | Erdőbénye | wood crafter, making tools and toys from wood folk artist | wood workshop, show for groups as well | Erdőbénye, 2020. 12.11 | on site |
| Csoma Ernő | 62 | Tolcsva | mayor electronic engineer, tourism manager | Tolcsva, Szirmai-Waldbott Castle | Tolcsva, 2020. 09.28 | on site |
| Döményné Petróczki Hedvig | 46 | Szerencs | marketing | Derezsla Vinotéka, ezer méteres pince | Bodrogkeresztúr, 2020. 09.07 | on site |
| Dr. Takács István | 74 | Szerencs | agricultural engineer | Szerencsi Bonbon, chocolate manufacturing for groups | Szerencs, 2020. 07.08 | on site |

| Name | Age | Home-town | Profession | Significance | Place and date of the interview | Interview method |
|---------------------------|-----|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Gábris Tamás | 31 | Tarcal | tourism development hotel manager | Count Degenfeld Castle, wine-gastro original castle hotel | Tarcal, 2020. 11.07 | on site |
| Hoitsy György | 63 | Miskolc-Lillafüred | fish biologist, engineer, gastronomer | Trout plan special gastro workshop for groups as well | Miskolc-Lillafüred, 2020. 07.07 | on site |
| Hotyék Attila | 63 | Erdőbénye | winemaker, cooper | Kádarműhely, csoportoknak is | Erdőbénye, 2020. 12. 02. | on site |
| Kiss Dorottya | 33 | Négyes | biologist, ecologist | Vándorkövász Porta researcher, group visits | Négyes, 2020. 06. 06 | online, zoom |
| Kiss Zoltán | 62 | Tarcal | hotel manager | Tarcal_ Andrassy Rezidency_ wine & spa, Tokaj-hegyalja 5 star hotel | Tarcal, 2020. 11.07. | on site |
| Ladomérszky László | 44 | Sárospatak | touristic manager, teacher | tokaj-turizmus website | Tokaj, 2020. 09. 07 | on site |
| Lantos Ottó | 60 | Miskolc-Diósgyőr | agricultural engineer | Diósgyőri Valian sausage recipe from the 15th century | Miskolc, 2020. 07.31 | on site |

| Name | Age | Home-town | Profession | Significance | Place and date of the interview | Interview method |
|---|-----|-------------------|---|--|--|------------------|
| Matyas- ovszki István | 55 | Nyír-egy- háza | agricultural and hor- ticultural engineer, manager of the property | Kincsem Castle and Wine Prop- erty exclusive accomo- dation for groups | Tolcsva, 2020. 11.09 | on site |
| Mészáros- Komáromi Dénés | 41 | Budapest | economic sociologist, historian, brandy master | Sevenhill Distillery, Tokaji Gin, tokaji whisky, for groups | Bodrog- kisfalud, 2020. 09.29 | online, zoom |
| Oszlánczy Erika | 51 | Erdőbénye | ceramist | ceramic workshop for groups | Erdőbénye, 2020. 12.02 | on site |
| Sós László | 51 | Ostoros | grape and wine grower cave digger | cave accom-moda- tion, special accom-moda- tion | Szomolya, 2020. 07.31 | on site |
| Tarnai Gábor | 60 | Tokaj | retired vet, touristic organizer | tokaji boat trips | Tokaj, 2020. 09.07 | on site |
| Turjányi Miklós | 57 | Budapest | jazz musi- cian, festival organizer | manager of the Zemplén Festival | Sárospatak, 2020. 08.04 | online, zoom |

Traditional Food and Gastronomy in Maramureş

Sorin Mitu

The first research goal pursued in this article is to highlight the *general features* of traditional Maramureş food and gastronomy. The second goal is to capture the *touristic potential* of the culinary heritage of Maramureş, in order to see what has been preserved and what the hospitality industry can offer today. From a methodological point of view, we will first resort to a *historical analysis*. Since any traditional cuisine is the fruit of a long evolution, its current features can only be understood if we can grasp how they first appeared and then underwent changes in different historical contexts. We will then add the perspective of *regional geography*, which helps us highlight the material and economic factors that shaped the cuisine of Maramureş, as well as the way culinary art fits in the regional identity profile. Finally, we will have a look at *culinary anthropology*, which focuses on the cultural significance of food, from everyday diets to ritualistic meals, placing it within the broader framework of social practices associated with it.

The documentation of this research must start from ethnographic works that specifically address the Maramureş cuisine. Generally based on field surveys, such works focus on the study of cultural and ritualistic aspects. The studies signed

by Alexandru Georgeoni¹, Pamfil Bilțiu², Petru Dunca, Delia Suiogan and Ștefan Mariș³ are just a few such examples. A synthesis of these contributions has been compiled by Dorin Ștef⁴. There are also extensive regional geography studies dedicated to the Maramureș area⁵, and some useful information can be found in tourist guides or in general geographic monographs⁶. There are also extremely numerous monographs of villages in Maramureș County. Even though they are not always of the highest academic standing, they offer us rich and unique material because, as a rule, they are written by authors who had first-hand knowledge of the

¹ Alexandru I. Georgeoni, *Contribuțiuni la păstoritul în Maramureș* (București: Copuzeanu, 1936).

² Pamfil Bilțiu, “Mesele țaranului maramureșean în tradiții, credințe și obiceiuri”, *Memoria Ethnologica* 5, no. 14–15 (2005): 1493–1496.

³ Petru Dunca, Delia Suiogan, Ștefan Mariș, *Mâncarea între ritual și simbol* (Baia Mare: Ethnologica, 2002), pp. 87–101. The most valuable collection of traditional Maramureș recipes in all specialized literature can be found in the annexes of this work (pp. 109–205).

⁴ Dorin Ștef, *Maramureș. Brand cultural* (Baia Mare: Cornelius, 2008), the chapter “Arta culinară tradițională”, reproduced in the Romanian edition of the Wikipedia encyclopaedia. Precious information is also to be found in the article signed by Maria Mirela Poduț, “Mesele din Țara Codrului”, *Memoria Ethnologica* 16, no. 58–59 (2016): 196–197. For the cuisine of the Ukrainians in Maramureș, a cuisine that is extremely similar to that of the Romanians living in the same county, see Iaroslava-Oresia Colotelo, Liuba Horvat, “Alimentația la ucrainenii din România în context ritual și identitar”, in Sultana Avram (ed.), *Istorie și tradiție în spațiul românesc*, vol. 8 (Sibiu: Techno Media, 2011), pp. 193–201.

⁵ Gabriela Ilieș, *Țara Maramureșului. Studiu de geografie regională* (Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007).

⁶ Vilmos Bélay, *Máramaros megye tarsádalma és nemzetiségei* (Budapest: Sylvester, 1943); Mihai Dăncuș, *Zona etnografică Maramureș* (București: Sport-Turism, 1986; Teofil Ivanciuc, *Ghidul turistic al Țării Maramureșului* (Cluj: Limes, 2006); Dumitru Istvan, Codreanu Moldovan, Ioan Pop, *Ghidul turistic al județului Maramureș* (Baia Mare: Algoritm Press, 2009).

local realities⁷. Finally, there is an overwhelming abundance of cookbooks and recipe lists (especially those posted on the Internet). Although not all of them are exquisite, some are compiled by talented authors (such as Radu Anton Roman), while others are collected and annotated by specialists in the field of culinary ethnology or anthropology, as in the case of the culinary album *Bucătăria bunicii* (*Grandma's kitchen*)⁸, the most professional work of this kind. Finally, menus of various local guesthouses and restaurants in Maramureș⁹, available on site or on the Internet, can add a realistic supplement to the recipes included in culinary anthologies.

Generalities: Maramureș and its regional cuisine

The two key terms covering the subject of this analysis are “regional cuisine” and “Maramureș”. Obviously, both terms hearken back to some constructed realities and are the results of attempts to capture the essence. Their presence in social practice is primarily due to the collective imagination processes that gave rise to them. Nowadays, ordinary people from Maramureș, even those living in the countryside, rarely eat *balmoș*, *chisăliță* or *coleșă*. As a result, the “traditional Maramureș cuisine” is primarily a discourse or a narrative about these dishes, which are *flaunted* for

⁷ Some of the Maramureș villages about which monographs have been written are the following: Boiu Mare, Botiza, Călinești, Curtuișu Mare, Dragomirești, Durușa, Fericea, Frâncenii Boiului, Groșii Țibleșului, Ieud, Leordina, Mesteacă, Odești, Peteritea, Pinticu, Poienile de sub Munte, Prislop, Săcel, Strâmtura Maramureșului, Rona de Jos, Ruscova, Tohat, Ulmeni, Valea Chioarului, Văleni, Vărai, Vișeu de Sus.

⁸ Daniela Bălu et al., *Bucătăria bunicii. Nagymama konyhája. Grandma's kitchen* (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2010).

⁹ See the catalogue *Pensiuni și meșteri artizani*, vol. 1–2 (Sighetu Marmației: Asociația Microregiunea de dezvoltare economico-socială a Țării Maramureșului, 2004).

touristic-ethnographic reasons and also displayed as markers of cultural identity. Tourist offers and food festivals are the main forms of public manifestation for what are ultimately invented traditions. On the other hand, at the level of personal experiences, the locals may reminisce about “grandma’s kitchen” and their favourite flavours from childhood, while visitors from Constanța or Bucharest may celebrate the exoticism, rusticism or archaism of Maramureș. Therefore, there is no point in looking for the essence of a cuisine whose origins are lost in the mists of time. Instead, we aim to observe how the above-mentioned concepts – whose historical roots are undoubtedly very real, but have constantly suffered modifications and reinterpretations – are recreated, in day-to-day life, from the interplay between the consumer’s interest and the local offer.

In the Romanian cultural-historical imaginary, obsessed with the idea of the unity and homogeneity of the national body¹⁰, the Maramureș cuisine is just one of the components or regional variations of the so-called Romanian “national” cuisine. However, the very existence of a distinct Romanian cuisine has been called into question by various authors¹¹, who claim that “autochthonous” culinary art gained shape at the crossroads between the surrounding gastronomic areas: from the Balkan and Turkish cuisines, best illustrated by *sarmale* (cabbage rolls), *mititei* (grilled ground meat rolls) and *ghiveciuri* (oven-baked stews), to Central European, Hungarian and Saxon culinary practices (sweet soups or dishes based on the conservation of meat and pork fat, ubiquitous in Transylvania) and, finally, the influence of the

¹⁰ Lucian Boia, *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească* (București: Humanitas, 2017), pp. 252–291.

¹¹ Starting with a classic of the subject: Alexandru O. Teodoreanu, *Gastronomice* (București: Vremea, 2000).

Ukrainian or Russian borscht, which can be sensed especially in Moldavian cuisine. By and large, everything Romanians consider to be peculiar to their culinary universe can actually be encountered in the cuisines of other peoples. Moreover, pastoral food, which heavily relies on the combination of sheep's milk and cheese with polenta, so prevalent among the shepherds, considered to be the most authentic and representative Romanians, is obviously just one of many similar versions of the shepherd cuisine, especially those of the Balkan Peninsula¹².

Among the contemporary Romanian authors concerned about these aspects, Radu Anton Roman laid strong emphasis on the authenticity and ancientness of a traditional Romanian cuisine, with age-old "Thracian" roots.¹³ On the other hand, Vlad Macri highlighted the culinary interferences in the space inhabited by the Romanians, as well as the gastronomic changes that occurred over time, under the influence of various civilizations with which the Romanians came into contact¹⁴. Such a dichotomy is actually part of the most important intellectual debate in modern Romanian culture, the one that divides Romanian scholars into "traditionalists" and "synchronists"¹⁵.

Like the culinary art it accommodates, Maramureș is a geographical place whose borders are, at first glance, clearly delineated. In fact, it is a geo-cultural space whose

¹² Important contributions debating these issues are brought together in a collective volume: Thede Kahl, Peter Mario Kreuter, Christina Vogel (eds.), *Culinaria balcanica* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2015).

¹³ Radu Anton Roman, *Bucate, vinuri și obiceșuri românești. Toate rețetele în ediție jubiliară* (București: Paideia, 2014).

¹⁴ Vlad Macri, *Stufat ori estouffade? sau Există bucătărie românească?* (București: Humanitas, 2008).

¹⁵ See Balázs Trencsényi, *The Politics of "National Character". A Study in Interwar East European Thought* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).

variable geometry is the result of continuous processes of symbolic resignification.

In a first sense, Maramureş is the name of a *geographic depression* that is rather precisely delimited by the mountain massifs surrounding it. Its main axis is the Tisza Valley and it stretches from Khust in Ukraine to Prislop Pass. Today, this depression is divided into two almost equal halves between Romania and Ukraine (generally based on the ethnic majority), but for nearly six hundred years (in the 14th–19th centuries) this geographical region overlapped almost perfectly with *Maramureş County*, an administrative division (shire, *comitat*) of the same name (*Máramaros*) that was part of the Kingdom of Hungary. The Romanians – who like to consider the whole of Maramureş as part of their national heritage (claiming it in its entirety at the end of the First World War) – talk about the so-called *historical Maramureş*, a name that refers to the territory of the old county (in order to distinguish it from its southern half, the one that became part of Romania in 1919). However, Romanian nationalist historiography preferred to suppress the memory of the old Hungarian county, considering the Hungarian rule a kind of unnatural hiatus in the multi-millennial Romanian history. As a result, when Romanian historians refer to this region, they focus on the *Romanian Voivodate of Maramureş*, an autonomous political entity that appears to have emerged here in the 14th century, before being assimilated by the Hungarian sovereigns and transformed into a county of the Kingdom of Hungary. In Romanian historical terminology, Maramureş is primarily one of the “Romanian countries” of Transylvania (the *Land of Maramureş*). A term with strong ideological and affective connotations, “ţara” (country, land) refers to the highland districts inhabited mostly by the Romanians in the Kingdom of Hungary (Făgăraş, Haţeg,

Zarand and Maramureș). These entities are deemed to have preceded – and to have always been separate from and (in a way) opposed to – the Hungarian Crown, which subdued and englobed them as part of its expansion policy.

The second meaning of Maramureș is associated with the current administrative division in Romania (*județ*). *Maramureș County* includes the southern, Romanian part of historical Maramureș. Things are complicated, however, by the fact that present-day area of Maramureș County surpasses by far the south-west borders of the older shire, of the geographical depression and of the historical province of Maramureș. It encompasses three other Romanian geographical and ethnographic regions, which are smaller flatland or highland areas: the *Land of Lăpuș*, the *Land of Chioar* and, partially, the *Land of Codru*¹⁶. The irony of history is that Baia Mare, the capital of Maramureș County, along with a large part of its current territory (and its sizable population compared to the rest of the county), was never part of the older shire of the same name and of what was known, throughout history, as Maramureș. Today, for reasons of administrative uniformity, this highly prestigious traditional Maramureș identity is increasingly assumed by people throughout the county. The fact that there are only slight ethnographic differences between geographically close areas facilitates this process of reconfiguring the territorial identity of Maramureș, at a time when local specificities could be forgotten or remodelled with great ease, to the regret of those who still cherish the memory of older, traditional lands and regions.

¹⁶ See Teofil Ivanciuc, *Diferența dintre “Țara Maramureșului” și “județul Maramureș”*, in *Pagini maramureșene*, online publication (www.teofil-ivanciuc.weebly.com, accessed on 02.11.2020).

Maramureş is also distinguished by the fact that it is the only *historical Romanian province* (the others being Muntenia, Oltenia, Dobruja, Moldavia¹⁷, Transylvania, Crişana, the Banat) which, due to its small size, consists of a single county¹⁸.

The regional landscape is complicated by one more element, the so-called *Land of Oaş*. Oaş was never part of Maramureş. It belonged to the Sătmar region and the homonymous Hungarian shire (Szatmár). Today, this region is located in the Romanian county of Satu-Mare. Bordering Maramureş, Oaş is also a small “country,” sheltered in a depression that is partially surrounded by mountains (but with a wide opening towards the Sătmar Plain), which grant it a fairly well-outlined individuality. However, because Oaş is only a very small neighbour of Maramureş and because it is considered, like the latter, to be a picturesque archaic reserve, full of unspoiled folklore traditions, its image overlaps and sometimes merges with that of Maramureş, at the level Romanian cultural geography. The contours of Maramureş, Oaş, Chioar and Lăpuş dissolve in this legendary perimeter at the northern extremity of Romania and Transylvania. Regarded as the most archaic and authentic part of the

¹⁷ Transylvania is sometimes considered a historical Romanian “super-province”, encompassing all the territories inhabited by Romanians from the former Habsburg monarchy (hence Maramureş too), except Bukovina. However, this is an extended definition of Transylvania, just as Moldavia could include Bukovina and Bessarabia, and Wallachia – Oltenia and Dobruja. At other times in history, Maramureş was regarded as one of the so-called “Hungarian parts”, namely those territories that were not part of the Voivodate and, then, the Principality of Transylvania, but were counties within the Kingdom of Hungary.

¹⁸ Sătmar could occupy a similar position, if we consider it a distinct region. However, it has a less strongly outlined local identity, which makes it somewhat less entitled to the status of a historical province.

national territory, heir to the traditions of ancient free Dacians, this area was never conquered by the Romans and has the aura of a realm that has been independent since the mythical beginnings of Romanian history.

This is, by and large, the symbolic geography of the Maramureș cuisine, as seen from a Romanian perspective. For the Romanians, the Land of Maramureș is fundamentally a Romanian territory, dotted with only a few colourful minority elements: Ukrainian, Hungarian, German and, in the past, Jewish. It goes without saying that these historical-imaginative borders do not overlap with culinary ones. There are, of course, substantial differences between the cuisine of city and village dwellers, or between that of highland or lowland inhabitants. But the dishes of the Maramureș people in Vișeu and the Iza Valley, or those of the Oaș people in Negrești or of the Ruthenians in Zakarpattia, of the Romanians in the villages north of the Tisza and of the Ukrainians in Poienile de sub Munte, of the Hungarians in Sighet and of their former Jewish fellow townsmen have always been surprisingly similar.

Material conditions of a rustic pastoral cuisine

The range of an ethnic/regional/community cuisine is conditioned primarily by a number of material factors: geographical (relief, climate, vegetation, agricultural crops), historical and social (foreign occupations, historical experiences, social structures, trade exchanges), and economic (degree of productivity and prosperity). From a deterministic, materialist viewpoint, it is safe to assume that these objective conditions are of a primordial nature and that they were subsequently codified culturally, as food practices, gastronomic traditions, customs and rituals, religious prescriptions, fasts, restrictions or, conversely, as

food recommendations occasioned by the celebration of various holidays.

These culturally codified practices are meant to strengthen and legitimize the food regime of communities, which is shaped by the material factors listed above. Of course, once cultural factors are embedded in community traditions, they will act themselves like material or “objective” conditionings. Consumers will seek and prioritize those foods, dishes and recipes that are part of their culinary tradition.

It is possible that the causal relationship linking the various dietary conditionings outlined above may seem excessively rigid compared to those of other human practices, in which the interlacing of material, symbolic or cultural aspects is more subtle. But experience shows us that, in the field of food, material factors are much stronger, almost unavoidable determinants. The Inuit consume animal fat, Hindus eat plant products, the Chinese do not drink milk, and Mexicans make corn *tortillas* because these food practices are strictly determined by the natural supply and the social-historical conditions in which the respective communities have lived. The people of Maramureş also eat in keeping with natural and social determinants derived from their geographical environment and the historical experience of their community, these determining factors being later transformed into cultural practices and specific culinary traditions.

Broadly speaking, Romanian cuisine is placed in a confluence area between Northern and Central Europe (where food based on meat, milk and dairy products, and animal fats is most prevalent) and the south of the continent (where the cuisine is based on cereals, vegetables,

greens, and vegetable fats)¹⁹. Due to its relatively northern geographical location (surrounded by hills and mountains), Maramureș is marked more strongly by the first component, unlike the regions south of the Carpathians, where we can distinguish influences of the Balkan and, to a lesser extent, Mediterranean cuisines.

Meat and animal fats are preferred in the northern climate, because, on the one hand, vegetable crops are harder to obtain and consumers can more easily ensure their livelihood and sustain their caloric needs by eating meat and animal fats. On the other hand, this preference must be put in relation with the possibility of obtaining these foods. Throughout history, the existence of large areas for grazing and – related to this factor – the maintenance of a low population density has led to the prevalence of communities of “meat eaters” (as opposed to “bread eaters”).

Great civilizations and dense, intensely populated human settlements were characteristic of the sedentary communities of grain farmers, living in southern, warmer regions. Large or small livestock breeders, who relied on steppe grazing, were usually the barbarians beyond the *limes* or the Great Wall, such as the Huns, the Mongols, the Turks or the Arabs, whom the grain farmers despised, but who subsequently surpassed them in military prowess. Later, in modern times, regions that were able to choose their meats (especially the most expensive and hardest to obtain meat, namely beef), as well as ripened cheeses made from cow's

¹⁹ Narcisa Știucă, “Gastronomia românească între Orient și Occident”, paper presented at the symposium *Cultură tradițională și globalizare*, Arad, 23–24 June 2016 (<https://www.academia.edu/34020992>, accessed on 02.11.2020); eadem, “Alimentația românească. Criterii de includere în Registrul PCI”, in Sultana Avram (ed.), *Istorie și tradiție în spațiul românesc*, vol. 8 (Sibiu: Techno Media, 2011), pp. 217–228.

milk gave rise to the prosperous societies of northern and north-western Europe (England, Netherlands, Denmark) or the Alpine regions (Switzerland). Next came the pork consumers in the forests of Germany, where hogs fattened on acorns and beechmast had been raised for centuries. But, in order for large cattle or even pigs to give higher yields and to provide the necessary food-source for the development of thriving societies, it was necessary to keep those animals mainly in stable conditions. This, in turn, was only possible within societies with a high level of productivity.

Maramureş has never been a rich area. As a result, even though its highland and flatland areas located in Central Europe favoured the consumption of animal fats, the cuisine here turned to the cheapest ways of producing them. Consequently, the preferred or staple foods of the people of Maramureş were *dairy products*, obtained from sheep and, only to a lesser extent, from cows. Sheep's milk and its by-products accompanied the *polenta* (*mămăliga*), made of maize grown in the Maramureş valleys or in the neighbouring depressions since the 17th century.²⁰ It was obtained by shepherds who herded their sheep up into the mountains and exchanged their cheese barrels for bags of maize. And when the minimal surplus of progress and food security brought by the 18th–19th centuries also appeared in Maramureş (largely thanks to the presence of imperial soldiers here), the peasants learned to often mix the hot whey, cream, butter and especially charcuterie products obtained from pigs (which could now be fattened better) in the *balmoş* (cheese polenta) and in the daily *coleaşa* (soft polenta).

²⁰ Barbu Ştefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă şi ritm de muncă în gospodăria ţărănească din Crişana*, vol. 1 (Oradea: Fundaţia Culturală "Cele Trei Crişuri", 1995), p. 223.

Under these conditions, the cuisine of Maramureș is extremely simple, based on the combination of a small number of staple ingredients: sheep's milk, cheese, *urda* (ricotta), *jintiță* (whey mixed with ricotta), cornmeal, wheat flour, smoked pork, sausages, greaves, eggs, potatoes, cabbage, honey, and *horinca* (plum brandy). Maramureș cuisine is exceptional not because it is based on a great diversity of ingredients, but because of the quality of locally sourced products, the almost non-existent imports, and the traditional recipes which use and combine the natural foods of the otherwise rather scant array this region has to offer.

Many of the world's well-known cuisines, such as Italian, Chinese or Japanese, were actually born out of poverty, of the scarcity that forced consumers to discover ingenious ways of improving otherwise extremely frugal menus. Italian pasta, Chinese rice and soy or Japanese raw fish were the effect of monotonous local offers, indigence, meagre resources and low productivity. However, some of the most important culinary traditions around the world emerged from the skilful exploitation of these basic foods, enriched with some highly effective ingredients and spices. What these cuisines had and what the Maramureș one lacked was an elevated or urban component, the presence of a social elite, capable of refining a frugal peasant menu, through imports, spices and more complex or expensive ways of cooking.

Since Maramureș had only benefited from such a historical experience to a small extent (its knezes and nobles were, after all, just richer peasants), its culinary art essentially produced a *rustic pastoral cuisine*. These is, in fact, the specific gastronomic feature of the Maramureș area, which deserves to be cultivated, passed on and shared with consumers arriving here from other culinary regions.

Yet from another point of view, Maramureş, like any other corner of the world, was not isolated by impermeable cultural borders, despite its peculiar geography or the stereotypes exaggerating its archaic character and its alleged uncontaminated authenticity from the times of the free Dacians until today. In reality, Maramureş cuisine is very well integrated into an area of pastoral culinary traditions stretching from the Northern Carpathians to the Balkans. On the other hand, it has been exposed to foreign influences: urban and Hungarian cuisine (stews with flour-based sauces, fried onions and cream), Central European dishes (cold cuts, *bremzli*) or even Oriental recipes (the latter were usually imported via Hungary; for instance, cabbage rolls or different combinations of cabbage, minced meat and other ingredients; some, like polenta cabbage rolls, were local adaptations of those recipes).

On the other hand, just like the Romanian national cuisine often seems a combination of different influences from the surrounding peoples, the regional cuisine of Maramureş has many similarities to the pastoral cuisine that is spread throughout the Carpathians²¹. None of its star dishes (*balmoş*, cabbage rolls or corn porridge) are specific solely to this region. They can be found in other parts of Transylvania, or even further, either under dissimilar names or with minor differences. Undoubtedly, these nuances are important in the case of culinary tastes, so the different local variations of the pan-Romanian pastoral cuisine can be said to have shaped a typical Maramureş cuisine.

Cornmeal, milk and pork

As noted above, the gastronomy of Maramureş is not grain-based, unlike Southern, Mediterranean cuisine or the cuisine

²¹ Roman, *Bucate*, p. 237 sqq.

of the large grain farming regions in the lowlands. In this respect, the difference between Maramureş cuisine and that of the otherwise very close plain of Sătmar is striking. The cuisine of Sătmar²² – essentially a component of Hungarian cuisine, disseminated throughout the Pannonian Plain (Alföld) and illustrated equally well, in present-day Romania, in the lowland areas of Bihor, Arad or Timiş – is fundamentally based on an unusual richness of wheat, consumed in every form and for every meal. In addition to the bread produced in these regions – large, fluffy, well leavened and well baked (bread that has banished polenta from this region, as well as from all the other lowlands of Romania, for at least a hundred years) – wheat flour dishes are ubiquitous in Sătmar or Crişana, in different forms that accompany any meal: soups are full of noodles, *lăscuţe* or *tăscuţe* (home-made pasta, the so-called *tészta* of Hungarian cuisine), there is an abundance of pies with sweet or salty fillings between or after meals, the dough is baked in the shape of *cozonac* (sweet leavened bread), boiled in soups, fried in roux or deep-fried in the form of *langoş* (flatbread). The importance of wheat in these regions stems from the relative prosperity of the area, due to the fertility of the lowland soils and the advanced agricultural techniques that were imposed after the establishment of the Habsburg rule²³. The prosperity showcased by the culinary art here is reinforced by the fact that wheat is combined, for added flavour and satiety, with other foods rich in lipids or proteins: egg yolk; fats (both vegetable or pumpkin oil and pork lard); semi-preserved pork dishes (used, for example, in greaves pies); doughs and pies with sweet fillings, with cheese, walnuts, poppy seeds or sweetened fruit. After centuries of famine kept at bay

²² Excellently illustrated in Bălu et al., *Bucătăria*, passim.

²³ Ştefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă*, pp. 100–113.

especially with millet, maize or inferior grain porridge, the peasants in the fruitful basin of the Middle Danube finally took their culinary revenge!

However, this pre-eminence of wheat, which can be noticed among the neighbours in Sătmar County, is not characteristic of Maramureş. In Maramureş County, soil and climate conditions do not favour a high-yield grain production. Today, only limited crops of wheat or barley are grown, for private consumption. Undoubtedly, *wheat*, a “prestigious grain”, a crop that requires the most labour and the best soil and that rewards the ploughman with the highest caloric potential²⁴, is cherished and coveted in Maramureş. But because it was cultivated less often, because it was harder to obtain, because the soil was poor, and the productive effort had to be directed towards activities capable of ensuring a good ratio between the effort invested and the number of calories obtained, wheat was present in the traditional cuisine of Maramureş mostly at exceptional moments: christenings, weddings, funerals, holidays. Wheat and flour made from “pure wheat” were not used every day, but mainly in wedding cakes or funeral *colac* (braided sweet bread), in ritualistic food and large loaves, such as the *stolnik* (which is “embellished”, that is, adorned with various ornaments) or the *ţâpou* (a bread roll usually served at weddings)²⁵. Sometimes, this valuable bread was left to dry, so that it could be consumed for a longer time, especially by those who went away from home.

No doubt the grain cuisine seduced the Maramureş people, and when their level of prosperity increased, they also managed to consume more bread made from white wheat

²⁴ Fernand Braudel, *Structurile cotidianului. Posibilul şi imposibilul*, vol. 1 (Bucureşti: Meridiane, 1984), pp. 116–159.

²⁵ Dunca, Suigogan, Mariş, *Mâncarea*, pp. 114, 129–130.

flour, to make oven-baked pies (stuffed with cabbage or potatoes), to boil short noodle pasta for soups, or to thicken the stock with flour and roux, just like their neighbours in the Sătmar or Bihor Plain. Influences coming from the lowlands were first integrated into the menus of the housewives in boroughs and towns or in the households of the well-off people, who could afford to adopt a more expensive cuisine. But the traditions entrenched in most Maramureș families, the tastes they learned in childhood and passed on to others were different. Precisely because it was special, wheat flour was used less often for cooking, mostly on holidays.

Under these circumstances, polenta was obviously the most common and widespread way of preparing cereals in Maramureș. *Cornmeal* was a basic ingredient, and the gruel, *porridge*, was the main way of heat processing. Prior to the appearance of maize, millet had been the basic component of these concoctions, and other types of flour obtained either from wheat or from inferior cereals (oats, rye, more suitable for northern or highland areas) could also provide a basis for various porridges. The everyday food, most commonly found in traditional Maramureș cuisine, was the so-known *coleșă*²⁶. *Coleșă* (or *coleașă*, if we spell the diphthong resulting from the open Transylvanian “e”) is the name given in Maramureș to cornmeal porridge, a kind of polenta with a soft consistency. But other concoctions, obtained from wheat flour or, in the past, from millet flour, bear the same name. The term is found in the Slavic languages, including Ruthenian (*kuliš*, *kulěša*), but the closest phonetic equivalent is Hungarian: *köleskása* = “millet gruel”, “porridge”).

