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Cultural and Social Innovations, Sustainability and Creative Tourism

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FOREWORD

The volume is based on Creative Region III (Cultural and Social Innovations, Sustainability and Creative tourism), within the framework of the Thematic Excellence Programme 2021 – National Research sub-programme, which is supported by the NRFIH, reports on the results of the second year of our project identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 in the form of publications.

The papers in this volume were based on the workshop that took place on December 7, 2023 at the University of Miskolc.

Within the framework of the Creative Region III project (January 2022 – December 2025) – building on our previous results, on the one hand (staying in the Abaúj region), with the results of the pilot program, further feedback, development and dissemination of various scientific results - through community, school and cultural events - have been taking place. Then we adapt the research to Edelény microregion, and the results of the project will be internationalized more widely.

Our priority task is to contribute to the improvement of research conditions, involvement of young researchers and PhD students in the project for the entire duration, improving the skills of the next generation of researchers for social innovation, as well as improving personal conditions in the University of Miskolc for the successful performance of its third missionary tasks.

Direct and indirect economic development solutions appearing during research activities

(business start-ups, local product branding, creative tourism, education equalization programmes, cultural depository, mobile application). With the help of the transformation of social innovation these altogether creates the conditions for network cooperation of actors.

Research and trainings implemented in other projects also serve as a good basis for joining the international research community, strengthening integration.

Our current practice and future plans include joining the EU Horizon Europe framework programme. We place great importance to publication activities, especially for young researchers and doctoral students. In addition to these a novel element of our project is that we place great emphasis on the implementation of local adaptation of creative tourism.

The volume was realized within the framework of the Thematic Excellence Programme 2021 – National Research, as part of the Creative Region III project identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22, with the support of the NRFIH.

Lector: Kinga Szabó-Tóth

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Ilona Szűcs' New Volume: Remény ágán

Ilona Szűcs is a contemporary writer and poet, who has not yet been discovered by Hungarian literature, although her varied and quite high quality literary work deserves special attention. This presentation is primarily a short biography, descriptive in nature, covering the main stages of the Hegymeg-born artist's life, while highlighting some of her volumes. I have already written in a previous paper,² that the author's writings also present a picture of his native village, Hegymeg, which, even if indirectly, also contributes to the history of the settlement and its characteristics between 1957 and 1964 from a subjective, but local, internal perspective. In addition, it was also the intention of the essay to draw the attention of the readers and the literary historical discourse to Ilona Szűcs, who was born in Hegymeg, and her work.

In this paper, in addition to presenting the most important milestones in the life of the writer and poet and the relevant characteristics of the settlement of Hegymeg, I will give a quick overview of Ilona Szűcs' oeuvre (her latest volume, which also gives the title to the lecture, is worthy of mention here), and I will take stock of the press coverage and media coverage of her works since the last study on her, i. e. just one and a half years ago. In the second half of the presentation, I will discuss her book, Remény ágán [On the Branch of Hope], and try to place it in the context of her oeuvre. The present summary is limited in scope to what has been said above.

Key-features of Hegymeg:

- Located in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, 11 km from Edelény and 32 km from Miskolc
- Surrounding settlements: Damak (4 km), Lak (2 km), Tomor (4 km), Edelény (11 km)
- Area: 570 hectares
- Number of inhabitants: 111
- Number of dwellings: 55

This shows that the settlement is very small, with no significant cultural resources based on its history. The work of Ilona Szűcs is also particularly unique, because in my research so far I

¹ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 -National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH. ²BARNA 2022

have not found any writer or poet born in Hegymeg, and certainly not one who (also) writes about Hegymeg.

The volumes of the writer and poet are, chronologically, as follows:

- Szűcs, Ilona, Egyedüli reményem: Édesapám hadifogságának története [My Only Hope: The Story of My Father's Prisoner of War], Miskolc, Könyvműhely, 2016.
- Szűcs, Ilona, Élet-morzsák [Crumbs of Life], Miskolc, Irodalmi Rádió, 2019.
- Szűcs, Ilona, Bölcsőtől a sírig [From the Cradle to the Grave], Miskolc, ME Sokszorosító Üzeme, 2021.
- Szűcs, Ilona, Remény ágán [On the Branch of Hope], Miskolc, ME Sokszorosító Üzeme, 2023.

It should be noted here that Ilona Szűcs' volumes are available in very limited numbers, although their literary value is considerable. This is why a republication might be important. Egyedüli reményem [My Only Hope] and Élet-morzsák [Crumbs of Life] were published in only 100-100 copies, Bölcsőtől a sírig [From the Cradle to the Grave] in only 150 copies, and [My Only Hope] in 100 copies. We should think of the works published in 2019 and 2021 as the most important cultural resources of Hegymeg, since the volumes Life-morzsák and Bölcsőtől a sírig (From the Cradle to the Grave) not only contain the author's biography but also his relationship to Hegymeg, and his works also show the map of Hegymeg between 1957 and 1964, as I mentioned above. On the one hand, this is how the texts can contribute to a period in the history and characteristics of the village, and on the other hand, this is why Ilona Szűcs' writings are of unique local cultural value.

The media coverage is also important for the marketing of the municipality, so it also helps the cultural management of Hegymeg. Until the end of 2022, it is not very intense and not very strong, even though its writing deserves more promotion, reviewing and criticism. However, in the last year, and without any modesty, the number of articles, lectures and abstracts on his work has increased, thanks to the opportunities offered by the Creative Region III project, among others. This cultural marketing is also very important for Ilona Szűcs individually, in addition to managing the municipality, as it promotes the recognition of her poetics. Press review of the volumes chronologically until January 2024:

- Hegyi, Erika, Az a keserves harminckilenc hónap, Észak-Magyarország, 2017, 5.
- Varga, Gábor, Szűcs Béla visszaemlékezései hadifogságára, Könyvespolc, Honismeret, 2018, 2. sz., 116–117.
- Szűcs, Ilona, Költőien az örök otthonról, Észak-Magyarország, 2019, 7.
- Zsoldos, Árpád–Zsoldos, Adrienn, Szűcs Ilona: Élet-morzsák könyvbemutató, Irodalmi Rádió, 2019, https://irodalmiradio.hu/2019/03/13/szucs-ilona-elet-morzsakkonyvbemutato/ (Utolsó letöltés: 2022.12.13.)
- Creative Region III. Workshop, 2022.
- "Borsod megye apró gyöngye/szívemben laksz mindörökre" Hegymeg egy kortárs író- és költőnő szemével: workshop-presentation of Creative Region III., 14.12.2022 (About Szűcs' literary works)
- Barna, László, "Őseim csontjával megáldott, szent föld ez" Szűcs Ilona, a hegymegi kortárs író- és költőnő, Szellem és tudomány, 2022, 3–4 sz., 369–378, https://matarka.hu/koz/ISSN_2062-204X/13_evf_3-4_sz_2022/ISSN_2062-

204X_13_evf_3-4_sz_2022_369-378.pdf In abstract-volume (hungarian–english), 2023: https://atti.uni-miskolc.hu/docs/CRIIIabsztaktkotet2023.pdf

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- Photo-News about the new volume: Remény ágán [On the Branch of Hope]: https://irodalmiradio.hu/2023/10/02/szucs-ilona-remeny-agan-konyvbemutato/
- "[K]ezdem hiányolni azt a nyamvadt sárga primulát" Szűcs Ilona Remény ágán című újabb kötete: workshop-presentation of Creative Region III., 07.12.2023 (About Szűcs' new volume)In abstract-volume (hungarian–english), 2024. (Publication in progress)

The mayor of Hegymeg, Iván Boschánszky, is himself very proud of Ilona (in their recently inaugurated library there is a special shelf dedicated to Ilona Szűcs, and the publication of her books was supported by the local government, including the publication of Remény ágán [On the Branch of Hope]. However, the rather unedited and less up-to-date website of the municipality does not contain a section on culture and cultural values, apart from a short history of the municipality and a description of its coat of arms, although Ilona Szűcs' work would not only deserve it, but the thematic nature of her writings would give visitors to Hegymeg a more direct and personal impression of the municipality. I think it would be a shame to leave this extraordinary cultural resource unused from the point of view of municipal policy or, more specifically, municipal marketing. During my last consultation with the Mayor, Iván Boschánszky, whose voice already showed a deep emotional commitment to the municipality, assured me that a special section of the website would soon be dedicated to the literary work of the native of Hegymeg.

The present abstract is not suitable for a thorough literary analysis, although it would be really interesting to examine the volumes from a narratological, genre-theoretical and positivist point of view. Therefore, expanding on the previous aspects and methods, I consider an intertextual reading to be meaningful, in which Lőrinc Szabó's Tücsökzene [Cricket Music] could be compared with the volume Bölcsőtől a sírig [From the Cradle to the Grave]. In the comparative analysis we can discover a number of thematic and even structural similarities, since both authors strive for a harmonious fusion of lyrical and epic elements (which are also common in Tücsökzene, cf. epic poem in the second half of the twenties, when the descriptive approach of the avant-garde trends tends to be more objective). This synthesis also contributes, in the case of both authors, to the reconciliation of autobiographical elements with a meditative philosophy of life. In both volumes, a humanised portrayal of life is recognised, as the authors discover in themselves older memories of an intimate world.

A related line of research is that Ilona Szűcs' new volume Remény ágán [On the Branch of Hope] also contains poems that are clearly written in the style of Lőrinc Szabó. One of these is her poem Így kezdődött [It Began Like This], which refers expressis verbis to Lőrinc Szabó's poetry by including the following paratext – in the sense of Gérard Genette – in brackets under the main title: (Lőrinc Szabó nyomán) [After Lőrinc Szabó]. When I asked the poet why she added this subtitle to the title, she could not really answer, she simply felt she had to write it there. Ilona Szűcs's "feeling" is not unfounded, as indeed there are many equivalences and similarities between the two poems that can be identified through comparative analysis. The "story-telling poem" entitled Így kezdőtött [It Began Like This] is about a dialogue between a

poet and his granddaughter, in which Zsófi encourages "Mama" to write poems, and which, on a thematic level, shows close similarities with Lőrinc Szabó's "Lóci-poems", especially with the poems Lőci verset ír [Lóci writes a poem] and Lóci meg a számok [Lóci and the numbers].

In Lóci verset ír [Lóci Writes a Poem], the following parallels can be observed, among others: 1) both stories take place in spring, at Easter ("húsvéti bárány bégetett" vs. "tavaszi szünetben [...]/ Húsvéti verset kérnek"); 2) the child addresses/invokes the adult in connection with writing a poem ("Apu, verset írtam!" vs. "Nézd Mama! [...] verset kérnek/ Ugye mi is írunk?"); 3) the adult's reaction to the previous child's address is also similar ("Én nagyot néztem" vs. "Nevettem rajta"). In Horse and Numbers, among other parallels, 1) the child initiates a joint activity with the parent/grandparent ("Ma este mesélsz, ugye?" vs. "Ugye mi is írunk?"); 2) there is a ghostly similarity in the descriptive passages about the child (("addig kunyorált/ s alkudozott, míg belementem" vs. "addig noszogatott/ addig bökdöste a kezemet/ míg beadtam a derekam) 3) similar descriptions of joyful shared activity with the child ("egyszerre tündérien/ izgalmas lett a téli este/ és körénk szállt a túlvilág" vs. "farigcsáltuk bőszen a rímeket/ eltöltöttünk vele egy hetet/ s közben nevettünk jó nagyokat").

Furthermore, this volume already contains poems that are admittedly not related to Hegymeg. These poems articulate classical themes of relevance to world literature, such as the longing to rekindle an old relationship, the yearning for the love and attention of another, nostalgia for past feelings, sincere desires fulfilled and longed for, which one prefers not to talk about, mostly for ethical reasons, or to avoid emotional vulnerability, or out of simple modesty. It is precisely this that makes Lőrinc Szabó's poem Semmiért egészen [Entirely and for Nothing] sake a world literary work, and the works in the volume Te meg a világ [You and the World], according to Lóránt Kabdebó, surpass the poetic quality of the poems about childhood and youth in the Tücsökzene [Cricket Music]. In this respect, the evaluability of Ilona Szűcs' works also shows such an analogy, which perhaps does not require a deeper comparative analysis in a summary.

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Funerary architecture as a Resource An Anthropological Approach through the Example of a Small Town in Northern Hungary

The resources of the Edelény district, which is the subject of this study, are scarce. In recent decades, the development of the area has shifted towards tourism, which has resulted in the preservation of many beautiful heritage sites, as well as in the creation of tourist attractions and accommodation facilities. One of the indicators of the appreciation of tourism development is the number of nights spent in the area. Tourists who seek experiences prefer to stay in places where they can spend their recreational time efficiently. This is another reason why it is important to highlight the diversity of the region's resources. Another key element of tourism is the pursuit of thematic experiences, which display great diversity in terms of content.

I believe that the processing of the area's past is a value in itself, but in order for local people to perceive it as a value in their own lives, external interest can be a good means of support. There is also an economic potential in touristic visitation, and there is also a strong lack of historical understanding of the Edelény sub-region, which is particularly true of the Jewish heritage.

It is worth showing as many local assets as possible, along the lines of the urban thematic walks, which are already of considerable interest in Tokaj-Hegyalja. In this paper, I would like to draw attention to the importance of funerary architecture, especially the funerary architecture of Jewish cemeteries, as potential resources.

Northern Hungary, especially the smaller villages, have always been among the poorer localities, so they were not primary targets for Jewish settlement, but from the 1700s onwards there is evidence of a Jewish family settled in every village. The documents from the Hungarian Jewish Archives from the first half of the 18th century tell us that "their fate was the same as that of the poor people. They earn their bread by peasant labour. If they are overburdened with taxes, they change their place of residence."⁴

³ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁴ Grünvald, 1963: 26

Edelény, a settlement of nearly ten thousand inhabitants, plays a central role as the main settlement of the Edelény district. It had a Jewish tabernacle until 1900, and by 1904 a threenave, one-storey Jewish synagogue was constructed. The parish belonged to Szendrő until 1930, and later, as a division of 12 villages, it played a leading role in the life of the Jewish communities of the district. The Orthodox community, which possessed a kosher abattoir as well as a primary Jewish school, played an important role in the life of Edelény from both a social and an economic point of view. ⁵ In the smaller settlements, there were only a few Jewish families, ranging from 3-10% of the majority population. In Edelény in 1940, there were 260 people of Jewish origin, which represented 8% of the population. Of the few survivors of the Second World War, almost all left the country, so there is no active Jewish community in the area. After the Second World War, even the very few survivors left the area within a few years, thus after 1945 there were hardly any Jewish families living in the area under study. In the years following the war until the regime change, discussion of the Holocaust was characterised by mutual silence. Neither the perpetrators nor the victims were mentioned. Today, the gravestones in the cemetery are almost the only remembrance of Jewry.

The Edelény cemetery is in relatively good condition compared to other cemeteries in the area. A US-based non-profit organisation⁶ is surrounding the area with stone fences to preserve the local cemetery. The fallen graves will be restored and the existing standing gravestones will be repaired. Nevertheless, vandalism, burning of leaves or dry grass still occur inside the enclosure. The cemetery is a place of individual and communal memory where the locally deceased are buried. For those who have died in remote places, such as wars, memorials are usually placed outside the cemetery, in a prominent place in the settlement. The way in which a local community erects a memorial says a lot about the relationship between the local community and the memorial. In my paper, I would like to focus on these two sites in Edelény, the cemetery and the monument.

A Jewish dead must be buried in a Jewish cemetery - says the religious regulation⁷. The name of the cemetery reflects the religion's attitude to death: 'house of the living' or 'house of eternity'. The Jewish religion has a number of rules about death and burial. The order of the graves is regulated: in the first place, the Kohanites,⁸ Levites,⁹ rabbis and the leaders of the community are buried.¹⁰ In Orthodox cemeteries, male and female graves are often separated, even if they are of spouses. Deviations from the standards point out the degree of assimilation and emancipation of local Jews, or else the erosion of the community.

The way in which the gravestones were made also characterises the local community. In smaller settlements, stone carvers often used the same stones in Jewish and non-Jewish cemeteries, and the shapes were more similar than in larger communities, such as in big cities,

⁷ Oláh 2001

⁵ Laki-Lukács 2022

⁶ Heritage Foundation for Preservation of Jewish Cemeteries (HFPJC) https://hfpjc.com/

⁸ According to tradition, the descendants of Aaron, the first high priest, who, according to the Torah, are not allowed to come into contact with the dead, because this would make them ritually impure.

⁹ The descendants of the tribe of Levi, the helpers of the Kohanites

¹⁰ Oláh 2001

where funerary architecture was also a representative space for the local community11. No such cemeteries are found in the villages studied. In Edelény, Szendrő, Boldva (in the enclosed cemeteries) we find graves whose material differs from the use of gravestones in the majority society. In the smaller settlements, limestone and sandstone were most commonly used (rarely marble), which makes the cemeteries look schematic. However, on closer observation, one can rarely find identical gravestones. The stone was bought and brought by the family of the deceased. The carving was carried out by the community or by the Burial Society. Thus even the poorest parishioner had a tombstone.¹² Despite their simplicity, there is a variety of shapes, decoration and text placement.

Jewish gravestones are generally upright, while those in a reclining position are rare, however, they are relatively common in north-eastern Hungary, as there are also examples in the Edelény cemetery.

It is also essential to study the iconography of the cemeteries. Although the decoration of gravestones is strictly regulated, for example, the depiction of animals is prohibited, there are exceptions for depictions of personal names or in cases of deviation from orthodoxy. In the Edelény cemetery, in addition to the common willow illustrations, there is an animal motif, depicting a deer resting on one of the gravestones. On another tombstone, also beneath the willow, there appears to be a curtain covering an ark carved into the tombstone.

Upon inspection of the cemeteries, another important task is the dating of the gravestones, as well as the transcription and translation of the inscriptions. According to Orthodox religious rules, only Hebrew inscriptions are allowed on gravestones. At first glance, the inscriptions on the gravestones may appear schematic, because the inscriptions are prescribed to occur according to a few text variations. Deviations from these may reveal local or regional characteristics or can help to reveal the relationship between the gravestone carvers and the society. In the Edelény cemetery, there are several gravestones with Hungarian-Hebrew inscriptions, but there are also inscriptions in Hungarian and in Hebrew only.

In ethnography, the cemetery has to be studied together with other material monuments, and according to the methodology of visual anthropology13, it also belongs to the landscape of villages. The condition of the cemeteries calls for their excavation and documentation, as unvisited gravesites are easily subject to vandalism or neglect.

Cemeteries play an important role in society, and are one of the most critical and sensitive places in the human life cycle. They play an important role in the processing of grief, in reminiscence, and they become places of remembrance. The location of a cemetery within a settlement, its upkeep and accessibility, says a lot about local society. Its condition can be used to infer the presence and activity of the local community and the relations between different social groups.

¹¹ cf: Tóth 2018

¹² Szabó 2010

¹³ See more: R. NAGY 2000 and R. NAGY 2020.

An important difference between Jewish and Christian cemeteries is that while the removal, relocation and dismantling of graves in Christian cemeteries is allowed by religious rules, this is not possible in Jewish cemeteries. For this reason, if they are not destroyed, as has often happened and still happens, the cemeteries are preserved, and as a result, in many settlements Jewish cemeteries are now the oldest burial places. The graves are also the oldest documents of individual history and, of course, monuments of the gravestone culture of the Jewry itself.¹⁴

The memory of nearly a tenth of local society, or local Jewry, could be made or reclaimed as part of the local identity. One way to do this would be the identification and presentation of local celebrities. The Erényi family tomb could be an excellent example. There is very little information available about the lawyer, who had a clientele in Edelény. It is assumed that the gravestone was commissioned by a Holocaust survivor descendant, from Johannesburg, according to the inscription. There some taxation sources that suggest that Manó Erényi, as a lawyer, paid a higher tax than a director of the Ironworks, and for several years was one of the 50-100 largest taxpayers in Borsod county, yet we know almost nothing about him, as only the family name appears occasionally in local historical writings. Eight members of the family can be identified, and it would be worthwhile to include the family in local remembrance and to explore their local role.

The primary approach of the research is through the discipline of visual anthropology, a point of view, which suggests that beyond the material and written heritage, it is worthwhile to look at the location of the cemetery. A socio-geographical study can highlight the cemetery's peripheral position in the city. The entrance to the Jewish cemetery is located opposite one of the active public cemeteries, somewhat hidden from view. The landscape setting, the view from the cemetery, is also a part of this culture. Access is controlled, a fence and a locked gate prevent easy entry. The code for the lock can be obtained from the local mayor's office. Boundaries and gates thus regulate access. Jewish funerary architecture is rare in the rural areas, in the region Edelény is the only place where funerary architecture has survived, which also makes the Jewish cemetery in Edelény outstanding and worthy of preservation.

It is also important to study the monuments that commemorate those who deceased in remote locations. A symbolic example of the discrepancy between individual and communal memory is the reflection of the Erényi family gravestone and the World War II memorial in the town square. One of the graves in the cemetery bears the following inscription following the list of family members:

"FOR THOSE WHO WERE DEPORTED, TORTURED AND MURDERED BY THE GERMAN AND HUNGARIAN NAZIS IN 1942-1944.

Peace be upon their scattered ashes."

¹⁴ BALOGH–BÁNYAI 2013

The gravestone was erected by a surviving family member in 1948. The gravestone also bears a Hebrew inscription, which repeats the words engraved in Latin letters. "The Hungarian and German fascists deported, executed and killed the deceased".

A World War memorial stands in a central place in the town. Until 2015, a long list of the names of the heroes and fallen of the majority society in World War II was displayed on the monument erected in 1991 in the town's main square, while local Jews were commemorated in one sentence:

"WE REMEMBER WITH REVERENCE OUR 213 JEWISH COMPATRIOTS WHO WERE KILLED BY HATRED AND WHO BECAME MARTYRS IN THE HELL OF WORLD WAR II." ¹⁵ The 2015 (current) commemoration is even more laconic: "TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRS AND VICTIMS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS, THE COMMUNITY OF THE CITY" 1930, 2015.¹⁶

Although the memorial behind the fence and the one in the main square of the town speak of the same social trauma, the memorial, which is visually active in front of the community, deprives the Jewish victims of being mentioned by name (or at least of the mention of their family names). The inscription displayed in front of the community in the first version deflects the responsibility of the local society, by using the expression: the deceased were killed by 'hatred'. In contrast, the survivor identifies "Hungarian and German Nazis" as the cause of the family's death on the gravestone.

After the second reconstruction, the phrase 'victims' suggests that the memorial was erected in memory of the Jewish families who lived there.

It may be considered strange to discuss tourism, local values and funerary architecture together. In a rural area with a large economic deficit, there are no resources to preserve the monuments described above. The only way to do so is to integrate them into the economic and cultural circulation. If a monument or a cemetery, or even abandoned and unused grave stone complexes that are not functioning as graveyards, were to become important to curious outsiders, then locals would pay more attention and perhaps be more protective of their funerary heritage. As a result, a much more nuanced image of rural life and forms of coexistence in Northern Hungary could emerge.

¹⁵ The memorial entitled "Heroic Monument" by Károly Székely and Géza Stremeny in the centre of Edelény

¹⁶ Photos of the memorial, see: https://www.kozterkep.hu/8304/hosi-emlekmu#vetito=503906

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Wall Carvings in a Community Space that can be Lived Again

I presented a list worthy of further research at the conference from the wall carvings of the so-called Rákóczi Cellar. Even at the beginning of the summary it is worth mentioning that the organizers had had trouble with the content editing of the conference where they had consequently used the word 'inscription' instead of 'wall carvings', even though the subject of the research were the analysis of the actual wall carvings in forms of texts, dates, poems and drawings. That is why I had the title 'wall carvings' and I am consequently using this phrase in the summary as well. So the 'wall carvings' mean the scores found in the cellar in Hangács: I identified 282 all together, almost 200 of them are evaluable, readable and listable.

The wall of the cellar is composed of a relatively soft material, volcanic tuff. Cellar makers really preferred making caves out of this kind of rocks. It must be stated that the cellar in Hangács, just as the ones made in Tokaj-Hegyalja or the Avas in Miskolc were made for solely keeping wine. The wine caves were also used for shelter, for example. The author of the thesis also has a wine cellar, where a readable carving from 1944 witnessing that the owners at the time were hiding there from the struggles of war. Speaking of such an instant, I have to mention that during the research I was looking for scripts in the tuff cellar in Hangács from the 40s of the last century, however, I did not find any. However, it is interesting to find that there is a wall carving from just before the 1848/49 freedom fight and there are more dates around 1956 that can mean that the writer of those scripts might have found shelter there 3-4 meters underground. The carvings witness more entries from 1847 and 1849 as well.

About the goal of the research is to present the cellar in Hangács as a community space which can be lived again and is a place of commemoration. There is no wine cellar like the 'Rákóczi cellar' in the neighborhood – the one in the cellar row in Hangács in the Hatház lane. It is greater in size and it has become an iconic place of commemoration thanks to its wall carvings. One of the goals of the research was to document the texts found on the cellar walls. I also wanted to raise the attention of the owner to the exceptional value of the entries and to preserve the carvings as the tuff molds easily; thus more hundred years old carvings can vanish in seconds. The other emphasis of the research was the documentation of the texts and the analyses of the meanings of the signs.

¹⁷ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

I found only one earlier document about the Rákóczi cellar as a source by Elek Fényes, published in 1851 titled: 'The Geographical Dictionary of Hungary where all Towns, Villages and Plains are Listed Carefully in Alphabetical Order'.18:

'There is another famous cellar here in the ownership of Szathmári Király József, that is carved out of sandstone and it is almost as old as Hungary. It contains more inscriptions: near the entrance door you can find the following words: Deiche 1100 ao, then Vattay György de Vatta 1354, Rákóczy Lórántfy 1705, Szathmári Király Ádám 1774, Julianna Passa Cata 1618, S. P. Georgius Bécs ao dni 1620, Pethe Julianna, Kajdy László, Vay László 1602, Szentimrey Sámuel 1705, Georgius Rétey 1695, P. Bonaventura Csető gr. Varsoviensis, József Stefanóvszky 1753, And. Horaoczky 1758.'

Elek Fényes must have been in the cellar, and I was able to verify this, as I found some of the wall documents he mentioned. However, it is worth wondering where the door (entrance) mentioned by the author could have been in the mid-19th century. The question has to be asked because I have now discovered some of the entries mentioned in the innermost part of the cellar, where there is indeed a door, inside the vaulted cellar. Could it be that this was the entrance to the wine cave and that is why Elek Fényes "puts" the wall inscriptions next to the door? The cellar is now about fifteen to twenty meters long, with three to four small branches in the side walls. I had the opportunity to look into one of them when I was there. The side branches can hold two or three wine casks the size of a wine barrel, are no more than five to seven square meters and are no more than the height of a 'nave', or main branch. The question of the users of side branches is also of interest for research. The current cellar owner has inherited the cellar branches, and I have a feeling that he does not know all of them. The side branches are 'owned' by customary law, meaning that the user kept his wine there for years or decades, and of course he has a key to the main entrance door and a door made of thick iron plate for his own shed. These doors have, of course, destroyed some of the centuries-old inscriptions in the cellar.

One of the factors of the research therefore is to awaken the need to preserve the three to four-hundred-year old wall ruins.

Returning to Elek Fényes' comment on the texts he found 'near the entrance', I have two comments to add. According to the document written down by Fényes, there may have been documents in the cellar from before the Tatar invasion, from the area around the conquest (the cellar is "as old as the country..."), which is hardly plausible, but I think it is more likely that the author took the six figures (1600s) to be zero. The vine and wine culture in Hungary became established around the 12th and 13th centuries. At the beginning, according to the descriptions, there were no cellars in use, at most the wine was stored, as it is still done in the Őrség, in the Zala hills. In other words, the author is wrong in his description of these

¹⁸ FÉNYES 1851

inscriptions. He cannot be blamed, as the wall inscriptions wear out very easily. For the sake of documentation and reconaissance photography, I tried to wipe the cobwebs and fungal molds off the wall with a brush. However carefully I did it, the sedimentary sand grains fell thickly from the wall, which meant that the texts were worn away. As for the entrance, it is also possible that the cellar was not always 'public' or, to put it another way, visible as local people clearly state. I was later able to ascertain this from the periodicity of the inscriptions.

There are decades when there was no date or wall text in the cellar. Such as the mid-17th century or the Second World War. I have not found any wall inscriptions from the period after 1708, i.e. from the decade or two following the Rákóczi War of Independence. The entrance is said to have been covered up, or the cellar was simply not used for decades and was overgrown with weeds and covered with soil.

Typically, even today, the cellars appear more deserted than regularly maintained buildings and entrances. The original wooden entrance to the Rákóczi cellar no longer exists. The entrance to the neighboring wine caves, which are of similar antiquity, was in fact fronted by two wooden pillars, joined together and carved from a single oak tree. They were like the end of a shepherd's crook, slightly bent backwards. The cellar entrances, which were typical only of Hangács, can still be seen today, but the entrance to the Rákóczi cellar is now covered with red brick. More timeless, it is true, but it has lost its traditional form. This suggests that the entrance may have been blocked up, so that when it was rediscovered it was widened and the entrance door was replaced. The periodic use of the cellar is indicated by the fact that Ádám Király Szathmári, the historian of Rákóczi, also registered in the ancestral cellar, but in 1774, according to the wall document, when he was an old man. Ádám Szathmári Király died in Boldva, fifteen kilometres from Hangács.

The door of the Rákóczi cellar has several locks, as is usually the case in cellars, and one of them - obviously for security reasons - should be opened in the same direction as the door would normally be locked. Today's oak door also preserves inscriptions more than four hundred years old. Carved into the cellar wall, the texts are layered on top of each other like layers of paint, or layers used in electronic photo editing. Research has been made most difficult by the carelessness of our ancestors for centuries. Not only were the door frames of the side aisles were ruthlessly cut into the carvings, but successive guests over the centuries did not spare the earlier entries. I also analyzed the wall carvings according to the Local Connection Index (LCI), i.e. - among other things - what ancestry links people to the settlement, to the cellar row, etc. Among the wall carvings I found a spot the inscription 'Bolha István 1957' is read, interspersed with another entry where not far apart made by an earlier member of the Bolha family, only a hundred years earlier. I guess that the wall carving may have been done in a sodden state of wine, or just lacking the naturally bright light of the incandescent lamp today, to allow István Bolha to notice the wall print of another member of the family.¹⁹

Illumination was the basis for the most important method of the research, called photo reconnaissance. This visual technique for perceiving and interpreting texts could be called the

¹⁹ Faragó 2023a

anthropology of wall texts. It was a matter of unravelling, seeing and documenting four centuries of superimposed wall texts. To do this, we used a high transmission lens and battery-powered LED light sources. The photographs were constructed and edited by my colleague József R. Nagy and he was the one who lit the cellar walls. It was necessary to use various settings to bring out the blurred wall carvings in the light beams and shadows. On the other hand, we tried to take the shots in such a way that the layered, or rather, more visually speaking, overwritten texts could be made out. More than one thousand three hundred photographs were taken, some of which were not used because in a different setting, in a later shot, the same section of wall was more legible. Two lamps were usually used for one shot. There were some instances where, in order to cast shadows, we placed the lamp in the plane of the wall and lit parallel to the wall so that the recesses could be seen more clearly.

It reminds me of Antonioni's film, Blow-up (1966), where, in the process of developing the image, something new is revealed about the photograph that was "not visible" in the original location. About 400 of the shots were used after sorting. This does not mean that we captured four hundred one square meter wall surfaces. Because of the layers of superimposed wall carving layers, up to three or four photographs could be taken of a one and a half square meter section of wall. By using different lighting and holding the camera at different angles, we were able to "break down" the stacked layers of the wall carvings. Therefore, I have no reason to criticize those who did not even notice the earlier wall inscriptions, even those related to their own family, and so they recorded their own memorial text. The romance and ritual of mark making is as old as the cave paintings and the lime tuff wall of the Rákóczi cellar in Hangács shows that the Hangács cellar vendors have been using this opportunity continuously in the past centuries. They have taken advantage of what we should be worried about, that the wall inscriptions will wear away, disappear after a while: namely, that it is possible to carve into the tuff rock even with a strong, not dried out tree branch into the wall surface. Otherwise, the wall of the cellar shows how the wine cave was made: a short-handled pick was used to form the cavity. Traces of the tools are still visible, as are the wall carvings.

Most of the people just carved the texts into the lime tuff wall. Some of them did it by first carefully smoothing out a palm or two of the wall like a page of a book and making their entries there. These wall carvings are almost invariably more ornate than the others. I can't say that I have found drawings and Cyrillic lettering exclusively with this kind of treatment, but those who have fiddled with the surface straightening have also had more elaborate lettering and are more likely to have some kind of depiction associated with it. In the course of my research, I examined each image individually, even where it was the same part of the wall or a cut-out of it. In this way, the likelihood of any of the carvings having escaped my attention is relatively small. I have been in the cellar several times, and after taking the photographs, I have to say that the photographs are the best guarantee of the survival of the carvings in the Hangács cellar. In addition, using the light and shade detection methods, the images revealed layers that I did not notice up close and personal on the spot. The method confirms the validity of participant observation as a fundamental research method in visual cultural anthropology. The photographs, which can be taken and viewed again in high resolution and thus enlarged, provide an opportunity to verify and supplement the observation, which can also be touched by hand.

I see wall carvings as a rite of mark making, just as selfies are an important part of taking photos of ourselves with our smartphones. Self-photographs are necessary for memory and documentation. Selfies can also be linked to the local attachment index. Like the texts written on the walls in the cellar. In other words, the wall carvings can be understood as both a selfie and an instinct, a ritual of leaving a mark that has existed for thousands of years.

Looking at the wall carvings found in the cellars according to the local attachment index, we can make some interesting discoveries when we look at the occupations inscribed on the walls. The cellar was certainly the exclusive property of the Szathmári Király family for decades. One of the owners was "Jósef", the vice-chancellor of Borsod, and this is reflected in the village records dating from the mid-19th century. It is interesting to note that his relative, Adam, does not mention his status 20 years later. Among the users of the cellar in socialist Hungary we find the local party secretary (of the farmers' cooperative) ("Imre Szabó party secretary 18 XI 1964"). Another feature of the local masonry index is the work done in the village, so it is not surprising to find several masons among the wall records. This occupation has always been needed in the past centuries, although the occupation is only mentioned in the 20th century. One of the village registers also mentions an assistant Reformed pastor ('Tóth János 1887 Hangács assistant ref. pastor').

The local attachment index as an indicator of attachment to place. In a previous study I have already assessed the concept of the relationship between the physical environment at a touch or word distance and the active agents occupying the space. They constantly shape the local public space, the people, structuring it, influencing our way of thinking, i.e. they influence us, even if the orientation previously described is unconscious. The cultivation of tradition, the professional and human authority, the active community church and the family business are all part of the local community index. In the context of village records, a separate chapter is worthy to be mentioned regarding those who write next to their names where they come from and where they belong. The record of local attachment also dates back to the 20th century, but I found no trace of it in earlier village records in the Hangács wine cave. According to documents from the last century, most of them, not coincidentally, come from Hangács, the most distant guest being from Gönc. It is probably a Miskolc entry in the "Ethnographic Workshop 1963." They were not university students, since ethnography courses, if there were any, were held in grammar schools.

The inscriptions can be understood as a keeping of a tradition. I had previously thought that the cellar may have been a communal area in a nearby village. In the past this was certainly the case, but today, as I wrote earlier, this statement is less valid.

Interestingly, I found several posts where the authors of the wall carving refer to being in the cellar on New Year's Eve. Given that the average temperature in the wine caves carved into the tuff is ten to fifteen degrees in winter and summer, it is possible that the cellar was used for gatherings several times, even in winter. Another entry supports this, only from much earlier 'Martsek Josef 9th 1840 "we were here almost every day". The Rákóczi cellar was indeed a kind of community space, according to the following wall carving. It was a tradition or ritual during conscripted military service to celebrate the enlistment of young men, as now at the bachelor party before the wedding, obviously with different overtones, but both were

community events and the place of farewell for the enlisted young man was the cellar of Hangács, with its iconic wall inscriptions.

It is also worth looking at wall carvings and the LKI from a communication perspective. It is obvious that those who are able to engage in reflective conversation and reflection in the perceptual space, rather than regarding it as a means of postal message, may occupy a better place in the local attachment index. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the non-locally attached cellar dweller would see cellar wall communication as a dynamic community activity, since the wall documents show almost no recurring entries among the hundreds of texts I inspected.²⁰

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Loreto Cult in Szendrő in the 18th Century and the Tiszta de Lipstin et Selyeb Family

The Tiszta de Selyeb family in Szendrő

CR's former historical and culture historical investigations concerning the historical Abaúj (Abov) county, and the microregion Cserehát in Abaúj itself and the examination of its North Borsod settlements (CR III.) are certainly connected by a remarkable historical personality who had a mansion built in Selyeb in Cserehát in mid-18th century and had a sculpture of St John of Nepomuk erected in front of his mansion.