Although the dish is basically prepared only from water, corn and salt, it can be improved in a variety of ways:

²⁶ Ștef, *Maramureș* (https://ro.wikisource.org/wiki/Maramureș_brand_cultural, accessed on 02.11.2020).

cornmeal can be replaced with wheat flour (which can be boiled or even fried in butter or pork lard); corn porridge can be boiled in milk, mixed with sweet or sour milk, etc.

The *coleșă* is generally soft, while *mălaiul* is the name usually given to a polenta with a harder consistency or to other dishes based on polenta, combined with other ingredients.

The variety of ways in which polenta can be prepared in Maramureș is simply astounding. The *tocana*, for example (so called because it is stirred in the cauldron with the *tocănier*, a wooden spoon), is a polenta to which greaves or bacon is added. At other times, the polenta can be baked, fried in the form of pies or pancakes, grilled on the hearth and then rubbed with garlic, combined in layers²⁷ with cabbage or plum jam... *Chigala de mălai* (a mixture of cornmeal) combines a considerable amount of sour cream with eggs, sugar and cinnamon, to which fried bacon (from which lard and cracklings are obtained) is added, all the ingredients being mixed to form a well leavened corn dough, which is then baked in the oven²⁸. Even a Mexican chef might feel intimidated by such complex ways of using cornmeal flour. Although polenta is very widespread in traditional Romanian cuisine, it may be that no other ethnographic area of Romania offers such diverse combinations of polenta. This further highlights the archaic and conservatory character of the Maramureș cuisine, where wheat made its way with greater difficulty and failed to completely replace maize, as it did in the other regions.

Just as the peasants from the lowlands, from Sătmar, for example, use wheat flour in everything, the people of Maramureș do the same with cornmeal, which is thermally processed or leavened in every conceivable way

²⁷ Roman, *Bucate*, p. 255.

²⁸ Dunca, Suiogan, Mariș, *Mâncarea*, p. 116.

and combined with dairy, pork fat and meat, eggs or sweet materials. These combinations, which have led to a culinary and caloric improvement of menus, appeared at a time when productivity and the standard of living increased, and when *pork*²⁹ was fully integrated in the traditional diet, previously based on polenta and sheep's milk. Until then, although the people of Maramureș had been longing for pork for hundreds of years, they had only rarely afforded to eat it.

Clearly, this food tradition presents an interesting potential for its capitalization in gastronomic tourism, and an important question that can be asked is the following: what place does polenta occupy in the menus proposed today by guest houses or other local restaurants, either as a side dish/garnish for the main dishes or as a main ingredient in a series of Maramureș culinary specialties? The answer is not encouraging at all. Polenta is presented most of the time as a mere companion to the main dish (cabbage rolls, stews), or as the banal and rather insipid combination of polenta with cottage cheese (and, possibly, with sour cream). The famous *chigala*³⁰ or the Maramureș stew with polenta and bacon are becoming more and more sheer ethnographic curiosities.

It is true that for modern consumers, concerned about their waistline or high cholesterol, these traditional Maramureș menus are too greasy, they have too many fats, especially of animal origin. But this is one of their distinctive

²⁹ For everything pertaining to preparing a pig for slaughter and consumption in Transylvania, based on case study in Cluj County, see Constantin Bărbulescu, *Ale porcului. Eseu asupra relației om-animale într-un sat transilvan* (Cluj: Mega, 2018).

³⁰ In contemporary recipes, *chigala* is listed as a sweet dessert: bacon is no longer used, corn has been replaced with wheat flour, and the filling is made of a sweet paste with sugar, walnuts, poppy seeds, cocoa, raisins and cinnamon.

features, and it is quite difficult to prepare such a recipe without indulging in saturated fat.

The more archaic layer of Maramureş food – in which pork was not yet so important and polenta was largely combined with *sheep's milk* and its derivatives – seems to enjoy greater success in contemporary gastronomic tourism. However, it should be noted sheep's milk is increasingly replaced with cow's milk in the menus of today's boarding houses, the latter being easier to procure today while also being preferred by most consumers.

Balmoş is a more sophisticated traditional dish, most often found in the pastoral cuisine of Maramureş, although it obviously features in shepherds' menus everywhere. Essentially, *balmoş* is based on the alternation of polenta with layers of cheese, preferably of different tastes and consistencies³¹. The cornmeal is cooked in various combinations of *jintiţă* (hot whey), sweet milk and sour milk (or a richer alternative, high-fat buffalo cream), and its preparation in a cauldron, like in the sheepfold, gives it extra flavour. Obviously, the Maramureş *balmoş* can also be enriched with greaves, sausages, smoked meats and fried eggs, and cornmeal can be simmered in butter, thus unleashing a paradise of animal fats, meant to ennoble the humble polenta.

In its "restricted" pastoral formula, based on dairy and polenta, the *balmoş* makes for an interesting comparison with the Swiss *fondue*. *Fondue* is based on ripened cheese, typical of the Alpine pastoral and, broadly, the north-west European diet. In the case of Swiss or Savoyard dish, only a little cornmeal is added, as thickener, alongside wine, to improve the taste. Unlike the wealthy Swiss peasant (whose household benefits from higher productivity), the Maramureş

³¹ Roman, *Bucate*, p. 242 sq.

peasant cannot afford to melt or even produce aged cheese. The latter is content with cheese made of sheep's milk, fresh or barely aged in *bărbânțe* (small wooden vats). He does not make cheese from cow's milk, which is too expensive, but from sheep's milk, because sheep are much easier to breed than large cattle, especially in terms of providing their winter fodder. Instead of a mixture of aged cow milk cheeses (such as *Gruyère* and *Vacherin*), the Maramureș shepherd also uses ingenious dairy combinations for boiling corn, whether sweet milk or various derivatives thereof (sour milk, cream, butter) or whey (*jintița*), a by-product resulting from cheese production. In other words, the Maramureș shepherd must make the best of what he has on hand, but this challenges him to discover savoury recipes based on a subtle and refined blend of tastes. Finally, while cornmeal is just a thickener for the Swiss man (who might want to better fill his stomach or cut down on the fat of the melted cheese by eating a potato boiled with skin on, served as a side dish), the Maramureș man (more Mediterranean by nature and more inclined to eat grains) will thicken the *balmoș* with cornmeal so much so that it supplies most of the meal's substance (or even most of the calories). On the other hand, the drink that is brought to the table reverses the positioning of the two cuisines, relative to the north-south axis this time. The Swiss man, naturally, toasts with a mug of white wine, because Mediterranean influences have pushed the vine culture all the way to the valley of the Upper Rhone or to the banks of Lake Geneva. By contrast, the Maramureș man clearly displays his affiliation to the northern area, since before eating the *balmoș*, or any other dish, he takes a sip of some very strong alcohol resulting from the distillation of plums.

Showcasing and promoting the “Romanian *fondue*” and the “Maramureș *balmoș*”, necessarily prepared in a

cauldron (for its unmistakable smoky taste, but also for the culinary performance) could offer a promising way to capitalize on a local traditional brand.

As the example of the *balmoș* shows, in the Maramureș pastoral cuisine, unlike in the lowland cuisines, *polenta* was but aside dish for *sweet milk*³² and products derived from sheep's milk: *cheese*, *sour milk*, *butter*, "*groșcior*" (sour cream), "*sămățișă*" (yogurt)³³. They provided most of the caloric requirement and constituted the staple foods, those that could not be absent, in principle, from any meal, any day. On the other hand, during the fasting periods³⁴, which lasted about 200 days a year (Wednesdays and Fridays, plus the four big fasts of the year), neither the Orthodox nor the Greek-Catholics (who had been the majority here since the 18th century) were allowed to consume animal products. While things were somewhat simpler for the peasants in this regard, as vegetable crops (maize, cabbage and, later, potato) were seen as food alternatives³⁵, in the absence of ethnographic research on this subject, it is harder to say to what extent the population of shepherds, living in mountain sheepfolds, could genuinely comply with the aforementioned dietary prohibitions.

By-products obtained from curdling cheese occupied a special place in the Maramureș pastoral cuisine. One was *whey*, but especially the products resulting from cooking

³² In some places, sheep's or goat's milk was not consumed as such ("sweet milk"), but only incorporated into other dishes or transformed into by-products; see Elisabeta Dobozi-Faiciuc, *Dragomirești, străveche vatră maramureșeană* (Cluj: Editura "Dragoș-Vodă", 1998), p. 181.

³³ Dunca, Suiogan, Mariș, *Mâncarea*, pp. 109–142.

³⁴ Ofelia Văduva, *Pași spre sacru. Din etnologia alimentației românești* (București: Editura Etnologică, 2011), p. 93 sqq.

³⁵ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Între pâini* (Cluj: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2012).

it: *urda*, *jintița* and the *sour jintița* are highly valued in the gastronomy of Maramureș and area featured in its star dishes. Undoubtedly, the most important product obtained from milk (leaving aside the consumption of sweet milk as such) was cheese. But because the Maramureș people were poor, and cheese was not always enough, whey itself was used. While initially this was done for economic reasons, over time these ingredients came to be valued for their culinary qualities and were incorporated in numerous recipes. *Jintița*, for example, obtained from the processing of whey, was more popular than butter, which was more expensive and harder to obtain, requiring large amounts of milk. Boiling the whey, the shepherds were interested in squeezing out every last drop of fat from the milk remnants, but the goods they obtained in this way illustrated once again the rule that the cuisines affected by poverty often managed to achieve remarkable results because they were compelled to come up with inventive solutions. Analogues for this type of food interest are the Italian *ricotta* or the Greek *mizithra*, both very similar to the Romanian *urda*.

As a result, the use of whey-based products can be another interesting way of exploiting Maramureș gastronomy, which involves the use of traditional herding technologies (curdling and separating cheese, boiling whey, decanting the *jintița* etc.).

Vegetables and pickles

The vegetables traditionally used in the Maramureș cuisine are those specific to the cuisine of Transylvania, Hungary and the German area: *cabbage* (especially sauerkraut) and *potato*³⁶. *Beans* (usually called “peas” in Maramureș)

³⁶ Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă*, pp. 231–240.

also occupy an important place, prepared in thick soups and other concoctions with roux and smoked pork meat (on non-fast days); along with *carrots* and, much more frequently, *mushrooms*.

As in all the Romanian space, *onions* and *garlic* are the essential alliums, and cold pork platters (cold cuts, sausages, crackling, smoked bacon) – some of the most popular offerings of culinary tourism in Transylvania – always feature raw onions, which give these snacks their charm. Just like *wasabi* sauce necessarily accompanies Japanese rice and fish, onions are the ingredient that spices smoked bacon in Transylvania. In the past, onions were added to the plain polenta consumed daily throughout the Romanian area, to add a bit of taste to an otherwise shabby menu and to ensure the intake of vitamins necessary for the body.

The potato appeared late in the menus of Maramureș, at the end of the 18th century at the earliest, and had difficulty permeating the culinary universe of a society that was rather conservative where food was concerned. Nowadays, it can be found in recipes taken from international cuisine (mashed potatoes for example), and in a more rustic and traditional form in hearty potato soups with smoky meats or in potato-filled pies. A popular product featured today in some guest houses is the *hremzli*³⁷, a typical Central European dish. In Maramureș, *hremzli* is based on a Jewish recipe from Sighet, namely “meatballs” made from raw potatoes, mixed with eggs, flour, salt and pepper, fried in oil or fat and seasoned with cream or sheep’s milk.

But the most important vegetable present in the traditional diet of Maramureș is cabbage, common to the entire Transylvanian, Central European or German space.

³⁷ Dunca, Suiogan, Mariș, *Mâncarea*, p. 142.

The most famous dish incorporating it is represented by the ubiquitous *cabbage rolls*. These are based on a typical Balkan cuisine combination (of Turkish and Greek origins) of minced meat, cabbage and other ingredients. Offered with great pride in every Romanian restaurant and always served during holidays, cabbage rolls are not specific to Maramureș, but can be found everywhere in Romania (and not only), even where recipes are adapted to the local, peasant culinary traditions, as in the case cabbage rolls stuffed with cornmeal.

Cabbage was a basic food, consumed mainly in its canned form, as *sauerkraut* in vats³⁸. It could be added as a side dish for meat, but it was also ideal for fasting periods. In general, pickles were very important in traditional cuisine, both as sources of vitamins, and as condiments, designed to improve a monotonous menu. Sour cabbage juice, the so-called *moare*, could sometimes be consumed only in addition to a polenta or a potato dish, typical examples of the very frugal diet of the olden times, when a staple food was accompanied only by pickles, garlic or onions. A distant analogy can be found in the preference for pickled vegetables manifested in the Korean cuisine (the famous *kimchi*), consumed for similar reasons, as summary garnishes in addition to a bowl of rice; but the same holds true for a portion of *spaghetti aglio e olio*, in which wheat flour pasta, the staple food of poor Neapolitans in the past, was expeditiously seasoned only with what they had at hand.

A specific Maramureș product, similar to pickles in terms of the culinary destination, is *chisălița*³⁹. This is a sour juice, sometimes obtained from bran, but mostly from fermented oat or corn dough, similar to the Moldavian borscht. In Maramureș, it is usually made from cornmeal.

³⁸ Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă*, p. 238.

³⁹ Dunca, Suioan, Mariș, *Mâncarea*, p. 115, 130.

But *chisălița* has more diverse uses than the Moldavian borscht, the latter being reserved mainly for broths. It can also be drunk as a soft drink and is frequently used as a basis for other dishes or as a sour ingredient in various recipes. Obviously, *chisălița* has analogues throughout the northern Slavic space, where fermented oats and rye are used in the preparation of soups; in Czech, for example, the name of the drink is *kyselo*, while in Slovakia the soup incorporating it is called *kyselica*. Japanese *miso* paste, obtained from the fermentation of soy grains and having similar uses, as a base for a lot of dishes, is its Oriental counterpart.

At present, *chisălița* is an exotic and almost abandoned drink, but the above examples suggest that alongside other products or similar ingredients, designed to accompany very simple, rustic, frugal menus, it could also be retained as a Maramureș product with potential for gastronomic tourism.

Sweets, fruits and *horinca*

In contemporary recipes from Maramureș, sweets are based, as in many other regions of Romania or Europe, on fine white wheat flour dough enriched with eggs, with sweet fillings that combine sugar with other compatible ingredients. *Sweet leavened bread* and *sweet pies* are never missing from local culinary repertoires, being offered as desserts or as snacks between meals, while walnuts and apples are some of the local products commonly present in fillings.

However, there is also an older level of the Maramureș cuisine, which preserves a stronger local touch. Like the rest of the traditional diet here, traditional Maramureș pie recipes are based mainly on cornmeal flour, the perfect environment to add sour cream, eggs and, more recently, sugar. Significantly, in Maramureș sugar was called “honey” (*miere*), a name that evokes the only major sweetener of the old times.

An extremely important place in the traditional culinary universe was occupied by *canned fruits*, primarily *magiun* or plum jam (*silvoită* or *lecvar*, names borrowed from Hungarian). The plum tree was always present in the Maramureș orchards (as was the vine in the farms of Greeks or Italians), almost exclusively for its capacity to produce alcohol. But the fruits that did not reach the distillery vat were also used, both by boiling and drying. Maramureș people consumed dried fruits not only as dessert, but also as the main dish, in various combinations or recipes. Just as the Arabian desert shepherd fed primarily on camel milk and dried dates, his Maramureș counterpart had sheep's milk and *dried plums* at hand. Soups were prepared from dried plums, and by boiling the canned ones they got *polenta with magiun*.⁴⁰ *Porloșe*, for example, were a dessert almost perfectly suited to the food offer in the Maramureș region, being an assortment of pies made up of just pork grease, sheep's sour milk, plum jam (*magiun*) and sugar⁴¹. More recent recipes from Maramureș often mention sodium bicarbonate (with its popular name, the dialectal: *brozi*), but older ethnographic testimonies attest to the use of traditional leavening agents, such as the foam collected from fermented plums, used instead of yeast. The plum tree – a fruit tree that easily adapts to even the worst soil and climate conditions – was thus able to offer a multitude of products, from fresh to canned fruits, plum *gombots* (dumplings), plum jam mixed with polenta and, finally, the indispensable *horinca*.

Horinca (or *pălinca*) is obviously one of the major traditional brands of Maramureș (the first name is borrowed from Ukrainian and the second from Hungarian). Ordinarily, *horinca* was produced through the distillation of plums and,

⁴⁰ Roman, *Bucate*, p. 574.

⁴¹ Dunca, Suiogan, Mariș, *Mâncarea*, p. 121 sq.

at other times, through that of cereals. In the latter case, it was weaker. The custom that *horinca* must first be tasted by the person offering it shows the importance that is attached to the quality of this drink, especially in everyday male socialization rituals. Plum *horinca* was about 50 percent alcohol, being distilled twice. Nowadays, it can reach up to 55 percent alcohol and is also obtained from other, more fragrant fruits such as cherries (like German *Kirsch*) or pears. A specific Maramureş custom is the sweetening of the horinca with *honey*, which is traditionally practised only on holidays and which gives this drink an original appearance and a very special flavour today.

Undoubtedly, the famous Maramureş *horinca*, highly valued, praised and generously offered by the locals, just like similar *pălinca*s produced throughout Transylvania (as elsewhere in the Balkans or Central Europe – see *the şliboviţa*), raises a serious problem from the point of view of gastronomic tourism: it is too strong. Distilled fruit or other vegetable spirits are produced even in Muslim Tunisia (*boukha*), but most of them stop at 40 percent alcohol, the usual strength of cognac, whiskey, gin or vodka (absinthe is one of the better-known exceptions). As a result, *horinca* represents a challenge for the unfamiliar traveller, because any meal, snack, celebration or other occasion of socialization in Maramureş, from weddings to funerals, is incomplete in the absence of *horinca*. Everyone here will agree that you did not experience the real Maramureş if you didn't try it!

Wine is not characteristic of the Maramureş area, but several islands of vines (mainly producing white wine) can be found on the hills facing *Oaş*, the *Land of Codru* and the *Land of Silvania*, as is the case of the small vineyard in Seini⁴².

⁴² Roman, *Bucate*, p. 59.

Conclusions

I did not insist in this article on the culinary products that we can encounter in wider spaces, in the cuisine of Transylvania, Romania or Hungary, and which are therefore not specific only to Maramureș. Semi-cured pork dishes (*sausages, greaves, bacon*), the *goulash* or sweet and thick *soups* are common to large areas of Central Europe. Obviously, today these are also on the culinary offer of Maramureș and are frequently found in the menus of local restaurants or in farmer households. This is the soup (*zama*), usually greasy and hearty, prepared with roux (typical dishes are the potato *zama*, smoked bacon, sausages and cream, garlic, lettuce or cumin soups, which capitalize on the local ingredients, bean *zama* with smoked meats, sour cream and sour milk); roasted ribs with sausage and polenta; cabbage rolls; chicken stew, with cream, flour, milk and polenta.

As for meat, it is clear that pork predominates nowadays, but older recipes also mention *mutton*, specific to shepherds' menus (cauldron lamb soup, cooked with sour milk and local aromatic herbs, wild garlic and wild thyme; mutton goulash; potato dumplings with mutton; roasted lamb⁴³). Even though much less often, fish is also prepared according to traditional methods in Maramureș (rubbed with paprika, coated in flour and fried in lard, with onions and greens), in the case of *huchen*⁴⁴ – a rare and noble species of salmonid – which can still be found in the Tisza and several of its tributaries.

An important aspect of cultural tourism concerns the quality of *services*, which is highly valued at the moment. The contemporary consumer has the most exotic food produce at hand, which he can often cook in his own kitchen or simply

⁴³ Dunca, Suiogan, Mariș, *Mâncarea*, pp. 109–110, 114, 121.

⁴⁴ Roman, *Bucate*, p. 594 sq.

order from home. Under these conditions, when going on vacation or going out, he wants to be properly waited on. Wishing to turn the meal into a more complex experience, a culturally enriching one, he expects to be entertained by and to interact with those who prepare and serve it. Local customs in Maramureş can satisfy such requirements, especially in the ambience of a guest house or a traditional household. Here, the guest will be welcomed, invited to dinner and seated in a place of honour, tended to by his hosts, even through non-verbal communication: his gestures will be noted and appreciated, as will his positive reactions to what he is being presented with. The rituals of *palinca* tasting or the use of traditional culinary instruments, according to local customs, signify the initiation and integration of the guest into the household and create the premises for a successful culinary experience.

A few-days' stay at a guest house in Maramureş allows for a better, more comprehensive familiarization with the rhythms of local existence, including in regards to the culinary aspect. The meals starts with a very rich breakfast, similar in consistency to the English one: *coleşe* with cheese, sour milk⁴⁵, bacon and a *mâncăruşă* (omelette) – a possible way to conquer the heart of the British traveller and chase the Italian away! It should be noted that a North or Central European guest would accept such a menu more easily compared to those used to a Mediterranean diet, which shows that sometimes there is a need for certain adjustments to the offer, depending on the preferences of the guest. Sweet or salty pies (if they are not stuffed with greaves, and if they are not cooked with pork lard!) can offer an alternative or a snack, either between meals or as a substitute for them,

⁴⁵ Ştef, *Maramureş* (https://ro.wikisource.org/wiki/Maramureş_brand_cultural, accessed on 02.11.2020).

for a vegetarian or for someone who cannot get out of bed unless he gets a *colazione dolce*. During the day, traditional meals included mostly snacks (*ujine*), which were suitable for field work (therefore sufficiently consistent), but they can be adapted excellently to a holiday program. The evening is again reserved for a rich meal, always including the *zama* and featuring more spectacular dishes, such as *balmoș* or cauldron lamb stew. *Horinca* accompanies all these moments, given that in Maramureș it is usually drunk both before and after meals.

Traditional culinary art in Maramureș can be exploited for different categories of consumers. First of all, it has a special value for the *locals*, for example for those who live in the city, but still have affective ties with the village world and want to rediscover the tastes and customs of their childhood, or “grandma’s kitchen”. Secondly, for guests arriving from other parts of Romania, Maramureș traditions have an identity value, given that Maramureș is perceived as a spectacular reservoir of archaism and authenticity. Even if they come from quite different culinary areas, as in the case of *tourists from southern Romania*, they will be the most enthusiastic neophytes interested in trying *horinca*, *balmoș* and Transylvanian bacon. Finally, for the *foreign tourist*, culinary Maramureș can offer a sufficiently exotic experience, and adjustment can start with an introduction to elements that can be found in other gastronomic traditions, better known internationally, as I have tried to suggest throughout this work.

A foreigner glancing for the first time at the Maramureș cuisine might consider it as one of the most primitive cuisines in Romania. *Chisălița*, roasted polenta smeared with garlic, potato meatballs or even the famous *balmoș* may not impress too much, especially if they are not preceded by a glass of

horinca and are not tasted in the hill-enclosed orchard of a Maramureş farmstead. Yet food is not accompanied only by good mood, but also by creativity and the pleasure to explore. Everything passes through the stomach, they rightly say. But it is also true that everything that enters the stomach is first of all filtered through the lens of our intellect and culture.

Virtual Food – Is It Really about Food? Insights into a Local Virtual Gastronomy

Elena Bărbulescu

We all know by know that eating is more than just a physiological process. All our senses are involved, but also our mind. Sometimes it is our mind and not our senses that accepts or refuses a certain meal. But this is not what I am interested in talking about here. My interest here is to see what information about food or recipes posted online is about. Following a project that aimed at promoting both a gastronomic and craftsmanship multiregional touristic route, I decided to begin browsing the internet about topics related to gastronomy linked to a particular region from Romania – Maramureș.

Although when one does researches on a particular topic remains with an impression of an enormity of data, when focusing on certain items, all that richness seems to fade away and results in endless searching with poor results. At large it was the case with my topic of gastronomy in Maramureș. Though very promising at a first glance, it proved quite disappointing when thoroughly searched. For such a long time internet is part of our lives¹ that for almost any piece of information we open the computer and start a minutely process of searching, as it is indeed a minutely process: one

¹ Annette N. Markham, Nancy K. Baym (eds.), *Internet Inquiry. Conversations about Method*, Sage Publications, 2009.

cannot find from the first click the information looked for. You have to change the searching words and the browsers. This time I searched for Maramureș gastronomy. Easy to say, hard to do it, as for each of these words the browser offered such a varied range of results that is too much to handle by one person. Consequently, one needs to start cutting and selecting, like for example one is looking for recipes but you find recipes from all over the world not just Maramureș. Then you cut and select again and you find recipes titled as from Maramureș but many of them are universal and you have to see in the end what makes them from Maramureș. And just like that a simple job becomes very complicated even if the main source is the internet. This brought me to the point where I should explain why, how and in what way I am using the internet (virtual reality) in this work upon gastronomy so precisely circumscribed regionally.

The first scholar to coin the term of netnography is Robert Kozinets, whose books and articles are the milestones of this disciplinary field. As a field of research is surprisingly new in Romania if we think that it has quite a long life in the academic west. By this time there has been some works upon how to make ethnography in the virtual space. Robert Kozinets founded the term following his own researches on marketing, that made use of the ethnographic methodology in a new field site – internet. This author stressed in numerous of his works that it is important *to* and *how to* implicate the ethnographic methodology in order to maintain a high standard of research in netnography. In a 2015 revision of his book, Kozinets defines netnography as 'a specific sets of research positions and accompanying practices embedded in historical trajectories, webs of theoretical constructs, and networks of scholarship and citation; it is a particular performance of cultural research followed by specific kinds of

representation and understanding². Further on he moves the discussion towards what makes virtual ethnography different from other methods or 'from anthropology conducted face-to-face' since 'into this vast and evolving ecosystem of social and individual data and captured and emergent communications, netnography is positioned somewhere between the vast searchlights of big data analysis and the close readings of discourse analysis.(...) Actual netnographic data itself can be rich or very thin, protected or given freely. It can be produced by a person or by a group, or co-produced with machines, software agents and bots. It can be generated through interactions between a real person and a researcher, or be sitting in digital archives. It can be highly interactive, like a conversation. Or it can be more like reading the diary of an individual'³. Talking about the rapid adaptation of culture to new technologies he points out the 'fluidity and instability of human social realm' and that 'we must strive to view them (the cultural categories) less as solid states of being than as liquid interactional elements that individual members bring to life as mental meanings'⁴.

The problem of methodology in internet inquiry is the central topic of a collective volume edited by Nancy K. Baym and Annette N. Markham. Right from the introduction the two editors state that 'internet is directly implicated in at least four major transformations of our epoch: 1) media convergence, 2) mediated identities, 3) redefinitions of social boundaries, and 4) the transcendence of geographical boundaries' that have an impact on how

² Robert V. Kozinets, *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*, 2015, p. 2, www.researchgate.net/publication/267922181, last accessed on April 17th, 2021.

³ Robert V. Kozinets, *Netnography*, p. 5.

⁴ Robert V. Kozinets, *Netnography*, p. 10.

to identify the research objects and what else is related to this. This leads to a re-definition of the sociological subject as being 'powerful, shifting and in terms of qualitative research design, confusing'⁵. Another idea discussed in this work is 'the contemporary disruption of social boundaries, as exemplified by the shifting nature of public and private'⁶. Radhika Gajjala talks in the same volume about the fact that 'practices that form an integral part of who we are online come from embodied, material everyday practices that are shaped by and in turn shape how we move through the world as raced, gendered, classed beings'⁷ as response to the issue of online/offline distinction. In a chapter regarding how the notions of privacy influence the qualitative internet research Malin Sveningsson Elm, concludes that the 'concepts of public/private cannot be seen as a dichotomy but must be conceived of as a continuum' and talks about degrees of privacy and publicity.

Now, one important issue here regarding an ethnographic research on internet is that 'anything on internet is transient'⁸. It means that we might lose the data gathered if we don't find a way to save it.

In the same book about the method, Boellstorff et al. start their debate from the connection between virtual worlds and ethnography. They argue that ethnography as an important resource to study everyday life is of great use in capturing the ordinary in the virtual worlds. Further on they state that 'we aim to study virtual worlds as valid

⁵ Markham et al., *Internet Inquiry*, p. x.

⁶ Markham et al., *Internet Inquiry*, p. xi.

⁷ Radhika Gajjala, *Response to Shani Orgad*, in Markham et al., *Internet Inquiry*, p. 63.

⁸ Tom Boellstorff, Bonnie Nardi, Celia Pearce, and T.L. Taylor, *Ethnography and Virtual Worlds. A Handbook of Method*, Princeton University Press, 2012, p. 119.

venues for cultural practice, seeking to understand both how they resemble and how they differ from other forms of culture. We do this by immersing our embodied selves within the cultures of interest, even when that embodiment is in the form of an avatar, the representation of self in these spaces'⁹. Talking about qualitative research, Uwe Flick point out three approaches in analyzing social phenomena: the first would focus on subjective experiences, the second would focus on describing the making of a social situation and the third would go 'beyond the first two and into spheres of implicit and even unconscious aspects of a social phenomenon'¹⁰. Another scholar, Christine Hine, pointed out how ethnography is traditionally bounded to a physical space stating that 'fieldwork places an emphasis on culture as something which is local'¹¹).

All these authors as is the case with this strand of literature upon how to do research on internet work upon the idea of 'understanding culture through the data of social media' (Kozinets et al. 2013:262). My interest here with this paper is not undersanding the culture but the manner in which culture (a particular, regional one, topic specific: gastronomic and geographically limited: Maramureş) is exhibited, and staged globally (using internet). I am interested in the way these local people (people living in Maramureş) construct their culture virtually and at the same time exhibit it transforming it in a sort of an invitation to *actually see* it and who uses internet as a form of *seducing* the visitors/virtual tourists. This is the main reason why I did

⁹ Tom Boellstorff et al., *Ethnography...*, p. 1.

¹⁰ Uwe Flick, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, Sage Publications, 2013, p. 6.

¹¹ Christine M. Hine, *Virtual Ethnography*, Sage Publications, 2000, p. 58.

not use all the classic ethnographic methodology, skipped the interviews and participant observation: the data collected that I am referring to is just the data that they decided to share publicly in its most open sense. This is the type of data framable in what Knoblauch et al. calls '*native*' *video data*. These authors explain that these types of data are 'naturally settings' and 'their existence does not depend on a purposeful research design' (Knoblauch et al. 2013:437). In fact, I have started from my own reflexivity obtained from the numerous field researches (face to face interviews) that I have done for many years in the villages from Transylvania. It means that I already gained a certain amount of knowledge about traditional life and gastronomy of this region with the classic methods of ethnography that came to constitute the backdrop of my current internet data analysis.