Figure 1/a-b: Sculpture of St John of Nepomuk in Selyeb, around 1760





Fig. 1/a-b: Sculpture of St John of Nepomuk in Selyeb, around 1760

Source: wikimedia.commons

²¹ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

In the once Franciscan church of Szendrő, Pál Tiszta set up an altar for Our Lady of Loreto, thus creating the only Loreto shrine in the South Abaúj and Borsod region. The Selyeb mansion and the Franciscan church in Szendrő, located in Borsod county, and the two microregions are linked by the person and activities of Pál Tiszta de Lipstin (Liebenstein/Libštejn) et Selyeb (1717–1777), who started his career and enrichment as the bailiff of the Szendrő estate. That was how he could finally buy the Selyeb estate, located in the Cserehát district of Abaúj county. Pál Tiszta started his upward career in Count Antal Csáky's (1702–1764) Szendrő manor as a bailiff in 1741, then in 1760, he was already sub-lieutenant of Abaúj county and king's counsel, and between 1772 and 1774, the counsel or high official of the Zips (Spiš) Chamber. At the peak of his career, he became administrator –appointed by the Kingdom of Hungary in 1774. He died at his post in Igló (Zipser Neudorf; today: Spišská Nová Ves, Slovakia). It was also in Igló that his portrait, made with exceptional artistic competence, was made. During the research, we identified it as the work of art of the Spiš Museum (Múzeum Spiša v Spišskej Novej Vsi) in Spišská Nová Ves.

Figure 2: Unknown painter: Portrait of Pál Tiszta of Selyeb, administrator of XVI Zips (Szepes/Spiš) towns (Zips province), 1775



Photo: Múzeum Spiša v Spišskej Novej Vsi, Slovakia

The furniture of the St Francis of Assisi parish church in Szendrő –a Franciscan monastery church until 1789–, made in the mid-18th century, that is, its altars are known from cultural, local and art history investigations. It gave new impetus to the research of the altars that in 2009, the students of the Budapest University of Fine Arts restored the altarpiece and prepared the proper scientific documentation for it.

The two side altars of the furniture of the Szendrő church, made with exceptional richness and high artistic quality, deserve attention not only from an art historical and spiritual aspect but also due to the history of the market town of Szendrő as an estate centre and the centre of re-Catholicisation in the North Borsod and South Abaúj Region as the two most important personalities of the 18th century Szendrő estate, the landowner and his bailiff both set up an altar in the Franciscan church. The altar dedicated to St Anthony of Padua was donated by the landowner of the Szendrő estate and the patron of the parish, Count Antal Csáky while the Loreto altar by his bailiff, Pál Tiszta. The donators' coats of arms appear on the bottom part of the altars, so on the Padua altar, you can see the Csákys' well-known emblem with a Turk's head.



Figure 3/a–b: St Anthony of Padua's altar and the Loreto altar in the Szendrő parish church

Source: Wikipedia and photo made by É. Gy.

First, Pál Tiszta was Count Antal Csáky's secretary and chancellor, then he became the bailiff of the count's Szendrő estate in Borsod county. He also bought a property in Szendrő. Pál Tiszta also gained positions in the administration of Abaúj county, first as a notary and then from 1760, as a sub-lieutenant. In 1751 and 1764/65, he was the legate of Abaúj county in the Diet. lilt was also Antal Csáky who helped his prefect to get the Selyeb estate in 1751. At that time, Pál Tiszta only used the noble predicate of Lipstin (Liebenstein/Libštejn in Bohemia). In Selyeb, Pál Tiszta had a nobleman's residence built for his family. In the mansion, he set up a chapel in honour of St John of Nepomuk with an organ, employed a chaplain in his mansion, and as a devotee of the contemporary Nepomucenus cult, he set up a baroque sculpture of St John of Nepomuk with double coat of arms near his mansion. Pál Tiszta, who was deeply committed to Catholicism, was also a member of the St Anne Society of Rudnok (today: Rudník, Slovakia), under the patronage of the Jasov (Jászó) Canonry.

For the Loreto altar in Szendrő, a unified nobleman's coat of arms was carved. The Susztrik de Kend noble family had a unicorn on their escutcheon with a half arm holding a bundle of arrows as a crest. The Tiszta family gained an emblem quartered with an anchor and a rose with five leaves, and having a helmet coat of arms with an eagle in 1652. The grant of arms of Friedrich Tista or Frigyes Tiszta (both family names are mentioned in the grant of arms), gained in 1652, was proclaimed in Nitra (Nyitra) county, and the grant of arms was in the possession of the family for a long time. In 2020, it appeared in the auction of the Viennese auction house 'Im Kinsky' (Im Kinsky Auktionshaus, Wien, Sommerauktion: Alte Meister, 23. Juni 2020, 15:00 Uhr. Kat. Nr. 01439.), where it was sold so its present location is unknown. According to the grant of arms, Frigyes Tiszta was granted the rank of a Hungarian nobleman and a coat of arms for unspecified merits in 1652 although it is true that the Tiszta family, coming from Bohemia (Czechia) and directly from Moravia, had already been noblemen. According to the description of the coat of arms miniature inserted at the beginning of the grant of arms, Frigyes Tiszta's crest was put on a straight military shield, which was quartered, on the one hand, with a rose floating in a white (silver) field and a (black) iron anchor in a red field, touching the sides of the escutcheon at the bottom and at the top. The crest was the following: on the open military crest with a visor, there is a king's crown, on it, the full figure of a black eagle with outstretched wings and in red armour, with yellow (gold)-blue and white (silver)-red mantling. It is remarkable that in the double coat of arms of the Loreto altar, it is not Pál Tiszta's but his wife's coat of arms that was put on the (heraldic) right side, considered to be more prestigious in heraldry, which may be accounted for by the spirituality of the altar as the altarpiece depicts the Virgin Mary. Probably, the choice of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus is related to the intention of the newlywed couple to have children. This idea may be confirmed by the fact that on the mensa of the Loreto altar, there still stands the devotional statue of the Infant Jesus of Prague in its well-known iconography, considered by researchers to be the work of the Hartman workshop in Košice (Kaschau/Kassa), although presumably, it was put on the altar later.

Figure 4: The unified coat of arms of the couple Eszter Susztrik and Pál Tiszta on the bottom part of the Loreto altar in Szendrő



Photo taken by É. Gy.

Thanks to lord lieutenant Antal Csáky, Pál Tiszta was raised among the prestigious landowners of Abaúj (Abov) county, also having serfs in other settlements besides Selyeb, in the former estates of Nicolaus Fuló (Gagybátor, Komaróc, Kány, Alsógagy, Buzita, Homrogd, Felsőgadna, Felsőgagy, Apáti, Mindszent, Abaújszolnok) but had landowner interests in Szendrő and Rudabánya in Borsod county, as well.

Pál Tiszta married a young lady from a minor noble family holding offices of the broader region when he married Eszter Susztrik coming from a landowner family in the village of Kend (Abaúj/Abov county, today: Kendice, Slovakia). It is the result of our research that I identified the so far unknown coat of arms of the Loreto altar, forming a unified coat of arms of a married couple with the Tiszta coat of arms, with the coat of arms of the Susztrik de Kend family.

It meant the peak of Pál Tiszta's career that from 1760, he was appointed king's counsel by the monarch, and between 1772 and 1774, he became the counsel of the Zips Chamber, while from 1774 until his death, he was appointed administrator of the Zips (Szepes/Spiš)) Province, made up of the XVI Zips towns regained from Poland in 1772. From 1774 until his death, Pál Tiszta directed the XVI Zips towns from of Spišska Nova Ves. The office moved to the former town hall, purchased from the town of Spišska Nova Ves in 1777, called Province House from that time on (today it is the seat of the Museum of the Spiš Region (Múzeum Spiša v Spišskej Novej Vsi).

At the end of his life, Pál Tiszta had considerable estates. According to the urbarial survey, in 1772, he owned Lice in Gömör county, town Rudabánya in Borsod county, Pál Tiszta was sole landowner on 626 acres, with 31 serfs, in Szendrő, he had about 10% of the estate and the serfs but he also had 2 serfs in Szalonna. In Selyeb (Abaúj/Abov county), half of the land (730 acres) and 50% of the serfs belonged to his estate and in addition, he had smaller or bigger properties in the settlements of Felsőgagy, Alsógagy, Felsőgadna, Homrogd, Kány and Gagybátor, and was also co-owner in the villages of Apáti (Opátska), Zsadány (Ždaňa), Buzita (Buzica), Komaróc (Komárovce) and Mindszent (Všechsvätých, today part of the settlement of Valaliky), now all belonging to Slovakia. According to his contemporaries, Pál Tiszta 'did not live and rule in his Selyeb mansion like a nobleman but like a grandee.'

Pál Tiszta was a committed propagator of Catholicism on his estates although he did not establish a parish as in Nyésta, the neighbouring village of Selyeb and the village of the Jasov Canonry, Premonstratensian provost András Sauberer (1745–1779) established the first Catholic parish of the region in the modern era with a new church dedicated to the Annunciation.

The Loreto altar in Szendrő

In the Franciscan church of Szendrő, where the Csáky family as patrons had a side altar erected, Pál Tiszta and his wife set up a Loreto altar, with a statue depicting St John of Nepomuk lying on his bier on its platform. The statue and the altar structure were made in the Košice workshop of the renowned sculptor Joseph Hartman to the order of the Szendrő bailiff in the second half of the 1740s. The landowner and patron ordered the altars together with his client and estate official. The patron, on the one hand, dedicated the Portiuncula high altar to St Francis of Assisi, and on the other hand, a side altar standing on the gospel side, where the sanctuary and the nave met, thus at a prominent place, to his patron saint, St Anthony of Padua. At the same time, the nobleman coming from a family of Bohemian origin, Pál Tiszta and his wife set up an altar dedicated to Our Lady of Loreto. From the 17th century, the Santa Casa in Loreto, the home of the Holy Family, was a very popular place of pilgrimage among the Hungarian elite, too. It is a question whether the Tiszta couple visited it or not or had some other motive to take Loreto or the copy of the sacred Loreto statue to Szendrő. Based on the iconography of the altarpiece, it can be assumed that the Loreto altarpiece in Szendrő was made after a small printed image brought from Loreto. In general, in the Loreto altars, the three-dimensional copy of the devotional statue appears, and the two-dimensional picture-like representation is less frequent. This type is the Maria Lauretana iconography, which, in fact, is very similar to the Szendrő altarpiece: a Loreto aedicule with columns, a cape covering the whole body with votive offerings with jewellery, the crown of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus and the adoring angels. It can be clearly seen that the large (248x138.5 cm) oil painting painted on canvas of the Loreto altar in Szendrő, ordered and set up by Pál Tiszta and his wife as donators, follows the Lauretana type, developed and having become widespread by the 17th century, emphasising the Black Virgin character of the Loreto devotional picture.

Figure 5: The Loreto altar in Szendrő, restored by Anna BAJZIK and Katalin Szabina KÓRÓDI, University of Fine Arts, 2014–2015



Photo of the University of Fine Arts

The central element of the iconographic program of the Szendrő altar is the Loreto cult but it is conspicuous that the devotional picture is accompanied by female saints. The cult of St John of Nepomuk of Czech origin, canonised not much earlier, in 1729, was very strong in the Tiszta family. Not only the sculpture in front of their mansion in Selyeb but also the chapel of the mansion indicates a clear Nepomucenus cult in the family. As a matter of fact, the newly canonised John of Nepomuk almost always appears in the parish churches in Cserehát Region established in the 18th century. The specialty of the altar is the realistic Sacred Crown of

Hungary on the gable, leaving no doubt about the loyalty to the king of the family of Czech origin.



Figure 6: The Infant Jesus of Prague on the Loreto altar in Szendrő, mid-18th century

Photo taken by É. Gy.

According to the minutes taken at the dissolution of the Franciscan order in Szendrő in 1787, an Infant Jesus figure with a Jerusalem Cross in his hands, placed under glass on the mensa of the Loreto altar, was also listed in the inventory. The description is identical with the iconography of the devotional statuette known as Loretokindl (Loreto-Kindl) and originating from Salzburg. The Infant Jesus of Salzburg appeared as a version of the Prague's, and among his attributes, in addition to the flowers and the sceptre, the huge cross, extending far beyond the infant's body, is emphatic. On the altar, there stands even now, a devotional statue of the Infant Jesus of Prague, but probably it was placed there in the 19th century.

Although in the Loreto altars, the statue-like representation of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Jesus is more frequent, there are parallels of the Szendrő altarpiece, painted on canvas. In Italy, similar altarpieces appeared as early as at the end of the 16th century. In the Kingdom of Hungary, a similar one appeared on the altarpiece of the church of the settlement-like

monastery of the Camaldolese monks in Majk in the 17th century, which has been destroyed since, but a photo taken by Elemér Révhelyi (1889–1965) around 1940 preserved it. Today, this photo is a work of art of the Révhelyi legacy in Kuny Domokos Museum in Tata.

The Loreto altar painted on wood of the Salvator chapel in Csíksomlyó (today: Şumuleu, Romania) is also from the 17th century. The wonderful Loreto altar of the parish church in Sárospatak is from the 18th century and is very close to Szendrő. It was made in Eger in the 18th century and was once the side altar of the Trinitarian chapel in Sárospatak and got to its present place in the castle church or parish church in Sárospatak after the dissolution of the order.

Figure 7: Loreto side altar of the basilica in Sárospatak, once that of the Trinitarian monastery church in Sárospatak, mid-18th century



Photo taken by É. Gy.

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What Has Become of You, Genteel Poverty?

In this short essay, I am going to compare the conditions described in Zoltán Szabó's classical sociographical study 'Genteel Poverty' with the facts of our present time.²³ Zoltán Szabó wrote this study about the Hungarian region called Palócföld at a very young age, in his twenties, together with his other famous study, 'State of Affairs in Tard.²⁴' Nearly a hundred years have passed since then – what kind of answers can be given in our days to the burning questions raised in those studies?

Figure 1: Girls in Buják, in their Sunday best clothes



²² The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.
 ²³ SZABÓ 1986

²⁴ Szabó 1986

Let's start with the meaning of the term: genteel poverty. It is rooted in the folk costume of the peasant girls in Buják, which is described by the author as follows:

"They spend their Sundays this way, that they are in these clothes, that they put on these clothes, that they take off these clothes. The weekdays of Margit are spent by working in the neighbouring squire's estate from 4 a.m. until 8 in the evening. Because Margit has nothing else but 40 skirts, 4 'pruszlik's, 15 'zabka's and 7 aprons, and herself, who is wearing all these. They also have a room in the house where they can dress and undress on Sundays. Nothing else. She earns her living by working in the fields and she lives in Buják."

The description of the adorned costume is also important because Zoltán Szabó gives the attribute of bondage, not only to the clothes but also to the person wearing them:

"In these clothes everything is in bondage, and everything is subordinated to something. The colourful skirts must align with the form of the ironed skirt, the ribbons must extend in a way the pins order them, in a straight, slightly curving line from the waist. The ribbon pulled to the front must also neatly lie on the skirt, which bulges in the front, in compliance with the line of starching. Margit herself is alo in bondage. Earlier, she could move freely in her small shirt, now it is hard for her to move, she can only bend forward, as the dress allows it." (page 4.)

This is how the folk costume becomes the symbol of the situation of the poverty-stricken peasantry. Based on the above lines, tradition, symbolized by the fancyful costume, draws back the person wearing it to the bondage of the past and of poverty. Today, the folk costumes commonly worn in those times have become items belonging to the past, with the exception – paradoxically - of Buják and some other settlements like Hollókő, where they have become touristic sights. Nowadays, the poor can freely choose from clothes discarded by others, for themselves and for their loved ones, in second hand shops, according to their own taste. For special days, there are the Chinese shops with their ready-to-wear clothes which, accordingly, are either too tight or loose. These clothes mostly have some inscriptions on them, and the people wearing them are often ignorant of their meanings.

The diversity of clothing among the people standing at the Volán bus station has only one common feature indicated by reading the inscriptions of the second-hand clothes, and that is poverty. What would Zoltán Szabó say to all these, if he was standing among the shabby crowd waiting for the bus to Kazincbarcika?

In the following, I am going to make a comparison based on the major dimensions of Genteel Poverty. These are: the landscape, the people, substenance and poverty.

The landscape is very important for Zoltán Szabó, perhaps because he had poetic inspirations as well:

"Today, when we rank Zoltán Szabó to be probably the most important classic of our sociographical literature, as well as the most inspiring one, when we think of his travel descriptions, political journalism and studies as significant pieces of work written in an outstanding style – hardly anybody remembers that he had started off as a poet. Out of his poetic work which had real musical effect and a specific mood, floating between the topics of religion and the desire of love, a truly significant poetry might have developed."

Let's have a quotation here, for the illustration of the above idea:

"The hour of Nógrád arrives when the sun shines on the brown stones of the castle ruins and on the shadowy stripes of the fields from underneath. The Mátra Hill shows its true mightiness and strength when the sun has already settled but darkness has not set in yet – at that time it grows and stretches up towards the sky, enormously and proud of its power. The early evening hour suits the more gentle and sombre Börzsöny Hill, and the minute when something has passed and something has just started, when the colours change, the lights vary and the winds are arriving from somewhere, suits each of the hills. These are transitional hours and seasons, and the fact that they show the landscape in its true nature is because the landscape itself is also transitional, half way between two extremities: the plane and the hills." (page 7.)

However, Zoltán Szabó's descriptions never have an end in itself: one can always detect the social aspect in the background:

"If the Great Plane is similar to a picture which is astonishing and enormous, here the individual counties are similar to an exhibition of pictures assembled from those of different styles. There is perhaps only one thing that is common in these regions, in each of which there is a village hidden somewhere deep like pearls in a shell: and this is poverty which – although the reasons producing it differ - its form is aways the same." (page 23.)

It is interesting to see that the above lines, if supplemented by some other dimensions of our days, are still valid. For example, Jósvafő village situated in picturesque surroundings, where tourism plays an important role, is a settlement of normal living conditions, whereas the town Ózd situated not farther than twenty-thirty kilometres from it, together with the villages in its agglomeration, have completely grown into slums after the winding up of the heavy industry. The ruins of the iron works stand in the centre of Ózd as torsos of the past, moreover, the workers' colony "Velence" in its neighbourhood has been totally amortized, although Zoltán Szabó had written with appreciation about it:

"...The so called Velence on the other side of the factory is already quite modern, just like the houses of the German Siedlungs, its form is also similar to the German style. The houses have an upstairs floor: downstairs there is a big room and the kitchen, and upstairs a smaller bedroom. The greatest advantage of this type of house is that, due to the fact that there is one room dowstairs and another one upstairs, the family members may separate. That is, for example, the worker who is on the night shift can sleep undisturbed upstairs during the day because his family's activities dowstairs do not disturb him." (page 23.)

The ruins of the heavy industry, as wounds of the landscape, can be seen everywhere in the region, however, the newly built units of the chemical plant in Kazincbarcika are similar wounds emitting vast amounts of smoke seen from great distances.