One aim of the KRA'GAS project was to find gastronomic locations of cultural touristic interest. With a frame set so large I thought it would be impossible not to find something. Still the task proved to be harder than expected. I started of course with my own reflexivity and looked for what I would have thought to be of interest. But I would not be a common tourist and my reflexivity is not necessarily an asset in this case. Looking for what is *specific* in 2021, in the globalized world that we now live in, may look like searching for the needle in a hay. Well, not all that is presented as specific is really specific.

Consequently, this paper will approach four semantic levels in regard to the type of material that is to be found about Maramureș gastronomy following a *decoupage* into virtual reality.

The majority of materials that I have browsed are attempting to *create* and also *exhibit* a local identity, since many of the recipes are universal and they are just assimilated

to the Maramureș area / often times even by not adding anything local or regional to a particular recipe except the fact that it is done in Maramureș or by a person native from Maramureș.

Creation and exhibition of a Maramureș virtual space, or in other words, occupying a physical space (bytes) in the huge mass of internet where the key (hash tag) is the word Maramureș defined ultimately as a geocultural idea.

The attempt to establish a *way of living* through tourism for the people living in Maramureș and so bringing economic development in a globalized world, other times for those living abroad, like the payments for the ads on their recipes websites.

Promotion of a *way of living* / that refers to a rallying to the *neo-traditional* trend as an opposition towards capitalism and industrialization. There are two facts sustaining this idea: first, being a hilly and mountainous area there is a lack of fields proper to agriculture; second, the middle of the area is a former mining center, that has slowly died with the change or regime after 1989.

The information that I have used here for ethnographic purposes consists of texts, images and videos. It ranges from recipes, news, websites to clips uploaded on YouTube. These materials are free and not set any limit of watching or copyright. They are simply offered to the public space.

Accordingly, this information that I have found on browsing internet regarding Maramureș gastronomy show more a discourse for tourists/people, and exhibition and not a dialogue with the tourists/people.

On the other hand some of these materials have a sort of biographic flavour, and somehow leads us to a certain idea of what might be true in those stories.

The people behind the recipes, the text, the clips, are 'producing themselves' in relation with computer mediated environments (Markham 2009 : 65). As Markham said, 'cyber subjects are always at least double' (Markham 2009: 65). We can see them how they perform their traditional way of life in front of a camera. This camera is sometimes from the national television, other times from some local television, and other times even of some amateur vlogger about what he/she liked most. Pressured by the context, in some clips the protagonists are dressed in the traditional clothes used for holidays while they cook, fact that create a certain discrepancy. Other clips are careful about this aspect and we can see the old ladies in their usual (present traditional) daily clothes.

On the other hand we could see through the prism of this topic of Maramureș gastronomy, a colonization of the public by the private (Markham 2009: 81) where we should not see the distinction public/private as dichotomic but as a continuum (Markham 2009: 85). There are definitely different grades of public or private. One lady shots a clip on how she makes polenta with cheese and lard, in the privacy of her own kitchen. We can see the old pots, the modest stove and interior. But unlike other occasions of ethnographic research where the researcher must be received in the most fastidious room of the house, this lady is using her modest way of life as a brand. She is showing off an authenticity. You are invited there if you want something real, something exactly like in old times.

Now let us see few examples on the materials to be found on internet that could be linked to gastronomy in this particular local region – Maramureș.

One site is *malltaranesc.ro*¹², a site that is thought to show local producers from all Romania. Very useful is the fact that there is a map where you can pin producers. This is extremely helpful as it saves a lot of time in searching. You can find one or more products in a specific region or place or you can search them by topic. For me it was useful to take the local geographical method. Consequently I have found few honey and jams producers. They have a minimum quantity request and contact data, some virgin oil producers, and some private household producers with eggs and dairy products. This virtual space is very useful if one is looking for something specific, and regional, as one can have direct contact with a local producer by one's choice and establish a short chain from product to the dish/plate.

Another example, *carmanageriatoto.ro*¹³, is a website of a local family venture that has a specific niche of meat products – natural meat products and traditional meat products using meat from Mangalița and Bazna breed of pigs. Claiming to transmit the meat processing from generation to generation, the manager is also the founder of the Association of the Producers of Meat and Ecological Products from Maramureș. The site has numerous photos of traditional products, well done, and it certainly serves its purpose. Whether you are living in the Maramureș county or just passing by, if you are a meat lover you should definitely try some of their products.

There is an extremely rich offer of guest houses across the region, and in the case of their majority one can see the interest of preserving the traditional, the old way of decorating, of doing things, of preparing meals etc. It caught my attention the website of *conacul drabneilor.ro*.¹⁴

¹² <https://malltaranesc.ro>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

¹³ <https://carmanageriatoto.ro>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

¹⁴ conaculdrabneilor.ro, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

The construction is a monumental one and definitely catches anyone's eye. Impressive through style and work, the building is preserving the Maramureș style, and show a speechless craftsmanship. The carved wood and the traditional chairs, and tables, the interior decoration takes your breath away. They also make of traditional food a mark point. Still is kind of disappointing to see universal titles of meals in the menu. This fact creates a cut back with all that mastery shown in the architectural area. I would personally have expected to see some pictures of traditional food as well. It looks like it has an orientation towards the local protipendade' spending their spare time. Nevertheless the impressive traditional building, with so much care for detail promises a very good traditional meal as well.

Another set of virtual materials is that referring to the recipes. Recipes are a different story. Most of them are re-casted on many other different sites and so it is not easy to find the original cast. I have found a recipe for *balmoș* which is a recipe of polenta boiled in butter and sourcream, served with sour milk¹⁵. The recipe is general for the Northern Transylvania. So you should have tried it in order to see what might be the local (Maramureș) specificity of this recipe. Still it is a meal that should not be missed as it has a great place in the culinary habits of the region. I found it on more than ten sites plus at least three clips on YouTube platform.

Moving to the beverage sector, the most important alcohol in the region is *horinca/palinca*. Again it is a drink specific to Transylvania region, and is making a distinction between Transylvania and the southern and eastern regions of Romania – Moldavia, Oltenia, Muntenia, Banat and Dobrudja, where this type of alcohol is brewed once and so it

¹⁵ <https://www.gustos.ro/retete-culinare/balmos-ca-in-maramures.html>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

gets to 40 degrees maximum, while this palinca can reach to 50 degrees as it is brewed twice. While for the Transylvania region in general the highly appreciated palinca is the one made of plums, Maramureş region comes here with a specificity derived from the fact that they brew also pears and cherries and building them an image of a medicine. Still the recipe I have found on the website *reteteppractice.ro*¹⁶ is by far too impersonal to make justice to the high importance this product has in the region. It is a product for *connoisseurs*, being a brand at the same level with whiskey for Scotland or wine for France.

Returning to cooking, a different type of material is offered by bloggers, and I found on such a blog a recipe for meat rolled cabbage. What is worth mentioning in this case is the fact that beside a detailed recipe of how to do it, and so anyone could do it at home, not necessarily go to the specific place to eat those meat rolled cabbage, the author goes beyond the recipe and add to the material ingredients like meat and cabbage, the abstract ones like the kindness and cheerfulness of the people in Maramureş¹⁷. So even if you could do the recipe at home, something of the way this recipe is presented incite you to really go there. It is like if you will do it at home something will always be missing, it will be an incomplete experience.

Moreover, the recipe of meat rolled cabbage is to say plainly a *superstar* of Romanian cuisine. It is always on the tables of Christmas and Easter, the two major religious holidays but also at family cycle ceremonies. Four YouTube clips caught my attention relating this famous recipe and the

¹⁶ <https://www.reteteppractice.ro/cum-se-face-horinca-de-maramures-16422>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

¹⁷ <https://www.reteteculinaire.com.ro/sarmale-ca-la-maramures-boace/>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

local region of Maramureș. One is uploaded by Florentina Gionea¹⁸ from Lăpuș (southern part of Maramureș county), who is taking her aunt to present the meal. The aunt is presenting the old recipe, the one that involved basically the grinded corn (*păsat*) and as she says in the clip, mushrooms and soy beans. Well this ‘soy beans’ breaks the traditional homogeneity and truth of the recipe as soy beans is not a traditional peasant product from Romania or Maramureș county. It gained popularity after 1989, with the return to a practice of lent before Easter and Christmas, and popularized by nutritionists as a good replacement for meat. Except this modern intrusion, the aunt speaks in local dialect, and tries to explain the local terms. They are both dressed in something that should be a traditional costume. The local specificity is given by occasionally syntagms like ‘with corn grounded on the mill’, or the fact that they say ‘the meat rolled cabbage are eaten here by hand directly from the dish (*blid* – an archaic term for plate)’, which they actually do at the end of the clip. This clip is more about identity, about what they represent and not about food, as if the food itself could not individualize/ singularize the location (Maramureș).

Another YouTube clip titled ‘Sarmale ca in Maramureș’¹⁹ is taken from a news website. Here, Nicolae Tand, an already famous chef in Bucharest but native from Maramureș county, presents the recipe in a sort of story type. Very fond of his native region, he tries to make a short presentation that the meal is not the sum of the final products that are cooked, but it means also the pig that was brought up in the household and then smoked for a certain period of time

¹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r4B3dA6gndg>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

¹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AUACkM94XYA>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

by certain people in the village. It means also the sausages made in the household. He also feel the need to be dressed traditionally, as all the other people that appear in the clip, and inserts a short musical sequence. Consequently, he is not aiming just to offer a meat rolled cabbage recipe that is definitely different from the one in Bucharest (and southern Romania) region, where smoked meat is not used this being a characteristic of Transylvania, but a little from their *way of living*. He tries to show that these *sarmale* are just a door to their life, and one should not miss it.

Another recipe is that of polenta with cheese²⁰ (*coleşă cu brânză*). It is presented in a short YouTube clip. We can see a mature woman, dressed in traditional clothes (which is something she would not wear normally when cooking!) wandering in a kitchen from stove to table. There a few members of her family present whom she talks constantly. At the same time she verbalize the recipe, making references as response to ideas regarding the fried lard for example, a topic that would mean something to the native Romanian people but not to a foreigner. We can see a very old metal stove, an old pot made of iron and the interior is also traditional. We apprehend at a first glance that it is all about an authentic recipe but for the final where she puts the mixture in a Jenna bowl, something that is definitely not traditional, and not even common to the peasant household except for recent years and well off families. Her explanations try to singularize the recipe though it is quite known for the Transylvanian area. In her discourse she mingles old words and notions with new ones like: ‘cholesterol’ or when she talks about the oven baking of the mixture she uses a peasant sintagm ‘we let it talk a little with God’. What is also interesting for someone

²⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0tVpe6qQnw>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

eager to see the old way of life, is the fact that beside cooking she also cut the wood and periodically check the fire, adds up some wood in the fire, tasks that should be seen as part of cooking in an old style of life.

Another clip from YouTube is represented by a TV show titled 'Exclusive in Romania'²¹ that has half an hour clips from different regions in Romania focused on what is specific to a particular region, town, village. The clip is presenting the 'Easter dinner'. It is definitely a directed clip, with village women dressed in the most expensive traditional costumes, the mayor of the village is sitting next to the reporter and his wife is the leader of about ten women that are preparing different meals that they present as been usually done at Easter. They talk about stuffed lamb, *pască* with cheese, and dyed eggs. The mayor's wife is cheerful and always making jokes talking about the secrets in the recipes that she would not tell so as the people watching the clip feel incited to visit the place. At some point the mayor's wife concludes that 'On Easter day only lamb preparations are made'.

In the same register we have the recipes of *cozonaci cu nucă*²² (walnut sweet dough) which is filmed right in the house of an old woman. She is also dressed traditional, but not the holiday clothes. She is dressed how usually women of her age are dressing when they stay at home. This gives the clip an image of authenticity and real. She doesn't talk much and we can see she does not feel comfortable with the camera following her everywhere. She cooks the sweets in a new traditional style brick oven in the yard. Still there is a scene that worths a lot: after pulling out the embers of

²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXFG-mpMGcU>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

²² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bjrYp-f2GU>, last accessed in 24.04.2021.

the oven and stuffing the plates inside she makes the sign of the cross saying : ‘oh, Lord, bakes us the bread of all days!’ and then she makes the sign of the cross above the entrance of the oven with her wooden shovel. These simple gestures are definitely mark points in the traditional cooking. God should always be present there in order that the cooking be successful.

In conclusion there are two points to be made: first is that all these data on gastronomy so varied in type – we have simple texts, recipes, images and vidoeclips – compensate their scarcity with the depth some of them reach in presenting the old way of cooking. Second, all these internet materials are mainly using cooking as a gate to enter the realm of an old, traditional way of living. Some of them create and other just exhibit this idea. But they all converge into the main global trend of *neo-traditionalism*.

Four Craftsmen and Their Craft: Miniatures in Bottle. Case Study – Cavnic, Maramureș County

Constantin Bărbulescu

When the matter of choosing a topic for the study to be done within the framework of KRAGAS project was raised, I had at my disposal dozens of interviews with folk craftsmen from Maramureș: potmakers, wood carvers, producers of shoes or clothes etc. Of all this variety of crafts and craftsmen, one that proved extremely popular caught my attention: miniatures in bottle, that is small artisan objects made of wood, assembled inside bottles. It also caught my attention the concentration of these craftsmen in one town – Cavnic. I have identified there five such artisans. Even if within this project mentioned above we did not think of an exhaustive approach of the crafts and implicitly of the folk artisans that work in Maramureș County, of all the approximately fifty people interviewed, seven work either exclusively or also miniatures in bottle. Which is enormous! I can say that at a general view bottle miniatures are the leading stars of the peasant crafts in Maramureș.

For the start I think I should define the terms I would operate with, especially those of 'craftman' and 'folk or peasant craft'. The data gathered within the project KRAGAS made me realize that most of the artisans that make the objects

delighting the eye and the mind of the contemporary tourist, be him Romanian or foreigner, are not peasants, in the sense of working the land they own in the village, and their craft is no more peasant than their occupational identity. What these folk artisans are doing today are products generally destined to a specialized market and its actors – tourism and tourists. Since contemporary Romanian society but also that from the past two centuries transformed peasant art and culture in identitary symbols, the products of artisans are artifacts that have identitary, national but also regional extremely pronounced dimensions. On the other hand it is also true that the 'craft' of our artisans, as we would use the term in this study, has an artistic dimension. The object they produced beside an implicit use value have also an aesthetic one. The latter is the fruit of their mastery. And in this sense we can use the term 'artisan' with the meaning ascribed by Paul Petrescu and Georgeta Stoica: 'An artisan could be defined as being that worker who exercise a handicraft with artistic character'¹.

The People

My analysis has in view the group of craftsmen in Căvnic that are producing miniatures in bottle: four people. I have excluded from this analysis one artisan, Preda Gherghe² who even if he has friendship and collaboration connections with the mentioned group he puts his miniatures inside the bottle only occasionally his specialty being the miniatures 'outside'. Beside these five people it appears to be others making

¹ Georgheta Stoica, Paul Petrescu, *Dicționar de artă populară* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997), p. 51.

² In order to preserve the anonymity of the craftsmen I have talked to, I did not use the real names of the people interviewed. For reasons of fluidity of the text I replaced the real names with other fictious names.

miniatures in bottle in Căvnic, but none of the interviewed people could identify their names and asserted that they do not know them personally. Pop Ion knows another person who makes miniatures and Dumitru Matei thinks that in Căvnic are even more.

Who are my artisans? In their biographies there are features that bring them close but also others that individualize them. Let us start with what they have in common. First of all they all are, more or less the same generation: they are born between 1953 and 1964. They all have worked in mining, it would have been difficult otherwise in the communist Căvnic! And they are all retirees at this moment. They know each other, collaborate artistically and they call one another with the respectful neutral term of 'colleagues' or even 'friends'. They are all colleagues but some of them are also friends. And almost all have 'artistic antecedents'. The first of them who also poses in a kind of a leader to the group, Pop Ion, was doing wood carving: 'Right after I got married in 1977, I had a pair of godparents from Petroșani and my godfather Imre Popanek had a special talent for some carved paintings (...) I have bought a set of those, twenty chiselets and I started to carve. So in 78–79–80s I was sculpting (...) I made curtain rods, it was then in fashion to be carved, to be cut'. These patterns on curtain rod, that I (the author) had seen once, were 'flower vases, Avram Iancu, Stephen the Great's faces, the tower (St. Stephen) in Baia Mare'. He worked few years carving till the fashion of carved curtain rods passed, it was a 'trend' as he said it. In his case, his wife too makes artisan products, feminine ornaments: necklaces and bracelets.

The second craftsman, Dumitru Matei, in his youth, before he came to Căvnic and work in the mine, was a 'furniture carpenter plus other wooden technical objects' for

nine years in a factory of wood working where they produced works and prototypes for export. His pride are the wooden bicycles which he made 'hundreds of kilometres' with.

Mitu Ardelean attended painting classes at a school of popular art. He started painting in 1978 and it lasted about five years. He liked painting but he gave up because he could not sell the works. He was holding them in his apartment because he 'was unknown'; he did not have a workshop and the raising prices for the paints was the finishing stroke. He gave up to a trade where you can 'only invest money and get nothing'.

Finally my last craftsman is coming from a family where the past two generations, father and grandfather, were carpenters. Manole Cosmin became in his turn carpenter and joiner.

In conclusion we notice that the craftsmen we are talking about can be divided into two categories: the one that have had artistic antecedents: painting and sculpture in the cases of Mitu Ardelean and Pop Ion; and those who before their mining professional moment have worked also in one of the jobs related to wood working.

The professional destiny of each of them is still different. Pop Ion worked as an electromechanical master in the station of mining salvage that ensured him with a venue above the media. Until the collapse of the mining in Cavnic after 1989 he did not need to practice a secondary occupation. The ordeal have appeared after the closing of the mines when he started working in a autoworkshop where he 'destroyed his health'. He has lung problems from the 'paints and diluents' and was forced to give up. At this point he started working miniatures in bottle.

Dumitru Matei has the classic destiny of the poor child from the countryside that had to manage in this world with

his own hands: 'since little child: terracota, floor tiles, wall tiles, these jobs, all jobs...'. To these add up a 'large family': five boys and two girls – 'I worked all the time: I kept going, I kept going, I kept doing and I kept learning'. When I called him, he was in Paris for three months to do a work – marble, floor and wall tiles. Besides, all his family works abroad: four boys works in Paris and another one in Belgium; only the girls stayed at home. After the Revolution in 1989 he quited working at the mine and left for four-five years to work in the Middle East: Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Gaza Strip, 'in constructions'. After he returned home he was hired at the hospital in Căvnic for almost twenty years. At that moment he started to make artisan objects. Anyway, for him artisan work is a secondary activity; he practices it intermitently, when he has the time and he is an atypical craftsman: he never participated in an artisan fair.

Mitu Ardelean worked too in mining till he retired. Eversince he is making artisan products that now take all of his time: 'I leave in the morning to the workshop and I come back in the evening'.

Finally, Manole Cosmin attends a professional class that brings him closer to Dumitru Matei. He worked carpentry and joinery and after he was hired at the mine. In parallel he practiced other jobs asked on the work market: 'carpentry and roofs for the houses, I have learned how to put the sheet iron on the houses; in the 70s and 80s, you did not use nails, they made rabbets'. After retirement he involved deeply into artisanry. He makes miniatures in bottle but also '3D logical games: bell spindles, the *moroşenesc knot*, the Devil's key or the Devil's knot, wooden toys'. Now he also owns a guesthouse near the ski slope area.

We are here with these four destinies in the social universe of the communist period marked by a social

ascension of the young generations from the rural area who could not find an agricultural way in the world and migrate towards the industrial areas of the towns. Even in the new conditions they keep their remarkable professional mobility, not giving up to the old crafts learned at home, carpentry and joinery for example, but especially by learning new jobs asked on the labour market – assembling the plate iron roofs, floor and wall tiling, making terracota stoves etc. These people, extremely mobile, are in an endless search for new possibilities to increase their incomes. Artisanry is just another way on this road. Especially in the case of the two craftsmen that do not have artistic antecedents this fact is obvious: Manole Cosmin confessed that he started to work artisan object because 'money come easier with these miniatures'. And Dumitru Matei considers artisanry as an activity good for the third age: He stays at home and 'sticks three wood pieces in a bottle'. Mitu Ardelean also considers making miniatures an ideal activity because it does not require big investments in working material or tools.

On the other hand, the leader of the group, Pop Ion, projects a different light upon this artisan activity that comes from the artistic universe: he puts in total opposition the 'manual work' with 'the work done on a computer'. He associates the second variant with the kitsch. Obviously he makes everything by hand: 'this is a work that is done by hand, cutting, grinding... from idea to the final product. There are so many devices, at present a lot of works are done on computer(...) what is done on computer, one makes one thousand units alike, identical. If I make ten, they are different at least in some details'. It seems that for him, the 'computer work' is synonymous with the mechanical in the industrial system. In his case the idea of money gaining is present, but it is softened by his ideology of artistic origin:

'I have never thought that I would gain money from bottles. The family doctor when he saw what I worked, he asked for two-three bottles more to offer them somewhere. Today, one, the other day another one (...) At some point the financial side matters because one doesn't stay to work for days on end just like that for the sake of working'. And Manole Cosmin reminds the period of glory in the beginning that corresponds to the mining crisis and the general decrease of miners' income, when 'if they gave you one thousand lei on a bottle, that was the wage for a whole week: «Let's do it!». A bottle had value then, not anymore today because there are many of them done today'.

Before moving further we should answer to a few questions: How the craftsmen themselves name the object they produce and what do they considers themselves to be?

They all think of themselves as 'artisans' that is people that 'have and practice a craft/trade'³. In other words people that have the ability to make a product better than the others; and who make that for the market. And the quasi-general term used for this product is 'artisanal bottle'. Only Pop Ion, in his trial to pose as the leader of the group rejects the common name: 'All my colleagues say artisanal bottles; the artisanal bottle is that that someone ignited a fire with. Let us be fair with some expressions, it is artisanry in a bottle'.

The Patterns and Their History

I will try now to recompose, as much as the information from our artisans allows it, a history of the emergence of this craft in Căvnic and its evolution. From all data gathered it appears that the practice of the miniatures assembled inside a bottle is not local and it is rather new. It seems that these

³ *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* (București: Univers Enciclopedic, 1996), p. 623.

objects existed even from the communist period in what they call the historical Maramureș or much simple 'across the hill'. Dumitru Matei saw these bottles in his pilgrimages through Maramureș with his working on stoves and painting: when he crossed over Gutâi 'many people had in their houses such a bottle' and even his relatives in Baia Sprie had on the table such a bottle 'with brandy in it'. But they all indicate a village nearby – Budești – as the source for these objects. Manole Cosmin remembers that such a bottle was at 'someone from Căvnic but he took it from Budești, from across the hill, an old bottle, as it was then, from oil; it was a greenish bottle and inside it, a ladder. It was in the 70, 70s maybe later'. From Budești, a village with many carpenters the bottles with miniatures travel along with the people that come and get hired in the mines in Căvnic: 'Since about 90s–92s they make (miniatures in the bottle), it was one in the mine native from Budești and he brought in Căvnic a reel' (Dumitru Matei). Pop Ion knows another story of the origins: 'First, a boy, Mircea Crișan brought a ladder in Căvnic, a boy that works now... I don't know... he was a student. He brought a ladder from somewhere, from Maramureș... from Sic, from there. And everybody started to make the ladder'. In the mining melting pot the news and people circulate rapidly; Mitu Ardelean finds out from a colleagues from the mine that in Budești there is an old man that makes miniatures in bottles. He goes to visit him and decides immediately to imitate him.

The liminal moment when our artisans find their vocation is catch exactly. Ion Pop remembers that 'for me, in the moment I received a ladder, on St. Stephen's day, the third day from Christmas as it is here in Ardeal, a bottle with a ladder, and that's when it started... after the holidays, after Epiphany all started: «Well, let's see if I can do it»'.

The situation is absolutely identical for Dumitru Matei 'my wife bought it from somebody and I said: « wait a minute that I can do it too». The first bottle was a reeler'. Mitu Ardelean and Manole Cosmin get the first impulse when they see such a bottle themselves.

Once the creative impulse started, the apprenticeship follows. Who teaches whom? The self-proclaimed the first in this group that makes miniatures in bottles is Mitu Ardelean who has started his activity sixteen/seventeen years back. After him 'Manole started, then Pop, then Matei Dumitru'. Learning is done either in the group of 'colleagues' and 'friends' that seem to accept serenely to contribute in creating a competition: Dumitru Matei went to 'these friends of mine to see what tools they had, how did they work' and despite this assertion he serenely states that 'nobody taught me how to make bottles'. Interesting is in the case of Manole Calin, the second as length of work in Mitu Ardeleanu's list, who has an initial failure in learning the trade; the one who promised that will show him the algorithm of the product, kept endlessly on postponing the apprenticeship. Mitu Ardeleanu's luck is another friend of his, an older person, who 'showed me what tools and how to do it'.

When trying to analyze a history of the patterns, we will easily notice that at first in the 90s we have a star pattern – the ladder – and an added pattern, the reel: 'Nobody in Maramureş has had such a pattern' (Ion Pop). All our craftsmen at the beginnings of their artisan career were doing ladders and reels. Ion Pop made ladders for two years. Manole Cosmin started with ladders and reels, too. And then, slowly by slowly as the market matured the patterns diversified. I have identified in our informants' discourse two sources of this diversification: the first is the personal creativity. And again the one who expresses best this direction is Pop Ion: 'I

had a remarkable ambition to create pattern after pattern, to see if I am able to do it'. As it was expected for a self referential discourse he was able and creates, as he says, pattern after pattern: 'I started to make the mill that rotates in the bottle, the Maramureş gate and so on, double mill, swing, table with chairs and many others... even a sledge because we are in Cavnic where we have a ski slope now'. The second force that leads to diversifying patterns is the market pressure, that is the clients requests for specific patterns, personalized patterns. Our craftsmen are making on request any pattern: 'people have started to ask: «I work in civil aviation, I need a plane» (Manole Cosmin); 'another wanted a motorcycle, other wanted the Eiffel tower in Paris, other wanted a wagon' (Dumitru Matei). And so, little by little the offer of patterns diversified till an impressive number. Mitu Ardelean makes approximately 40 patterns and Pop Ion doesn't even count them... These patterns are not protected by copyright, they circulate from one craftsman to another, they are copied, adapted and presented to the public as original products. It seems that everyone copies everyone and nobody admits anything. Or craftsmen are aware of this pattern circulation but do not seem to give it too much attention, except for Pop Ion who even if declares that he is not bothered that his patterns are copied, he is the one that stresses the most these aspects of intellectual property. For the start, he respects the intellectual property of others: 'I did not put *lengher* (the sledge with an auto wheel, the brand of Cavnic town) in the bottle because I have a colleague that I respect much and he is the one that does it. It is his pattern. I did not copy anybody because I did not have whom to copy'. In exchange: 'the colleagues copied me as much as they could'. Of all the group Pop Ion is the one that creates more coherently an identity of a pattern creator. Some of them were not copied

by anyone: 'The swing, I did not see at any colleagues the swing yet. The skier I haven't seen it at any colleagues'.

And so, our craftsmen who all started their artisan career by making ladder and reel, that is by copying the pattern in use, become in their turn creators of patterns either under the impulse of their own inventivity or to respond to the request of the market, patterns that generalize and become a sort of common good.

The Product Algorithm

And now we should see at least briefly which are the stages of making a miniature in a bottle. The working algorithm seems pretty simple: the miniature is done firstly on the bench work, then it is disassembled and reassembled piece by piece inside the bottle. This process apparently simple takes an infinity of knowledge and abilities necessary for the artisan to transform a banal wood piece in a little miniature inside a bottle. The process is not simple at all and sometimes is doom to failure as Pop Ion experienced with his first wheel mill with 'four blades' that should have rotated inside the bottle. Following the wood dilatation from soaking into alcohol, the wheel refused to rotate to the craftsman despair who only latter figured out how to solve the problem. The wood property to dilate at humidity, which is the 'binding' of all miniatures assembled in the bottle, becomes a problem in the case of those who have mobile parts.

As I was saying there are no adhesives used for assemblage, all bindings are on 'plugging', that is they are plugged one into the other and the dilatation fix them firmly. Besides, any adhesive would be used it would be dissolved in alcohol, because the native specific of this type of artisanry is making bottles (with miniatures) filled with local horinca (double distilled brandy). Such bottles are always offered as

gifts on different occasions. Or the fact that these bottles are filled with an alimentary products complicates things. And so we get to the wood used to make the miniatures. Some wood essences can change the taste and color of the alcohol and consequently they are recommended or forbidden precisely for these reasons. Most craftsmen we are talking about here are using sycamore that has a neutral color, 'white' but that in time, Pop Ion assure us, is slightly modifying the color of the alcohol: 'in one month after filling it with horinca, it gets to the color of champagne'. The lime is also neutral. The cherry tree instead 'you cannot put that because that is a wood that throws all the color' (Dumitru Matei). In other words it colors too powerfully. Or on the contrary, just for these qualities 'one can use the plum wood that has an extraordinary tannin. In half a day you might not see the work in the bottle if it is hot outside for example, at a wedding. It colors the brandy extremely powerful, it makes it from the light till the dark red. The cherry colors pretty much. The mulberry colors that much too. The locust tree colors too' (Pop Ion). Under these circumstances the art of the craftsman consists in combining the different wood essences so as the final product get pleasant color and taste. Because yes, it is not just the color of the liquid but also its taste: the cherry wood, 'gives a sweet taste , an aroma' to the alcohol (Pop Ion). Dumitru Matei explains his technique: 'If I made a fountain/well, I can make the bucket from plum wood and then the brandy colors, or from cherry wood'. Pop Ion the same, to some patterns makes only the basic cross from 'cherry wood and they give a yellowish color in about two-three days'.