Also, there is a huge difference between the picturesque village Varbó and the other settlement Sajóbábony situated only 5 kms from each other in bee-line, first of all in their social status. In this case again, the degree of growing into slum is what counts. However, in the 1930-ies, the villages used to show a more uniform picture as compared to the present

situation. Hollókő village may be a good example for this: it is the only settlement which has preserved its traditional character until the present. In today's villages there is a raging tendency of architectural eclecticism: that is, the traditional peasants' houses from the time of Genteel Poverty are still present, mostly as torsos of the past, in ruined condition, but sometimes they are renovated, like in Jósvafő, where they have become a tourist attraction and, consequently, constitute value. However, in the slum areas these houses are the rundown dwelling places of the poor of the village. The so-called "Kádár-cubes" are inseparable from the image of an average village - their condition also varies on a wide scale. And there are the newly built houses where the rich people of the village live.

And at this point, we have already switched over to the human dimension, because the mixed picture of the houses in the villages is a true reflexion of the inequalities experienced within the settlements, which have increased considerably by the present. The cube-houses of the Kádár-era's "goulash-communism" were considered a symbol of "development" in the villages. That regime tolerated the increasing inequalities more and more as it was progressing towards the change of regime in 1989, although they did not truly approve of it from ideological points of view. Consequently, the villages still showed a more unified image as regards the houses in them. During the economic collapse caused by the change of the regime, and the social shock that followed, the villages were amortized, because a lot of people moved out in the hope of a better life, leaving their homes behind. These homes gradually perished, and later those who moved in illegally did not care about the deteriorating conditions, on the one hand, but they did not even have the money to renovate these houses, on the other hand, and neither did the other inhabitans of the village. Today, however, those who could recover from the the shock of the change of regime have been able to renovate their homes, and that is the reason for the increasing difference in the condition of the houses. Paradoxically, the increase of social inequalities can be considered a positive phenomenon in this case.

And now, let us take a closer look at the problem of substenance as one of the major questions of the human dimension. For Zoltán Szabó then and there, the most critical problem was land ownership. Would they distribute the land, which could provide the basis for the development of a "peasant-burgois" layer of a higher social status? That would be of decisive significance from the aspect of putting an end to the feudal system, which genteel poverty: was a symbol of.

"What will happen to the peasantry, the greatest social layer of the nation? – that was the question. – This question was not recognized from above, its solution could not be achieved from below. The diagnosis, which I saw to be characteristic in the most typical village of the region, in Tard, can be extended to the entire population of the peasantry in the region: there is no place for them other than their village and the peasantry itself.

The final result: although leaving the peasant form of life behind, they cannot integrate into the form of life of any other social layer." (page 75.)

This feudal structure can be seen not only in case of the peasantry but in that of the working class as well:

"Considering the material culture and the material achievements related to civilizational improvement, as well as the social conditions and the wages, Ózd is in excellent position, as compared to the Hungarian conditions in general. However, as regards the social stratification and the behaviour of the individual social strata, it reflects a less positive state of affairs, a rigid, divided society having a feudal caste system." (page 102.)

By our time, the peasantry of Genteel Poverty has disappeared, because the village peasants do not follow any agricultural activities that could be the basis of their subsistence – it is true to such an extent that even the small-scale family farming is becoming rare. The question is raised: who possesses the land, then? One thing is sure: not the people of the village, because the plots received as compensation after the change of regime have been all purchased. What is more, not only the peasantry but the working class – also including the miners - have disappeared as well after the economic collapse following the change of the regime. Neither does the former nobiliy, the ones with the coats of arm exist. To sum up: the world of Genteel Poverty has disappeared from the scene of history.

The question is: what has replaced it in our days?

As regards substenance, working abroad and leading a double life thereby offers a certain way out, but the multinational companies within the country also play a significant role in this respect, whereas agriculture offers only temporary jobs, mainly during hasrvest time. For those who cannot make use of these opportunities, there is community work offered by the municipalites.

Considering the towns, some of them have started to find their own way of development, like Eger or Miskolc but, on the other hand, this cannot be said about Ózd: the tendency of growing slums could not be slowed down there.

Considering the villages, the picture is quite varied: there are villages which could find a way out based on tourism, like Jósvafő, which we have mentioned earlier. Other villages have become alternatives of the life in towns, like Ládbesenyő, or a combination of the above two, like Bükkszentkereszt. However, there are a great number of settlements where the tendency of growing slums is the main threat, like in Baktakék, or those where this tendency has already been completed, like in Csenyéte. In our days, the main question is, whether this tendency can be stopped.

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Opportunities and difficulties of tourism in disadvantaged settlements

In the paper I will present tourism initiatives that take place (took place) in settlements inhabited by Roma. The four initiatives embody four types of models. The settlements are located in the Abaúji region of northern Hungary, which is one of Hungary's lagging regions. The population of Hernádvécse is 1,089, and local informants estimate that 95% of them are Roma. Bódvalenke (a settlement of 297 people) and Szakácsi (a settlement of 201 people) also have almost only Roma residents.²⁶ In Tomor, which has a population of 234 people, the proportion of Roma is about 25%, but a few years ago only one small family, about 30 Roma people lived there. The sources of the information presented are participant observation in the case of Bódvalenke and Tomor, and interviews (with mayors, hotel manager, Dutch entrepreneur) in Szakácsi and Hernádvécse.

For a settlement tourism means jobs and budget income, for local producers and service providers it gives additional demand. Tourism can increase the popularity and attractiveness of a territory and thus attract other investment opportunities there. In many places there is an effort to "develop tourism", primarily by creating accommodation. However, for tourism to flourish, having accommodations in a settlement in itself is not enough, it is necessary to find the values, that attract tourists to that particular place. In addition to its natural beauty and hunting opportunities, the analysed area has historical monuments (Sárospatak, the valley of the Abas, the Rákózci heritage, castles, porcelain of Hollóháza), besides Eger, the Tokaj wine region, Miskolc and Kassa are within easy reach. However, it can be a deterrent to tourists if the villagescape is not beautiful, public safety is not good, which are characteristics of areas inhabited by people living in extreme poverty.

In the following, we will review how the analysed settlements try to exploit the opportunities provided by tourism, what results they have achieved in this field, what special appeal they have, how they deal with potential deterrent factors.

In Hernádvécse, the four-star Hotel Vécsecity was built in the walled Vécsey-Sardagna castle, so it is separate from the settlement, even though it is located in its heart. The guests have no contact with the local people, they merely "travel through" the village, except for those who go to Christmas mass. The hotel's separation from the village is expressed by the advertising

²⁵ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

²⁶ Data refer to 2023, source: ksh.hu

slogan "city enclosed in a castle" and the name of the facility: "Vécsecity". In addition to the castle, there are modern buildings in the garden, there is an inn ("csárda") for pig killings and barbecues, there is a petting zoo, a tennis court, a park promenade with a small lake. But how did the place get to this point?

Tibor Takács, a veterinarian, university teacher-researcher, and successful entrepreneur, bought the dilapidated buildings and their garden, and decided to use them as a hotel in order to prevent their condition from deteriorating again. When they first applied to the Northern Hungary Regional Development Agency (NORDA), they did not receive funding for hotel development, as the agency did not think that the "sociological desert" could attract tourists. In 2011, however, NORDA awarded a serious grant, with the help of which the hotel with 55 rooms and two conference rooms and a wellness unit could open its doors. Anyone who visits Vécsecity may not even know what kind of settlement they are coming to. The world of the Roma is present in the hotel in a panopticon displaying traditional Roma life, and in the fact that the local band playing gypsy music sometimes performs there.²⁷ Previously, the local trough maker was also involved in the life of the hotel until his health deteriorated. The people of Hernádvécse work here as maids and caretakers, as they have the appropriate qualifications only for these positions. One or two people take advantage of the opportunity. For a while, a young Roma woman did hairdressing at the hotel, but she quit because she felt it was unfair that she would receive HUF 2,000 for a guest who pays the hotel HUF 10,000. It is a pity that no one took the trouble to explain to her the composition of the costs and revenues of a hotel. Most of the employees, the servers, receptionists, the restaurant manager, the hotel manager are not inhabitants of Hernádvécse. Some of them don't even go home for the duration of their 3-4 day shift, they receive accommodation and full board as a benefit on top of their wages.

In the village, the residents established a surprising number of associations and even two social cooperatives. One of the social cooperatives wanted to start a cafe and local product shop in the village for serving the guests, but in the end their tender did not get support. It is not even certain that they would have been able to operate this business profitably, since the hotel itself sells some products of the region, and local products of Hernádvécse do not even exist. Guests can have coffee in the hotel, but the Roma could perhaps think in a grove or club playing live music. By the way, due to the change in the legal rules for social cooperatives, this cooperative has ceased to exist. At the time of the interview (2018), the hotel did not pay tourism tax to the settlement, so it did not contribute either to the increase of local revenues.

Elisabeth van Aerde, a Dutch sociologist, intended to turn the profits of her communications company, which was doing well in the Netherlands, into a tourism business in the middle of the 2000s. Hungary joined the EU at that time, and she thought that "the new neighbour" could be an attractive destination for Western European guests. The capital, Lake Balaton and the "Puszta" (law land) did not seem for her as attractive investment locations, since many people were already dealing with those destinations. Szakácsi was chosen by her because it is a quiet, peaceful settlement in a romantic landscape, close to Eger, Miskolc, the Tokaj wine region and Aggtelek. She believed that rural tourism should take place in a living village full of

²⁷ HAVASI 2021

people, unlike the nearby Irota, which was almost uninhabited when the tourism developments there started. Elisabeth bought and renovated farmhouses in such a way that both their exterior and furnishings resemble traditional forms, but in the same time they are comfortable for people living in the modern world, with internet access, a well-equipped kitchen, and swimming pool. She employed the local Roma as maids, kitchen assistants and caretakers, teaching them in the process. She got involved in the life of the Roma community of this and a neighbouring village, she participated in their community events, she wanted to teach the children English. (Instead, the children learned Elisabeth's strange use of the Hungarian language.) The business started well, she bought more and more houses in the village and started their renovation. Her long-term plan was to build a hotel in Szakácsi, where the entire village could find work. She wanted to take out a bank loan for the development, and was surprised when she didn't get one, since the development site was a settlement inhabited by Roma. However, she managed to obtain tender funds for the expansion. The 2008 crisis set the business back, but after it was over, she was able to restart her activity, but by now she has stopped it. It is not known exactly what happened to the woman, the people in the neighbourhood are spreading various rumours. Maybe she's tired of the struggles. She got involved inevitably in the conflicts between the Gypsy families, and she could be lonely in a cultural environment that was completely foreign to her.

When Elisabeth chose the location for her investment, whether or not it was inhabited by Roma living in extreme poverty did not influence her decision. The situation was different with Eszter Pásztor, who chose Bódvalenke to implement her plans precisely because it was one of the poorest settlements she visited. By the way, both Bódvalenke and Szakácsi are regularly can be found among the ten poorest settlements in Hungary (in 2023 Szakácsi was be tenth, while Bódvalenke fifth). Eszter's plan was to create a fresco village, i.e. Gypsy²⁸ painters should paint frescoes on the walls of traditional farmhouses (actually seccoes, as they are made on a dry surface), so that the settlement could serve as a tourist destination. The guests who come to see the frescoes can bring additional income for the residents of the village, and their visit can serve to create a (more) positive Roma image. Thirty-three paintings by eighteen painters were completed over the years, many private individuals, NGOs and companies supported with money the idea, with the CIB's Social Responsibility Foundation providing the most funds.²⁹ The initiative in Bódvalenke was accompanied by a complex social development process, which started with the demolition of an uninhabitable part of the settlement and the creation of social housing flats. A Waldorf teacher operated a mini-study hall (their study hall applications were never funded), a social worker has been present in the settlement with a similar purpose as in the Maltese Maltese Charity Service's "Jelenlét" (presence) programme. A Roma community developer was also active for a while among the residents of the village, many volunteers and university students were involved in the processes, a social cooperative was established. Since 2010 the social line has been taken over by the Reformed Charity Service, which maintains the Sure Start Children's House in the village. Despite the aforementioned efforts, Bódvalenke, remained the fifth poorest Hungarian settlement. Why couldn't it be reached more results? Bódvalenke was visited by 4-6 thousand tourists every years, which meant an additional income of HUF 10-30 thousand per month for the women

 ²⁸ In the region the Roma declare themselves to be "Gypsies" and the word "Gypsy" has no pejorative meaning.
 ²⁹ BÁRCZI 2014

hosting them.³⁰ However, no tourist infrastructure was built, the social cooperative and the local council never managed to obtain funds for this. It is a pity, because exciting ideas were born here, such as for example a campsite where the guests would have slept partly in traditional Roma dwellings. Not a single guest house was created, with a kitchen that met all the requirements of the authorities. Postcards, calendars, and albums made from the frescoes were not produced, even though they were planned. Since the village cannot be closed and entrance tickets cannot be asked from those walking through it, the most important event from a tourist point of view was the Dragon Festival, which can be called the joyous celebration of Roma culture. This event has been held annually since 2010 (After the dragon statue that inspired the name of the festival was destroyed, it run under the name of "Bódvalenkei vigasságok"). It was one of the most high-quality world music festivals in Northern Hungary, where, in addition to musicians, poets and actors also performed.³¹ The festival has not been held since 2018. The social cooperative also tried a lot of things: at first it worked in the construction sector, later it operated as a sewing shop (there was the Romani design among their customer at one time), but they also tried with angora, biomass production and trade. In many cases, business ideas and clients came from Eszter Pásztor and her circle of acquaintances, mobilising her social capital. The fulfillment of these plans was hindered by a lack of resources, be it the lack of capital, land (the land around the village fell into the hands of land speculators), or knowledge. Today, Eszter is not working in the settlement any more, so there is currently no attempt to exploit the created values. Unfortunately, her operation was accompanied by conflicts, quarrels, envy and suspicion among the local people. From the beginning, four loan sharks were active in the small village, and their operations could not be stopped, and one of them even became the mayor of a neighbouring settlement.

In the case of Tomor tourism and hospitality are a by-product of the struggles of the Roma community, originally they did not even think of doing something like this. It was a particular place, where the lifestyle of the Roma was like that of "peasants", they kept animals, cultivated the land, the women worked in the local sewing shop. The economic downturn after the change of regime, the termination of the cooperative, the closing of the sewing shop pushed them into poverty. However, the strong small community seized many opportunities, e.g. they had a successful goat project, training and transit employment, running a study hall and many smaller projects mainly related to the media, first within the framework of the Rom Som Foundation, later through their own association (Cserőke).³² Since -as mentioned- the Gypsy population of Tomor was small, in many cases people from the surrounding settlements were involved in their initiatives. Later, they helped the birth and operation of other Roma civil organizations in the region. Their good reputation attracted visitors, who in many cases stayed in the houses of the local Gypsies. This is where the idea came from for the social cooperative established in 2012 to operate in the field of tourism. They dreamed of creating a hostel, but first, due to the scarcity of financial resources, they started with a "lakásétterem" (apartment restaurant). Their band, the Dorco band, started playing traditional Gypsy music, which could (would have) been another attraction for potential guests. In the end, they did

³⁰ ÉSZAKHÍRNÖK 2016

³¹ ÉSZAKHÍRNÖK 2015

³² HAVASI 2023

not step over the level of the apartment restaurant, because, -in my opinion-, the leader of the community continued to keep the entire Gypsy population of the region in his mind instead of focusing on their own affairs. With the changes in the Hungarian labour market, it became possible for several of the members of the cooperative to find work in the primary labor market, so the need to accelerate their business activities was reduced.

We have not been talking about how the analysed initiatives dealt with the tourism-related challenges arising from the presence of poverty in their localities. Vécsecity is an area cut off from the village, and in order to improve the villagescape its leadership arranged the renovation of the road leading to the castle and supported the repair of the fences and facades of the houses in bad condition along this road. It is not infrequent in the hotel industry that guests spend their time within the walls of the hotel. There may be various reasons for this: the environment is not particularly attractive, or the area is not safe, or the management of the hotel may want to maximize their income. Vécsecity also provides an opportunity for this, as there are countless possible activities within the hotel's walls, thematic and cultural programmes are often organized there. If the guests leave the hotel, they go on a castle tour, a city visit, or to the surrounding mountains.

In Szakácsi, the investor did not think that the presence of Gypsies in the settlement could be problematic for her business, and luckily there was indeed no problem from the point of view of the guests. In Tomor the guests are specifically the guests of the Gypsies, they know well where they are coming.

However, there were problems related to tourism in Bódvalenke, such as a mass fight that broke out at the Dragon Festival or that things were stolen from the tent of the volunteer organizers. These phenomena indicate that the settlement might not have been an ideal location for a campsite.

Three of the presented models proved to be viable: the all-inclusive hotel and the two forms of village tourism (staying with reliable Gypsy hosts or in a settlement inhabited by Gypsies). It is true however, that only the hotel is currently operating profitably. In addition, Hernádvécse and its residents have not yet been able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by this business, although this may change over time. However, it is important to note that these models cannot be copied and replicated automatically at other places. There are a lot of castles in the area, with or without different functions, and the market probably wouldn't allow all of them being run as hotels. The smaller ones, as happened with the Pallavicini castle in Hernádpetri, can offer temporary accommodation, but for the rest, the best use should be found. And the Roma as hosts must have a very good reputation in order for the guests to trust them. The initiatives in Bódvalenke did not really bring results, despite the fact that unique values were created there. The settlement could be included as a stop for bus tours, and local Gypsy youth could be tour guides. In such a construction, the non-Roma guests could become more socially sensitive, the positive Roma identity of the Roma could be strengthened in the case of Roma guests and the skills of the local youth would also develop. They could prepare for this role in the study hall of the village (which is not yet existing). In any case, an (open air) museum snack bar and shop should be created, where publications and other local products could be sold.

Push factors of tourism are the desire for escape, rest and relaxation, prestige, health and fitness, adventure and social interaction.³³ The analysed cases offer possibilities to fulfil these intrinsic desires of the guests (prestige function can be offered only by Vécsecity), but the host settlements, their leaders and inhabitants have to develop their skills to exploit more effectively the potential inherent in tourism.

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Disadvantaged children in nursery school through the eyes of a kindergarten teacher

The primary goal of every teacher is to equip children with the knowledge they need to build a future. Overcoming disadvantage in disadvantaged children requires serious work.

Children can be disadvantaged by a number of factors (family circumstances, parents' lack of schooling). When children arrive at school from nursery, they should have a level of skills that teachers can build on. However, this requires special attention and development for disadvantaged children.

By listing the tasks of the nursery school and the nursery teacher, we were able to see how varied and irreplaceable the time spent in nursery school is for the child. For children, the 'separation' from the family - the primary socialisation level - begins at the earliest when they enter nursery or kindergarten, and thus the child's institutional, community education begins.