The final product is conditioned not just by the wood essence that the miniatures are made from but also by the recipient, more exactly by the dimension and form of the

bottle. Because 'there are bottles that ask their pattern. So you cannot put any pattern in any bottle, because it is not right' (Pop Ion). For example 'a gate asks for a plain, wide bottle' and the bottle type violin is ideal for a pattern with two mobile wheels (Pop Ion). This mutual conditioning between miniature and the shape of the bottle leads to the extreme situation where in the case of lack of an adequate bottle one gives up to a certain pattern. Mitu Ardelean remembers that in his case the most complex patterns were the motorcycles that he stopped doing 'for three years because they were assembled in some long bottle from Indigo⁴ and they are no longer making those bottles where a motorcycle would fit. They were like a necked vessel (...) and not even the moroșeneasca gate (he doesn't make) because it does not look good in other bottles'. For about few years all craftsmen bemoan the lack of some bottles on the market, usually from import (Republic of Moldavia or Ukraine). Under these circumstances the artisans adapt by recuperating bottles from Jack Daniels whisky where for example Mitu Ardelean assembles Maramureș gates.

Another aspect we should underline is that the final product of our craftsmen is a bottle with a miniature inside that is sold in almost all cases empty even if as a gift the bottle will always be offered with alcohol. There are many reasons for the craftsmen not selling the bottles filled: because the final product would be more expensive and so harder to access, but also because they do not assume the risk to displease the clients with the quality of the alcohol. To such a present/gift the aesthetic aspect of the bottles and the miniatures inside counts just as much as the quality of alcohol. The craftsmen assume only the responsibility for the aesthetic part of the product which is their masterpiece.

⁴ Indigo.com.ro – website specialized in selling wedding accessories.

If the craftsmen sell the bottles empty the miniature inside must be fixed through moistening. That it is done through a short immersion in alcohol or even water. The water can create problems because in a long time interval the wood can rot. And then even those who 'swell' the patterns with water, they would rinse them with alcohol in the end. Anyway the first alcohol filled in the bottle with miniatures is compromised: 'the first brandy that is filled over the miniature gets a bad wooden taste and it is not good' (Dumitru Matei).

Artistic Identities and Economic Symbioses

We saw somewhere above that our craftsmen are big fans of the hand made products. And under these conditions beside some patters that can be specific till one point for a certain artisan, there are small features of the miniature and of the final product that can be associated with one craftsman. In other words, each craftsman has his own style, easily recognizable by the other 'colleagues'. Pop Ion recognizes from the first look who made the bottle by 'the way that work is done; I know by the way the rope is tied on the bottle'.

The group of the four artisans that I am talking about despite the friendship and collegial relations they display, is structured on collaborations and complicities but also on competition and rivalries. The group is not that homogenous as it displays because in the end they fight to conquer a limited market. And in Cavnica the competition is tough. And since we are talking about the market I should define better who are the buyers of these products. As I was saying somewhere above the bottles with miniatures are offered always as gifts on diverse occasions. Manole Cosmin offered a bottle with miniatures right this year on March 1st to some godsons. They were invited at them for dinner and offered them a bottle. It is the standard gift of Maramureş socializing

as he confessed: 'Here if you go on someone's name day, to something, you go with a bottle of brandy; you don't go with a plastic bottle, you take a bottle and put inside a miniature and that has it for a life time. For Maramureș people it is the bottle with *horinca* of the house'. But the precious gift – alcohol and its aesthetic recipient – irrigate not only the local social relations but make any social relation fluid, it is the main role of the gift of any kind. And if we remain in the field of the ritual gift we have to remind that a significant part of bottle with miniatures market is offered recently at weddings, precisely the gift to the godparents, and to the participants who when at departure they get a small package with sweets and alcohol. Or, these small bottles with 250–300 ml of alcohol have now in many cases a miniature, usually a ladder inside. Weddings offer big orders of even 200–300 such gift bottles. A significant part of bottle with miniature offer is bought by the tourists attracted by the ski slopes of Cavnic. Besides at least two of our craftsmen have market points in the ski slope area and the main hotel. In fact through social media and the possibilities of promotion on these channels the market becomes national and our artisans develop selling strategies adapted to these means. Except for Dumitru Matei, they all promote their products on personal Facebook pages or personal websites or sell on big online market websites, like OLX.ro There are also ways of promotion and selling the products well identified by one of our artisans: 'Manole Cosmin is with the Cluj people' (Mitu Ardelean) that means that he participate to all the traditional craftsmen fairs organized by the county councils all over the country. And it is also he who has a permanent stand of products in Cavnic where he sells only his products, in theory. In reality he sells also other people's products, such as of Dumitru Matei who, we remember, is making bottles

with miniatures only occasionally. Besides, the practice of selling through middlemen is quite common. Preda Gherghie who does not make constantly bottles with miniatures, when he has such orders he buys the product from the 'colleagues' in Căvnic and resells it. Some of our craftsmen have true networks of 'collaborators' that identify orders in their own names and then obtain the product from the craftsman they are associated with. These networks of promotion and selling directly or through third persons are extremely interesting and would deserve a research study of their own.

With this selling in his own name of other people's products, fact condemned by some 'colleagues' we enter the controversial field of fakes that, Pop Ion assures us are not missing in this practice. The most common way to cheat in this field consists in cutting the bottle in order to introduce the pattern inside ready assembled, fact that annuls the whole prestige of the craftsman: 'Dumitru Matei, but not only him, as also Manole, they cut the bottle, they stuck the toy in the bottle; they make the bottom with rope, down there so as one cannot see where the cut is... You will never see at these colleagues a bottle with alcohol or with water inside, because it will pour' (Pop Ion). In the case of these fakes, the alcohol becomes like the litmus paper that tells the truth: it would dissolve the adhesive used to stick the bottle or the one used to fix the miniature: 'I have colleagues like this that you tell me about, I will not say their name, who stuck with aracet⁵ so as to fix the pattern inside the bottle and the moment when somebody bought the bottle and poured brandy, the brandy whitened. And one lady came to me and said that she bought for her husband's birthday a bottle and «look, the brandy whitened... Why, why?» «Look, this is... I give you

⁵ Aracet – wood adhesive based on polivinyl acetate. The aracet is the most popular adhesive for wood.

a bottle with brandy and see if it whitens» So, one should not do such a thing!’ (Pop Ion).

And so we end our short journey into the world of artisans making bottles with miniatures in Căvnic. An extremely interesting universe and completely ignored by the contemporary ethnological research.

Romanian ethnology, or, let us not be unfair, a great part of it, still captive in the mirage of identitary traditionalism ignores most of the times the contemporary social phenomena. Such an example would be exactly the universe of contemporary artisans⁶ that claim to taking forward old craft traditions but who in fact re-invent tradition, adapt it to the shapes and needs of the contemporary world. And it is normal to be this way. Thus, a product, appeared seemingly from eighteenth century in the mining world in Great Britain and adapted later towards the end of the century in entire Western Europe under the spectacular and highly known shape of the sailing ships assembled in bottles⁷, gained a specific national shape; that of bottles with wood miniatures offered as gifts. This way a local social practice – gifts consisting in alcohol – meets and merges with another of aesthetic type of Western origin.

My research is just unveiling the richness of this social universe extremely dynamic that undoubtedly deserves the attention of the contemporary ethnologist.

⁶ The most interesting researches upon contemporary artisanry are owed to Marin Constantin. See Marin Constantin, *Artizanatul țărănesc din România anilor 2002–2008* (București: Etnologica, 2008) and Paul H. Stahl, Marin Constantin, *Meșterii țărani români* (București: Tritonic, 2004).

⁷ <https://journalofantiques.com/features/the-wonderful-word-of-bottle-whimsies>, accessed in 4 mai 2021.

List of photos⁸

1. Pattern: motorcycle.
2. Pattern: mill wheel.
3. Workshop: a miniature of a gate before assembling in the bottle.
4. Workshop: a gate already assembled in the bottle.
5. Workshop: a violin.
6. A craftman's workshop.
7. Workshop: two patterns – the violin and the sweep well.
8. Bottles with miniatures gate.
9. Workshop: a Maramureş gate.
10. Workshop: miniature on the benchwork.

⁸ The photos are taken from the Facebook pages of the four craftsmen we are talking about in this study. We cannot offer links to each image because I protected the craftsmen's identity by changing their real names with fictitious ones. Consequently, each image will be accompanied only by a short description.

Photos

1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



Palynka and Palyncharstvo in the Life of the Population in Transcarpathia (an Attempted Historical and Anthropological Analysis)

Pavlo Leno

Introduction

Palynka¹ is an important element of everyday and festive life of Transcarpathians, and private palyncharstvo promotes tourism, although in general the region is better known for wine. Traditionally, fruit distillates are more common here, but farmers are actively mastering the grain distillate production, which opens new prospects for the development of local distilling. As one of my informants put it, “Palynka was distilled, is being distilled and will be distilled!”. With this short phrase, he wanted to say that home distillation – palyncharstvo – was practiced even during its official ban, and also that it will not disappear in the future. From the expression it may seem that the local traditions of home distillation have ancient roots. In fact, this is not entirely true, but still the story of its appearance is interesting and quite unexpected. In general, the purpose of this essay is the history of palynka making, as well as the analysis of the socio-cultural phenomenon of palynka in Transcarpathia.

¹ Palynka is a product of distillation, i.e., a strong alcoholic beverage of mainly fruit origin.

Terminology

First of all, it is necessary to define the concepts – in the Ukrainian scientific or fiction literature, the activity of producing strong distillates is called “vynokurinnia” or “guralnytstvo” (distilling). However, in Transcarpathia there circulate other terms². The majority of the region’s population traditionally calls the distillation product: *palynka* (Ukrainian-Ruthenians), *palinka* (Hungarians), *palenka* (Slovaks). In the east of the region, in Rakhiv district, the word ‘*horivka*’ is used; in some settlements of Tyachiv and Khust districts it is called ‘*zorilka*’ or ‘*zorivka*’ ‘*zgorivka*’, ‘*coralka*’. Etymologically, these are the most commonly used terms: *horivka* and *palynka* come from the verbs ‘*hority*’ (to burn) and ‘*palyty*’ (to smoke), which means both the process of producing strong distillates, i.e., burning, smoking, and the ability of the product to burn due to high alcohol content. Since the most common word is *palynka*, so in this text we use it, as well as its derivatives: *palyncharstvo* (type of activity), *palynchar* (distiller), *palyncharnia* (place or device for making / distilling *palynka*). In addition, there will be sometimes used the terms ‘*samohon*’ (moonshine) and ‘*samohonovarinnia*’ (bootlegging) to denote home-made *palynka* making, which were spread during the Soviet period. In addition to the above-mentioned terms, there are other occasional names of this product: ‘*krumpliiovka*’, ‘*hrushivka*’, ‘*dychkivka*’, ‘*shyvovysia*’, ‘*tyrkylianka*’, ‘*nadraholia*’, etc. – depending on the raw material from which the *palynka* is made or local variants of its name.

² Й. Дзендзелівський, *Лінгвістичний атлас українських народних говорів Закарпатської області України (лексика). Частина I* (Ужгород : Друкарня Ужгородського держуніверситету, 1958), map 61.

Review of Publications and Analysis of the Prospects for Anthropological Research

The traditions of palynka distilling in Transcarpathia were not sufficiently covered in the pages of a separate publication. Local scholars have considered this topic mainly as part of a broader study. In particular, palynka is mentioned in ethnographic narratives in the context of a traditional wedding ceremony³ or economic development of the region in the early modern or modern period⁴. The sources contain information about palynka as part of the ritual life of the peasants⁵, information about the production of distillates and rectified spirits in the Hungarian or Czechoslovak period of Transcarpathia⁶. There are known observations of foreigners about the spread of drunkenness among the local population, or the abuse of bartenders, who lent palynka to drunkards, and then took away their land to repay their debts⁷. Similar rhetoric is also observed in folklore sources,

³ Михайло Тиводар, *Етнографія Закарпаття : історико-етнографічний нарис* (Ужгород : «Гражда», 2011).

⁴ Олександр Мицюк, *Нариси з соціально-господарської історії Підкарпатської Русі. Т. 1. До другої чверти XVI в.* (Ужгород: Друкарня «Новіна», 1936) ; Олександр Мицюк, Т. II. *Доба феодально-кріпацька (від другої чверті XVI до половини XIX)* (Прага : друкарня Р. Грдлічки, 1938); І.Шульга, *Соціально-економічне становище Закарпаття в другій половині XVIII ст.* (Ужгород, 1962); І.Шульга, *Соціально-економічні відносини і класова боротьба на Закарпатті в кінці XVIII – першій половині XIX ст.* (Львів, 1965).

⁵ Юрій Жаткович, *Етнографический очерк угро-русских* (Ужгород : «Мистецька лінія», 2007).

⁶ Северинь Рон, “Промышленность Подкарпатской Руси вь годах 1919 – 1936,” in *Подкарпатская Русь за годы 1919 – 1936* (Ужгород, 1936).

⁷ Е. Еган, *Hospodarske stav rusinskych venkovani v Uhrach / Економічне положенє руських селян в Угорщині.* (Praha, «Rolnicke tiskárny», 1922); Kozminova Amalie. *Podkarpatska Rus. Prace a zivot lidu.* (Ужгород : Приватна друкарня Романа ПОВЧа, 2007).

in particular fairy tales, where a village innkeeper usually acts as a negative character. In general, most of the papers and works available for analysis are characterized by the typical condemnation of palynka, despite the fact that it has also played a positive role in the life of Transcarpathians in recent centuries. In particular, in many samples of folklore⁸ it is noticeable that they do not reflect it in an exclusively negative way. Emphasizing the significant harm from the abuse of this drink and condemning drunkards and their antisocial behaviour, folk wisdom also shows that palynka in the life of ordinary people was a means of regulating social tension or a necessary element of leisure in both festive and everyday life.

The Tasks of the Research

In general, palynka and palyncharstvo need balanced approaches in their study in order to avoid biased and exclusively negative judgments. Accordingly, this paper is an attempt to reveal the significance of palynka in the life of the population of the region using anthropological methods (personal observation, interview method, photo and video recording, etc.). Structurally, the article consists of two parts: historical and anthropological. The first part makes a retrospective review of the emergence and development of palynka distilling in the region. The second part focuses on the Soviet period, because it was then that domestic palynka distilling flourished in the villages, despite the official policy of banning this type of activity. The second half of the article describes the main types of palyncharnia distilleries (moonshine machines), the raw material base of this activity, local traditions of making palinka. There is also explored the

⁸ Юрій Чорі, *Слово – не полова (Закарпатські народні прислів'я, приповідки, приказки...)*. Частина III, том I-II. (Ужгород : Поличка «Карпатського краю», 1995).

role of palynka and palyncharstvo in the social, cultural and economic life of the local population.

The Source Database

A retrospective part of the paper is informed by the above-mentioned scientific publications. The main part exploits folklore, oral materials and photo-visual sources, which were collected in the anthropological field – the Transcarpathian settlements of all administrative districts and all ethnographic groups of the region in recent years. The narrators comprised the people of almost a century old, that is, their personal memories and stories cover the period of virtually the entire twentieth century.

History and Sociology of Transcarpathian Palynka Distilling

The production of alcoholic beverages has a long tradition in Transcarpathia. A glance at the map of winemaking⁹ makes it noticeable that the territory of the region is located on the border of wine and brewing crops distribution in Central and Eastern Europe. Barley, as the main component necessary for brewing, was not spread in Transcarpathia due to the specific features of the climate, heavily forested lands, so it is not surprising that brewing was not developed there. At the same time, the southern valley areas of the region received sufficient solar heat, and the local terroir is favourable for vines. As a result, viticulture and winemaking have been developing here since pre-Christian times. First of all, there should be mentioned the Dacians¹⁰, who were admirers of wine, as mentioned by their contemporary Strabo¹¹. This

⁹ Мошер, *Смак пива* (Львів : «Видавництво Старого Лева», 2018), 214.

¹⁰ Мицюк, *Нариси* (1936) 151–152.

¹¹ Страбон, *География* (Ленинград : Наука, 1964), 278.

is confirmed by archaeological findings of their culture in Transcarpathia. In particular, a garden knife, a ritual vessel in the shape of a ram (*See photo No 1*), as well as craters and cantoros (*See photos No 2, 3, 4*) for wine from a Dacian settlement near the villages of Mala Kopania and Luzhanka¹².

There was beekeeping in the region, but honey did not become the basis for producing strong drinks. Therefore, for a long time, wine remained apparently the only type of alcoholic beverage playing an important role in social and economic life. For example, in the late Middle Ages there was a tax paid by barrels of wine, which is mentioned in one of the first local historical narratives. The author talks about the vineyards, which were received by the nobility for their merits, were endowed to the church representatives and were owned by common people¹³.

The alcoholic monopoly of wine disappeared with the development of palynka distilling and brewing, which appeared in Transcarpathia in the form of lordly manufactories not later than the beginning of the XVII century¹⁴. However, it can be assumed that palyncharstvo could have spread here much earlier. On the European territory, alcohol distillation first existed in the form of primitive “korchazhny distillery”, which was recorded in the late of the 14th century - first half of the 15th century. A large and deep ceramic vessel, known as “*korchaha*” (territory of former Rus) “*Krug*” (Germany), “*Krog*” (Sweden), was used to make alcohol from sugar-containing washes. In German and Swedish languages, these

¹² Котигорошко, *Верхнє Потисся* (Ужгород : «Карпати», 2008), 192.

¹³ Лучкай, *Історія* (Ужгород : «Закарпаття», 2003), 13, 50–51, 54, 88.

¹⁴ *Нариси* (Ужгород : «Госпрозрахунковий відділ редакційно-видавничий відділ Закарпатського обласного управління по пресі», 1993), 86.

words also mean “*pub, inn, tavern*”, and the word “*korchaha*” (*inn*) came from the word “*korchma*” (*inn*)¹⁵.

Linguistic and archaeological sources testify in favour of the assumption about the existence of primitive palyncharstvo in Transcarpathia. In particular, the material from the excavations contains many ancient “*korchahas*”, which are suitable in form for ‘*korchazhne palyncharstvo*’ (See photos No 5, 6). Ceramic vessels of a similar shape were used in Transcarpathia until quite recently – the middle of the twentieth century. On the other hand, there still exists a common vessel called “*korchaha*”, which is used exclusively for storage or transportation of alcoholic beverages, especially wine (See photo No 7, 8). It is also interesting that the above-mentioned institutions for the production and sale of “*korchaha wine*”, i.e., inns, functioned in Transcarpathia not so long ago – on the eve of the Second World War.

Primitive “*korchazhne palyncharstvo*” did not last long. They were replaced by manufactory palyncharnias, which had more advanced equipment and advanced technology for the production and distillation of alcoholic beverages. A well-known researcher of the economic development of the region noted that the number of distilleries, which were in the magnate’s, lord’s or state property during the 17th–18th centuries, were constantly growing because they brought a stable income. For example, although there were enough vineyards in the vicinity of Uzhhorod, in 1780 there was a brewery and a distillery in the city¹⁶. The popularity of palynka among the public at large was constantly growing, due to its affordability compared to other types of alcoholic beverages, including wine.

¹⁵ Похлебкин, *История водки (IX – XX вв.)* (Москва : Интер-Версо, 1991), 68–69.

¹⁶ Мицюк, *Нариси* (1938), 189.

The urban reform of Empress Maria Theresa, which was carried out in 1767, confirmed the lord's right to distil palynka. However, the lords, under the terms of the "drinking benefit", could give permission to "keep the cauldron" to the serfs (peasants-tenants). A tax was paid for exercising this right – 2 florins annually¹⁷. This was not a very large sum, and, therefore, at the beginning of the 19th century, small palynchars operated in most settlements of the region¹⁸. They could cook palynka for their needs in any quantity, which they successfully did until the middle of the century, making mostly slyvovytzia (plum brandy). We can find information about this in the local urban materials¹⁹.

Unlike small distilleries, manufactory distilleries then used more profitable raw material – rye. In the second half of the XVIII century, no less than 46% of bread of local origin was exported, as well as for brewing or distilling²⁰, which acquired the character of mass production. Starting from 1830–40, potatoes became the basis for the production of palynka. In addition to grain and potatoes, palynka was made from wine pomace and horticultural products. The growing popularity of fruit distillates is evidenced by the fact that as early as in 1819, 13 barrels of plum palynka²¹ were distilled into Baron Pereni's palyncharnia, although in the first half of the 19th century horticulture in Transcarpathia has not yet gained industrial scale.

In the middle of the 19th century, as a result of a technical revolution, the economic development of the region

¹⁷ Ibidem, 149.

¹⁸ Ibidem, 267–268.

¹⁹ For example, the 1777 urbarium from the village of Izki testifies that any inhabitant can brew and sell beer or palinka. See *Свідчення Изки* in *Удварі, Русинські жерела* (Nyiregyhaza : «SZANTO», 2005), 33.

²⁰ Шульга, *Соціально-економічне*, 33.

²¹ *Нариси*, 200.

accelerated and the role of agricultural processing grew. At the same time, the material and technical base of large distilleries was improved: steam boilers, measuring devices, mechanical dishwashers, and crushing machines were introduced. The magnate, Count Schönbörn had the most modernized palyncharnias. They were located in the following settlements: Chynadiievo, Zahattia, Poliana, Strabychovo, Mukachevo, Berehovo, Pidhoriany, Nyzhni Veretsky. One of them was owned by the Mukachevo monastery, several large ones were owned by Barons Gilani and Pereni²². They provided a stable income to the owners. In particular, in 1842 only one of Baron Pereni's distilleries produced 20,368 litres of palynka and 25,666 litres of spirits²³.

During the 1820s and 1840s, the number of local distilleries increased to 270 due to small rural manufactories. The total volume of alcohol production in the middle of the XIX century amounted to 300 thousand litres²⁴, while the population of the region was about half a million people²⁵. Alcohol was sold in taverns and markets in the region, as well as partially exported to neighbouring countries. The mentioned number of local distilleries seems to be significant, but in comparison with Ukraine, where at the beginning of the XIX century there were 7839 distilleries²⁶, this number doesn't look too impressive.

²² Шульга, *Соціально-економічні*, 141–142.

²³ *Нариси*, 198.

²⁴ Шульга, *Соціально-економічні*, 142.

²⁵ According to the official census in 1869 there were 597 thousand people. See Олег Мазурок, "Передмова," in Жаткович Ю. *Етнографический очерк угро-русских*, ed. by Олег Сергійович Мазурок (Ужгород : «Мистецька лінія», 2007), 8.

²⁶ В.Я. Гончарук, "Правове регулювання виробництва алкогольних напоїв в Україні у другій половині XIX ст.," *Вісник університету внутрішніх справ*, Vol 10 (2000), 165.

In 1849, a new taxation was introduced in the Habsburg Empire, which made the operation of small distilleries unprofitable. As a result, there was almost nothing left of them in the 1980s²⁷, as it became cheaper to buy palynka in Jewish taverns. The latter sold the products of large distilleries, which were focused on the mass production of alcoholic beverages from potatoes. The law of 1888 tried to restore rural palyncharstvo. It provided tax incentives for small village distilleries²⁸, but this did not lead to their revival in previous quantities, as they could not compete with large producers of alcoholic beverages.

At the same time the legislation set requirements for product quality. According to the law of 1888 it was controlled not only at the level of alcohol production²⁹, but also at the places of their bottling and sale. Oral recollections³⁰ witness that at the beginning of the 20th century, when alcohol was brought to inns, Hungarian gendarmes had the right to go in without warning and check how many degrees it had been diluted. In order to catch unscrupulous innkeepers, they arranged with someone from the street for him to buy a 'detsa' (100 ml.) of palynka, and only then did they come in and check it with an alcohol meter.

In the nineteenth century drunkenness spread around the country, which was evidenced by the existence of sobriety societies and official reports³¹. Although there was no propination law in Transcarpathia, under which the population was forced to buy alcoholic beverages, the affordability of palynka influenced the spread of this social

²⁷ Мицюк, *Нариси* (1938), 267.

²⁸ Гончарук, "Правове," 170.

²⁹ Ibidem, 170.

³⁰ Oral testimony. Recorded on October 23, 2014 in the village of Turia Paseka from V.F. Barna, born in 1936.

³¹ Еган, *Hospodarske*, 14.

disease. There should be noted a traditionally negative attitude of the rural community to drunkards. People tried to influence alcohol-addicts by priests' bans³² or with numerous fasts held steadily by the peasants, during which meat and alcohol were forbidden. In addition, in the nineteenth century, sobriety societies emerged, which set up sobriety crosses near a church or inn. Members of such societies in the presence of others took an oath not to drink, or to drink little. There used to be many such crosses in Transcarpathia³³, but in the Soviet period virtually all of them were destroyed during the atheistic campaign. Of the surviving ones, the most famous is the cross in the village of Bilky, which the villagers received from Pope Pius IX in 1874 (*See photos No 9, 10, 11*).

Palynka in the life of a Transcarpathian peasant was not exclusively a marker of social problems. Contradictory attitudes towards alcohol beverages can be observed in folklore, which reflects the public condemnation of excessive alcohol consumption, but at the same time shows that its moderate drinking does not harm people. It also emphasizes the importance of strong drinks as a regulator of social relations, the mechanism of relaxation and a means of recreation and leisure³⁴.

³² Жаткович, *Етнографический*, 101.

³³ “Мандрівник показав закарпатські «хрести тверезості».” УКРІНФОРМ, accessed on March 20, 2021. <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-tourism/3180040-mandrivnik-pokazav-zakarpatski-hresti-tverezosti.html>

³⁴ Чорі, *Слово*, 374–377.

| Positive or neutral-positive attitude to alcohol | Negative attitude and condemnation of alcohol |
|--|--|
| <p>Паленка магнес має : всіх до себе притягає. <i>Palenka has a magnet: it attracts everyone.</i></p> <p>Вода для гусей, паленка для людей! <i>Water is for geese, palynka is for people!</i></p> <p>Хто не п'є, лем пригубить, того палинка не згубить! <i>Those who do not drink, but just take a sip, won't be ruined by palynka!</i></p> <p>Де паленчина, там і гостина. <i>Where there is palynka, there are celebrations.</i></p> <p>Сливовичка – свята водичка. <i>Slyvovychka is holy water.</i></p> <p>Горівочка – файна тіточка! <i>Horivochka is a fine auntie!</i></p> <p>До винця – шмат сальця, а до палиночки – квасні огірочки. <i>With wine goes a piece of lard, and with palynochka go sour cucumbers.</i></p> <p>Як у вас, так у нас п'ють паленку, а не квас. <i>Like you, we drink palenka, not kvass.</i></p> | <p>Де паленка водиться – п'яниці водяться. <i>Where there is palynka, drunkards are found.</i></p> <p>Хто палинку п'є – довго не живе! <i>Whoever drinks palynka does not live long!</i></p> <p>Палиночка-кума, хоч кого зведе з ума! <i>Palynochka-godmother will drive anyone crazy!</i></p> <p>Палинку пити – душу губити <i>To drink palynka means to lose one's soul.</i></p> <p>Хто палинку випиває, од палинки й помирає. <i>He who drinks palinka dies from palinka.</i></p> <p>Палинка лем біду глядять! <i>Palynka only calls for trouble!</i></p> <p>Вино і паленка – шалять челядника! <i>Wine and palynka fool a man!</i></p> <p>Палинкою не можна душу одмити, лем ще більше змастити. <i>You can't wash your soul with palynka, but only soil it even more.</i></p> |

The semiotic analysis of words and phrases used in the above proverbs is not part of this study. But even a superficial look attracts attention to using family terms such as “auntie”, “godmother”, or affectionate phrases “slyvovychka”, “palynochka”, which give the expressions of folk wisdom emotionally positive colour in relation to the realities depicted in them.

Ethnographic essays by local author Yu. Zhatkovych (1855–1920) inform that in the XIX century palynka was an essential attribute of wedding ceremonies or baptisms, and was also used as a remedy³⁵. Palynka was given to women in labour after childbirth to make it easier for her and she “cleared” faster. Alcoholic drinks were used as a prophylactic treatment during the period of “Spanish flu” epidemic or other diseases³⁶. The popularity of palynka among the common people was due to its relative affordability and accessibility, in contrast to the wine, which only nobility i.e., wealthy people could afford³⁷.

During the Czechoslovak period in the 1920s, there were 16 distilleries in the region, producing 5.6. thousand hectolitres of alcohol. Potatoes, wheat, as well as beets and barley were used as raw materials³⁸. The legislation set a quota for palynka at 5,000 hectolitres per year, but there was produced much more. For example, in the 1930s, three factories in Uzhhorod, Mukachevo and Sevlush (modern-day Vynohradiv) distilled 14 hectolitres of alcohol annually. In addition to large factories, there were small rural

³⁵ Жаткович, *Етнографический*, 99–109; 110.

³⁶ Male, age 70, Cherna, July 17, 2020.

³⁷ Жаткович, *Етнографический*, 129.

³⁸ В.І. Ілько et al., “Промисловість Закарпаття в 20-х роках,” in *Нариси історії Закарпаття. Т.2 (1918–1945)*, ed. by Ivan Hrachak (Ужгород : Вид-во «Закарпаття», 1995), 161.

palyncharnias, which in the 1920s produced 1.2 thousand hectolitres of slyvovytsia (plum brandy)³⁹.

In the interwar period, palynka was still delivered to village inns, where an average resident could purchase it from a Jewish innkeeper. Inns usually traded not only in booze, but, according to oral recollections, local fans of booze brought a snack with them, or sent somebody home to fetch it⁴⁰. Most residents of the region, except for alcoholic addicts, then drank alcohol in moderate amounts and at the same time not very often. The traditional drinking culture stipulated consuming one small bottle of strong alcohol throughout the evening (*See photo № 12*). This took place mainly on religious holidays or occasionally on Sundays, not necessarily during Lent. With this bottle, a group of men (women did not drink in taverns) could sit all evening. They poured it into small 'shtamperlyky' / 'poharchyky' (cups) with very thick walls. Such a vessel contained 10–20 ml of drink⁴¹. The feast lasted all evening with conversations and dances⁴².

In this period, as in previous times, some foreigners noted that the inhabitants of mountainous regions (including Mizhhirya) suffered from palynka abuse, which ruined their talents and national character⁴³. This is not surprising as the mountainous areas remained depressed from an economic point of view, which exacerbated social ills. The narrators recollected the cases when people squandered all their property on drink, and then lived in the woods in their own hand-made dugouts⁴⁴. The rural population treated

³⁹ Ibidem, 161.

⁴⁰ Male, age 86, Bilky, August 26, 2020.

⁴¹ Ibidem.

⁴² Male, age 81, Uzhhorod, August 2016.

⁴³ Kozminova, *Podkarpatska*, 94.