The reason for this is that in the course of a young child's life, he or she gets to know people other than the family. He/she is leaving a familiar safe atmosphere and has to find his place in a new, unfamiliar environment. They need to be able to develop and maintain relationships with peers and adults alike. The rules and habits set by the nursery school are often different from the expectations at home, so it is necessary to mobilise his/her adaptability to comply with them.

An important step in children's development is to learn to share, adapt and cooperate with adults.³⁵ Children are exposed to stimuli that they do not have the opportunity to experience at home in a family environment. These phenomena include competition for toys, friends, and the attention and praise of the kindergarten teacher.³⁶

Vekerdy considers the kindergarten years to be the most important in a child's life. In his opinion, the experience of a full-fledged childhood plays an outstanding role in a child's success in life.³⁷

³⁴ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

³⁵ KÓSA-VAJDA 2005, 159-161.

³⁶ HAJDUSKA 2008, 39-42.

³⁷ VEKERDY 2021, 152 -154.

By preschool, these needs include emotional security, bonding, lots of free play and lots of movement. Children need emotional security even when their parents are away.

For a disadvantaged young child, there are many factors that can cause disadvantage in his or her life compared to non-disadvantaged peers.

These children can benefit from irreplaceable help (in all areas) to develop in a positive way and to catch up with disadvantages in pre-school education. Numerous studies have been carried out in this connection, all of which have highlighted the importance of nursery schools in the education of disadvantaged children.

This includes the research of Ágnes Hódi and Edit Tóth, in which they investigated the basic skills measured at the start of school and the later development of text comprehension performance of children from different socio-economic backgrounds in the light of years spent in kindergarten. Their findings show that differences in ability at the start of school can result in huge, sometimes irreversible, gaps later in a child's life. To reduce this, they stress the importance of early intervention and special early childhood development programmes. A disadvantaged child lives his or her daily life without tools, objects and activities, but once in a nursery school, these become readily available in the immediate environment. The nursery can provide toys, play equipment and appropriate programmes to promote the multifaceted and optimal development of preschool children, familiarise them with their environment, and develop their motor, cognitive and social skills. It is also the best way to develop their imagination and fantasy.³⁸

The result of this study is that pre-school education is of paramount importance for a child's future school career.

The time children spend in nursery school depends on the educational level of their parents. Children whose parents have not completed eight years of primary school tend to attend kindergarten for only two years, while children of middle-class parents tend to attend for three to four years. Thus, the kindergarten education of disadvantaged or severely disadvantaged children differs significantly from the average in society.

In addition to helping children from disadvantaged backgrounds to catch up with their intellectual and emotional development, the nursery school often provides healthy food and sometimes a child's daily meal. Parents' low income means that they cannot provide adequate nutrition for their children, which can lead to phenomena such as malnutrition and child fatigue. The nursery school, the nursery teacher and the nanny try to eliminate this condition. Parents' treatment and children's abilities can change, especially in the early years. "Some children's learning or behavioural difficulties are not due to social or cultural factors. The third category includes children who are presumed to be healthy, with normal developmental

³⁸ HÓDI-TÓTH 2016, 51-72.

potential, but who have developmental delays presumed to be due to their social and cultural situation.³⁹"

It is important to start supporting and helping disadvantaged families as soon as possible, both for the parents and for the child's proper development. Early childhood programmes were developed for poor families to help the child's development. Their aim was to prevent or, if a family crisis had already arisen, to put an end to it, and to establish a relationship between parent and child. According to Fraiberg, parents are able to care for their children properly if they are able to think properly. During the therapy, families in need are accompanied by professionals who may even accompany the family to the doctor.⁴⁰

Opportunity programmes are a great professional help for pre-school teachers, as it is a wellknown fact that developing the mother tongue skills of disadvantaged children is essential in the pre-school phase, in kindergarten. If a child's listening, understanding, rate of speech, speech-thinking and vocabulary lag behind at school, this can be an almost irreversible disadvantage for the child, with serious consequences. Kindergarten groups can be homogeneous or heterogeneous according to their organisation. Both have their advantages and disadvantages, and the opinions of authoritative experts differ. In homogeneous groups, i.e. "pure" groups, children of the same age are organised into a group. Three age groups are distinguished. The small group is for children aged 3-4, the medium group for children aged 4-5 and the large group for children aged 5-7. One of the advantages of homogeneous groups is that they are usually formed at the same time, so they are likely to develop at a similar pace. During the sessions, the kindergarten teacher should only focus on individual differentiation.

Heterogeneous groups, or 'mixed' groups, include children aged 3-7 years. By placing the 3-year-old child in a group that is already well-established, with children of different ages attuned to the extended family, the inclusion period goes more smoothly.

Children who are raised in a mixed group will be richer in personality traits such as tolerance, caring and empathy. Younger children strive for independence as they see the activities of the older ones. The big advantage of heterogeneous groups is that sibling pairs can stay in the same group without having to be separated, and that children who delay starting school by a year can stay in their usual group.

Nowadays, there is a widespread perception that the management and effectiveness of education and learning in heterogeneous groups is not sufficiently effective. However, the kindergarten teachers organise the pedagogical work in the group in a differentiated way, paying special attention to the abilities of each child and designing the every-day activities in such a way that the individual and group work is developmentally effective for all children.⁴¹

One study has found that children from different socio-economic backgrounds start school with a significant gap in basic skills, which can result in a huge, sometimes irrecoverable,

³⁹ SZILVÁSI 2006, 83.

⁴⁰ SZILVÁSI 2006, 92-95.

⁴¹ BAKONYI 2016

backlog later in life. To reduce this, the opportunities for early intervention and the importance of special early childhood development programmes are emphasised.⁴² A disadvantaged child lives his or her daily life without tools, objects and activities, but once in a nursery school, these become readily available in the immediate environment.⁴³

Priority is given to all forms of activity in kindergarden (play activities, poetry-telling, active exploration of the outside world, drawing, painting, pattern-making, needlework, singing, vocal play, music, learning through activity). There are many opportunities for kindergardens and kindergarden teachers to engage in anti-discriminatory practices. Opportunities for compensating for disadvantage can also be found in moral education, whereby the development of moral sensitivity can be supported.

Experts stress that participation in pre-school life is important, especially for children whose immediate environment is worse than average, also to prepare them for starting school, but disadvantaged children are the least likely to use the day care offered by the pre-school, when they are the ones who need it most to overcome disadvantages and catch up.

I conducted my research by means of questionnaire data collection in small regions of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. For the sample of kindergarden teachers, 22 persons filled in the questionnaire. With regard to the measuring instruments, I asked the teachers to give their knowledge, experiences and opinions about the integrated inclusive education of disadvantaged children.

From the analysis of the small sample survey, I found that kindergarden teachers are helped by the opportunity programmes; they help them to adopt an inclusive approach. As inclusion is a common issue among teachers in the region's kindergardens, kindergarden teachers have a strong opinion on the subject. For this reason, the research also allowed them to form their own opinions.

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The task of the schools located in the Abaúji Historical Region in case of helping disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged students, mainly Roma, catch up with the knowledge society

A country's economy can only stay afloat and meet international requirements if it is efficient and competitive. Human resources, the training and flexibility of the workforce, and the skills and abilities suited to the market economy play a decisive role in strengthening competitiveness.

Since education contributes to the development of human resources, the task of the school is to develop the abilities and skills that are needed in the labor market. One of the cornerstones of this is the knowledge and use of digital tools.

Digitalization has become a central concept worldwide. Today, a social environment has developed, which is characterized by the wealth of information circulating in the world. Acquiring, possessing, and using information is one of the ways of self-assertion for the individual, and one of the ways of economic advancement for society. Online interfaces are the most effective means of obtaining current information. However, this is not yet ensured to the same extent for everyone. There are layers of society in which the principle of equal access does not apply. Today, the proportion of people with digital devices is high, but in the case of disadvantaged families, the proportion is significantly lower and is not sufficient for the child to catch up with those who use online platforms to expand their knowledge on a daily basis.

The root of the problem lies in the fact that since the system change in Hungary, inequalities have increased between individual social groups and strata, a gap that also affects educational

⁴⁴ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 -National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

institutions. Social-economic status and belonging to a marginalized minority are the most decisive among the causes. As a result, it can be assumed that the most significant lag in the field of digital competence in schools is experienced among disadvantaged and cumulatively disadvantaged students, primarily Roma students, who are at the bottom of the hierarchical ranking.

In our workshop presentation, we are looking for an answer to the question of what opportunities are available to students described above, primarily Roma students in the educational institutions that educate disadvantaged students in the Abaúj Historical Microregion, between their backwardness due to their social and cultural background and the opportunities offered by the knowledge-based society. to bridge the gap - primarily with regard to the purpose and possibility of the existence and use of digital tools. The study is based on representative, primary (empirical) and secondary (data analysis) research.

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Education support built on local values in the Creative Region Project

The article undertakes to present how the various educational elements of Creative Region III projects of the University of Miskolc were assembled into complex educational support, and how these elements implement the local cultural values discovered by the research groups. Therefore, the article briefly summarizes the goals of the Creative Region project including the educational support elements of Project III. It presents the connection between the irregular lessons entitled "Nomen est omen" and the local news published with the same headline, giving details about the educational function and cultural-informative role of the exhibition: Do you know about Abaúj? and finally, it highlights how school language-landscape research can supplement the educational project elements.

1. Educational support in Creative Region III. project. The "Creative Region" (CR) project started in 2017 as a winning application of the Higher Education Excellence Institution Program in the field of social sciences, and three consecutive projects turned into a series of projects by 2023. The main objective of the CR is to "give a complex assessment of the resources in the settlements: recording the economic, social status, social situation, cultural, educational and health status, the applied innovations, to map all the values that can make it more attractive for tourism, to contribute to finding possible breakthrough points through a complex resource survey, to help the spread of civil, economic, social and cultural innovations and the effectiveness of education.⁴⁶" The first two projects focused on the 25 settlements of the Abauj sub-region (the East Cserehát Microregion as a geographical unit) and the main elements of the projects were defined in the project manager's article in the following points⁴⁷:

- A complex assessment of the resources in the settlements: recording the economic, social status, social situation, cultural, educational and health status
- Outlining the development paths of settlements and the micro-region, measuring local innovation potential
- Development of a Cultural Heritage concept, definition of content, setting up a scenario, creation of a database

⁴⁵ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁴⁶ K. NAGY – ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS 2022, 49.

⁴⁷ Illésné Kovács 2020, 55.

- Creation of a mobile application called "Abaúji Mutató" (Abaúj Navigator) and promotion of the micro-region through it
- Creation of a Social Innovation Model

CR was continued along the same concept, but already extended to 25 settlements of the Edelényi microregion, and a research team focusing primarily on educational development was also included among the research groups.⁴⁸ The members of the research team are linguists, special education teachers, and other pedagogical experts who can help the work of local teachers in many areas, from kindergarten development to applying the special KIP methodology used in school education. The complex educational support presented in this article was also implemented in this research group and aims to support the education of the mother tongue. As part of CR III. objectives within the framework of the project (between January 2022 to December 2025), relying on the previous results, while remaining in the Abaúj region, further feedback, development, and dissemination of the pilot program findings will take place through scientific, community, school, and cultural events. The article presents the construction of project elements aimed at education through the programs implemented in Baktakék, one of the settlements belonging to the Abaúj region.

2. Nomen est omen – Names and Traditions from Baktakék irregular lessons. Although mother tongue education pervades most of the curriculum, it is still concentrated in the Hungarian language and literature classes. The irregular Hungarian language lesson is connected to the content of the Hungarian language and literature curriculum at school and fits the complex innovation model⁴⁹ used in CR in such a way that it brings local cultural traditions into public education, thereby promoting a more conscious experience of local values, local identity its strengthening, and its added value is building relationships between generations. The central part of the 5-6 grade Hungarian language curriculum is the type of words and spelling, in which the teaching of nouns and, within this, proper names, play a prominent role. Using different strategies, the different textbook families teach the types of anthroponyms and toponyms through the names of well-known people, the names of settlements studied in other lessons, or proper names taken from literary works. Thus, experimental pedagogy represents an educational innovation, during which the students can acquire the knowledge of types of speech through their own family and christian names, as well as the place names of their settlements. Nomen est omen - Baktakék names and traditions held on 06-02-2022 for the students of the Baktakék District Primary School, the experimental pedagogy class also started with the typological determination of the family names of the students present and then continued with the deciphering of the origin and meaning of their christian names. After that, by "untangling" the Greek Catholic denominational naming material⁵⁰ and photos of denominational traditions (e.g., iconostasis of a Greek Catholic church, roadside cross) and old registers, the students recognized the connection between the denomination and naming, according to which the Greek Catholic traditions kept names like Maria, Anastasia, Helena, Miklós (Michael), János (John), Eliás (Elias), Simeon fashionable. The discovery of common or special names characteristic of Baktakék not only shapes the local identity but can also have a

⁴⁸ Kecskés – Illésné Kovács 2023, 153–154.

⁴⁹ Szabó-Tóth - Papp Z. 2019, 131.

⁵⁰ KECSKÉS 2021.

shaping effect on the naming of future generations. In addition to personal names, the students also learned about special toponyms and micro toponyms that contain female names Ilka-háza (Ilka's house), Katalin-kilátó (Katalin-lookout tower)]. And in the spirit of building relationships between generations, they were also able to get to know Katalin, the woman from whom the lookout tower was named, and who was happy to return to the scene of the performance - her childhood homebuilding - the school in Baktakék. The irregular lessons of Nomen est omen were also held in other settlements of the region e.g., in Forró, Krasznokvajda⁵¹, and they always started with the family and christian names of the elementary school children of the given settlement and were based on local cultural values. Their goal was to point out the old names, buildings, and traditions that constitute the local value of the settlement.

3. Nomen est omen- Baktakék traditions article. The CR project developed its own Abaúj index application, which is an interface that integrates all the articles, events, and tourist information related to the region, from scientific research results to articles of interest for the public.⁵² The application can be easily accessed and downloaded by anyone from the iOS AppStore and Google Play platforms, so it is suitable for transferring the basic information of the irregular lessons outside the school premises. The article "Nomen est omen- Baktakék Traditions" also contains the material of the irregular lesson. From the article, readers were able to learn about the meaning of family names like Balogh and the rare Hamza, which are common in the settlement, as well as the origin of the names Renátó, Milán, Richard, Melani, and Ketrin, which are fashionable among children. Also, the article revived the custom of worshiping the cross on Sunday, connected to the roadside cross, which was still one of the living folk customs in the last century. The informative short article illustrated with photos is an interesting read for all ages, and it can provide information not only for local residents, as the family and first names mentioned above also occur in other settlements, due to the network of family relationships in the surrounding settlements.

4. Do you know about Abaúj? - a school exhibition. On 06/05/2023, the traveling exhibition of seven posters opened in Baktakék, presenting the cultural treasures and curiosities of Abaújdevecser, Baktakék, Fáj, Forró, Fulókércs Hernádpetri, Hernádvécse, Krasznokvajda, Pamlény, Pusztradvány, Szalaszend and Szemere. The concept of the exhibition is to make residents and students aware of the cultural value of buildings and landmarks (crosses, road signs, statues, wood carvings, tourist routes, etc.) that they know, are familiar with, and sometimes consider to be worthless. For the children, the information and photos revealed in the CR research groups were published in an attention-grabbing way, in the form of a knowledge quiz. Four of the seven posters focused on the Abaúj settlements which have independent schools (Baktakék, Forró, Krasznokvajda, Hernádvécse), whereas mother institutions and member schools were placed on a joint poster, so Szemere and Fáj, as well as Szalaszend and Fulókércs were on one poster each. The seventh poster is entitled "Our Treasures from Abaúj" and has a mixed theme. In addition to recognizing local values, the exhibition also conveys the values of the region's settlements to students, because no matter how close the settlements are to each other, the schools have a large proportion of

⁵¹ KECSKÉS 2023, 80–81.

⁵² ILLÉSNÉ KOVÁCS – KECSKÉS 2023, 74–76.

disadvantaged students who have not been able to go on cultural trips - even to the nearby settlements. On the other hand, some of the cultural treasures can be visited on a limited basis only, for example, the churches and castles, most of which do not have a local priest/guardian, so the paintings, iconostases, and books, that are rare in religious history are not visible to the locals and the public.⁵³ The posters also strengthen the relationships between the settlements, and refer to their former historical affiliation (e.g., several settlements were once part of the same microregion, they belonged to the same church as filia, the nearby settlements were part of the same landlord's estate), their present connection (e.g., their schools are member schools of the same institution, Blue tour route is passing through them). And although the focus of this project element is affirming local identity, it also serves education very well. The posters can be used in ethnography and ethnology classes and history classes, as they contain information related to many historical events (e.g. describes the relationship of the Vécsey family from Hernádvécs with one of the martyrs of Arad, count Károl Vécsey; learning about Tsar Michael I of Russia, students can recall him not only as the ruler of a distant country, but a royalty, who visited the Inn in the nearby Forró). After the opening in Baktakék, the students of Géza Gárdonyi Primary School of Forró were able to have a virtual "visit" to the surrounding settlements through the exhibition.

5. School language landscape research. Linguistic landscape research is a relatively new trend of the 20th century in applied linguistics, which is building by using the sources and results of sub-disciplines within linguistics (semiotics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, onomastic) and related sciences (history, geography, law, economics, etc.). The study of Landry-Bourhis⁵⁴ from 1997, which was considered as the starting point, also defined the terminology of linguistic landscape and examined the inscriptions and signs appearing in a multilingual environment (in a specific area) by categorizing them. However, the fusional approach of technological developments in the 21st century also had an impact on linguistics, and thus "fusion" lines emerged in linguistic landscape research, e.g. name semiotic landscape research, religious semiotic landscape research, and the most recently defined economic linguistic landscape research.⁵⁵ The school's linguistic landscape (schoolscape)- based on Tódor's definition includes all the visual language manifestations of the external and internal spaces of the school (e.g. facade visual elements, inscriptions, cultural symbols; notice boards, tableaus, board images, visual aids, multimedia, other multimodal signs), which serve the communication expectations and needs of this area, and with which the school influences the choice of linguistic and cultural values and ideologies.⁵⁶ And although Tódor is investigating in a multilingual environment, his aspects can be applied just as well in a multicultural environment as in Baktakék, where ethnic diversity and multilingualism are characteristic features historically and currently are also present. Hungarian and Ruthenian nationality and language use were recorded by historical censuses, and in the 21st century, the Hungarian and Roma population is the dominant population in the settlement, according to 2001, and 2011 censuses and the most recent CSO (Central Statistics Office) data. School language landscape research is particularly important in communities thought to be monolingual, such

⁵³ GYULAI 2018.

⁵⁴ LANDR Y– BOURHIS 1997.