⁴⁴ Male, age 89, Pryborjavske, August 13, 2020.

them with contempt and tried to combat this phenomenon. The book by the famous ethnographer Fedir Potushnyak (1910–1960), which analyses the Ukrainians' life and mode of living in Transcarpathia of that period, provides the phrase that for them drinking bouts were a common thing⁴⁵. For the modern reader, spoiled by the availability and wide range of cheap alcohol and who does not understand the context of the situation described in the book, this can be misleading and lead to incorrect conclusions. The scientist meant that alcohol was not uncommon in the life of the region's dwellers, but he did not mean total drunkenness. This is confirmed by recollections and oral testimonies of the interwar period, according to which the majority of the male population consumed alcoholic beverages in moderate doses.

Before moving on to the Soviet period and modernity, let us summarise the historical (retrospective) part of the paper. Palyncharstvo in Transcarpathia appeared in the form of a primitive "korchazhne distillery", but became widespread in the form of a lordly manufactory for profit. Already in the XIX century, it became an important component of the region's economy. Palynka quickly gained popularity among the most numerous and at the same time the poorest stratum – the peasants, who could not afford a gentleman's drink – wine⁴⁶. Palynka was used as an element of rituals, as medicine or during treats, mainly on religious or family holidays. The peasants did not own distilleries and did not sell the drink. The former required material and technical equipment, which in the conditions of traditional society

⁴⁵ Федір Потушняк, "Закарпатська українська етнографія. Значення, історіографія, завдання, проблеми та їх вирішення, елементи та їх розміщення," in Тиводар М.П. *Життя і наукові пошуки Федора Потушняка* (Ужгород: «Гражда», 2005), 204.

⁴⁶ Жаткович, *Етнографический*, 129.

and the appropriate level of material culture⁴⁷ was not available to ordinary residents of the region. The peasants did not want to engage in the sale of palynka because of the conservative belief that trade is not a decent occupation for a decent person⁴⁸. As a result, until the middle of the twentieth century, they were consumers of distillery products, while the niche of alcohol traders was traditionally occupied by Jewish innkeepers. Some change took place during World War II. As a result of the Holocaust, local Jews who ran inns and shops were exterminated. The peasants tried to solve the natural shortage of goods that arose at the end of the war by smuggling, in particular, they could go to neighbouring Romania for alcohol⁴⁹.

Anthropology of Palyncharstvo in the Soviet and Contemporary Periods

More radical socio-economic changes took place during the Soviet period (1944–1991). Modernization, industrialization and the creation of collective farms have strongly influenced the traditional rural society of Transcarpathia. It was then that domestic palyncharstvo arose and flourished, and palynka became the subject of payment for services or goods and an element of daily life. The following pages are devoted to the anthropological analysis of this process and phenomenon.

During 1944–46, Transcarpathia became part of the Soviet Union. One of the first steps of the new communist government was the nationalization of enterprises that produced alcoholic beverages⁵⁰. The state has become a

⁴⁷ On the eve of the twentieth century the dishes of the villagers in the region were mostly simple ceramic and wooden.

⁴⁸ Жаткович, *Етнографический*, 131.

⁴⁹ Male, age 86, Bilky, August 26, 2020.

⁵⁰ Міщанин, *Радянізація*, 128.

monopolist in this area, which had not happened in the history of the region before. At the same time, the government was interested in increasing the level of alcohol consumption by the population, as it guaranteed the budget revenues. The responsibility of the authorities for this process was perfectly reflected in the speech of Joseph Stalin at the XIV Congress of the CPSU (b) in 1925, an excerpt from which is included in the references⁵¹.

In addition to financial reasons, there were other factors that increased the popularity of alcohol in the life of the region. For example, *"the front 100 grams"*⁵² of vodka, which was poured daily during the war to the Red Army soldiers. Among them were many Transcarpathians who were accustomed to a daily serving of alcohol.

The well-known Stakhanov movement, subbotniks, and competitions for the better fulfilment of socialist labour obligations played their role in spreading alcohol. The economic indicators of the country often depended on these actually volunteer activities. Labour enthusiasm, and during the national revolutionary holidays, enthusiasm had to be

⁵¹ "... Two words about one of the sources of the reserve – about vodka. There are people who think that it is possible to build socialism in white gloves. This is a gross mistake, comrades. When we have no loans, when we are poor in capital, and if, moreover, we cannot get enslaved by the Western European capitalists, we cannot accept the enslaving conditions they offer us and which we have rejected, one thing remains: to look for sources in other areas. It's still better than enslavement. Here you have to choose between bondage and vodka, and people who think that it is possible to build socialism in white gloves are sorely mistaken." – See in *"Социализм в белых перчатках не строят."* Livejournal, accessed on March 25, 2021, <https://aizen-tt.livejournal.com/38117.html>

⁵² "Постановление № ГКО-562сс от 22 августа 1941 г. Москва, Кремль «О введении водки на снабжение в Действующей Красной Армии»,» in *Некоторые статистические материалы по истории Второй мировой войны*, accessed on March 19, 2020, http://teatrskazka.com/Raznoe/PostanovGKO/194108/gko_0562.html.

maintained at a high level, which was often achieved through strong drinks, because no mass incentives and motivators other than paper diplomas and medals were invented. As a result, alcohol became commonplace in the daily life of the region, as well as, in principle, in the life of the entire population of the Soviet Union.

Alcoholization of the population coincided in time with the process of collectivization and industrialization of the region, which stimulated the emergence and development of domestic *palyncharstvo*. Forced collectivization and the introduction of wages on the basis of working days in the late 1940's led to the establishment of a *de facto* medieval system of natural exchange and wages. Collective farmers received wheat or other grain as their earnings for the days worked, which they exchanged for other necessary goods or products. However, that grain was often not enough even for their own food needs⁵³, so it is not surprising that in the conditions of state-stimulated alcoholism, a universal product of natural exchange appeared – alcoholic beverages (alcohol, vodka, *palinka* / moonshine), which began to be hand-made. They were used to pay for services, were exchanged for products, sold for money, given as a bribe to solve problems⁵⁴.

More precise information has not yet been found, but oral recollections⁵⁵ showed that rural domestic *palyncharstvo* originated no later than the mid-1940s, and possibly even earlier, on the eve of the war. However, this occupation became widespread only in the 1950s. For this activity,

⁵³ Female, age 79, Verxnye Vodyane, July 15, 2017; Female, age 95, Grushovo, December 1, 2020; Female, age 94, Luh, September 15, 2019; Female, age 85, Verxnij By`stry`j, September 15, 2019.

⁵⁴ Female, age 92, Puznyakivtsi, January 2021; Female, age 73, Puznyakivtsi, January 2021; Female, age 67, Kobyletska Polyana, August 2, 2020; Male, age 50, Kolochava, May 3, 2020; Male, age 86, Bilky, August 26, 2020.

⁵⁵ Female, age 92, Puzniakyvci, January 2021.

self-made distillation (moonshine) devices were used, which were made from improvised materials. The latter became available to the local population as a result of industrial development brought about by the industrialization of the region and its entry into the Ukrainian SSR. There was also an increase in the level of people's education, which increased as a result of the introduction of compulsory 8-year and later 10-year school education. The recipes for fermenting moonshine brew, which the narrators shared, show that the average rural moonshine maker of the second half of the last century had some knowledge of biochemical processes⁵⁶, in particular, the conversion of starch into sugar, which is the basis for alcohol production. For example, if the raw material was potato, then to make it sweet, it was first frozen, and only then fermented brew from which "krumpliovka" was distilled⁵⁷.

Economy of home palyncharstvo. In fact, immediately after the advent of home distilling, its local specialization took place, which depended on the raw material base from which the alcoholic beverage was distilled. The valleys' inhabitants of Transcarpathia, who developed horticultural crops, fruit distillates were widespread, primarily from wild pears, plums, less often apricots or sometimes wine making waste. Hutsuls or Boiky, who live in colder mountainous areas, where long winters and garden culture are not very developed, made palynka from raw materials available to them: grain, sugar, potatoes. They did this more often in the cold season, when there was less work in their fields or on the collective farm.

⁵⁶ Female, age 67, Kobyletska Polyana, August 2, 2020; Male, age 50, Kolochava, May 3, 2020.

⁵⁷ Male, age 70, Grabovo, January 2021.

During 1950s and 1980s, domestic palyncharstvo was actively developing, although there were criminal and administrative liability for the production and / or sale of alcohol-containing products. To avoid fines or other sanctions, palynka was distilled away from the human eye in the woods or in some ravines where firewood and a stream could be found. Such places were used regularly and at least one of them even got its own toponym – “Palynchany yarok”⁵⁸ (literally – Moonshine ravine). Over time, the villages of Transcarpathia had water supply system, were gasified and electrified, and this only facilitated the opportunities for distillers. In such settlements, palynka was distilled at home at night, with windows closed so that the action could not be seen from the outside. Even the intensification of the anti-alcohol campaign⁵⁹ in the mid-1980s failed to stop the spread of home brewing practices in the villages of Transcarpathia. Many people were involved in this activity, despite the possibility of receiving up to 3 years in prison /or with property confiscated. However, in reality such cases were rare, because in the villages the authorities usually only confiscated devices and items related to home-made distilling, destroyed the finished product, and fined their owners⁶⁰, which did not always keep them from continuing their activities. For example, in the village of Puzniakivtsi, according to one resident, if in the 1960s and 1970s there was one moonshine machine per 5–6 houses, then on the eve of the Soviet Union collapse, almost every landlord owned a device.

⁵⁸ Female, age 73, Puznyakivtsi, January 22, 2021.

⁵⁹ “Указ Президії Верховної Ради Української РСР 20 травня 1985 «Про заходи по посиленню боротьби проти пияцтва і алкоголізму, викорененню самогонуваріння»,” Верховна Рада України, офіційний вебпортал парламенту України, accessed on March 23, 2021, <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/280-11#Text>

⁶⁰ Female, age 73, Puznyakivtsi, January 22, 2021.

The reasons for the popularity of rural home distilling were the simplicity and cheapness of this process, as well as the profit it brought. Moonshine was brewed not only by men, but also by women. Palynka was produced for one's own needs and it was much cheaper than buying "kazionka", i.e., ordinary vodka produced by distilling plant. In addition, palynka could be sold or exchanged for services. Many of narrators told a similar story: in the 1960s or 1970s, when a house was built, it was necessary to 'put an aldomash' (a mogorich), i.e., to give food and drink to helpers⁶¹, or pay the workers with palynka or the money earned from its sale. Since sugar was cheap, as well as other raw materials for fermenting alcohol-containing brews, palyncharstvo provided a stable income and supported the peasants, who could not earn too much on collective farms. Palynka not only provided some income; palyncharstvo also existed for pragmatic reasons – in order to preserve products that contained sugar. For example, it was necessary to save a lekvar, or old jam, or compotes or even a tub of wine, which began to ferment to vinegar. Since palynka had no expiration date, it was a way to save certain types of products and get in return a kind of universal currency, which can be presented to relatives in the city, given as payment for services or simply donated.

Moonshine machines and the process of distilling. This part of the article contains the experience of local palynka distillers, which they gained experimentally and which is still used. For a better illustration, the information is accompanied by photos of various devices and the process of home brewing.

Traditionally, local homemade moonshine machines had several basic design options. Some of the samples

⁶¹ Female, age 67, Kobyletska Polyana, August 2, 2020.

photographed are quite old, dating back to 1970s, but there are also modern ones that are made with the help of materials from today's construction supermarkets. The most common was and, in fact, remains so now, the following combination: a cooking pot, a coil and a refrigerator. They differ mainly in material, volume and method of heating (gas, electricity, firewood) (*See photos No 13–20, 30*). Quite often, a 30/50-liter aluminium milk can was used as a cooking pot, which was easy to obtain with the advent of dairy farms on local collective farms. Cans are more convenient to use because they have a lid that closes with a lock (*See photos No 13–15, 17, 21–22*). If necessary, you could do without cans thanks to any pot with a lid (*See photos No 18–20, 23–24*). In order to prevent alcohol from evaporating at the joints (under the lid, in the places of tube insertion) during wash boiling, they were covered with raw dough, which was baked during heating and thus provided the required tightness of the structure (*See photos No 25, 26, 34*).

The function of “kholodnyk”, i.e., a refrigerator, could be performed by any stream, but at home it was more convenient to use a “hornets” (a large vessel) filled with cold water. It had to be changed regularly to keep the temperature low (*See photos No 18–21*). The cooker was connected by means of tubes to a coil (it was mainly a copper spiral), which was placed in the refrigerator (*See photos No 27*). Nowadays, a spiral tube can be purchased without much effort, but previously they were rare. This did not stop the local palynchars, who were able to bend straight tubes to get the right shape. To do this, the pipes were filled with hot sand and then were bent gently⁶². It is believed that any rural ‘hazda’ (head of the household) could make an effective

⁶² Female, age 73, Puznyakivtsi, January 22, 2021.

moonshine machine from improvised materials, especially since iron products and, in particular, pots and tubes were cheap in the Soviet times⁶³. There also existed devices with closed-type refrigerators that required the connection to running water (*See photo No 24, 29–32*). If it was impossible to connect to water, closed refrigerators were immersed in a container with cold water.

Another common type of a moonshine machine is essentially a primitive steam boiler, which consists of the same elements, but the boiler is placed in a larger container with water under which the fire is lit and heated and actually through which the boiler is heated (*See photo № 26, 28*). Assemblies with additional dry steamers were structurally more perfect (*See photos No 16*), as they provided a better-quality product.

The process of wash preparation and the process of its distillation. Raw materials containing sugar served as the basis for kyrynia (the name of “wash” in the local dialect). In warmer regions of Transcarpathia it was made from horticultural fruits: berries, fruits, or jams or compotes. It should be added that in areas where winemaking is widespread, people drink more wine, but they also brew palinka, especially from wine residues or winemaking waste. Where garden crops were not common, flour, grain, potatoes, and sugar were used. The author managed to hear that palyinka was distilled even on the basis of caramel candies⁶⁴, especially in the period when sugar was in short supply and caramels in stores were cheap.

Depending on the raw material, the fermentation process of kyrynia (wash) took place in different ways (*See photo No 33*). Wash based on potatoes, flour or grain fermented faster, especially if baking yeast or bread was

⁶³ Female, age 65, Liuta, January 22, 2021.

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

added there. To speed up fermentation, they could press peas or potatoes, put this mash in a gauze bag and throw it in a pot (container) with *kyrynia*⁶⁵. This brew was ready in one, maximum two weeks. The process of plum fermentation took much longer. In Transcarpathia, a variety of so-called “Bystrytsia plums” was used as a rule. They were crushed and well ground and placed in a large container, ideally a wooden barrel. A hard crust formed on the surface of this *kyrynia* and fermentation could take place from harvesting plums to Christmas⁶⁶. The readiness of the wash was checked by various means: It was lit with a match and observed. If it was burning and did not go out, then it has already fermented and you can distil *palynka*. Visual analysis helped: if the fruit cap settled to the bottom, it was also a signal that the fermentation was over.

Technologically, the distillation process was not complicated. The fermented wash is placed in a cooking pot and gradually heated (*See photo No 34*). During slow boiling, alcohol vapours are released, which, passing through the coil, are cooled and drain in the form of a liquid, which is the desired product (*See photos No 35–36*). By the way, the final quality of the product often depended on the raw material and purpose of *palynka*. *Palinka “for the in-house use”* was usually cooked from the best raw materials, and the one that meant for sale could sometimes be from a less refined base, and it was usually distilled only once. If *palynka* was made “for the in-house use”, it could be distilled twice, cutting off the “heads” and “tails”, i.e., harmful parts that flow at the beginning and end of the process of distillation. Usually fruit *kyrynia*, first of all, that of plum, was distilled twice. After its first distilling, a rather weak “*vutka/vidka*” was obtained.

⁶⁵ Male, age 69, Ny`zhnye Bolotne, September 3, 2020.

⁶⁶ Male, age 78, Onok, July 3, 2018.

It was diluted with water, and a second distilling was made, after which they received “*palynka*”, which had a refined taste and a high degree. The distillation process was constantly monitored, trying to prevent the active boiling of *kyrnia*, as a better and softer product is obtained when *palynka* is distilled longer⁶⁷. Various methods could be used to improve the taste, in particular adding milk, which absorbed harmful odours and fusel oils, and clarified the product.

Homemade devices do not allow obtaining alcohol, i.e., a product with a strength of 97 degrees. When *palynka* begins to flow, the first hundred millilitres have a strength of about 90 degrees, but it cannot be used because it contains acetone, which is distilled faster than alcohol. The strength of the resulting product rarely exceeds 75–80 degrees⁶⁸. It can be diluted to 50–55 degrees, but it is believed that fruit distillates are tastier if they are 65–70 degrees⁶⁹. They will not distil *palynka* to the end, but try to stop the process of product selection at a time when the device outputs at least 45–50 degrees. It is believed that it is better to dilute a stronger product with distilled or boiled water to the desired degree than to distil it to 40 degrees, because in this case it contains a lot of fuel oils, which are harmful to health.

The alcohol content is checked with an alcohol meter, but experienced distillers can determine its level quite accurately by visual analysis or taste. Various types of *palynka* have certain characteristics: for example, plum brandy, which is poured into the pot, and at the same time there are many “*bobulkas*” (air bubbles) on the glass walls, is very strong⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ Female, age 73, Puznyakivtsi, January 22, 2021.

⁶⁸ Male, age 70, Grabovo, January 2021; Female, age 68, Lochovo, December 23, 2020.

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

⁷⁰ Male, age 64, Lavky, July 22, 2020.

The alcohol content of the finished drink is checked by fire: if you drip palynka on the verge and it burns actively, the alcohol content is high, but if it is already “snorting” (i.e., choking) and does not burn, the process must be stopped.

Modernity of Transcarpathian palyncharstvo. In general, there should be acknowledged an interesting fact that home-made palyncharstvo, which appeared in Transcarpathia in the middle of the last century, has become a traditional occupation of the local population for literally one or two generations. It provided additional income and filled with new content informal economic relations in the countryside, the culture of everyday and festive life. At the same time, due to the influence of the Soviet way of life, domestic alcoholism became a part of everyday life. Conservative societal attitudes toward alcohol have moved toward tolerance, although traditional condemnation or even disgust toward chronic alcoholics continues to prevail. This change has generally affected the overall drinking culture. In addition to the actual constant presence and availability of alcohol in the daily life of Transcarpathians, the volume of consumption has changed, both in micro and macro dimensions. Traditional shtamperlyky (10–20 ml. cups) have replaced the more common goblets (50–100 ml. cups), or even hranchaki (100–200 ml. glasses); the annual alcohol consumption per capita increased significantly

In the modern life of many Transcarpathians, palyncharstvo continues to perform the functions that caused its emergence. The economic component of palyncharstvo became especially relevant in the 1990s, when after the collapse of the Soviet Union, many people found themselves without means of subsistence and homemade moonshine machines became almost the only means of survival. At the same time, there was another reason that contributed to the

existence of home brewing – the country spread surrogate vodka, which brought death to many people, and therefore it seemed safer to distil alcohol yourself⁷¹.

Since the mid-1990s, the country's economy has gradually stabilized and at the same time the revival of the local tourism sector has begun, in which palyncharstvo plays a significant role. Many rural distillers continue to make palynka on their own hand-made machines, but those who take part in fairs and serve tourists are increasingly using licensed equipment (*See photos 37–38*). Professional private distillers are gradually legalizing their activities, in particular, the country's first fruit distillate plant, the "First Transcarpathian Palyncharnia"⁷², has officially started operating in Transcarpathia (*See photos 39–40*). However, unfortunately, most of distillers are forced to work semi-legally due to the imperfection of the legal framework full of Soviet remnants.

It can be concluded that this industry has significant prospects, as its products have a wide range of fans. A wide range of fruit distillates are reported to have the best taste qualities, among which "slyvovytsia/'slyvianka" (plum brandy) and "dychkivka/'hrushivka", which have their analogues in other countries, have received general recognition. Local traditions of palynka making can pleasantly surprise with unique products, in particular with a rare drink 'skoroushanka'⁷³ or an anecdotal example of

⁷¹ Male, age 50, Kolochava, May 3, 2020.

⁷² "Палиночка: запрацювала Перша Закарпатська Палинчарня," *Mukachevo.net*, accessed on March 20, 2021, <http://www.mukachevo.net/ua/news/view/368075>.

⁷³ "Де кілька років тому, почув що в Закарпатті існує дивний дистилат – скорушанка," in *Подорожуй. Подорожні нотатки закарпатського мандрівника*, Facebook, March 5, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/podorozhuy/posts/276409613853991>.

palynka from caramel candies. In addition, local distillers are actively experimenting with other types of distillates, trying to replicate the analogues of world-famous brands – whiskey, gin and others. It is worth remembering that palynka continues to play an important role in the life of the population of Transcarpathia, and therefore this socio-cultural phenomenon has scientific potential.

Conclusions

In general, we can identify several main periods of developing palyncharstvo (production of distillates) in Transcarpathia. It has passed the stages of korchazhny, manufactory and industrial commodity production. During the latter, the Soviet government established a state monopoly on producing alcoholic beverages and at the same time stimulated the growth of its consumption by the population. As a result, domestic palyncharstvo was born and flourished in the region, despite the fact that this activity was banned. However, the economic benefits of illegal home distilling were too important a factor for Transcarpathians, as alcoholic beverages became an important means of profit, natural exchange and payment for certain types of work, services or goods. As a result of the above-mentioned factors, for a short period of time, home-made palyncharstvo became a traditional occupation of the local population, which used to be exclusively consumers and not producers of palynka.

Modern Transcarpathian palyncharstvo has a strong potential in the domestic market, which in the conditions of saturation of the alcohol market with low-quality alcoholic beverages can only be pleasant news. However, in order to realize this opportunity, it is necessary to finally solve the problem of this activity legalization and create such tax

conditions that will allow the majority of private farmers to come out of the “shadow”.

Bibliography

Гончарук, В.Я. “Правове регулювання виробництва алкогольних напоїв в Україні у другій половині XIX ст.” *Вісник університету внутрішніх справ*, Vol 10 (2000): 165–171.

“Декілька років тому, почув що в Закарпатті існує дивний дистиллят – скорушанка.” Подорожуй. Подорожні нотатки закарпатського мандрівника, Facebook, March 5, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/podorozhuy/posts/276409613853991>.

Дзендзелівський, Й.О. *Лінгвістичний атлас українських народних говорів Закарпатської області України (лексика). Частина I*. Ужгород : Друкарня Ужгородського держуніверситету, 1958.

Еган, Е. *Hospodarske stav rusinskych venkovani v Uhrach / Економічне положення руських селян в Угорщині*. Praha, «Rolnické tiskárny», 1922.

Жаткович, Юрій. *Етнографический очерк угро-русских*. Ужгород : «Мистецька лінія», 2007.

Ілько В.І., Ілько І.В., Хланта О.В. “Промисловість Закарпаття в 20-х роках.” In *Нариси історії Закарпаття. Т.2 (1918–1945)*, edited by Ivan Hrachak, 155–167. Ужгород : Вид-во «Закарпаття», 1995.

Kozminova, Amalie. *Podkarpatska Rus. Prace a život lidu*. Ужгород : Приватна друкарня Романа ПОВЧА, 2007.

Котигорошко, Вячеслав. *Верхнє Потисся в давнину*. Ужгород : «Карпати», 2008.

Лучкай, Михайло. *Історія карпатських русинів. Том III*. Ужгород : «Закарпаття», 2003.

Мазурок, Олег. “Передмова.” In *Жаткович Ю. Етнографический очерк угро-русских*, edited by Олег Сергійович Мазурок, 8–60. Ужгород, «Мистецька лінія», 2007.

“Мандрівник показав закарпатські «хрести тверезості».” УКРІНФОРМ. Accessed on March 20, 2021. <https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-tourism/3180040-mandrivnik-pokazav-zakarpatski-hresti-tverezosti.html>.

Міщанин, Василь. *Радянізація Закарпаття 1944–1950 рр.* Ужгород : РІК-У, 2018.

Мицюк, Олександр. *Нариси з соціально-господарської історії Підкарпатської Русі. Т. 1. До другої чверти XVI в.* Ужгород : Друкарня : «Новіна», 1936.

Мицюк, Олександр. *Нариси з соціально-господарської історії Підкарпатської Русі. Т. II. Доба феодально-кріпацька (від другої чверти XVI до половини XIX).* Прага : друкарня Р. Грдлічкі, 1938.

Мошер, Ренді. *Смак пива. Інсайдерський путівник у світі найвидатнішого напою людства.* Львів. «Видавництво Старого Лева», 2018.

“Нариси історії Закарпаття. Т.1 (від найдавніших часів до 1918 року).” Edited by Ivan Hranchak, Ужгород : «Госпрозрахунковий відділ редакційно-видавничий відділ Закарпатського обласного управління по пресі», 1993.

“Палиночка: запрацювала Перша Закарпатська Палинчарня.” Mukachevo.net. Accessed on March 20, 2021. <http://www.mukachevo.net/ua/news/view/368075>

Пап, Степан. *Історія Закарпаття, том III.* Івано-Франківськ : «Нова Зоря», 2003.

Постановление № ГКО-562сс от 22 августа 1941 г. Москва, Кремль «Овведении водки на снабжение в Действующей Красной Армии.» In *Некоторые статистические материалы по истории Второй мировой войны.* Accessed on March 19, 2021. http://teatrskazka.com/Raznoe/PostanovGKO/194108/gko_0562.html.

Потушняк, Федір. “Закарпатська українська етнографія. Значення, історіографія, завдання, проблеми та їх вирішення, елементи та їх розміщення.” In *Тиводар М.П. Життя і наукові пошуки Федора Потушняка*, 163–268. Ужгород: «Гражда», 2005.

Похлебкин, В.В. “История водки (IX – XX вв.).” Москва : Интер-Версо, 1991.

Рон, Северинь. *Промышленность Подкарпатской Руси в годах 1919 – 1936.* In *Подкарпатская Русь за годы 1919 – 1936*, 53–56. Ужгород, 1936.

“Социализм в белых перчатках не строят.” Livejournal. Accessed on March 20, 2021. <https://aizen-tt.livejournal.com/38117.html>.

Страбон. *География в 17 книгах*. Ленинград : Наука, 1964.

Тиводар, Михайло. *Етнографія Закарпаття : історико-етнографічний нарис*. Ужгород : «Гражда», 2011.

Удварі, Іштван. *Русинські жерела урбарської реформи Марії Терезії*. Nyiregyhaza : «SZANTO», 2005.

“Указ Президії Верховної Ради Української РСР 20 травня 1985 «Про заходи по посиленню боротьби проти пияцтва і алкоголізму, викорененню самогонваріння.» Верховна Рада України. Офіційний вебпортал парламенту України. Accessed on March 23, 2021. <https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/280-11#Text>.

Чорі, Юрій. *Слово – не полова. Закарпатські народні прислів'я, приповідки, приказки... Частина III, том I-II*. Ужгород : Поличка «Карпатського краю», 1995.

Шульга, І. *Соціально-економічне становище Закарпаття в другій половині XVIII ст.* Ужгород, 1962.

Шульга, І. *Соціально-економічні відносини і класова боротьба на Закарпатті в кінці XVIII – першій половині XIX ст.* Львів, 1965.

List of photos⁷⁴

- 1 – A ritual lamb (1st century CE from the village of Mala Kopania). Photo by Volodymyr Moizhes.
- 2–4 – Kantorosand kraters for wine (1st century BCE – 3–4 centuries BCE from the village of Mala Kopania and Luzhanka). Photo by Volodymyr Moizhes.

⁷⁴ Where the authorship is not noted, the photos by Pavel Leno.

- 5–6 – Korchahy (3rd – 4th centuries BCE from the villages of Mala Kopania and Luzhanka). Photo by Volodymyr Moizhes.
- 7–8 – Modern korchahy for wine.
- 9–11 – A sobriety cross near the church in the village of Bilky. On the cross there are the following inscriptions: “The cross defeated paganism, the cross will overcome drunkenness” and “The monument to the brotherhood of sobriety received from Pope Pius IX in 1874.” Photo by Victor Stynych.
- 12 – A bottle for palynka (interwar period, Kryva village, Tyachiv district). Photo by Vasykotsan.
- 13–14 – A moonshine still from the village of Ilnytsia. Powered by electricity.
- 15 – A moonshine still from the village of Pylypets. Powered by electricity.
- 16 – A moonshine still from the city of Uzhhorod. Powered by gas. It has several dry steamers, which allows getting a better product.
- 17 – A moonshine still from the village of Liuta. Powered by heating on a stove.
- 18 – A moonshine still from the village of Makariiv. It works on an outdoor furnace.
- 19 – A moonshine still from the village of Kushtanovytsia. It works on an outdoor furnace.
- 20 – A moonshine still from the village of Puzniakivtsi. Powered by heating on a stove.
- 21 – A moonshine still from the village of Yasinia: a cooker from a can, a bent copper tube as a coil, a refrigerator from a large vessel for water. Photo by Vasil Bakkai.
- 22 – A cooker: a can with a lid modified for the needs of palyncharstvo (Yasinia village). Photo by Vasil Bakkai.
- 23 – A moonshine still made of pots and copper tube (Vilkhivtsi village).
- 24 – A moonshine still made of large pots, a copper pipe and a closed-type refrigerator (the village of Nyzhne Bolotne).
- 25 – coating joints with raw dough on a moonshine still (village of Velykyi Rakovets)

- 26 – A large moonshine still made of iron barrels. The cooker is designed in the form of a steam boiler. Heating is carried out by direct heating from an open fire. Joints and holes are coated with dough (the village of Onok).
- 27 – A coil: a copper spiral in the “refrigerator” (Yasinia village). Photo by Vasil Bakkai.
- 28 – A large moonshine still is made in the form of a steam boiler. The cooker has a rather rare conical shape. Cooking is carried out by direct heating from an open fire (the village of Bilky).
- 29 – A closed type refrigerator (Nyzhne Bolotne village)
- 30 – A small moonshine still with a closed-type refrigerator. Heating from a gas stove (Orikhovytsia village).
- 31 – Mounting of a closed type refrigerator (the village of Bilky).
- 32 – A moonshine still with a closed-type refrigerator, which is immersed in a barrel of cold water (Velykyi Rakovets).
- 33 – Sugar kyrynia (wash) before distillation (Puziankivtsi village).
- 34 – A moonshine still assembled, ready for distillation. Kyrynia in the cooker, water in the “refrigerator”, all joints are smeared with raw dough. Heating on a closed fire on a stove (village Puznyankivtsi).
- 35–36 – Distillation process in action (Puziankivtsi village).
- 37 – A modern distillation unit (Perechyn).
- 38 – A modern distillation unit (the village of Orikhovytsia).
- 39 – Equipment of the First Transcarpathian Palyncharnia. Photo from the official page of the Palyncharnia on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/palinochka>.
- 40 – Products of the First Transcarpathian Palyncharnia. Photo from the official page of the Palyncharnia on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/palinochka>.