⁵⁵ ISTÓK – LŐRINCZ – TÓTH **2023**.

⁵⁶Tódor 2014, 41.

as Baktakék, where during the 2011 census, 99.7% of the population identified themselves as Hungarian, but 40.4% claimed to have Roma nationality, and 0.3% did not answer the question. Since the aggregated data exceeds 100%, a high proportion of double identity can be deduced from these data. One of the main components of identity is the attitude towards language, so the background of double identity is often asymmetric bilingualism (nonbalanced bilingualism), in which the language of nationality is used only in family communication, while in other areas of communication, another language (in this case, Hungarian) is dominant. Schoolscape research can show whether the school space reflects multilingualism (ethnic diversity) or only conveys the dominant language. Extracts from the linguistic landscape of Baktakék - the Study of Inscriptions of the Baktakék District Primary School - from the analysis of the signs conveyed by the interior of the school⁵⁷, highlights that the central landscape elements mainly reflect the form and colour of Hungarian folk tales and folk art and do not refer to the ethnic diversity of the past or present. From the analysis of the permanent messages and updated information, we conclude that the institution does a lot to convey the expected forms of communication (e.g., forms of greeting, and addressing) and formal language use. An excellent example of this is the "magic words" placed on the wall of the central corridor (e.g., Thank you very much, Please, Would you be kind enough, Good morning!). The teachers seize every tool and space for value promotion, and to help the understanding of communication situations and messages with age-appropriate visualization. At the same time, the article draws attention to the fact that neither the nationality language nor the nationality tradition is given space among the messages, which the study does not present as a deficiency, but rather recommends as an opportunity to the attention of innovative school management.

6. The elements of the project build on each other for educational support. The irregular lesson, article, traveling exhibition, and study presented above are just some of the project elements implemented by the research group, which are part of the complex educational support. Its complexity is given by the fact that it covers the entire spectrum of participants in education. The primary target group of the irregular lesson and the exhibition was the students, for whom the project elements imparted new or "repackaged" knowledge, and the secondary was the teachers, whose methodological renewal was supported. The articles appearing on the application are intended for the public, while the study(s) are aimed at a limited professional audience. And while the lesson seemingly targeted young students, it provided an opportunity to create connections between generations, as the guests of the lesson were former students and members of the church. From the perspective of conveying values, the lesson, the exhibition, and the article transmitted the existing local cultural values, whereas the studies created scientific value that can be returned to public education if the school management or the teachers wish to utilize it. The peculiarity of the transmitted cultural values is that they are not tied to a single field of art or science but range from architectural monuments to cultural history curiosities to linguistics and vocabulary. The longforgotten proper nouns recalled in lessons are part of the vocabulary in the same way as common words and reflect the characteristic features of past and present language use in each settlement and region. Complex value transmission was made possible by the fact that sociologists, anthropologists, historians, linguists, and researchers in the fields of health

⁵⁷ Kecskés – Illésné Kovács 2023.

science, music, law, economics, etc., worked together in multidisciplinary teams in the CR project and the findings of researchers could also be incorporated into project elements supporting education. Project CR III lasts until 2025, so the complex education support will also continue in the various settlements.

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Life in the Edelény district - official statistics and population questionnaire survey

The project Creative Region III, awarded by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Miskolc in the framework of the Higher Education Institutional Excellence Programme, draws on the research experience of social and cultural innovations in the region to explore the potential areas and implementation alternatives for these innovations.⁵⁹ The project is a model based on a complex study of 25 municipalities in the Edelény district, involving a wide range of formal and informal leaders and local people. Between July and October 2022, a survey was carried out in 10 municipalities - Balajt, Boldva, Borsodszirák, Damak, Edelény, Hangács, Hegymeg, Nyomár, Tomor, Ziliz - with 55 questions to assess the local knowledge and values, ideas for local economic development, and opinions on local issues and public safety. In the same period of 2023, 5 more municipalities - Abod, Irota, Ládbesenyő, Szakácsi, Szendrőlád - will be included in the survey and in the spring of 2024, 10 more municipalities - Debréte, Galvács, Lak, Martonyi, Meszes, Rakaca, Rakacaszend, Szendrő, Tornabarakony, Viszló - will be added to complete the survey.

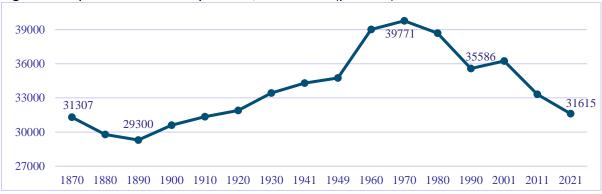


Figure 1: Population of Edelény district, 1870-2021 (persons)

Source: own editing based on CSO data

Population trends in the Edelény district have always followed the county trends, with the exception that the population peaked here in 1970 and elsewhere in 1980. From then on, apart from a slight recovery in the 1990s, there has been a steady decline. Over the last half

⁵⁸ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 -National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁵⁹ Szabó-Tóth – Papp Z. 2019

century, the district has lost a fifth of its population. Between 2011 and 2022, the decline was 5.1%, so the negative trend has accelerated.

Settlement	2011 (p)	2022 (p)	Change - (%)				
Abod	210	145	31,0				
Damak	244	224	8,2				
Edelény	11084	9259	16,5				
Galvács	88	84	4,5				
Hangács	575	546	5,1	Settlement	2011 (р)	2022 (р)	Change +
Hegymeg	113	106	6,2	Balajt	462	523	13,2
Lak	641	630	1,8	Boldva	2357	2375	0,7
Ládbesenyő	280	265	5,4	Borsodszirák	1178	1188	0,9
Martonyi	441	321	27,3	Debréte	14	15	7,1
Meszes	188	154	18,1	Irota	68	75	10,3
Nyomár	326	274	16,0	Rakaca	774	798	3,1
Tomor	229	210	8,3	Szakácsi	147	203	38,1
Rakacaszend	364	252	30,8	Szendrőlád	1954	2209	13,0
Szendrő	4065	4004	1,6	Tornabarakony	13	26	200,0
Viszló	71	61	14,1	Ziliz	357	369	3,4

Table 1. and 2: Population change in the settlements of Edelényi district (%), 2011-2022 (persons)

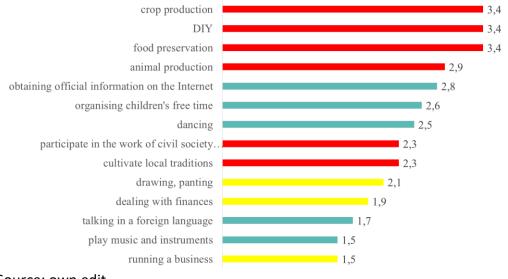
Source: own editing based on CSO data

The two tables above show that the population decline in the district has not been uniform over the last ten years. The majority of the municipalities (15) followed this trend, but there were also some (10) where the opposite was true, with population growth over the period. The most significant decreases were in Abod and Rakacaszend (31%), while increases - apart from the doubling of Tornabarakony, where the population was so small that even with a 200% increase it was the second smallest in the district - were in Szakácsi (38%).

By highlighting and examining two demographic criteria: the gender distribution of the population and the age composition of the population, as well as some socio-economic characteristics that are strongly derived from these, we can see how much less favourable the situation of Edelény district is compared to the national and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county data. (Unemployment rate, number of active enterprises and cars, number of residents per family doctor/pediatrician, number of vulnerable minors and recipients of regular child protection support, proportion of disadvantaged pupils in public education.)

The 55 questions in the questionnaire survey cover 3 main topics. In my presentation, I highlighted one question from each topic, which on the one hand confirm the magnitude and processes that can be read from the official statistical data, the unfavourable socio-economic situation of the 25 settlements of Edelény district, and on the other hand show the potential of these settlements and the people living there, the potential for possible progress and development.

Figure 2: Local knowledge

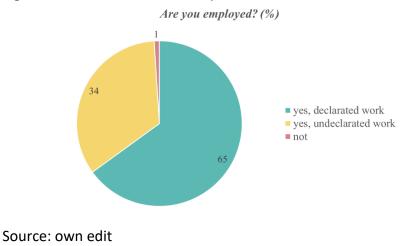


The extent to which you know? (1-5 scale)

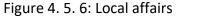
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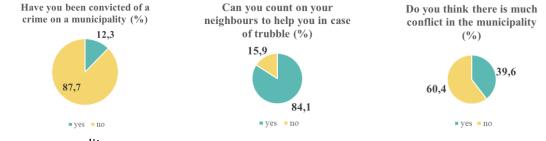
In the survey, residents were asked to rate 14 activities according to how skilled they felt they were in them. On a five-point scale, the highest average rating of 3.4 was given to three activities - growing plants, handicrafts and food preservation - so there is no activity they consider to be close to being well-versed in. At the same time, however, there are 11 things in which they rate themselves as below average. Low levels of entrepreneurship/knowledge, financial literacy and foreign language skills almost exclude them from exploiting the much-touted local economic opportunities. Without help in these areas, people cannot manage. However, many people are skilled in agricultural activities and small domestic chores, which should be the basis for building a vision for the future. The figure shows in red where the population of the 15 settlements is higher than the average of the 10, in green where it is the opposite, and in yellow where the numbers are the same.





Almost all of the working-age people surveyed in the municipality are in work. Two thirds of them have a registered job. What is worrying from the point of view of economic development is, on the one hand, the very high proportion of people in public employment and the consequently low proportion of people working in the market economy and, on the other hand, the high proportion of people working in the 'black economy.





Source: own edit

The majority of people surveyed consider public safety in their municipality to be good and believe that they can rely on their neighbours. They perceive and live with disagreements, but there is a higher proportion of people who like their place of residence and stick to it despite any problems. This certainly reinforces local potential.

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Present time Szakácsi – without the Dutch Investors

In my paper, I will examine the present of the village of Szakácsi, the living conditions of its inhabitants, their employment opportunities, their children's education, their community and spiritual life, based on interviews with the leaders of the village and the Greek Catholic parish priest who served there until 2022.

Szakácsi is part of the Cserehát region, a settlement in the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, bordered by the rivers Bódva and Hernád from the North and Slovakia. This area is characterized by small villages and dead-end settlements located far from the main routes: the main transport Route 27, which branches off at Sajószentpéter from the county seat, and the Main Road 26 from Miskolc, the M3 motorway and the M3 main road as well.

The interior areas of Cserehát are not only far from the main transport routes, but also from towns and cities, the access to small villages is difficult, mostly done on poor quality minor roads. This is one of the main problems of the area: there are no easily accessible towns nearby. Miskolc, the capital of the county, is nearly 50 km away, but even Szikszó or Edelény can only be reached by car within a reasonable time, because public transport is difficult to reach the nearest towns, with several transfers and waiting times. Bus trips are infrequent and there is no train service at all on this line.

However, the scenery is beautiful: rolling hills alternate with forests and farmland, often interspersed with untouched grassy areas.

After a wave of emigration in the 1990s, the population of Szakácsi has been slightly increasing in recent years. Currently there are 207 inhabitants, of which 92 are women and 115 men.⁶¹ The main reason for the emigration was unemployment, which led to a change in the composition of the population after the change of the regime, with abandoned houses being bought cheaply by the gypsy inhabitants who moved in and are now the only ones living in the settlement.

⁶⁰ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁶¹ <u>https://stat.dbhir.com/telepules/szak%C3%A1csi</u>

According to the 2021 TeIR (National Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System) data, Szakácsi is ranked as the 10th poorest settlement in Hungary in terms of net domestic income per inhabitant, which is HUF 325 783,90/year.⁶²

Employment Opportunities

There are no jobs in the settlement, some of the men are living from public works, as far as the government subsidy currently allows, and others are in the construction industry. They work for contractors in Budapest and return home to their families every two weeks. The women stay at home, raise the children and take care of the household.⁶³

"Public employment is the only job opportunity, but their numbers may be decreasing, so it's getting harder for us, the villagers, too." (interview with the mayor)

Ten years ago, there was an attempt to increase employment and improve the situation in the village by a Dutch entrepreneur, Elisabeth van Aerde, who came to the village and wanted to create a holiday resort by building luxury apartments for rent, because of the geographical location of the village and the beauty of the surroundings. Some of the buildings in the center of the village, renovated at the time, still bear witness to this.

In an interview in 2013, the investor said:

'You can develop where there is nothing,' says Elisabeth van Aerde, one of the investors in the tastefully renovated farmhouse that is now the headquarters of the business. "We chose Szakácsi for its touristic value, for example because of its location. We knew that it was a poor and little modernized area, however it was also unspoiled, meant a great asset for us.⁶⁴"

Although Elisabeth van Aerde stayed in the village, she does not have a good relationship with the current leaders of the village:

"She was dreaming but has not done anything... if you saw where she lives now with her son, in what a run-down, shabby house, you would be surprised." (interview with the mayor)

In the neighboring village of Irota, the Dutch entrepreneurs' dream of a luxury wellness center and apartments in the village was realized, however in Szakácsi the original idea was not come true.

⁶² Additional data: Registered jobseeker, 100 for 15-64 years old (persons): 11.1; Share of registered jobseekers with up to 8 primary school education: 85.7%; Share of employees in high-prestige employment groups: 5.8%
⁶³ The mayor, who has been in office since 2014, also recruited workers in the village as a construction contractor, this is how he got in touch with the people living here, and then ran for mayor. He does not currently live in Szakácsi.

⁶⁴ see for HALMOS Matthew (2013) index.hu/belfold/2013/10/25/szakacsi/

Developments

From 2016, infrastructure improvements were launched in the village: the roads were in such a state that "cows used the potholes as watering holes!" (interview with the mayor).

This was the first step to develop the settlement, as suppliers refused to provide goods, materials for construction and development because of the state of the roads: since then, a grocery shop has been opened, a nursery will start in September through an EFOP tender (they applied for a kindergarten, but there gained funds for this one), a football pitch has been built, which is used daily by the children living here.

A pig farm, which was part of a previous project and provided jobs for the local people, had to be closed due to rising prices and increasingly strict operating standards:

"Unfortunately, we had to close the pig farm that had been operating for years, there were price rises, we could no longer feed them and we had to maintain a control system that we could not cope with..."(interview with the mayor)

Even though the self-contained village houses were built with the help of the village CSOK, most of them are cut off from gas and water, there is no money to maintain them, families typically live together in one room, and the other rooms, bathrooms and toilets are completely excluded from the living space. In the room for the whole family, they have a fireplace, and they heat the room with wood, which they collect from the neighborhood.

Therefore, following the mayor's idea, a community space has been created in the village, with a laundry room, a kitchen, a common area for watching TV, studying and playing games. The laundry room has an automatic washing machine and tumble dryer, and the women sign up to a list of villagers to schedule who gets to do the laundry and when.

The kitchen, which is fully equipped and furnished - they can eat there - is typically used when the bottled gas at home runs out and there is nothing to cook with. At such times, mostly at the end of the month, they take the raw materials and ingredients for cooking with them and have the opportunity to prepare and eat their food in the kitchen.

But the common space is also a place for everyday fun: in the afternoons, with the help of the mayor and deputy mayor, village children study here while parents do the washing and cooking they can watch films; there's Wi-Fi, a fuse ball table and different games for a fun time together.

School, Kindergarten, Nursery in the Village

The children go to school in Lak, a neighboring village, and are taken by bus in the morning and brought home in the afternoon. But there are some people in the village who send their children to boarding schools in Edelény. These families have realized that they can help their children if they put them in boarding schools, where they can learn from Monday to Friday with constant supervision, in a suitable environment, in orderly conditions, so that they have the opportunity to learn a trade, to achieve more than their parents. They see this as the only way to stand out: learning can give them a profession, a job, a chance to move away from Szakácsi.

Holidays, Community and Faith Life

The Roma in Szakácsi has not established even a civil society organisation, which is a rare phenomenon among the villages of Borsod county. However, they were not completely left out of civil activities aimed at the integration of the Roma: some of the inhabitants of Szakácsi got involved in some programmes of the Cserőke association in Tomor or the Utcaszak cultural association.

More than ten years ago, in a Hello Wood 2012 creative camp organized by MOME line - design workshop and Reflekt Studio, two hundred young people worked for a week to create cultural and social works for disadvantaged communities in Borsod, Heves and Nógrád.

A sculptor, Gábor Miklós Szőke, and his fellow artists⁶⁵ donated a tiger statue, made of hundreds of wooden slats and more than ten meters long, to the village, which stands in the grassy area at the beginning of the village, behind the village signboard, attracting the attention of visitors.

"The Guardian Tiger was made for one of the poorest villages in Hungary during an artists' camp. The 13-metre-long cat was born with the involvement of local disadvantaged young people and became their totem and pride. A local Tiger Band was formed in honor of the statue and later a mini festival was organized. The innovative social project received a lot of media attention and the village received financial support from the government to improve their living standards. When the village gathered to thank their Protecting Tiger, it was one of the most touching moments for the sculptor.⁶⁶"

It was the mayor's idea that this special symbol, which has a "guarding" function, should also be the name of the village's village day. Tiger Day, which is held annually in the settlement.

"If we already have a tiger, let's organize a celebration around it, a village festival" (interview with the mayor)

At the request of the mayor, Lajos Kovács, a Greek Catholic parish priest, and his wife, Katalin Kovács Balla, served in the village between 2020 and 2022.

"It was one year ago this Christmas that the Greek Catholic Church and the Hungarian Maltese Relief Service, together with the mayor of the village, started a joint work in Szakácsi. In the isolated village of Borsod, where the Church had almost ceased to exist, the hope of a new beginning was shining.

Reverend Lajos Kovács, the priest of the Irota Greek Catholic Parish, and his wife take weekly shifts in Szakácsi. Throughout the years, they helped the spiritual development of the people

 ⁶⁵ Members of the creative team: Ádám Farkas, Eszter Móricz, Tamás Nádasdy, Krisztina Dragon, Zoltán Török
 ⁶⁶ See: Szőke Gábor Miklós sculptor's facebook page: The Guardian Tiger: <u>https://gabormiklosszoke.com/the-guardian-tiger</u>

living there through house dedications, religious lessons and a pilgrimage to Máriapócs, trying to give faith and hope to the abandoned and poor people.⁶⁷"

In the past, as Reverend Kovács says in the interview, there were sects in the village, neither Roman Catholics nor Reformed, although there is a church in the village.