Photo 1.



Photos 2–4.



Photos 5–6.



Photos 7–8.



Photos 9–11.



Photo 12.



Photos 13–14.



Photo 15.



Photo 16.



Photo 17.



Photos 18.



Photo 19.



Photo 20.



Photo 21.



Photo 22.



Photo 23.



Photo 24.



Photo 25.



Photo 26.



Photo 27.



Photo 28.



Photo 29.



Photo 30.



Photo 31.



Photo 32.



Photo 33.



Photo 34.



Photo 35–36.



Photo 37.



Photo 38.



Photo 39.



Photo 40.



Local Artistic Features of Folk Clothing Embroidery of Hutsuls in Transcarpathia

Vasyl Kotsan, Nadiia Keretsman

Hutsul folk embroidery is a unique phenomenon in the artistic culture of the Ukrainian people. Ethnographers, historians and art critics turn to it to shed more light on the ancient traditional foundations of the material and spiritual life of the Hutsuls. Their embroidery developed within the general course of the Ukrainian people's embroidery art evolution. For centuries in this historical and ethnographic region of Ukraine there has been a complex process of crystallizing stable artistic and stylistic canons of embroidery¹.

Preserved samples of embroidery dating back to the XIX – first half of the XX century give the opportunity to claim that folk craftswomen have reached the top in developing ornamental art. They have devised lots of variants of the image, various elements of outlines up to the most complicated designs. According to the content and form of a pattern, ornamental motifs are mainly divided into geometric, plant, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic. Gradually there

¹ Шандро М. Гуцульські вишивки. Чернівці : Букрек, 2005.104 с.

were developed complex ornamental systems inherent in a particular technique, material, purpose of products².

Transcarpathian Hutsul area (Rakhiv district) is an interesting region of Ukraine, which still retains a number of archaic features in folk culture, including embroidery. The archaic nature of Hutsul embroidery can be traced in ornamental motifs and embroidery techniques. Preservation of these features in clothing and embroidery can be explained by both natural and geographical factors (mountains, complex passes) and socio-economic (significant remoteness of the population in this part of Transcarpathia from large industrial and cultural centers, major trade routes).

The basis of the *female* costume of the Hutsuls in Rakhiv region was a long *shirt* with a short chest slit at the front, wrinkles around the neckline and long sleeves that gathered in the wrist into thick wrinkles (“zbirky”). Such shirts were whole-cut or consisted of two parts: the upper (“stan”, “vershok”) and the lower (“pidtochka”, “pindylia”). In the eighteenth century, women’s shirts were sewn without a collar, and in the early nineteenth century, a narrow collar appeared. The main seams of women’s shirts were reinforced with “loops”, which also served as a decoration³.

² Сологуб-Коцан Т.Я. Орнаментальні мотиви вишивки сорочок українців Білорічанської долини кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. In *Міжнародний історичний журнал Русин*. 2009. № 4. С. 73; Сологуб-Коцан Т.Я. Орнаментальні мотиви гуцульської народної вишивки Закарпаття кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. (великобичківський осередок). In *Міжнародний історичний журнал Русин*. 2010. № 3. С.105.

³ Прибанич І. Народний одяг гуцулів Закарпаття з другої половини XIX – 50-х рр. XX ст. In *Науковий збірник Закарпатського краєзнавчого музею*. Ужгород : Карпати, 1995. Вип. 1. С. 102; Пилип Р.І. Художня вишивка українців Закарпаття XIX – першої половини XX ст. (типологія за призначенням, художніми та локальними особливостями). Ужгород : Р.Повч, 2012. С. 237.

The Hutsuls revered the local customs, passed on, from generation to generation, the belief about the shirt, which, among other things, also served as a talisman, a protector of health, and believed that it foretold a better fate.

The canvas near the collar and cuffs of everyday shirts of Yasinia Hutsul women was wrinkled, forming small-patterned ornamental compositions. The upper shoulder part of the sleeves and cuffs were also decorated with decorative wrinkles, complemented with hemstitch work (“tsirky”) and scissoring. A characteristic feature of women’s shirts of Yasinia Hutsuls was the decoration of a bosom cut. In the XIX century, it was decorated with various overcast seams, and in the late nineteenth – early twentieth century, with narrow (1–2 cm) ornamental stripes. In the early twentieth century, they embroidered on canvas, and from the late 1920’s, on separate pieces of cloth, which were sewn on both sides of the “rozpirky” (slit). Usually, the ornamental composition was similar to embroidery on a narrow collar (“obshyvka” – trimming) and cuffs. In the late 1930’s and early 1940’s, short (55–60 cm) shirts with a slit (“rozpirky”) on the back flap, a narrow (2–3 cm) stand-up collar, and long sleeves ending in cuffs (“dudyky”) spread among Yasinia Hutsuls. The front flap was decorated with three longitudinal ornamental stripes (“partytsia”): two short (20 cm) lateral ones and a longer (25 cm) middle one. The sleeves were decorated with the same stripes. The ornamental composition of the collar, “partytsia” and cuffs were identical. The main ornamental motifs were diamonds with tendrils and triangles.

The embroidery of Yasinia Hutsuls is the most saturated, bright, with a ribbon composition filled with many ornamental motifs. Their combination creates a holistic artistic image. The main feature of the Bohdan Hutsuls’ embroideries is that their ancient insets are narrower than

those of Yasinia. However, since the twentieth century, wide five-row insets have also spread here. In addition, stylized plant motifs were often found on Bohdan embroideries. The embroidery of Rakhiv Hutsuls is characterized by the dominance of black, burgundy, red and green colors. From the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX century, floral ornaments also penetrated there.

Traditionally, in Transcarpathia the sleeves of women's shirts were most magnificently decorated. Hutsuls decorated the upper shoulder part ("ustavka" – inset). The insets were clearly visible on the plane of the shirt. In Rakhiv district there were insets of different sizes. Their size depended on the pattern chosen for the shirts of the appropriate purpose: casual and festive. Festive shirts were worn when going to church, for a visit, for weddings. Each Hutsul girl wanted to have the best embroidered shirt to show people how she can combine bright colors⁴. The shirt was often flaunted by the girls in front of each other. It was sung in folk songs- kolomyikas:

*Oh, a cuckoo was cuckooing, and sat on a shoot,
My mom stitched up for me an embroidered shirt⁵.*

⁴ Захарчук-Чугай Р.В. *Українська народна вишивка : західні області УРСР*. К. : Наукова думка, 1988. С. 129; Косміна О. Традиційне вбрання. In *Українська етнологія : Навч. посіб.* / edited by В. Борисенко. К. : Либідь, 2007. С. 170; Симоненко І.Ф. Народна вишивка Закарпаття. In *Матеріали з етнографії та художнього промислу*. К., 1957. С. 8.

⁵ Коцан В.В. Традиційне народне вбрання, народні ремесла та промисли, фольклор боржавських та іршавських долин (села Довге, Кушниця, Імстичево, Білки, Осій, Ільниця, Малий та Великий Раковець Іршавського району та с. Керецьки Свалявського району) кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. In *Польові матеріали автора. Зошит № 1*. 2000, 2009–2010 pp. С. 2.

The most common were three-row or five-row insets. The pattern of the central part consisted of rhombuses, triangles, and rosettes connected in a row. The most common embroidery techniques used by Hutsuls were “nyzyna” and “cross”. “Nyzyna” (“nyz”) is one of the most ancient and original techniques of Hutsul folk embroidery. Its essence was to embroider on the reverse side of the canvas. The embroidery thread was successively stretched from one end to the other, covering a certain number of threads of the warp fabric on the reverse or on the front side. As a result, the reverse pattern was obtained on the reverse side of the fabric, i.e., negative pattern because it was on the front side. A variety of “nyzynky” in the Rakhiv region was the technique of “zvyvoritkove” (reversible) (“sotano”). The essence of this technique was that on the reverse side of the canvas black threads formed a black and white background pattern (“diluted pattern”), and the free areas of the outlined motifs were embroidered with colored threads. “Reverse insets” were based on black color with empty places then filled (“written”) with color.

The technique of “cross” became widespread only in the twentieth century. The researcher of Subcarpathian embroidery F. Shpala pointed out that folk masters embroidered with a cross so densely that the embroidery resembles a tapestry. This embroidery technique is performed by two cross diagonal stitches, while the threads of the fabric base are accurately counted. All the upper stitches lie in one direction, and the lower – in the opposite⁶.

Color also played an important role in clothing. The variety of colors indicated certain fashion trends that spread in the process of costume formation. The oldest

⁶ Шпала Ф. *Подкарпатские вышивки. Гуцульское вишиване на низину и другие*. Прага, 1920. С. 6.

shirts were embroidered with homemade spun threads. In the late nineteenth – early twentieth century, white threads began to be dyed black: they stirred soot (“chad”) in water, immersed the threads there, boiled, and then dried them. When in the early twentieth century, there became available blue and red cotton (“pamut”) threads, which women called “garast”, patterns of blue-red and red-black colors began to predominate in embroidery. However, under the influence of fashion and time, the ancient Verkhovyna habit of embroidering with red and blue, red and black or exclusively black threads changed. The neighborhood with other peoples and the development of industrial production of aniline dyes significantly contributed to ousting the traditional colors in the embroidery of the 1920–1930s. In general, the color of the local Hutsul embroidery was dominated by red, white, blue, black colors, combined with bright yellow-gold, orange, light green, dark green, and brown. Combinations of red-black, red-blue, red-white, red-black-white, red-orange-white and combinations of other colors were matching on all components of the outfit⁷.

The most widely spread and developed in the art of Hutsul folk embroidery was a geometric ornament, in particular the rhombus (diamond), which served as the main ornamental motif. The creative thought and rich imagination of folk craftswomen endowed it with a special power of artistic expression. It could act as an independent element or in combination with other motives. In all images, the diamonds had smooth lines or numerous ledges, “sprouts”,

⁷ Парлаг М.І. Народні вишивки Закарпаття. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1972. № 4. С. 46–48; Пилип Р.І. Локальні особливості одягової вишивки Закарпатської Гуцульщини. In *Матеріали Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції, присвяченої 60-річчю створення першого художнього навчального закладу на Закарпатті*. Ужгород : Гражда, 2006. С. 240.

cogs or additional lines. Often in the plane of one rhombus there were three or four smaller rhombuses.

Bohdan's insets, in which the diamonds in the central broad band were divided into four equal parts or into one large part and twelve smaller ones surrounding it, were especially distinctive. The plane of these particles was filled with a square shape with protruding ends ("vosmyrih" – octagon horn). Its middle looked like a small rhombus ("ochko"). Auxiliary motifs in such inset were triangles with tendrils ("spurs", "hooks") or a rhombus with horns rounded inside. In many cases, the square could be composed of other, rather complex geometric shapes. Such motifs, when the rhombus is divided into parts, have a very ancient origin⁸.

The motifs of a rhombus dominated in the insets of Rakhiv Hutsuls. It was divided into four parts by large oblique crosses. A dot or a small cross was embroidered in each of the pieces – a symbol of a germinating grain. In folk tradition, the division of the earth into four parts symbolized the four seasons, the four corners of the world. A similar motif in the second half of the nineteenth century was also distributed in Pokut, Northern Bukovina.

Archaic was the combination of a rhombus with other geometric motifs. In some Yasinia insets (villages of Kvasy, Keveliv, Bilyn) a rhombus with truncated corners was harmoniously combined with an eight-petalled rosette inscribed in it. The core of the rosette was presented in the form of a small cross ("khristia"). Two small eight-petalled rosettes were embroidered between the diamonds. Ribbons ("chervachky") were framed with narrow strips ("putky"), in which the colors – red, yellow, green – were intertwined. The

⁸ Добрянська І.О., Симоненко І.Ф. Типи та колорит західноукраїнської народної вишивки. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1983. № 4. С. 76.

“chervachky” were based on squares with inwardly curved corners (“yahody” – berries) and squares with protruding corners (“zhuky” – beetles). These two motifs alternated, forming a kind of “square wreaths”. The third part of the insets (“poverkhnytsi”) was a logical continuation of the central broad band and presented its half-ornamental compositions⁹. Often in the ornamental compositions of the women’s shirts insets in the villages of Dilove and Kostylyvka, different forms of rhombuses were combined: a rhombus with a cross (“khrystiation”) inside and a rhombus with outgrowths (“horns”). If such horns are placed around the perimeter of a geometric figure, there was formed a rhombus with “bristles”. The curved ends of the rhombus horns form the motif of “klochky”, “liulky”, which in their repeated repetition form the motif of a meander¹⁰.

The inner plane of the diamonds, as the main elements of the embroidery ornament on the insets, was filled with a variety of motifs: diamonds with outgrowths (“tendrils”); stylized straight crosses formed with the help of small diamond-dot motifs; eight-petalled flowers with a core in the form of a straight cross or rhombus; diamonds with protruding sides (“octagons”).

The contours of the rhombuses were often outlined with red lines, between which a straight line was embroidered with black threads on one side, and vertical stripes (“partychky”) on the other. The white part of the canvas, not filled with embroidery, took the form of a strip

⁹ Захарчук-Чугай Р.В. *Українська народна вишивка : західні області УРСР*. К. : Наукова думка, 1988. С. 96–97; Литвинець Е.М. *Українське народне мистецтво вишивання і нанизування*. К. : Вища школа, 2004. С. 15.

¹⁰ Пилип Р.І. Композиційні принципи побудови орнаменту одягової вишивки гуцулів Закарпаття. in *Народознавчі зошити*. 2007. Вип. 3–4. С. 310.

with protrusions. These strips framed the rhombus. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, similar motifs framed large planar patterns, the inner plane of which was usually composed of stylized floral ornaments. Rhombus as the main element of embroidery is also found on women's shirts of Podillia and Pokuttia¹¹.

One of the most common archaic motifs of Hutsul embroidery was an eight-petalled rosette, the petals of which were separated by straight and oblique crosses that intersected. Due to the method of intersecting various types of crosses, eight petals were formed. The straight cross divided the plane of the rosette into four parts ("petals"), and with the help of an oblique cross each of the petals in turn was divided into two more. Thus, a stylized eight-petalled flower or rosette was formed. The people interpreted this motif as follows: "A straight cross is a cross to a human being from God, because it is not accidentally everyone is said to be carrying their own cross. The oblique cross ("aslant") meant that a man believed in God." There was another interpretation of this motif: the straight cross is a man, a symbol of the masculine origin, the Sun; the oblique cross is a woman ("zhona"), a symbol of the feminine origin, the Moon. The combination of these origins gave life to everything. Therefore, according to the old-timers, "such patterns were more embroidered on the shirts of women and men who were already married"¹².

In the early twentieth century, on the embroidery of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region there was a modification

¹¹ Зузяк Т. Особливості народної вишивки подільських сорочок кінця XIX – початку XX ст. In *Збірник наукових праць з мистецтвознавства і культурології*. К., 2009. Вип 6. С. 111–112; Чорновський О. Нові елементи та тематичні мотиви в орнаменті українських народних тканин. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1965. № 1. С. 36.

¹² Гінзбург А.М. *Побудова візерунків*. К.: Держвидав України, 1929. С. 27–28.

of the traditional rosette. This was promoted by the creative imagination of embroiderers who sought to constantly improve and diversify their works: at the base of the rosettes, they began to embroider a diamond inscribed in a square. All four corners of the square were continued by cogs placed in pairs. That is why this motif is popularly called “the stars with cogs.” The Hutsul ornamentation also used the semi-rosette motif, which was embroidered in two rows and separated by a broken line (“kryvulia”). When the adjacent parts of the two rosettes were combined, a stylized flower was formed.

Along with rhombuses and rosettes, crosses were one of the most common motifs in Hutsul clothing embroidery on shirts. Straight or oblique crosses were most often embroidered in the middle of rhombuses, squares and eight-petalled rosettes, although sometimes a chain of straight and oblique crosses acted as an independent ornamental motif. A well-known researcher of Western Ukrainian embroidery R.V. Zakharchuk-Chuhai makes quite logical assumptions that the cross and its various modifications have accompanied people throughout their life. Thus, the basic system of placing embroidery on a shirt according to a four-part scheme has been preserved for centuries: sleeve-collar, bosom, hem-sleeve. And the very cut of the main body component of clothes – shirts – is basically cross-shaped: sleeve-back, collar, bib-sleeve¹³.

In the embroidery of women's Hutsul shirts of Rakhiv region there can be found the image of one of the variants of the artistic cross – “swastika” (“svarha”). It is a kind of cross, and in the dynamics, it symbolizes movement. The swastika got its name from the Sanskrit word “swastia”, which was transformed into the word “shchastia” (happiness). The

¹³ Захарчук-Чугай Р.В. *Українська народна вишивка : західні області УРСР*. К. : Наукова думка, 1988. С. 87.

cross with refracted rays (swastika) is an ancient well-known symbol of fire and sun. The spouts from the cross originally marked the rotational movements of the device for obtaining fire, and since the swastika became a sign of the sun, they began to symbolize the movement of the sun across the sky. At the same time, the swastika is best known to Ukrainians as a sign of good wishes that averts misfortune and affects the birth of children. For a long time, Easter eggs decorated with a swastika were given to those who did not have children. So, it is not surprising that the shirts of Hutsuls who dreamed of motherhood were embroidered with ornamental compositions using a swastika. The attitude to the swastika as a magical formula that promotes fertilization and protects pregnancy, clearly indicates the apotropaic function of the sun sign¹⁴.

One of the oldest ornamental motifs of Hutsul embroidery was semi-squares with various horns, bent at different angles, with or without tendrils. Such motifs were popularly called “trubky”, “bocharky”. In the villages of the Bila Tysa river valley, there were widespread insets, in which such motifs dominated. Their shape, method of placement in the ornamental composition, options for combination with other motifs could be different. In the villages of Roztoky, Vydrychka, Bohdan, and Breboia, the motif of “horns” was popularly called “vivcharky” because it resembled sheep’s horns. In the villages of Luha and Hoverla, located above

¹⁴ Манько В. *Українська народна писанка*. Львів : Свічадо, 2005. С. 21; Мойсеєнко В. Сварга – вкрадений символ. *in* Дім і сім’я. 2011. № 5. С. 11–12; Пилип Р.І. Орнаментальні мотиви традиційної народної вишивки українців Закарпаття кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. *In* Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Серія Історія. Ужгород: Говерла, 2008. Вип. 21. С. 162; Семенова М. Релікти дохристиянських вірувань в українському жіночому народному костюмі. *In* Берегиня. 1996. № 3–4. С. 46.

the bed of the river Bila Tysa, there was another name – “bochkarky”¹⁵.

One of the most archaic ornaments of both Hutsul folk embroidery and all-Ukrainian ornamental art was the motif of a stylized image of a woman with her hands raised (“berehinia”). It was used in the embroidery of women’s, men’s and children’s shirts. In the people this ornamental motif received the name “holovky” (heads), “holovkasty vzor” (head-like pattern). Depending on the location of the main elements of the “holovkasty vzor” (diamond with a dot), there exist various modifications of this motif. At the end of the XIX century the insets of children’s shirts of Transcarpathian Hutsuls were decorated with the “holovkasty vzor” often embroidered in the form of two rows of “heads”, separated by colorful narrow stripes (“snurky”).

The images of figures in the form of curls were quite common on samples of Hutsul embroidery. This motif resembled a sign of similarity in different variations. Depending on the location of the curls, various patterns were formed in the ornamental composition. Curls could be placed in pairs in four rows, forming two rows of stylized flowers (“zhuchky” – bugs). Quite often, insets were decorated with a stylized flower (“bug”) formed by four curls inscribed in a rhombus. S.K. Makovsky believed that such figures are easily formed from squares by rounding their corners. This opinion is also suggested by other Transcarpathian embroideries, in which the meander pattern forms a motif of a lying S¹⁶.

¹⁵ Філіп Г.Л. Особливості народної вишивки села Росішка Рахівського району (на матеріалах колекції Грицака М.В. з фондів Закарпатського краєзнавчого музею). In *Науковий збірник Закарпатського краєзнавчого музею*. Ужгород, 1995. Вип. IX-X. С. 363–364.

¹⁶ Маковский С.К. *Народное искусство Подкарпатской Руси*. Прага : Пламя, 1925. С. 41.

Among all the variety of ornamental motifs of Hutsul women's shirts, the symbol of a circle ("kruh") also stands out. In the traditional culture of Transcarpathian Ukrainians, the circle had a sacred significance. It was attributed protective and healing properties: for example, walking around the church on religious holidays, ritual detour of the estate, houses and cattle, walking a man around a woman during difficult childbirth. In addition, the circle was considered a symbol of the sun, sky, a symbol of infinity, eternity, perfection, internal unity. A circle with a bunch of lines on one side symbolized the sky and rain¹⁷. Most often, the circle did not act as an independent element of the ornamental composition. With its help the inner planes of the main elements of the ornament were formed and filled. The ornamental composition of the insets, in which the circle motif is used, consisted of rhombuses with truncated corners and oblique crosses, which alternated successively. The inner plane of the rhombus is composed of four or nine circles with a dot ("tsiatka") or a cross ("chrystiation") inside. Between the diamonds there was embroidered a motif of oblique cross, formed by circles similar to those inscribed in the diamond.

Ornithomorphic (bird) motifs were also found on the Bogdan insets. They were inscribed in the inner planes of the rhombuses, where a stylized straight cross was embroidered in the center, on the black background of which a rhombus (in the center) and small crosses (in the corners) were depicted with yellow threads. Four birds ("kachechky" – ducks) were

¹⁷ Пилип Р.І. Орнаментальні мотиви традиційної народної вишивки українців Закарпаття кінця ХІХ – першої половини ХХ ст. in *Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Серія Історія*. Ужгород: Говерла, 2008. Вип. 21. С. 161; Семенова М. Релікти дохристиянських вірувань в українському жіночому народному костюмі. In *Берегиня*. 1996. № 3–4. С. 45; Словник символів культури України. Київ: Міленіум, 2005. С. 67.

embroidered around the cross, placed in pairs, facing each other. Birds were a symbol of joy, family happiness, destiny, wedding talisman. Most often, birds, placed in pairs, were embroidered on wedding shirts – “for a happy married life”¹⁸.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, floral ornaments begin to penetrate into Hutsul clothing embroidery. Interesting were the Yasinia insets, which were based on stylized flowers (“ruzhi” – roses). Their characteristic feature was that the petals were divided by straight and oblique crosses that intersected¹⁹.

In the villages of Bilyn, Trostianets, Kvasy, and Keveliv, there were insets in which the motif of “oak leaves” dominated. It was embroidered in the form of four-petalled flowers, the petals of which were formed by “oak leaves” of stylized shape. The remarkable ingenuity of the embroiderers was manifested in the combination of four leaves. Their lower part was embroidered at a right angle, which formed a motif of a straight cross. This technique once again confirms the truth about the versatility and diversity of Hutsul embroidery. On the canvas a woman tried to show her attitude to life, faith in God. At first glance, the shape of the cross was not visible. However, disassembling it in detail, we can clearly see a straight cross. All this indicates that the woman inlaid in the embroidery not only her professional skills but also the soul, thanks to which real works of art were born²⁰.

¹⁸ Матейко К.И. Локальные особенности одежды гуцулов конца XIX – начала XX вв. in *Карпатский сборник : Труды междунар. комиссии по изучению народной культуры Карпат и прилегающих к ним областей*. Москва : Наука, 1976. С. 59.

¹⁹ Селівачов М.Р. Домінантні мотиви української народної орнаментики (кінець XIX – XX ст.). In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1990. № 2. С. 73.

²⁰ Боднар І.Я. Орнаментика карпатських вишивок. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1969. №2. С. 57–58; Кива Г. Гуцульська художня вишивка. in *Жовтень*. 1976. № 3. С. 110.

The so-called “floral” settings were out of the common in the compositional construction of the ornament. The embroidery of the Rakhiv district was characterized by the use of the motif of flowers – tulips (“tulipany”). They were embroidered in a row in a supine position.

No less careful was the approach to embroidering cuffs (“dudyky”) and collars (“oshyiky”). Often their ornament repeated the pattern of insets. The originality of the ornamental composition distinguishes the split cuffs on the shirts of girls and young women of the Yasinia Hutsuls. The canvas around the cuffs, except for the part on both sides of the cut (“dudarytsi”, “dudarychky”), was gathered in small folds (“riamy”). The plane of the “dudarutsi” was filled with embroidery. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, geometric ornament prevailed. Ornamental compositions comprised simple edging seams or rhombic rows, framed by piercing seams and rows of small squares. In the 1920s, plant and ornithomorphic (bird) compositions became common. Most often, stylized flowers and one or two pairs of birds were embroidered on both sides of the “dudarytsia”.

One of the smallest items of clothing decorated with embroidery were collars (“oshyiky”) of women’s shirts. At the end of the XIX and in the first half of the XX century, they had the appearance of a ribbon ornamental strip. The simplest variant of the ornament on the collar was a line on which quadrangles, rectangles or rhombuses with a dot inside (“ochkati rhombyky”) were embroidered diagonally, forming a wavy stripe (“kryvulia” – curve). The plane between these curves thus formed was filled with small dots, rhombuses or triangles. This motif is called “kryvulkovy” (curved), “hlystovyi” (worm), “kruchenyi” (twisted). “Collars” were

common, in which the leading motif was a rhombus, which alternated with various geometric or geometrized figures.

Men's shirts. The shirt as the main attribute of the Hutsul clothing complex determined the social status of its owner. This is evidenced by the following folk sayings: "There is no shirt", "I took the last shirt from him", "I left him in the last shirt", "Dressed in two shirts".

Hutsuls treated the sewing and decoration of the shirt with great care, tried to decorate it with embroidery as best as possible. Men's shirts were especially carefully decorated along the bosom slit ("bib"). Composite structures of bibs are similar to those of insets. Their central strip was the widest. The main ornamental motif was a rhombus with a finely patterned inner plane. Most often it was filled with stylized eight-petalled flowers ("ruzha" – rose), diamonds with tendrils. Auxiliary elements could be triangles, small circles ("ochka"), crosses, rows of small geometric shapes. The breastplates of men's shirts from the village of Rosishka were distinguished by especially rich ornamental composition. At the heart of their ornament there were two wide stripes, in which the dominant motifs were rhombuses with oblique crosses. Often the main ornamental motif was a combination of two lying S ("numery", "hlysty") in a mirror reflection.

It should be noted that men's shirts, as well as women's, were often decorated with "holovkastyi vzor". The most common modification of this ornament on the embroidery of men's shirts was a diamond, the sides of which had sprouts, and the corners ended in smaller diamonds with a dot in the middle. The outlining contours of the rhombus were formed from four head motifs ("berehynia" – guardian). In the village of Kosivska Poliana "holovkastyi vzor" on the breastplates of men's shirts was formed by rows of triangles

embroidered with black threads, the tops of which ended in double appendages. As a result, the plane not filled with embroidery and a small cross inside it formed the motif of a woman with raised hands (“berehynia”)²¹.

From the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX century, the combination of stylized plant motifs with geometric ones began to dominate in the embroidery of men’s shirts. The central place was occupied by a geometric ornament formed by rhombuses with truncated corners. The inner plane of the rhombuses was filled with squares, oblique crosses and circles. Such an ornamental strip was framed by a row of rhombuses with truncated corners and a geometric flower inside. The flower was formed by the intersection of a straight and oblique cross with the middle cross in the form of a small rhombus. The ornamental strip of the bib was completed with a stylized limb with flowers (“ruzha”), small violets or embroidered curves (kryvulias) of stems with leaves.

Hearts (“syrtsiata”) were a common ornamental motif in the embroidery of shirts for young boys and girls of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region. The bibs of men’s wedding shirts, the central ornamental stripe of which comprised a number of stylized flowers with heart-shaped petals, attract attention. The petals-hearts were separated by an oblique cross. Other ornamental stripes on the bib of the wedding shirt were also full of “heart” motifs. They symbolized love, happiness, joy and prosperity.

Embroidery on the collars and cuffs of Hutsul men’s shirts was no less original and rich. It was dominated by

²¹ Зінченко І., Хорбут Н. Назви вишивальних орнаментів (на матеріалах діалектних словників).in*Науковий вісник Чернівецького національного університету ім. Ю. Федьковича*. Чернівці : Рута, 2008. Вип. 28–29. Словянська філологія. С. 60.

motifs of meandering lines, “hrabelky” (rakes), “hrebintsi” (combs), “rybky” (fish). They were most often used in the embroidery of cuffs (“dudyky”) to outline the contours of rhombic ornaments. The ornamental composition was based on rhombuses with tendrils, the joints of which formed an oblique cross. The tendrils and the plane of the oblique cross, which was not filled with embroidery, formed the motif of “hrabelky” (rakes), which symbolized the rays of the sun and rain. Meander motifs of ornamental cuff compositions were formed by outlining the contours of a rhombus with processes (“tendrils”). The meandering motif symbolized infinity, continuity of rhythmic movement of water, life and the whole world, was a talisman against evil forces, which, according to folk beliefs, once in this infinite line, will forever circle it and will never be able to harm the owner of the shirt.

The motif of “ryba” and “rybka” (fish) was found in the embroidery of men’s shirts in the villages of Rosishka and Kosivska Poliana. Most often it was embroidered on the cuffs (“dudyky”). One of the modifications of the “fish” motif was four embroidered fish, which turned their heads to each other. Due to this method of combining fish, a motif of a rhombus with processes (“tendrils”) was formed, in which the heads of fish were four equal parts of a rhombus, and their tails and fins made tendrils. An oblique cross was formed at the junction of four fish.

The shirt as the main component of a set of men’s clothing testified to the wealth or poverty of the peasant. Many Hutsul folk songs mention a peasant whose shirt without decoration is a sign of poverty:

*Oh, I have my shirt,
but no hemstitch.*

*Oh, I'll go to earn money
to the back of beyond²².*

The characteristic shoulder clothing of the Hutsuls was a *keptar* – a sleeveless jacket with fur, decorated with embroidery and applique. O. Voropay claims that the word “keptar” comes from the Romanian word “piept” (chest). Most likely, the word “keptar” is associated with the Romanian “cepchén” – a fur tank top. Protecting the back and chest from the cold and leaving the hands free, the keptar became an invariable component of Hutsul clothing²³.