"I was afraid in Szakácsi, the conditions there were terrible at the time. And then Lajos Oláh, the mayor, came to me and contacted me, saying that he wanted a church, a community, common occasions for the people there, and that I should help. He convinced my wife first, they had known each other before. At the same time the bishop contacted me as well, saying that if I really took care of the church there, I would get some money. In the meantime, the Maltese Relief Service joined, with whom they are not on good terms, but I invited them to all the programs. However, they really had nothing to offer. On the first Advent in 2020, I blessed the food parcels I received/requested from the Caritas, had a few words with the people there. I told them that I would like to give Bible lessons, I would come to them once a week and Lajos gave me the opportunity to do so. I was also nurturing the Irota Church, we won tenders, we developed the forest school, we improved the church, the parish, the cemetery and I also visited Szakácsi. And they came, women, especially: difficult questions came up. Contraception, husbands in prison, abortion, I felt sorry for them. Sometimes my wife came too. What they loved was the house dedications at Epiphany. We got together with these women."(Greek Catholic parish priest interview)

The parish priest was transferred to Sajószentpéter in 2022, thus losing his connection with the local people, and there is currently no active faith life in the village.

The "Felzárkózó települések" (Catching Up of Settlements) Programme has also been running in Szakácsi since 2020, under the auspices of the Maltese Charity Service. The assessment of the project is mixed, but there is no doubt that the living conditions of many families have been improved. There are also gap-filling services for children, like the soccer trainings or the summer camps.

The situation of the Roma inhabitated villages in Borsod county and the situation of the Gypsies in them is very similar and very different at the same time. The main problems are the same everywhere: lack of employment opportunities, poverty, crime, lack of communities, lack of solidarity and lack of trust in each other and in the future.⁶⁸ Szakácsi is among the poorest villages with the least capacity of interest representation, which is reflected in the fact that there has not been established even a civil society organisation in the village. However, the Greek Catholic pastoral care of Roma in 2020-22, the Tiger set up more than ten years ago and subsequent community initiatives show that the community is responding positively to both external and internal influences.

⁶⁷ See: Balla Katalin: Egyéves a romapasztoráció Szakácsiban (2021): <u>https://www.migorkat.hu/hirek/egy-eves-</u> <u>a-romapasztoracio-szakacsiban</u>

⁶⁸ HAVASI 2012

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The Methodological Problems of the Visual Recording of Inscriptions, Tombs and Interiors - the Examples of the Edelény Area and the Rákóczi Cellar in Hangács

In the framework of the Creative Region III (Cultural and Social Innovation, Sustainability and Creative Tourism) project fieldwork often requires the photography of tangible remains whose visibility, and therefore their photography, is problematic. The photographing of dark places, such as churches, old building interiors, low-light farmhouses and cellars, involves many technical problems that can be a challenge even for experienced photographers. This was perhaps most evident in the case of the so-called Rákóczi cellar on the outskirts of Hangács. It is not a well-known fact about the cellar, and it is no secret to only a few locals, that its walls are covered with centuries-old inscriptions, carvings and graffiti. László Faragó's research⁷⁰ was the basis for the illustrative photography and the related set of problems, which formed the subject for this article.

In such cases, the main problem is undoubtedly the constant darkness and determining the amount of the resulting artificial lighting required. Special lighting procedures commonly used in caves are almost never used elsewhere, so experience in this area is difficult to gather.⁷¹ As a general rule, the more sensitive the sensor or film, the higher the ISO⁷² i.e. less light is needed for the exposure. Obviously, in darker conditions, a higher ISO should be chosen to use more of the available light.

The most important factor when shooting in low light is shutter speed. The shutter determines how long light can enter the camera. The longer the shutter is open, the more light enters the camera. For still subjects, the shutter can be open for up to 10-30 seconds. It goes without saying that the camera should then be fixed to a tripod to prevent it from moving. Remember that as long as the shutter is open, everything is in the frame. Consequently, you can shoot at long shutter speeds with both the camera and the subject still.⁷³ There are cases where it looks particularly good to move the image or a part of it – however, documentary photography does not use this method.

⁶⁹ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁷⁰ See: FARAGÓ 2023

⁷¹ BORZSÁK 1978

 ⁷² International Organization for Standardization – photographers use the abbreviation to denote sensitivity.
 ⁷³ SZALAY 2013

For those with much time and working economically, the photographers' solution is called tiling. In this case, we rush around in front of the camera on a tripod, exposing for an extremely long time, and then use our hand-held flash to focus on all the important elements of the space. The separate patches of light in the image are then combined into a single, beautifully lit space. You just have to be careful not to draw a line, i.e. not to use light while stumbling around in the dark. "A good picture is an hour in the cave" as cave photographer Gergely Ambrus said.⁷⁴

A UV flash or lamp can be used in such places. In cave photography, this highly effective and spectacular method is used with great success. UV-irradiated "things" glow for the duration of the exposure, i.e. there is fluorescence or phosphorescence. In such cases, lines, writings and drawings that disrupt the surface structure of the wall become more visible. It definitely depends on the surface, the nature of the exposure and the presence of organic matter as well.⁷⁵

Another recurring task for the Creative Region III project was the photography of gravestones, and we could refer to the work of Judit Dobák in Jewish cemeteries.⁷⁶ This can best be achieved by the photographer kneeling in front of the stone or crouching on the ground so that the camera and the horizon of the stone are in one level. Alternatively, you can use a tripod set quite low to achieve the same angle.⁷⁷

Such a shot causes minimal distortion of the photograph, which is particularly important not only for reading the inscription but also for capturing the correct proportions of the grave markers and headstones. A measuring device carried by the researcher and placed next to the gravestone can be of great help, but ultimately any standardized size object will do: plastic bottle, battery, glass, key, coin, etc. This can be used as a size reference later on.⁷⁸

When photographing grave markers, one must be careful to ensure that the light is as even and homogeneous as possible. When photographing portraits, this is particularly harmful, as it results in flat, two-dimensional images, but it is desirable for identification and reading text. Pansy lighting, including shadows and light spikes, is unsuitable for photographing gravestones, making it difficult to use the photograph in the future. In such cases, blocking out the sunlight, perhaps using a reflector or diffuser, may be a solution. Overcast, grey weather conditions are best suited for gravestone photography.

When photographing both the basement inscriptions and the gravestones, the claim of the visibility of the engraved letters came up so that the engraved letters could be more legible. How were the pictures of the Rákóczi cellar taken? We used LED spotlights to illuminate the inscriptions from the side, at close range, creating a so-called 'fringing light', i.e. light beams with a small angle of incidence, thus highlighting the texts. Outdoors, friction light can also be

⁷⁴ Kovács 2017

⁷⁵ Vö: Berentés é.n.

⁷⁶ See: Dobák 2023

⁷⁷ LACY 2020

⁷⁸ LACY 2020

created by itself, after sunrise or before sunset. If exposed at any other time, the low angle of incidence light beams must be artificially created. Here, too, a reflecting sheet can be used, even an A4 sheet of white paper or a piece of white cloth carried by the researchers. Also artificial light sources, lamps and blinds. Sometimes it is enough to take a high-powered torch into the field and use it to illuminate the stones at an angle.

In places where there is light but it is not evenly distributed - such as the narrow, unevenly lit space of the Reformed church in Boldva, with its Romanesque windows - some details may remain dark. This is usually the case in churches, in larger buildings, typically historic buildings and monuments with small windows and shutters. While human eye can capture the wide dynamic range of light, cameras cannot. Technology has long offered solutions to this problem, including so-called HDR photography. Several renowned photographers recommend their use in these circumstances.⁷⁹ But using HDR requires preparation, starting with a stable tripod and continuing with conditions that allow for relaxed, long, steady work. In places frequented by tourists, it is very difficult, almost impossible, to take a picture with this technique, as it can take 4-5 perfectly exposed shots at different settings to get a single image.

The phenomenon of the overuse of the HDR footage is not negligible either. Thanks to their presence in the portfolio of every beginner photographer who considers himself an artist, such images have been overused, whether they were justified or not, and have lost their authenticity. More precisely, they lost their sense of it. It hasn't helped that cheap mobile phones have built in the ability to produce HDR effects, giving a 'as if' feel to pseudo-HDR shots. Some photographic theorists have identified this phenomenon as 'instant gratification' photography - that is, talismanic, superficial photography, fed by mastery, far removed from in-depth image-making.

Social science photography takes great care to ensure that its images are free from manipulation. But this does not mean that we cannot extract from the images we take what was visible at the time and place of the photograph. In this case, the manipulation of the images, popularly known as photo shopping, is intended to create reality in the images. In this case, post-processing of several shots is allowed.

One of the most important is the format of the images themselves, as we need to be aware that when saving in JPEG format, the camera creates images that are difficult to modify later. By working in raw (RAW) format, subsequent workflows can be made easier and the images more authentic. You can make changes in Photoshop, Lightroom or similar software. According to the current unwritten rules of the trade, the next acceptable way is to change the contrast ratio of the shot (by adjusting the ratio of shadows and highlights, you can make elements that were not visible before visible, but be careful that if you increase these settings too much, you will get a noisy image); color enhancement (adjusting the saturation of the shot can bring it closer to the original scene, but it is easy to overdo it, as a rule of thumb, less is more); white balance adjustment and perspective correction. Adjusting the perspective is

⁷⁹ KOVALCIK 2018

most often required by the need to see the phenomenon being photographed in its most typical view, without distortion. Photographic positions, however, are not always optimal, resulting in a distorted or false image. Perspective correction can be used to fix it.

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The Development of the Ethnic Hungarian Population in the Upper Bodrogköz Region, from 1910 to 1950

The Bodrogköz Region (Medzibodrožie in Slovak) is "a flat, formerly marshy landscape between the rivers Bodrog and Tis(z)a; in the north, it is separated from the neighbouring lowland area by the river Latorica. ⁸¹" The Hungarian-Czechoslovak state border drawn in 1920 divided this area into two parts. After the demarcation of the border, the northern part, the Upper Bodrogköz Region – being economically more developed, having a higher population and even better transport infrastructure, i.e. a railway – was incorporated into the newly established Czechoslovak state, while the southern part (the Lower Bodrogköz Region) remained in Hungary, forming the north-eastern tip of the country. 22 of the 54 settlements and 10 of the 15 homesteads of the Bodrogköz Region remained in Hungary.⁸² The different degrees of economic development and internal policies of the two states determined the further development of the Upper- and Lower Bodrogköz Region.

From an administrative point of view, the Upper Bodrogköz Region is located in the southern part of the Trebišov district of Košice County. At the heart of it lies Kráľovský Chlmec/Királyhelmec, a town which used to be the administrative centre of its district between 1920 and 1960.

According to the 2021 census, 69.71% (22,318) of the inhabitants of the region's settlements (currently 32) declared themselves to be Hungarians, while 24.96% (7993) declared to be Slovaks. 80.31% (25,713 people) of the population claimed Hungarian to be their mother tongue, while in case of Slovak, it was 14.80% (4737 individuals).⁸³ This paper tracks the numerical changes of the ethnic Hungarian population of the Upper Bodrogköz region, as they happened in the first half of the 20th century. In the studied period, the Upper Bodrogköz Region belonged to several states. Between 1918 and 1938, it was under the jurisdiction of the then newly formed Czechoslovak state. Later, due to First Vienna Award, it was annexed

⁸⁰ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁸¹ ORTUTAY 1977

⁸² SISKA 1986

⁸³ SLOVAK STATISTICAL OFFICE 2021

back to Hungary (1938). After World War II, it became again part of the recreated Czechoslovak state. This study is based on the ethnicity (language usage) data of the last census carried out by the Hungarian authorities in the period of dualism (1910). In this census, the Hungarian authorities asked the respondents about their mother tongue.

The first special census (the so-called Šrobár census) in the territory of present-day Slovakia was carried out in 1919. The main aim of it was to determine the ethnic composition of Slovakia and to question the Hungarian method of mother-tongue-based data collection considering the ethnic composition of the population. The first countrywide (Czechoslovak) census should have been conducted in 1920, according to the tradition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; however, due to various obstacles (such as insufficient preparation, lack of a census law, not clearly defined state borders, territorial division) it was conducted in the following year (1921).

The censuses carried out by the Czechoslovak authorities introduced changes in the data collection methodology. Instead of mother tongue usage, the census focused on ethnicity. Defining ethnicity in terms of "race" allowed Jews or Gypsies to identify themselves as an ethnicity even without speaking Hebrew or Romani. They even invented a previously non-existent ethnicity, the "Czechoslovak". The published statistical results (broken down to villages and towns) did not include separate values for Slovaks and Czechs as it contained only the official Czechoslovak ethnicity.⁸⁴ Such a definition of "ethnicity" was questioned not only by the representatives of ethnicities living in Czechoslovakia, but it also raised objections among the Czech and Slovak inhabitants. Despite this, the next Czechoslovak census, held in 1930, used the same methodology for collecting ethnicity data, and still focused on ethnicity.

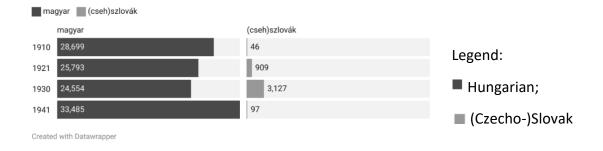
In the territories re-annexed to Hungary under the Vienna Award, the Hungarian authorities conducted a census in 1941, after the dissolution of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The 1941 Hungarian census sought to assess both the mother tongue and ethnicity of the resident and permanent population.

The data from the interwar period showed differences in the number of inhabitants living in the lower and upper parts of the split Bodrogköz Region. While there was a 21% increase in case of population of the Lower Bodrogköz, the northern region showed an increase of just over 10%. This difference was primarily influenced by the resettlement after the Treaty of Trianon,⁸⁵ which also affected the development of the number of ethnic Hungarians in the northern region.

⁸⁴ GYURGYIK 2018-2020

⁸⁵ TAMÁS 1999, 17.

Graph 1: The development of the number of ethnic Hungarians and (Czecho-)Slovaks, 1910-1941



Source: Data Bank of Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia - own calculations

Between 1910 and 1930, the number of Hungarians in the Upper Bodrogköz Region decreased from 28,699 to 24,554 (-4145), while the number of ethnic (Czecho)Slovaks increased by +3081 people.

In addition to the resettlement to Hungary, several important factors contributed to the changes in the ethnicity data of the studied period. While some representatives of the Hungarian intelligentsia left their homeland (freely or forcibly), the new state apparatus settled its own officers, public servants, military and defence forces. The state administration did everything possible to negatively influence the number (proportion) of ethnicities. Hungarian-speaking residents without Czechoslovak citizenship were classified as "foreigners" or as stateless people (with unsettled citizenship) – this happened in several settlements (a notable example being Streda nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszerdahely – here, in 1930, the proportion of stateless inhabitants amounted to 19.19%).

In an effort to separate the Jews from the Hungarians, the state also recognized the Jewish population – which used to strengthen the number of native Hungarian speakers in the studied region – as a separate ethnicity. Using this tactic, the Czechoslovak authorities were successful in statistically reducing the number of ethnic Hungarians (e.g. in the town of Kráľovský Chlmec, in 1930, 605 of 810 Jewish inhabitants were identified as Jews, which represented 18.47 % of the total population). In the 1930 census, 77.1 % of the Jewish population in the Upper Bodrogköz Region indicated Jewish ethnicity (Data Bank of Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia – own calculations). The change of identity also became an expression of loyalty to the authorities.

The creation of settlers' villages was also intended to loosen the homogeneous Hungarian ethnic bloc. Notable examples of such settlers' villages were those formed under the administration of the municiaplities of Biel/Bély, Boťany/Battyán and Streda nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszerdahely. With the help of the State Land Administration, private colonies were also established on the outskirts of Streda nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszerdahely and in

Cifratanya (currently: Slovenské Nové Mesto).⁸⁶ Due to these activities, Rusyns reappeared in the territory: 20 people in Boťany/Battyán, 18 in Biel/Bély, 17 in Kráľovský Chlmec/Királyhelmec, 53 in Veľké Trakany/Nagytárkány and 36 in Pribeník / Perbenyik.⁸⁷

The impact of the forceful assimilation efforts of the Czechoslovak state in the Upper Bodrogköz region is evident. There are no more villages inhabited only by Hungarians in the region and the number of settlements with multiple ethnicities increased. The changes in the ethnic composition of the settlements in the Upper Bodrogköz Region between 1910 and 1930 were the result of the anti-Hungarian actions of the Czechoslovak authorities. These did not lead to the fragmentation of the homogeneous Hungarian ethnic block, but rather to a statistical loss of the ethnic Hungarian population.

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London (1940), Edvard Beneš became the president of the republic and announced his programme aimed at restoring the borders of the Czechoslovak Republic preceding the Munich Agreement. The reconstituted Czechoslovak state reclaimed the territories that had been returned to Hungary in the First Vienna Award in 1938. Beneš envisioned post-war Czechoslovakia as a Slavic nation-state to ensure its territorial unity and to preserve its borders. As the territory of the first Republic of Czechoslovakia was not inhabited only by the Czechs and the Slovaks – the two dominant ethnicities jointly referred to as the Czechoslovaks – but also other ethnicities (Germans, Hungarians, Rusyns, Poles, etc.), it was necessary to get rid of the two most populous non-Slavic communities living in the country, i.e. the Germans and the Hungarians. In order to fulfil his plans, he imposed violent and repressive measures against them. Through his decrees and the acts of the Slovak National Council, he stigmatised the Hungarians – stipulating their untrustworthiness and their being war criminals – with the aim to achieve the expulsion of all ethnic Hungarians as soon as possible.

The Košice Government Programme (issued on 8 April 1945) deprived ethnic Hungarians and Germans of citizenship. Under this, ethnic cleansing was executed in the public administration, land owned by Hungarians was confiscated and ethnic schools were gradually closed. President Beneš issued a number of decrees, causing complete deprivation of the rights of the ethnic Hungarians (the community life of the Hungarians was dismissed, their schools were closed, all Hungarian associations were dissolved) and all sources of livelihood – lands, factories, private employment – were taken away from the Hungarian population; specifically, the resources of Hungarians were frozen, Hungarian civil servants were dismissed, the use of Hungarian was banned, etc.).

In 1946, tens of thousands of people were deported to the territory of the Czech Republic, for forced labour. "The houses and lands of the Hungarians deported to the Czech Republic – taken there allegedly only for one year's work – were all given to new settlers, their belongings and livestock were confiscated and given to others, while those left behind or who returned

⁸⁶ SIMON, 2009, 187.

⁸⁷ TAMÁS 1999

were thrown out of their homes." ⁸⁸ The unilateral transfer of the Hungarian population did not meet the approval of the superpowers, so the Czechoslovak government was forced to accept the principle of the population exchange, signing the relevant agreement on 27 February 1946. In parallel with these measures, the authorities continued to blackmail the Hungarians in the context of its reslovakisation efforts, based on the decree of the Office of the Commissioner for Internal Affairs of Slovakia issued on 17 June 1946: those who declared themselves Slovaks regained their citizenship rights and were exempted from confiscation of property and deportation.⁸⁹ Forceful and violent measures and persecutions against the ethnic Hungarians continued until 1948.