Local features are clearly shown in the form, ways of a cut, and decoration of keptars. In the Transcarpathian Hutsul region, the following names of fur tank tops were known: “kypstar”, “keptar”, “kozhushek”, “kozhusk”, “vishyty kozhusk”, “piektar”, “piekhtar”, “tsyfrovanii piektar”, “tsyfrovanik”. This jacket was cut from two sheepskins with short wool. Hutsuls preferred sheepskin with white wool. Black and brown were used only for sewing simple sheepskin coats with sleeves (“for every day”)²⁴.

Along with the general specific features of the keptars’ cut and decoration of the Hutsuls in the Rakhiv region, certain local peculiarities were manifested. In the XIX century, in the villages of the valley of the Black Tysa river were common

²² Грибанич І. “Гей гудзики, ременики ...” (Народний одяг гуцулів). In *Зелені Карпати*. 1995. № 1–2. С.130.

²³ Воропай О. *Звичаї нашого народу. Етнографічний нарис*. К. : “Оберіг”, 1993. С. 554; Румынско-русский словарь. М. : Изд-во Иностранных и национальных словарей, 1954. С. 149.

²⁴ Карпинець І.І. *Кептарі Українських Карпат*. Львів : Видавничий дім Панорама, 2003. С. 23; Командров О.Ф. Народний костюм Рахівщини. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1959. № 3. С. 84; Штефаньо О. “Куплю любці чоботята, а собі крисаню...», або дещо про національний одяг гуцулів (інтерв'ю з І. Грибаничем). In *Фест*. 2008. 6–12 березня. С. 14.

keptars, ornamented with colorful applications of sapian (morocco) and copper or silver kapslias (“pistons”). Pieces of various shapes were cut out of morocco and sewn above the waist. The “pistons” of various sizes and convexities were sewn on the morocco, forming a pattern. In the late nineteenth – early twentieth century, keptars began to be decorated with embroidery, which successfully harmonized with the leather appliqué. A narrow (3–5 cm) strip of fox fur (“lysa”, “lyska”) of light and dark stripes was the identifying feature in the decoration of Yasinia keptars. “Lyska” decorated the contours of the collar and the upper part of the front flaps along the incision. This element of keptars’ decoration is sung about in a national song:

*Are you, dear, from Lazeshchyna,
Are you, darling, from the Tisza,
Please buy me a fur coat
for it to have fox fur²⁵.*

Along with leather applications, the keptars were decorated with embroidery. In particular, one row of crosses (“cross stitch”) and two or three rows of cogs (“motyli”) were embroidered on the front flaps with multicolored threads. There could be 300–400 of them on one keptar. On the front flaps, on both sides of the fox fur, three rows of “nasyluvannia” were made, which were framed by massive seams (“snurky”) of threads. Embroidering “snurky”, they combined red, burgundy, purple, blue, green, orange, yellow threads. Therefore, they were often called “sorted snurky”

²⁵ Полянская Е.В. Народная одежда гуцулов Раховского района. In *Карпатский сборник : Труды междунар. комиссии по изучению народной культуры Карпат и прилегающих к ним областей*. М. Наука, 1972. С. 59.

The completion of the ornamental composition were cogs (“zakrutky”, “kruchenyky” – twists), the contours of which were decorated with “motyli”, and the inner plane – with broken lines (“kryvulia”), “pistons”, laid out in the shape of a flower (“daisies”)²⁶.

The lower part of the front flaps and the back, with the help of applique, embroidery and “pistons”, were decorated with flower arrangements (“zhapka”, “pava” – peacocks), rings with tendrils (“whiskers”, “kryvulia”) (villages of Yasinia, Chorna Tysa, Lazeshchyna, Stebny), polygonal stars (“zirnytsia” – starburst) (villages of Keveliv, Kvasy, Trostianets, Bilyn). Auxiliary elements of decoration were motifs of “horns”, flowers (“tulipana”), various forms of straight and oblique crosses’ intersection, rings (“ochky”), framed by small triangles (“motyli”). Small buttons (“hytytsi”) made of multicolored woolen threads were sewn all over the decorated part of the keptar. The front part of the keptar and the back were decorated with tassels (“hytytsia”, “povody”, “darmopas”) from multi-colored silk red, yellow, blue, and green threads²⁷.

The keptars in the villages of the Bila Tisa river valley (Roztoky, Vydrychka, Bohdan, Breboia, Luh, Hoverla, Tyshchora) are similar in cut to the Yasinia ones, but differ slightly in decoration. Instead of colored applications with metal “pistons”, they were decorated with a broadcloth strip

²⁶ Басанець Т., Січкарьова Н. Художні вироби із кольорових металів. *Ін Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1993. № 5–6. С. 48.

²⁷ Карпинец И.И. Кептари украинского населения Карпат. *Ін Карпатский сборник: Труды междунар. комиссии по изучению народной культуры Карпат и прилегающих к ним областей*. М.: Наука, 1976. С. 77; Чіх-Книш Б. Локальні художні особливості гуцульських кептарів. *Ін Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Серія Мистецтвознавство*. Івано-Франківськ : Плай, 2003. Вип. 5. С. 163.

of cherry, burgundy or crimson color. The collar and front flaps were decorated not with fox fur, but with black cloth, astrakhan fur or smushka. The main decorative element here has always been “sylianka” (“dribushka”), which decorated all the seams, edges and sides of the keptar. In the 30’s and 40’s of the twentieth century, keptars were common among the Bohdan Hutsuls, who decorated them with a narrow (2–3 cm) longitudinal strip of multicolored beads (“patsiorky”) instead of a sylianka. The ornamental composition had a plant or geometric-plant character. The main ornamental motifs were flowers (“kosytsi”) or diamonds with tendrils. A stripe “on cogs” was sewn behind the sylianka, which was decorated with embroidered green, red, and white flowers; and massive seams (“snurky”) and small geometric shapes were embroidered with buttons. Due to their combination and combination of multicolored threads, various ornamental compositions were formed – oblique cross, successive alternation of flowers (“kosytsi”), straight lines, broken lines (“kryvuli”) and tendrils, rhombus, seven “snurky” and two rows of small triangles (“motyli”). In contrast to the Yasinia keptars, the Bohdan’s ones had different ornamental composition of the decoration of the “poserednyk” and the pockets. Flowers (“kosytsi”) were embroidered with burgundy, red, green threads on the corners of the front flaps and on the cuts where the front flaps are connected to the back²⁸.

Keptars of Rakhiv Hutsuls (villages of Rakhiv, Vilkhovatyi, Kostylyivka, Kruhlyi, Dilove, Khmeliv, Kosivska

²⁸ Карпинець І.І. Кептарі Українських Карпат. In *Культура та побут населення українських Карпат : матеріали республіканської наукової конференції, присвяч. 50-річчю утворення СРСР : тези доповідей і повідомлень*. Ужгород: Закарпат. обл. друкарня, 1972. С. 53; Пилип Р.І. *Художня вишивка українців Закарпаття XIX – першої половини XX ст. (типологія за призначенням, художніми та локальними особливостями)*. Ужгород: Р.Повч, 2012. С. 241–242.

Poliana, Rosishka) had a straight cut with small side cuts. The collar and the upper part of the front flaps along the incision were decorated with a narrow (2–3 cm) black astrakhan fur strip, on top of which a white-burgundy sylianka, four or five pairs of multicolored “hytytsia” or large tassels (“darmopasy”) were sewn. Sylianka decorated the contours of all the details of the keptar’s cut. Then two rows of “motyli” were embroidered, and between them – “snurok”, then a triple broken line (“kryvulia”) and three rows of “motyli”. Flowers (“kosytsi”) were placed on the lower corners of the front flaps and side cuts with the help of burgundy cloth and embroidery. In the lower part of the back there were embroidered rings with tendrils (“whiskers”), and in the upper part – rings (“ochka”), framed by “motyli”. Embroidery was performed with multicolored ‘haras’ threads (“American berlin”). According to the color of the decoration of Rakhiv keptars, there are distinguished two types of keptars. The first was dominated by yellow, red, burgundy colors with a slight tinge of green, blue and black, while the second type was of dark cherry colors with a tinge of red, yellow, blue.

Another type of upper shoulder dress of Hutsuls in Rakhiv region was a *jacket* made of thick home-woven cloth. In different parts of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region cloth jackets were called differently. In the villages of the Black Tysa valley, the dark brown jacket was called “petek”, crimson or red jacket was named “kryshynik”. Until the 1930s, the dark black jacket was called a “baibarak.” In the villages of the Bila Tysa valley, in Rakhiv and the surrounding villages, a black or brown cloth jacket was called a “serdak”. In the western villages of the Transcarpathian Hutsul region: Kosivska Poliana, Rosishka, a cloth jacket without decoration was called “lyiban”, and those decorated with embroidery were called “embroidered lyiban”. Women’s and men’s serdaks

differed only in size: those for men were 10–15 cm longer than for females²⁹.

In the eighteenth century, serdaks were sewn with only three stitches: one in the middle and two at the edges. These seams had a decorative purpose, emphasizing the cut. At the beginning of the XIX century, various ornamental motifs began to be embroidered on the seams. In the late nineteenth – early twentieth century, there were decorations in the form of tassels (“bekkery”, “bovtytsi”). The combination of three tassels (red, green, orange) was called a “hryva” (mane). Later, the jackets began to be lined with tape (“lace”, “cogs”). The richer was the owner, the more rows of cogs and hemstitch work were sewn on the jacket.

In the villages of the of the Black Tysa valley “petyky,” “kryshynyky,” and “baibaraky” were dark brown, red, crimson, and black. The brightest of these are the red serdaky (“kryshynyki”), which were a mandatory attribute of the wedding attire of the Yasinia Hutsuls. The contours of all the details of the “kryshynyky” were lined with black or green braided lace (“snurok”), a simple three-line seam (“shtepka”) of yellow and white colors. The junction of the front flaps with the “lystivka” was decorated with longitudinal stripes (“partytsia”), which consisted of a black or green lace lined in the form of a loop. Then there were sewn 3–12 rows of hard braided cords (“kosy”) of green, yellow, pink, burgundy, orange, white colors. Ornamental stripes of “kosy” were called “kisnytsia”, “painted kisnytsia”. The ornamental composition of the “partytsia” was completed with stripes consisting of “shtepky”, semicircles, small triangles (“motyli”, “cogs”) and small flowers (“ruzhas”). The contours of “lystivky” were also decorated with such stripes. At the top of the front flaps,

²⁹ Ворон А. Підкарпатські гуцули. In *Подкарпатська Русь*. Рочник VIII. Число 7. Ужгород, 1931. С. 150.

under the collar, two decorative buttons (“ochi”, “ochka”) were sewn with five tassels of yellow, white, pink, green and red woolen threads. Three or four “ochky” were sewn under the “partytsia”. The ornamental composition of the collar coincided with the composition on the “partytsia”. Rings (“stars”, “suns”) 2–3 cm in diameter or flowers (“daisies”) were embroidered in the lower corners of the front flaps and on both sides of the connecting seams³⁰.

The Yasinia Hutsuls also had brown serdaky (“peteky”) and black “baibaraky”. The elements of their decoration are similar. The collar of serdaky was decorated with embroidery and various seams. Decorative buttons (“petyky’s ochi”) made of a bundle of multicolored woolen threads were sewn to the upper part of the front flaps of “petyky” and “baibaraky”, on which buttons made of thread, wire or metal were sewn. Three pairs of tassels (“darmopasy”) were sewn to the “petyk’s ochi”. A characteristic feature of “peteky” and “baibaraky”, which distinguished them from serdaky of other ethnographic groups of Hutsuls in Transcarpathia, were multicolored braided laces (“zaviazuvanky”) with tassels at the ends. They were sewn on the reverse side to the top of the front flaps. They were used to tie serdaky under the neck.

In the villages of the valley of the Bila Tysa River (Roztoky, Vydrychka, Bohdan, Breboia, Luh, Hoverla, Tyshchora), broadcloth jackets (“serdaky”) were sewn from black, sometimes from dark brown cloth. The contours of the collar, front flaps, bottom of the sleeves and the hem of the serdak were lined with black lace (“kosychka”, “upletkov”). The ornamental composition of the embroidery on the collar looked like a row of semicircles or triangles, between which

³⁰ Пилип Р.І. *Художня вишивка українців Закарпаття XIX – першої половини XX ст. (типологія за призначенням, художніми та локальними особливостями)*. Ужгород : Р.Повч, 2012. С. 245.

one or two rows of small rose flowers were embroidered. On some serdaky this composition was supplemented with small burgundy “hytychky” and “kryvulia”. The ends of the “snurok” sewn to the bottom of the sleeves were crossed at the connecting seam. Crossed ends (“kraichyky”), which were lined with red or orange threads, were called “painted kraichyky” (edges). Twelve red, burgundy “hytytsia” or “baraniachi rzhky” (lamb horns) were sewn along the bottom of the serdak.

The serdaky of Rakhiv Hutsuls were sewn from black or dark brown cloth according to the traditional folk-style cut. There are two types of Rakhiv serdaky in terms of decoration. In the town of Rakhiv and the surrounding villages (Vilkhovaty, Kostylivka, Kruhlyi, Dilove, Khmeliv) there were serdaky similar to the Bohdan ones. Only minor differences can be observed. The decoration of the Bohdan serdaky was dominated by red colors, and the Rakhiv serdaky were dominated by burgundy color. Rakhiv ones were characterized by the use of a large number of small “hytychky”. There could be 300–350 of them on one serdak. Only “lamb’s horns” were embroidered on the bottom of the serdaky, in contrast to the ones in Bohdan village, where large “hytytsi” were also found. Serdaky (“Lyibany”) from the villages of Rosishka and Kosivska Poliana had their own distinctive features. Here, unadorned cloth jackets were called “lyibany”, and those decorated with embroidery were called “embroidered lyibany”. Two rows of “motyli”, rings (“suns”), and small oblique crosses were embroidered on the collar. “Suns” were also embroidered on the bottom of the serdak, as well as in the upper part of the back under the collar. The junction of the sleeves with the body of the serdak was decorated with a burgundy “pletinka”, framed by “kryvulia” and four rows of “motyli”. The ethno-identifying feature

of the serdaky from the villages of Rosishka and Kosivska Poliana was the decoration of the upper part of the sleeves with five rings (“suns”) placed in the shape of a straight cross, or nine “suns” in the shape of a diamond.

Embroidery as an element of decoration was used in the manufacture of Hutsul women scarves in Rakhiv region. From the middle of the XIX century, woolen kerchiefs (“metrivky”) of factory production in bright red, burgundy, orange, brown colors became widespread. Along their perimeter they were decorated with colorful fringes that fell on shoulders. In the villages of Chorna Tysa, Yasinia, and Lazeshchyna, burgundy or brown factory scarves (“fustki”) were decorated around the perimeter with three-dimensional floral ornaments made of silk threads using the double-sided satin stitch technique. Such kerchiefs were called “driapanky” – “because the pattern scratched the face.” Closer to the edges, wide (10–20 cm) stylized branches of large multi-colored flowers, brown or orange stems and leaves, and small red buds were embroidered. Small flowers or buds embroidered in four or five ornamental stripes were embroidered in the middle of the “driapanka”. In addition to “driapanky”, Yasinia Hutsul ladies had kerchiefs (“chichkani”) made of orange silk. They were decorated (“tsiatskuvaly”) with small flowers (“chichky”), scattered all over the surface of the scarf. “Tsiatskuvani” scarves were worn so that the border (“obliamivka”) was visible. They were tied behind (“behind the top of the head”). In the 1920–1940’s, in the villages of the Bila Tysa valley, women wore large (145 × 145 cm, 150 × 150 cm) festive woolen scarves (“borushnenky”). The entire surface of the scarf was decorated with floral ornaments in the form of large red or purple flowers, which harmoniously combined with green leaves, forming a wreath. Sometimes the middle of the “borushnenky” was decorated with small

red buds. The edges of the scarf were decorated with braided lace, which ended with long fringes³¹.

Thus, the Hutsuls of the Rakhiv region have four distinct embroidery centers, each of which has certain features in the size of ornamental stripes, ornamentation, composition and color. The traditions of general Hutsul embroidery are most fully preserved in the Yasinia and Bohdan embroidery centers. In the Rakhiv area there are already noticeable tendencies to spreading plant ornaments, which became widespread in the Velykobychkiv area, where it was combined with a geometric pattern.

But despite certain local features, the folk embroidery of the Hutsuls in the Rakhiv region is characterized by the dominance of geometric ornamental motifs, the common structure of the ornamental composition, the same embroidery techniques and polychromy. The embroidery was dominated by different shades of red, yellow and blue, combined with green, white, blue, black and other colors.

Bibliography

Басанець Т., Січкарьова Н. Художні вироби із кольорових металів. in *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1993. № 5–6. С. 46–50.

Боднар І.Я. Орнаментика карпатських вишивок. in *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1969. № 2. С. 55–58.

Ворон А. Підкарпатські гуцули. in *Подкарпатська Русь*. Рочник VIII. Число 7. Ужгород, 1931. С. 149–153.

³¹ Коцан В. *Традиційний народний одяг як прояв ідентичності етнографічних груп українців Закарпаття (XIX – першої половини XX ст.): дис. ...кандидата історичних наук : спец. 07.00.05 – «Етнологія»*. Ужгород : ДВНЗ «УжНУ», 2013. С. 60.

Воропай О. *Звичаї нашого народу. Етнографічний нарис*. К.: «Оберіг», 1993. 590 с.

Гінзбург А.М. *Побудова візерунків*. К.: Держвидав України, 1929. 82 с.+45 табл.

Грибанич І. “Тей гудзики, ременяки ...” (Народний одяг гуцулів). In *Зелені Карпати*. 1995. № 1–2. С. 124–133.

Грибанич І. Народний одяг гуцулів Закарпаття з другої половини ХІХ – 50-х рр. ХХ ст. In *Науковий збірник Закарпатського краєзнавчого музею*. Ужгород: Карпати, 1995. Вип. 1. С. 101–124.

Добрянська І.О., Симоненко І.Ф. Типи та колорит західноукраїнської народної вишивки. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1983. № 4. С. 75–83.

Захарчук-Чугай Р.В. *Українська народна вишивка: західні області УРСР*. К.: Наукова думка, 1988. 191 с.: іл.

Зінченко І., Хорбут Н. Назви вишивальних орнаментів (на матеріалах діалектних словників). In *Науковий вісник Чернівецького національного університету ім. Ю. Федьковича*. Чернівці: Рута, 2008. Вип. 28–29. Словянська філологія. С. 58–64.

Зузяк Т. Особливості народної вишивки подільських сорочок кінця ХІХ – початку ХХ ст. In *Збірник наукових праць з мистецтвознавства і культурології*. К., 2009. Вип. 6. С. 108–117.

Карпинец І.І. Кептари украинского населения Карпат. In *Карпатский сборник: Труды междунар. комиссии по изучению народной культуры Карпат и прилегающих к ним областей*. М.: Наука, 1976. С. 75–78.

Карпинець І.І. Кептарі Українських Карпат. In *Культура та побут населення українських Карпат: матеріали республіканської наукової конференції, присвяч. 50-річчю утворення СРСР: тези доповідей і повідомлень*. Ужгород: Закарпат. обл. друкарня, 1972. С. 52–53.

Карпинець І.І. *Кептарі Українських Карпат*. Львів: Видавничий дім Панорама, 2003. 56.: іл.

Кива Г. Гуцульська художня вишивка. In *Жовтень*. 1976. № 3. С. 110.

Командров О.Ф. Народний костюм Рахівщини. *Народна творчість та етнологія*. 1959. № 3. С. 82–88.

Косміна О. Традиційне вбрання. *Українська етнологія: Навч. посіб. / edited by В. Борисенко*. К.: Либідь, 2007. С. 169–188.

Коцан В.В. Традиційне народне вбрання, народні ремесла та промисли, фольклор боржавських та іршавських долинян (села Довге, Кушниця, Імстичево, Білки, Осій, Ільниця, Малий та Великий Раковець Іршавського району та с. Керецьки Свалявського району) кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. In *Польові матеріали автора. Зошит № 1*. 2000, 2009–2010 pp. 32 с.

Коцан В. *Традиційний народний одяг як прояв ідентичності етнографічних груп українців Закарпаття (XIX – першої половини XX ст.)*; дис. ... кандидата історичних наук: спец. 07.00.05 – «Етнологія». Ужгород: ДВНЗ «УжНУ», 2013. 412 с.

Литвинець Е.М. *Українське народне мистецтво вишивання і нанизування*. К.: Вища школа, 2004. 335 с.

Маковский С.К. *Народное искусство Подкарпатской Руси*. Прага: Пламя, 1925. 156 с.: ил.

Манько В. *Українська народна писанка*. Львів: Свічадо, 2005. 41 с.: іл.

Матейко К.И. Локальные особенности одежды гуцулов конца XIX – начала XX вв. In *Карпатский сборник: Труды междунар. комиссии по изучению народной культуры Карпат и прилегающих к ним областей*. Москва: Наука, 1976. С. 57–66.

Мойсеенко В. Сварга – вкрадений символ. In *Дім і сім'я*. 2011. № 5. С. 11–12.

Парлаг М.І. Народні вишивки Закарпаття. In *Народна творчість та етнологія*. 1972. № 4. С. 46–49.

Пилип Р.І. Локальні особливості одягової вишивки Закарпатської Гуцульщини. In *Матеріали Міжнародної науково-практичної конференції, присвяченої 60-річчю створення першого художнього навчального закладу на Закарпатті*. Ужгород: Гражда, 2006. С. 237–244.

Пилип Р.І. Композиційні принципи побудови орнаменту одягової вишивки гуцулів Закарпаття. In *Народознавчі зошити*. 2007. Вип. 3–4. С. 306–310.

Пилип Р.І. Орнаментальні мотиви традиційної народної вишивки українців Закарпаття кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. In *Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Серія Історія*. Ужгород: Говерла, 2008. Вип. 21. С. 154–166.

Пилип Р.І. *Художня вишивка українців Закарпаття XIX – першої половини XX ст. (типологія за призначенням, художніми та локальними особливостями)*. Ужгород: Р.Повч, 2012. 468 с.: іл.

Полянская Е.В. Народная одежда гуцулов Раховского района. In *Карпатский сборник: Труды междунар. комиссии по изучению народной культуры Карпат и прилегающих к ним областей*. М. Наука, 1972. С. 57–65.

Румынско-русский словарь. М.: Изд-во Иностранных и национальных словарей, 1954. 432 с.

Селівачов М.Р. Домінантні мотиви української народної орнаментики (кінець XIX – XX ст.). In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1990. № 2. С. 68–76.

Семенова М. Релікти дохристиянських вірувань в українському жіночому народному костюмі. In *Берегиня*. 1996. № 3–4. С. 45–48.

Симоненко І.Ф. Народна вишивка Закарпаття. In *Матеріали з етнографії та художнього промислу*. К., 1957. С. 56–85.

Словник символів культури України. Київ: Міленіум, 2005. 351 с.

Сологуб-Коцан Т.Я. Орнаментальні мотиви вишивки сорочок українців Білотисянської долини кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. In *Міжнародний історичний журнал Русин*. 2009. № 4. С.73–88.

Сологуб-Коцан Т.Я. Орнаментальні мотиви гуцульської народної вишивки Закарпаття кінця XIX – першої половини XX ст. (великобичківський осередок). In *Міжнародний історичний журнал Русин*. 2010. № 3. С.105–125.

Філіп Г.Л. Особливості народної вишивки села Росішка Рахівського району (на матеріалах колекції Грицака М.В. з фондів Закарпатського краєзнавчого музею). In *Науковий збірник Закарпатського краєзнавчого музею*. Ужгород, 1995. Вип. IX-X. С. 362–366.

Чіх-Книш Б. Локальні художні особливості гуцульських кептарів. In *Вісник Прикарпатського університету. Серія Мистецтвознавство*. Івано-Франківськ: Плай, 2003. Вип. 5. С. 162–169.

Чорновський О. Нові елементи та тематичні мотиви в орнаменті українських народних тканин. In *Народна творчість та етнографія*. 1965. № 1. С. 35–40.

Шандро М. *Гуцульські вишивки*. Чернівці: Букрек, 2005. 104 с.

Шпала Ф. *Подкарпатские вышивки. Гуцульское вышивание на низину и другие*. Прага, 1920. 24 с.

Штефаньо О. «Куплю любці чоботята, а собі крисаню...», або дещо про національний одяг гуцулів (інтерв'ю з І. Грибаничем). In *Фест*. 2008. 6–12 березня. С. 14.

List of illustrations

Photo 1. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Bohdan, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is a rhombus divided into four or twelve parts. Early twentieth century.

Photo 2. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Kvasy, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is a combination of a rhombus with an eight-petalled rosette. Early 1920's.

Photo 3. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is an eight-petalled rosette. Early twentieth century.

Photo 4. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is the "swastika" ("svarha"). Early twentieth century.

Photo 5. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is semi-squares ("bochkarky") with horns. Early twentieth century.

Photo 6. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Bohdan, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is "berehyni" (guardians) ("holovky" – heads). Early twentieth century.

Photo 7. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is "kolo" (circle). Early twentieth century.

Photo 8. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Bohdan, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is birds ("kachechky"). Early twentieth century.

Photo 9. An inset of a women's shirt, the village of Kvasy, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is "oak leaves". 1920s.

Photo 10. A slit ("dudarytsia") on the cuffs of a women's shirt of Yasinia Hutsuls. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The end of the XIX – first half of the XX century.

Photo 11. Men's shirt bib, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, cross stitch. The dominant motive is "syrtsiata" (hearts). 1920s.

Photo 12. Cuffs ("dudyky") of a man's shirt, the village of Rosishka, Rakhiv district. Home-woven fabric, embroidery, 'nyzyna', cross stitch. The dominant motif is "fish". 1920s.

Photo 13. Men's fur tank top ("keptar"), the village of Lazeshchyna, Rakhiv district. Sheep and fox fur, leather, woolen threads, copper plaques, tassels, applique, embroidery. Early twentieth century.

Photo 14. Women's keptar, the village of Bohdan, Rakhiv district. Sheep and rabbit fur, burgundy cloth, woolen threads, applique, embroidery. Early 1920's.

Photo 15. Female keptar, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Sheep and rabbit fur, leather, woolen threads, applique, embroidery. Early 1930's.

Photo 16. Women's cloth jacket ("kryshynyk"), the village of Lazeshchyna, Rakhiv district. Red cloth, multicolored woolen threads, embroidery. 1920s.

Photo 17. Men's serdak, the village of Bohdan, Rakhiv district. Black home-woven cloth, woolen threads, embroidery, lacing.

Photo 18. Women's serdak, the village of Kosivska Poliana, Rakhiv district. Black home-woven cloth, woolen threads, embroidery, lacing.

Photo 19. Hutsul kerchief – "driapanka", the village of Chorna Tysa, Rakhiv district. Factory fabric, embroidery, double-sided satin stitch, fringes. 1920s.

Photo 20. Hutsul kerchief – "chichkania", the village of Bohdan, Rakhiv district. Factory fabric, embroidery, double-sided satin stitch, fringes. 1920s-1940s.

Illustrations

Photo 1.



Photo 2.



Photo 3.



Photo 4.



Photo 5.



Photo 6.



Photo 7.



Photo 8.



Photo 9.



Photo 10.



Photo 11.



Photo 12.



Photo 13.



Photo 14.



Photo 15.



Photo 16.



Photo 17.



Photo 18.



Photo 19.



Photo 20.



Wooden Spoons' Makers and Spoon Carving in Transcarpathia

Pavlo Leno, Natalia Todorova

Spoons are an essential attribute of our daily life, food culture and table etiquette. Nowadays, factory manufactured cutlery is common, but a hundred years ago most Transcarpathians¹ ate with wooden spoons from wooden bowls (dovbanky)². Spoons were made of wood (rarely clay and metal), as it was the most accessible material easy to process. There was another practical point: with a wooden spoon, unlike a metal one, it is difficult to burn oneself with hot food. Different types of spoons were used mainly for practical purposes, but they also performed certain ritual functions. Based on these facts and taking into account the fact that the traditions of spoon-carving have not disappeared so far, it seems appropriate to trace their place and role in the traditional and modern culture of Transcarpathia.

¹ Even now, 2/3 of the region's residents live in rural areas, while a hundred years ago they made up more than 80% of the region's population.

² Федір Потушняк, "Закарпатська українська етнографія. Значення, історіографія, завдання, проблеми та їх вирішення, елементи та їх розміщення," In Тиводар М.П. Життя і наукові пошуки Федора Потушняка (Ужгород: "Гражда", 2005), 253.

Historiography and Source Base

No separate study of this type of handicraft activity and of spoons as a specific craft product has been conducted, and therefore this text is written mainly on the basis of field ethnographic research. In addition, scientific literature was used, which sporadically touched the topic formulated in the title. Among them is a monograph on the folk architecture of the Ukrainians in Transcarpathia³, in which its author dwelled on the details of the traditional housing interior, including kitchen utensils. Some information can be found in ethnographic essays and monographic studies, which deal with traditional gastronomy and utensils⁴, ways of shepherds' cooking and eating⁵, and so on. An important source for studying the ethnoculture of local Hutsuls is the fundamental 5-volume publication 'Hutsulshchyna' (Hutsul region)⁶, published in 1899–1908, which contains a paragraph with illustrations of spoon-making. The importance of this small paragraph is that it was written on the basis of the then-living tradition of Hutsul spoon-carving. In addition to the scientific research mentioned, the article is based on the interviews that have been recorded in recent years in

³ П.М. Федака, *Народне житло українців Закарпаття XVIII – XX ст.* (Ужгород: Гражда, 2005).

⁴ Юрій Жаткович, *Етнографический очерк угро-русских* (Ужгород : “Мистецька лінія”, 2007); Федір Потушняк, “Закарпатська українська етнографія. Значення, історіографія, завдання, проблеми та їх вирішення, елементи та їх розміщення.” In Тиводар М.П. *Життя і наукові пошуки Федора Потушняка* (Ужгород: “Гражда”, 2005), 163–268 ; Михайло Тиводар, *Етнографія Закарпаття : історико-етнографічний нарис* (Ужгород : “Гражда”, 2011).

⁵ Михайло Тиводар, *Традиційне скотарство українських Карпат другої половини XIX – першої половини XX ст. Історико-етнологічне дослідження* (Ужгород : Видавництво «Карпати»), 1994.

⁶ Володимир Шухевич, *Гуцульщина. В 5 частинах* (Харків : Видавець Олександр Савчук, 2018).

Transcarpathia, including hereditary spoon makers who are still engaged in this activity.

Terminology

In the mid-1950s, a linguistic research took place in Transcarpathia under the guidance of the famous philologist Yosyp Dzendzelivsky. Then, there was collected the material, which formed the basis of "The Linguistic Atlas of the Ukrainian Folk Dialects of the Transcarpathian Region of Ukraine" in 3 volumes. In the first volume of this atlas provides a cartographic localization of the spoons' names that existed at that time. According to the atlas, the Ukrainians of the region used three main variants of naming a spoon: "lozhka", "lyzhka / lyzhga", "ozhytsia / uzhytsia"⁷. As our field materials show, 70 years after the generalizations by Y. Dzendzelivsky, the mentioned names continue to exist in the villages of the region to this day, although the first, i.e., literary version of the name, is used more often.

Traditions of Spoon Carving: Spoon-Makers and Their Product Line, Procurement of Raw Materials, the Process of Making Spoons

On the territory of the region in the first half of the twentieth century, spoon-making was usually a domestic occupation until factory-made goods spread in the interwar period. In general, before that period, the local population was characterized by the fact that in each settlement most things were made by hand. Craftsmen and craftswomen did everything: from simple spoons to complex and fully functional carts, from all items of clothing for all seasons to

⁷ Й. Дзендзелівський, *Лінгвістичний атлас українських народних говорів Закарпатської області України (лексика). Частина I* (Ужгород : Друкарня Ужгородського держуніверситету, 1958), map 65.

houses, etc. Spoon-making was also practiced by appropriate craftsmen who worked on wood. They passed on their skills to children / grandchildren or apprentices, but anyone could make a spoon if needed. Spoons were made in quantities that were needed for their own needs, as a gift or to the order of neighbors and relatives, for sale to fellow villagers or occasionally to a neighboring village. Sometimes spoons could be taken to the fair, but, as informants from different parts of Transcarpathia testify, this rarely happened. Spoons were often imported goods. In particular, in the village of Bohdan, Hutsuls often bought them from the Boyky of the neighboring Ivano-Frankivsk region⁸, who came to trade over the mountain pass. There we heard that local Jewish *bovtashi*⁹ were buying / ordering spoons in bulk to preserve the product range in their stores (*bovts*).

Although the manufacture of ordinary wooden spoons is not a complicated process, there existed specialization and commercial production of spoons. In Transcarpathia, this was practiced by whole families, for whom spoon-carving was and still is the main type of income. This niche is traditionally occupied by local Wallachians¹⁰, who live in different parts of the region. Such hereditary spoon-carvers are, in particular, the Wallachians from the village of Dovhe, who are called “*tokari*” (turners) there. They made wooden troughs, spoons and other utensils. Another center where wooden spoons are traditionally made is a mixed Ukrainian-Wallachian

⁸ By the way, this ethnonymy contains a funny element. Local Hutsuls call the residents of the neighboring Ivano-Frankivsk region “Boyky”, while “Boyky” in turn call them “Hungarians”. The paradox of the situation is that both are Hutsuls.

⁹ *Bovt* is a shop in the local dialect. *Bovtash* is the owner of the store.

¹⁰ There has not yet been conducted a full-fledged scientific research, but one version of their ethnic history is that the local Wallachians are one of the Roma groups who moved here from Romania.

community from the village of Simery. Representatives of this community produced various wooden products (including spoons), which used to provide the entire Turian Valley (which is 19 villages) and far beyond. At markets and fairs, they went with their goods shouting "*tialky, lozhky, varikhy*"¹¹ (See *photos No 1–4*). According to such advertising, they were given the name – "*tialkashi*". They were also called 'lozhkari' or 'lozhychnyky'. The latter two names were common in other parts of the region. Another similar community lives in the village of Obava, where the Wallachians inhabit a separate area (residential neighborhood) of the village.

The product range of spoon makers depended on the practical need. There were spoons of different sizes for eating (See *photo No 2*); separately there were larger or smaller varikhi for cooking (See *photo No 3–4*). There also can be mentioned the soup ladles / dippers of different sizes (See *photo No 5*), which the valley residents called 'spelachky' / 'spylachki', i.e., those that are used to 'spelaty' / 'spylaty' (to ladle out) liquid dishes¹². The household had some large 'varikhy' (ladles) used to cook food for livestock. And shepherds in their lives used pasture spoons with a long handle, which allowed them to safely cook food over a fire¹³. Nowadays, the range of spoons is about the same as before, only flat spatulas for dishes on a 'patelnia' (frying pan) have been added (See *photo No 14*). Despite the fact that now the

¹¹ A tialka is a small vessel hollowed out of wood, such as a small bowl. Varikha is a large long spoon used for cooking, stirring, etc.

¹² Here there may be traced the influence of Germanic languages on the local dialect, where in general there are many borrowed words. In particular, the mentioned 'spylachka', which is used to ladle out soup, probably comes from English "to spill" – to pour. Other examples might be: 'bitsiglia' – a bicycle, umbrelka – an umbrella, etc.

¹³ From a private conversation with Mikhail Tyvodar, the author of a monograph on nomadic pastoralism.

population of the region mainly uses metal cutlery, there are hardly Transcarpathian housewives who do not have a few Wallachian ladles or spatulas in their kitchens.

Traditionally, the material for spoons was chosen from wood common in a particular area. Softwoods were more often used, as they were easier to process, chop, and carve: linden, pear, poplar, pine, spruce, fir, aspen, ash, and sometimes alder. Occasionally they could take material more difficult to process – juniper, sycamore, beech. It was forbidden to make spoons from “unclean” wood – willow¹⁴. Also, by the way, it was forbidden to cook over a willow campfire. A poplar spoon was considered good because it was strong and light. Taste preferences played their role in the manufacture of spoons. For example, Hutsuls from the town of Rakhiv and the village of Bohdan or residents of the Turian Valley did not like alder spoons because they were bitter, i.e., they added a bitter taste to food. Hutsuls tried not to make spoons from linden or aspen, because they were short-lived. For their products, they could choose beech, maple or sycamore. Hutsuls got a *“yellow, fragrant spoon”* from pine¹⁵.

The material was harvested depending on the characteristics of the wood and the season. The bark was immediately removed from the wood until it adhered and the wood left to dry in the form of bars of the desired shape and size. The material was harvested at different times of the year, which was reflected in the functionality of the product; for example, a spoon made of winter raw material was stronger than that harvested in summer or autumn. Poplar was advised to be taken *“... in the fall, when the last*

¹⁴ It is believed that willows (especially those that grow on river banks) are inhabited by “evil spirits”.

¹⁵ Шухевич, Гуцульщина, 293.

leaves fall.” In particular, in the Turian valley, they preferred a tree that “fell asleep” (late autumn or winter). In some areas the material was collected in the summer, in particular, in the village of Tereshul, thus, fir and poplar were taken. There, the only evidence was found that spoons were made of “unclean wood” willow, which was cut into pieces in the spring. Hutsuls of Rakhiv region did not specifically look for material for spoons, but in the process of felling they could set aside several suitable ‘kovbushki’ / ‘kovbychky’ (small logs) for blanks.

Modern spoon carvers usually harvest raw materials (linden, poplar, acacia) in spring or autumn. After that, it dries in a room where there is no direct sun and there is good ventilation and only after six months or a year it can be processed into certain products. In the village of Obava, where spoon-making is a hereditary family business, which children are taught, a man is engaged in harvesting material and preparing blanks of various sizes. The woman makes spoons and spatulas, after which their final clean polishing is carried out again by the man.

Spoons were made by spoon carvers at home. This does not require any special equipment or premises, so you can do it in the house, workshop or shop (shed). This was usually done in the winter, although modern spoon carvers can produce spoons all year round. For a day of productive work, a skilled spoon carver can make 40–50 products. The main tools include a saw, several types of axes, knives and cutters of various shapes (*See photos No 6–7*). Tools were previously ordered from local blacksmiths. They were exchanged for food or made by craftsmen themselves, if they had nothing to pay for the blacksmith’s product. In his ‘Hutsulshchyna’, Volodymyr Shukhevyh included a drawing of a chisel

used by spoon-makers¹⁶ (*See photo No 8*). According to the narrators, such cutters, resembling the shape of a thin sickle with a wooden handle, were widely used until the 1960s and 1970s, after which factory tools (chisels, a lathe, etc.) were added. However, even today such cutters are one of the main tools of spoon carvers (*See photo No 9*).

Transcarpathian spoons were mostly oval and occasionally round. In the quoted work “Hutsulshchyna” in the section “Lyzhkarstvo” Volodymyr Shukhevych recreated in drawings the process of carving a small spoon from wooden blanks (*See photo No 10*) and named its parts: ‘idalo’ (ladle) and fist (handle)¹⁷, although in Transcarpathia these names are not found. According to the recollections and stories of the narrators, wooden spoons were not decorated with any colors or patterns, unlike the spoons that were brought for sale by Boyky from Ivano-Frankivsk region. The actual lack of decor is demonstrated by the materials of the funds of the Transcarpathian Museum of Folk Architecture and Life. However, ethnographer Mykhailo Tyvodar, a well-known researcher of cattle breeding, mentioned in a private conversation that in the 1960s and 1970s he observed Hutsul shepherds in mountain pasture grounds of the Rakhiv region carving and burning patterns on the handles of long pasture spoons which were used for cooking food in large cauldrons. However, even then it was a mechanical repetition of tradition, which means that no one could explain the symbolic meaning of those patterns. Thus, it can be assumed that the tradition of decorating spoons was once widespread, but eventually lost to exist.

The opinion that the ornamentation of spoons once existed may be evidenced by the fact that this tradition has

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

long been preserved in the manufacture of *lozhechnyks* (spoon holders). A *lozhechnyk* (*lzhychnyk*, *lozhychnyk*, *zalyzhnyk*, *lyzhnyk*) is a hanging stand in the form of a bar or board with holes for spoons, ladles or *varikhas* (See *photos No 5, 11, 12*). A backrest with a variety of shapes was attached to the board with holes. According to Pavlo Fedaka's observations¹⁸, the ornamentation of *lozhechnyky's* (spoon holder's) backs was dominated by geometric patterns, less often by stylized plant motifs. There were also anthropomorphic figures with their hands raised, presumably in prayer (see photo No 13), as well as crosses, six-petalled rosettes, and figures of symmetrically arranged birds. According to Mykhailo Stankevych¹⁹, these visual motives should be taken as evidence of an archaic symbolic tradition closely connected with ceremonial meals.

The ritual role of spoons

Despite the fragmentary evidence, it is worth mentioning information about the ritual role of spoons. In particular, R.F. Kaindl in his study of the Hutsuls mentions that before eating *kuleshi* (a dish made of corn flour and mashed potatoes), they squeezed a cross mark on its surface with a spoon²⁰. The same thing happened to be mentioned in the memories of our narrators. Interesting elements of rites are recorded in the villages of the Turian valley. In particular, in the village of Rakovo on the morning of Holy Evening, the mother of a boy suffering from enuresis gave him a *varikha* and sent to a neighbor to ask for salt. Seeing such a

¹⁸ П.М. Федака, *Народне житло*, 180.

¹⁹ Михайло Станкевич, "Художнє дерево," in *Етногенез та етнічна історія населення українських Карпат. Т. 2. Етнологія та мистецтвознавство*, ed. by Stepan Pavliuk (Львів: Ін-т народознавства НАН України, 2006), 719.

²⁰ Р.Ф. Кайндль, *Гуцули : їхнє життя, звичаї та народні перекази* (Чернівці : "Молодий буковинець", 2003), 64.

borrower, the woman took a varikha and lightly hit him on the “causal area” with the words “*For how long will you pee in bed?!*” It was believed that after such actions he would not pee in bed anymore. Among the bans concerning the period of pregnancy, women from the village of Turia Pasika were not recommended to taste the dish with varikha, let alone eat with it, because the child will have a big mouth. There is evidence from the same place of attempts to exert active negative influence: during the wedding, the ill-wishers could harm the newlyweds. They took water in a cup or some other vessel and poured it on a lozhechnyk from which they had previously taken out all or as many spoons as they wished the newlyweds would have daughters and said, “*We wish you had as many girls as there were holes in a lozhechnyk!*” These actions tried to induce the conception of more girls, whose birth for economic reasons was not as desirable as that of boys.

Conclusions

Spoon-making in Transcarpathia has a long tradition. Yet beginning in the interwar period, more practical factory-made metal spoons gradually pushed them out of use. However, even now there are whole families of hereditary spoon carvers, for whom spoon making remains the main means of subsistence. They make a fairly large range of wooden spoons and spatulas, which are easily sold in markets or even on the streets of large cities. They are mainly used for cooking, but buyers also take them as souvenirs in places where ethnotourism is spread, at ethno festivals and fairs. It is clear that the traditions of spoon carving, despite their certain preservation, do not play such a role as they did a century ago. Since the memory of informants has not preserved much information, the field research recorded only a utilitarian view on spoon carving, although fragmentary

information about ritual culture from field materials or information from the books by V. Shukhevych or R. Kindl suggest that the role of spoon traditional culture was not limited to practical needs.

Bibliography

Дзендзелівський, Й.О. *Лінгвістичний атлас українських народних говорів Закарпатської області України (лексика). Частина I*. Ужгород : Друкарня Ужгородського держуніверситету, 1958.

Жаткович, Юрій. *Етнографический очерк угро-русских*. Ужгород : “Мистецька лінія”, 2007.

Кайндль, Р.Ф. *Гуцули : їхнє життя, звичаї та народні перекази*. Чернівці : “Молодий буковинець”, 2003.

Потушняк, Федір. “Закарпатська українська етнографія. Значення, історіографія, завдання, проблеми та їх вирішення, елементи та їх розміщення.” In Тиводар М.П. *Життя і наукові пошуки Федора Потушняка*, 163–268. Ужгород: “Гражда”, 2005.

Станкевич, Михайло. “Художнє дерево.” In *Етногенез та етнічна історія населення українських Карпат. Т. 2. Етнологія та мистецтвознавство*, edited by Stepan Pavliuk, 709–726. Львів : Ін-т народознавства НАН України, 2006.

Тиводар, Михайло. *Етнографія Закарпаття : історико-етнографічний нарис*. Ужгород : “Гражда”, 2011.

Тиводар, Михайло. *Традиційне скотарство українських Карпат другої половини XIX – першої половини XX ст. Історико-етнологічне дослідження*. Ужгород : Видавництво “Карпати”, 1994.

Федака, П.М. *Народне житло українців Закарпаття XVIII – XX ст.* Ужгород: Гражда, 2005.

Шухевич, Володимир. *Гуцульщина. В 5 частинах*. Харків : Видавець Олександр Савчук, 2018.

List of photos and illustrations

1 – A tialka (a hollowed out wooden bowl) from the village of Turia Paseka. Photo by Pavlo Leno.

2 – Spoons from the village of Dovge (1940s). Photo by Vasyl Kotsan.

3 – A large varikha from the village of Dovge (1960s). Photo by Vasyl Kotsan.

4 – A large varikha from the village of Dubrynichi (1980s). Photo by Vasyl Kotsan.

5 – A ladle and two varikhas in a lozhechnyk (spoon holder) from the village of Lysychovo (1950s). Photo by Pavlo Leno.

6 – Tools of hereditary spoon carvers from the village of Obava (June 2020). Photo by Pavlo Leno.

7 – Tools of hereditary spoon carvers from the village of Obava (June 2020). Photo by Pavlo Leno.

8 – The image of a chisel used by spoon-carvers in the late 19th century. Illustration from the book by Володимир Шухевич, *Гуцульщина*, 293.

9 – A similar chisel in the hands of a spoon maker from the village of Obava (June 2020). Photo by Pavlo Leno.

10 – Reconstruction of the process of carving a small spoon. Illustration from the book by Володимир Шухевич, *Гуцульщина*, 293.

11 – A lozhechnyk (spoon holder) from the village of Dovge (1940s). Photo by Vasyl Kotsan.

12 – A lozhechnyk (spoon holder) from the village of Rakoshino (1940s). Photo by Vasyl Kotsan.

13 – An anthropomorphic lozhechnyk (spoon holder) from the village of Husnii (the beginning of the twentieth century). Photo from the article by Михайло Станкевич, “Художнє дерево”, 719.

14 – A large varikha and a kitchen spatula. A product of spoon carvers from the village of Obava (March 2021). Photo by Pavlo Leno.

Photos and illustrations

1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.

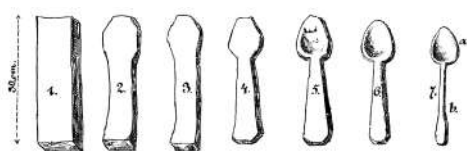


164. Різец. 1. колодка; 2. лижна.

9.



10.



163. 1—7 представляють технічне виконання ложки, а. ізоло; б. фіг.

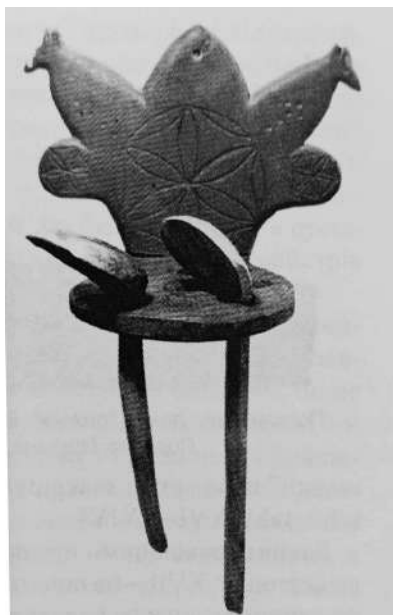
11.



12.



13.



14.



Experience of Contemporary Reconstruction of “Cheres”, a Traditional Leather Belt of Eastern Carpathian Inhabitants

Volodymyr Hutsul, Yuri Slavik

The Academic Explanatory Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language contains the following explanation of the term *cheres*: “an ancient wide leather belt sewn lengthwise from two straps put together so that it had a pocket inside for money and other valuables.”¹

The term “cheres” in the meaning of a wide belt of two layers of leather, in which coins could be transported, periodically occurs in the Ruthenian act material of the Polish-Lithuanian state dated the middle of the 16th century. For example, the complaint written on behalf of Prince Andrii Kurbskyi against the boyars of Prince Lev Sangushko about the attack on the Porydub wojt (village headman) Netsei during driving a herd of oxen intended for sale from Mylianovets folwark (farmstead) of Kurbsky to Gdansk dated 1567 reads:

“And seventy kopas of the Lithuanian prince’s groszy, which the prince his mercy, our lord, gave to that Netsei to cover his food, to pay duties

¹ Словник української мови, том 11 (Київ: Наукова думка, 1980), 307–308.

and to drive those oxen, together with a cheres, were taken away from that Netsei, and he was robbed of his clothes” («...и семдесят кон грошей литовское личбы, кнжихъ пенезеи, которые, деи, княз его милост, пан мои, тому Нецью дал был на страву и на отправу мы тотых волов, с чересом с того Нецья знали, и з одъян его злупили»).

A cheres was clearly distinguished from waist belts in a complaint dated 1573 by Lutsk merchant Dakhn Gorainovych about the illegal confiscation of his goods by Ostroh customs officers during the fair in Ostroh: fabrics, fur, metal and leather products, paper, groceries and retail goods. In 1578, Vasyl Hulevych's men took a cheres with 12 thalers away from a certain Vavrynets Kuhutovsky on a paved road. In the same year, under similar circumstances, Yvvtukh Vaskovych, a gunsmith from Nesukhozhev Castle, lost six kopas of Lithuanian *groszy*.²

In ethnographic descriptions of the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Carpathians, cheres regularly appears as an important element of a man's costume. A member of the T.G. Shevchenko Scientific Society, Yuri Zhatkovych in the “Ethnographic Essay of the Ugric-Ruthenians” published in 1896 (and, in the same year, translated into Ukrainian by Volodymyr Hnatiuk) wrote the following:

“Cheres has a very heterogeneous appearance. In the southern areas it is only 2 – 3 fingers wide. In Maramorosh, primarily in the middle part of the territory, it is so wide that covers the entire upper part of the abdomen and most of the chest. In the northern area, they always carry a leather bag, a taistra, and the front of it, as well as a cheres, is decorated with shiny buttons and buckles. They carry money, coins,

² Торгівля на Україні XIV- середина XVII століття: Волинь і Наддніпрянина (Київ: Наукова думка, 1990), 123, 156, 169, 172.

knives, fire flint, and other small things in their cheres and taistra, so they take them off only when they work hard and at night.”³

This is not contradicted by the description of the cheres as part of a men’s Hutsul costume by Volodymyr Shukhevych:

“Everyday man’s costume consisted of a white open-neck shirt gathered around the neck by the narrow trimming and at the wrists in narrow dudy (cuffs); around the hips there were wide long porkenitsi made of coarse white linen tied up with ochkur or fixed by bukuriv (a narrow belt), or a wider red cloth krashenjsi or black, sometimes white cloth kholoshni – pants; over them fell a shirt from the hips, where it was girded by a waistband cheres; the Hutsul pulled up the bosom of the shirt, as a result of which it hung shorter from the front and was 20–30 cm longer from the back; in the cheres there was a pipe stuck behind, a leather purse, and a clasp knife on a long strap or brass rails (chain).”⁴

The Soviet scientists wrote about cheres in the same vein:

“Until the XX century there were preserved wide men’s belts – «cheres». In the XIX century, they were made in the Hutsul region. These were wide (35–40 cm) belts made of yuft sole leather, folded in half, sewn at the top with a thin strap. The chereses were pinned to five, seven, and sometimes even twelve buckles. Dovbush was said to wear such a wide cheres, according to Hutsuls. This heavy belt sometimes had also brass chains that served as suspenders. Cheres was worn during heavy work; it was used to store money in, and it was most often used as a supplement to festive clothes. In Kolomyika they sang: «To marry a girl from a rich family, a lad had to have a cheres; My dad sold white ‘stryzhky’, and bought a cheres with two buckles.» Wealthy Hutsuls

³ Юрій Жаткович, «Замітки етнографічні з Угорської Руси», в: *Етнографічний збірник, том II* (Львів: НТШ, 1896), 29.

⁴ Володимир Шухевич, *Гуцульщина, Частина I-II*, (Львів: НТШ, 1898), 146.

wore very wide cheres with many buckles, rings, chains for attaching knives, pipes, and so on. Such belts had several sections, were richly decorated with embossed patterns, wicker straps. In Transcarpathia in the 1980s, the cost of a high quality cheres was equal to the price of two sheep. In general, cheres was associated with the wealth of the owner, was the subject of his pride and dignity. Hence the hyperbole can be understood: «And that belt is worth more than twice your kingdom.»⁵

As can be deduced from the above texts, the subject combined practical and symbolic (identification, presentation) functions, marking the status of the owner, his social rank and property situation.

Field research carried out within the framework of the project showed that the traditions of cheres production using the authentic technologies in Transcarpathia have been lost. They have also completely disappeared from men's everyday life, mock-ups and models of cheres are now used exclusively among folk and theatrical groups of the region, while a few historical specimens preserved by Transcarpathians are used during wedding celebrations and festivals of traditional culture.

Instead, in the process of field research, contact was established with the master Bohdan Dereviaha⁶, who has mastered traditional local technologies of processing and sewing leather and making shoes and leather goods from it.

⁵ Анна Горинь, *Шкіряні промисли західних областей України (друга половина XIX- початок XX століття120-)* (Київ: Наукова думка, 1986), 58.

⁶ Abstract of Bohdan Dereviaha Curriculum Vitae: “*Dereviaha Bohdan, leatherworker, 30 years old, living in village Nyzhnie Selyshche, Khust district, Transcarpathian region. After finishing school, he entered Lviv military academy in 2007 and graduated from this academy in 2011. From 2007 to 2018 he was on military service in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. From 2019 to nowadays he manufactures different kinds of leather goods.*”

During the interview in the summer of 2020, it was agreed to begin the activities to reconstruct the traditional cheres production technology and to start manufacturing its replicas from the relevant materials.

It was found out that in the funds of the Transcarpathian Museum of Folk Architecture and Life there are several samples of cheres regionally produced. They became the main material sources and prototypes for the reconstruction described in this article. Namely:

Leather cheres No 5085, two-layer, size 93/33 cm, decorated with colored wicker leather and metal rivets, has six brass buckles, purchased from Yu. Yu. Kliuchivskyi in Yasinia settlement, Rakhiv district, Zakarpattia region in 1979. Beginning – the first half of the twentieth century (**Photo 1a-b**);

Leather cheres No 301, two-layer, size 100/24 cm, decorated with colored leather weaving, five brass buckles, purchased in 1968 in the village of Bohdan Rakhiv district from P.I. Ferents, early twentieth century (**Photo 2**).

The materials from which the items are made are defined – cowhide leather, morocco leather (straps for braiding and decoration), brass, copper, dyes.

Items are rectangular pieces of cowhide leather (cattle) bent in half, in which on the one hand there are sewn brass buckles, and on the other hand there are leather straps for fastening on the belt. The average skin thickness is 4.5 mm for each layer.

As a result of studying the above-mentioned museum exhibits, the master Bohdan Dereviaha developed his own concept of cheres's reconstruction. The following is an interview with the master, recorded on March 22, 2021 (**Photo 3**).

The main differences in the materials were that the cattle leather of chemical, not vegetable tanning was used, and rawhide goat, instead of morocco leather for braiding and decorating straps, as well as ink, were used to make the replica.

The following tools were used to make a replica – hammer, boards, load 200 kg for pressing leather, awl, stationery knife, marking tool, hand press, flat needle for stitching. For stamping there was made separately a hand machine (**Photos 4a-4c**), several punches for leather, pliers for trimming rivets. Buckles were cast to order from brass (**Photo 5**). Copper rivets were ordered as a finished product from a supplier.

The sequence of operations was the following: cutting and trimming of leather, bending leather in half by means of boards and leads, embossing ornaments by hand machine (**Photo 6a-b**) production of belts for braiding from goatskin, casting of buckles, sewing of buckles (**Photo 7**), connection and stitching two layers of leather by straps on the top edge (**Photo 8**), decorating and painting of thongs by means carcasses and wax (**Photo 9**), stuffing of copper rivets (**Photo 10**).

The production process from cutting the leather to the finished product takes two weeks of working time (approximately 120 – 140 working hours).

The resulting replica has a size of 118/32 cm, thickness approximately 9 mm, weights 2,680 kg; the item has five brass buckles, decorated with colored leather weaving and copper rivets (**Photo 11**).

Further experimental studies of the functional features of the cheres as a component of men's costume, its suitability for everyday wear in modern conditions, usability in different

landscape and climatic conditions, the effects on the human body as a result of daily prolonged wear seem promising.

Conclusions

A set of materials and consumables for making replicas of cheres are available in Ukraine, as well as the main set of tools. Therefore, the decline of the tradition of making and wearing authentic chereses is clearly not associated with a change in the local level of technology. Rather, the disappearance of cheres from the modern and everyday costume of the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Carpathians can be explained by ideological changes, cultural transformations, changes in fashion and strategies and concepts of self-presentation in their environment. On the other hand, the organization of such items' production in the presence of competent specialists and investments is provided for the establishment and operation in the regional cultural space.

Bibliography

Горинь, Анна. *Шкіряні промисли західних областей України (друга половина XIX-XX століття)*. Київ: Наукова думка, 1986;

Жаткович. Юрій. «Замітки етнографічні з Угорської Руси,» в: *Етнографічний збірник, том II*. Львів: НТШ, 1896;

Словник української мови, том 11. Київ: Наукова думка, 1980;

Торгівля на Україні XIV- середина XVII століття: Волинь і Наддніпрянщина. Київ: Наукова думка, 1990;

Шухевич, Володимир. *Гуцульщина. Частина I-II*. Львів: НТШ, 1898.

List of illustrations

Photo 1a. A leather cheres. The Transcarpathian museum of national architecture and life, No 5085, size 93/33 cm. Beginning – the first half of the twentieth century. © The Transcarpathian museum of national architecture and life.

Photo 1b. A leather cheres. No 5085, detail. © The Transcarpathian museum of national architecture and life.

Photo 2. A leather cheres. The Transcarpathian museum of national architecture and life, No 301, size 100/24 cm, early twentieth century. © The Transcarpathian museum of national architecture and life.

Photo 3. A currier, leather craftsman Bohdan Dereviaha. © V. Hutsul.

Photo 4a. A hand machine for embossing patterns on leather. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 4b. A hand machine for embossing patterns on leather, detail of working parts. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 5. Brass buckles for replica. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 6 a-b. Making patterns on leather. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 7. Belt and strap of the replica. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 8. Leather straps connecting two leather layers of replica. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 9. Décor of the replica. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 10. Copper rivets. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Photo 11. Finished replica of cheres. © Bohdan Dereviaha.

Illustrations

Photo 1a.



Photo 1b.



Photo 2.



Photo 3.



Photo 4a.



Photo 4b.

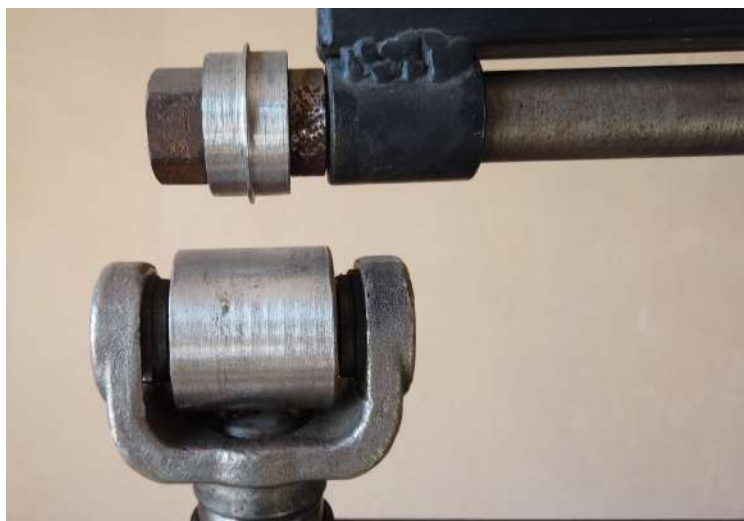


Photo 5.



Photo 6a.



Photo 6b.



Photo 7.



Photo 8.



Photo 9.



Photo 10.



Photo 11.