The settlements of the Upper Bodrogköz Region were also affected by these population transfer processes; however, with a less tragic impact than it was the case of the Hungarian settlements in Western Slovakia. Nearly 4,500 people from the Kráľovský Chlmec / Királyhelmec district were put on the deportation list (Table 1).

Table	1:	People	to	be	deported	from	Czechoslovakia	to	Hungary	Kráľovský
Chlme	c/Kir	ályhelme	c dist	trict						

Headcount of the Kráľovský Chlmec / Királyhelmec district in 1930					
Total population	32,180				
ethnic Hungarians	24,514	76.2 %			
to be		deported			
in accordance with the Agreement					
pursuant to	headcount				
Art. V	3145				
Art. VIII sections 1-4	1266				
Art. VIII section 5	23				
Total		4434			

Source: based on the data published by Árpád Popély (POPÉLY, 2009)

⁸⁸ KERESZTES 2008 ⁸⁹ ŠUTAJ 1991

According to Árpád Popély,⁹⁰ resettlement within the country affected 17 settlements in the region we studied. 162 families (992 people) were resettled to the selected settlements. Most settlers (133) were moved to Zatín/Zétény, Rad (128) and Veľký Horeš/Nagygéres (125).

Table 2: Resettled families and people in the settlements of Kráľovský Chlmec / Királyhelmec district (optants, colonists, remigrants, delegates with their families), as of 31.12.1947.

OPTANTS FROM TRANSCARPATHIA					
settlements	families	individuals	allocated economic units		
Bieľ/Bély	3	10	½ farm building, 10 ha of land		
Boľ/Boly	6	15	64 lots		
Boťany/Battyán	11	34	9 farm buildings		
Zatín/Zétény	41	109	166 ½ ha		
Rad – Hrušov (Rad –Kortvélyes)	2	6	11 ha		
Kráľovský Chlmec/Királyhelmec	4	10	1 house		
Total	67	184			
COLONISTS (SETTLERS) IN THE DISTRICT OF KRÁĽOVSKÝ CHLMEC/KIRÁLYHELMEC					
Bieľ/Bély	14	52	8 farm buildings, 109 ha of land		
Boťany/Battyán	24	118	10 ³ ⁄ ₄ farm buildings, 89 lots, 99 ¹ ⁄ ₂ ha of land		
Klin nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszög	16	71	144 ha		
Pribeník/Perbenyik	15	61	1 farm building, 188 lots		
Veľký Horeš/Nagygéres	7	35	4 farm buildings 100 lots of arable land		
			24 lots of pastures 31 ha		
Streda nad Bodrogom / Bodrgszerdahely	26	133	4 ½ farm buildings, 204 ha		

13	56	92 ½ ha
8	29	140 ha
2	4	10 lots
125	559	
MEC/KIRA	LYHELMEC	
3	12	3 houses
3	12	
YUGOSLA	/IA IN THE D	DISTRICT OF KRÁĽOVSKÝ
8	152	
6	183	
1	4	
1	4	1 house
1	5	1 house
1	3	
1	2	
-	2	
	8 2 125 MEC/KIRÁ 3 3 YUGOSLAV 8 6 1 1 1 1 1 1	8 29 2 4 125 559 MEC/KIRÁLYHELMEC 3 12 3 12 YUGOSLAVIA IN THE D 8 152 6 183 1 4 1 5 1 3

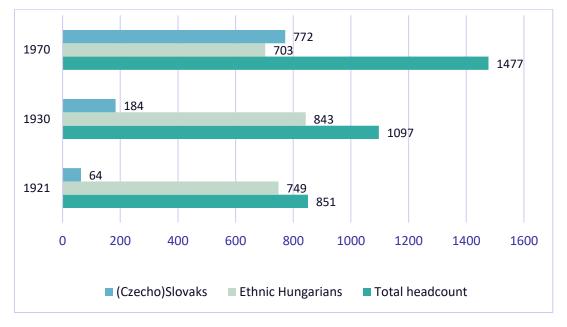
Source: State Archives of Košice, Documents, 1947, inv. no. 1-2; 1948, inv. 20

According to the monthly reports of the District Settlement Office in Kráľovský Chlmec / Királyhelmec, by the end of 1947, 214 families (806 individuals) were settled in the settlements of the district. More than half of the settlers (559) were colonists, most of them were settled in Streda nad Bodrogom / Bodrogszerdahely (133) and Boťany / Battyán (118). Optants were recorded in Zatín / Zétény (41 families, 109 individuals) (Table 2). Remigrants represented the smallest group of settled people. By the end of 1947, 19 remigrant families (51 individuals) were settled. In Borša/Borsi, 18 Yugoslavian Slovak settlers were recorded. Among the remigrants, there was one family from Poland, all others resettled from Hungary.

It is not possible to tell the exact number of immigrants. This may be due to inaccuracies of the reports or statistics, or to the subsequent transfer of the resettled to further settlements.

Deportations, population exchanges and resettlement within the country successfully altered the ethnic composition of some settlements. Borša/Borsi, a mostly Hungarian village according to the 1921 Czechoslovak census, saw a nearly threefold increase in the number of

Czechoslovaks in the 1930 census compared to 1921, maintaining its Hungarian majority. 25 years after World War II, in 1970, ethnic Hungarians lost their majority position in the village. In the last third of the 20th century, Borša/Borsi had a mixed (Hungarian and Slovak) population. In the case of Borša/Borsi, the first half of the 20th century brought a statistical assimilation; however, in the last third of the century, the ethnic character of the settlement changed due to reasons other than statistical assimilation.

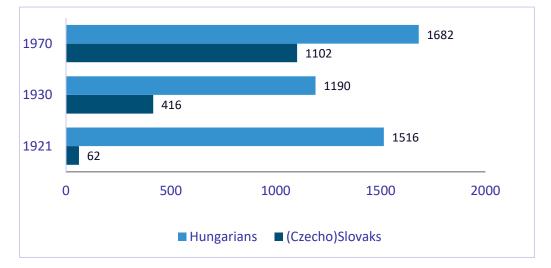


Graph 2: Ethnic Hungarians and (Czech) Slovaks living in Borša/Borsi

Streda nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszerdahely was also impacted by migration processes. The 1921 and 1930 censuses recorded ethnic Hungarians to be the majority in the village. By 1970, the figures changed. The headcount of ethnic Hungarians still exceeded that of the (Czecho-)Slovaks; nevertheless, Hungarians lost their significant predominance.

Source: Data Bank of Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia

Graph 3: Ethnic Hungarians and (Czech) Slovaks living in Streda nad Bodrogom/Bodrogszerdahely



Source: Data Bank of Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia

In some settlements, the anti-Hungarian measures taken between 1945 and 1948 to break up the homogeneous Hungarian ethnic bloc along the border were successful. The tragic events that preceded the post-war anti-Hungarian measures also weakened the position of the Hungarian ethnic group. Hungarian Jews living in the area became victims of the Holocaust. After the war, their congregations could not be renewed, even though religious communities existed in Veľké Kapušany/Nagykapos and Kráľovský Chlmec/Királyhelmec, but without any rabbi. In the 1960s, the religious life came to an end; after the 1968 events, the emigration of Jews accelerated.⁹¹ In 1944, after the frontline passed by this territory, the male population of several settlements was deported. "1790 people were deported to forced labour camps, euphemistically called "Málenkij robot" [a little work], eventually killing 685 (38.5%). In 1941, 328 men used to live in Malý Horeš/Kisgéres. 170 of these, aged 18 to 60, were taken; 104 (60%) never returned home.⁹² In 1945, persecution, resentment and insecurity triggered a wave of refugees to Hungary. These people fled to escape the deportation to the Czech lands: for instance, 70 people from Leles/Lelesz and 27 from Pribeník/Perbenyik fled to Hungary.⁹³

After the 1948 Czechoslovak coup d'état, the government stopped the population exchange and reslovakisation at the end of 1948. In the first months of 1949, the return of Hungarians deported to the Czech lands was finally allowed.

⁹¹ TAMÁS 1999, 40.

⁹² FELVIDEK. MA 2016

⁹³ TAMÁS 1999, 41.

Nevertheless, the communist authorities had their own means to act against the Hungarian ethnic unity along the border aiming to accelerate the assimilation, such as the establishment of factories and industrial facilities in regions inhabited by Hungarians.

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The position of the Edelényi district in the county district ranking

Introduction

During the Creative Region III. project we examine 25 settlements of the Edelényi district based on the methodology and experiences of previous research periods. In this article are briefly presented the characteristics of the Edelényi district. I do not mean only the statistical rankings by the "position", although we can best visualize territorial inequalities with these indicators. Under the position, I mean, on the one hand, the classification of natural geographical micro regions, and on the other hand, how decisive is the settlement structure in the development, and economic or tender opportunities of the districts. With 45 settlements, the Edelényi district ranks first in the county ranking, ahead of the Miskolci district, which has 39 settlements. In the case of an area with small villages, it is much more difficult to place it in the district ranking, or to plan together (developments, social problems), because you also must think about the fact that many different interests must be reconciled. The negotiations are much more complicated in the case of the 45 settlements, as for example in the Mezőcsát district, where 8 settlements belong, not to mention the Debrecen district, where, besides Debrecen, only Hajdúsámson belongs. These disproportionalities also have a natural and settlement geography background, since the sparse settlement network of the Great Plain is the exact opposite of the small village structure that is characteristic of us. At this stage of the research, I felt that it would be worthwhile to examine the situation of the Edelényi district in the case of other indicators as well, such as demography or economic factors.

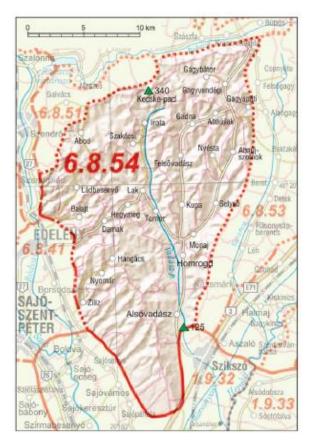
Natural geographical characteristics

The ranking position of the Edelényi district is determined by both the natural geography and the natural resources. The territory of the Edelényi district belongs to several natural micro regions. Some of the settlements belong to the West-Cserehát (6.8.54), another part to the Putnoki-hill (6.8.42) and the Sajó-valley (6.8.41) natural micro region, between which lies the Szendrői-hill, with the settlements belonging to it. Among the settlements of the Edelényi district, the settlements on the west bank of the Vadász-creek belong to the West-Cserehát (Ziliz, Nyomár, Hangács, Damak, Hegymeg, Tomor, Balajt, Ládbesenyő, Lak, Abod, Szakácsi,

⁹⁴ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 - National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

Irota). The landscape use of the area is characterized by arable land (54%), forest (25.8%), and meadow and pasture (15.1%). The natural micro region is a hilly area between 125 and 340 m above sea level, sloping from N to S. The Szendrői-hill region is divided into two parts by the Bódva valley, the greater part of the landscape (70.6%) is covered by forests. Among the settlements, only Galvács belongs here according to the natural micro region classification. The Sajó - valley is an asymmetrical, terraced river valley formed in a structural ditch. This is the most densely populated area among the small areas belonging to the district, and Edelény, the district's namesake town, is also located here. The small region is also in a nodal position from a transport point of view. The other town Szendrő can located in the Bódva valley. In summary, we can say that the Edelényi district includes the units of several diverse natural micro regions, usually small village settlement structure, which also determines the development of social and economic indicators (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The classification of the settlements belonging to the Edelény district according to the cadastre of the natural microregions of Hungary



Source: DÖVÉNYI (ed.) 2010.95

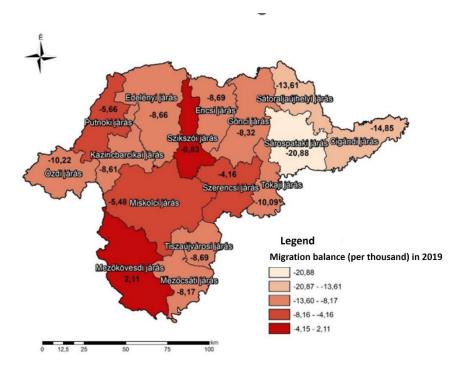
⁹⁵ DÖVÉNYI (ed.) 2010, 847.

Human geographical characteristics

Due to the structure of small villages in the area that the Edelény district unites the largest number of settlements in the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county (45). According to the data of the Central Statistical Office the Edelényi district is ranked 6th in terms of population in 2022 (H/16).⁹⁶ Within the county, there are 3 districts with positive natural population growth rate, such as Szikszói district (3.95 per thousand) with the highest rate, Cigándi district (1.68 per thousand) and Edelényi district (1.03 per thousand). Figure 2 shows that out of the county's 16 districts, there is only one with a positive migration balance, this is the Mezőkövesdi district (2.11 per thousand). This means that in 2019, the number of people migrating to the Mezőkövesdi district and registering there was higher than the proportion of people leaving. Among the districts, the Edelényi district is in the middle of the group in this statistic, in 9th place, with a net migration difference of -8.66 per thousand, in the same group with the Kazincbarcikai (-8.61 per thousand), the Encsi (-8.69 per thousand) and with the districts of Tiszaújvárosi (-8.69 per thousand). In the case of the aging index, there are two districts, namely Szikszói (102.49) and Edelényi (106.78), where the number of the population over 60 years old did not significantly exceed the number of the young population (0-14 years). As a whole, the society of the two districts is aging only slightly. There are only two districts where the age structure is young, one is the Encsi (89.93) and the other is the Cigándi (97.94) district. The Edelényi district is therefore in 4th place in this ranking, i.e. our 4th youngest district.

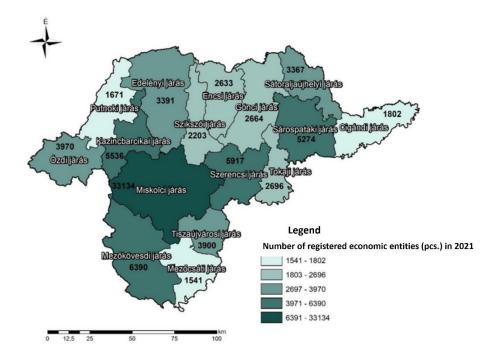
⁹⁶ H=position, 16: number of the districts of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county

Figure 2: Distribution of the districts of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county according to the 2019 net migration (in thousands)



Source: BEKE, 2022

Figure 3: Distribution of the districts of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county according to the number of registered economic organizations in 2021



Source: BEKE, 2022

Examining economic indicators is also important, especially from the point of view of employment. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county had a total of 86,089 registered economic organizations in 2021, of which 33,134 are located in the Miskolci district, which means that 38.5% of its registered economic organizations are in this one district. Figure 3 shows that, according to the territorial distribution, there are still four districts that each have more than 5,000 registered economic organizations, and three of them are located in the immediate agglomeration of Miskolc and the Miskolci district. The Miskolc, and the Mezőkövesd (6,390), Szerencs (5,917) and Kazincbarcika (5,536), as well as Sárospatak distirct (5,274) account for 65.3% of registered economic organizations. The Edelény district (3,391 units) ranks 8th in this economic comparison. Highlighting some of the more detailed economic indicators: in terms of equity capital, the Edelény district is 9 th, that means it is not a capital-rich district, based it also of net sales the district ranks 9 th too, which confirms that in the county this area can be found in the medium/weak economic group. Of course, district indicators do not measure exclusively the inequalities between settlements, more detailed data are required to analyse this.

Conclusions

Based on the statistical data examined and presented in detail in the article, we can make the short summary shown in Figure 4 regarding the ranking positions of the Edelény district. Based on the aggregate indicators of the district and its 45 settlements, it can be established that the demographic indicators (population, natural population growth rate, net migration, aging index) of the district have a younger population. However, knowledge of education and employment indicators may be important data for the complete picture, which I would like to investigate in the next phase of the research.

Indicator	Ranking index (H/16)
Population's number	6.
Natural population growth rate	3.
Net migration	9.
Aging index	4.
Registered economic organization	8.
Economic indicators	9.
Number of settlements	1.

Figure 4: The rankings of the Edelény district (H/16) in the period 2019-2022.

Based on the economic indicators, it can be seen that it is not a very capital-intensive district, but the features of the natural environment may provide many opportunities to introduce visitors to the experience in the future. The diversity is guaranteed by the 1st place in the number of settlements.

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Historical consciousness, identity integration

Ládbesenyő is a settlement of 265 people in the Edeleny subregion.⁹⁸ The village belongs to Andrástanya, which is located five kilometers from the center of the settlement. The number of its residents is small, between twenty and thirty people lately. But that's not why it's interesting to us.

Ládbesenyő, like the whole region, is disadvantaged.⁹⁹ However, the disadvantageous situation applies not only to the small region, but also to the surrounding areas, and even, with a few exceptions, to the entire county. The reasons are diverse, different approaches can find different reasons, which partly overlap, but in some cases they can also contradict each other. In any case, we can establish that every present state has an antecedent. Every region, landscape and the people living in it have a "history". Perhaps recalling this story is not without lessons.

In the last 150 years, modernization has been the most important social historical event of this region as well. In a geographical sense, not all landscapes meet the expectations of modernization. In the course of modernization, it is necessary to switch from agrarian farming to industrial commodity-producing farming, and this also affects agriculture. If the conditions under which industry can be established are not available in the given area, then the landscape must be transformed, made modern and urbanized, along with its natural features as appropriate. If this is also not possible, then the relationship between the landscape and the people living in it will change, primarily along demographic dimensions.

The basic topos of modernization theories include the categories of differentiation and individualization. The more differentiated a society is, the more modern it can be considered. And individualization compared to the community perhaps describes the difference between the two social operating principles in the most spectacular way. Taking these two concepts

⁹⁷ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 -National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

⁹⁸ Locality directory of Hungary. Central Statistical Office 2023.

⁹⁹ 105/2015. (IV. 23.) Government decree on the classification of beneficiary settlements and the criteria for classification

into account at the same time leads to a number of conclusions. How can the population of disadvantaged regions, who cannot follow the challenges of differentiated economic and social conditions with difficulty or in any way, integrate into the society that is, in principle, also theirs? How do you define your personal and group identity?

While in traditional societies, the patterns of culture and the normativity derived from it integrated the individual into a community - through which, as it were, automatically into society - this automaticity no longer works under the conditions of modernity.¹⁰⁰ However, it provides an opportunity to be exempt from the obligation to belong to the community. The two levels of integration are therefore the community level and the individual level. Under the conditions of modernity, someone can be an integrated member of society – he/she has a job or a legal income, pays taxes and other public charges, has no conflict with the justice system, etc. – without being a member of any community. At the same time, all of this is also true, so someone can be a member of a community without being an integrated member of the given society. An example of the latter phenomenon is some groups of Western European immigrants or Gypsies in Hungary until the middle of the 20th century. However, a person can only be a member of a community if he/she is an unconditional follower of the values, norms and culture that integrate the given community. In other words, he/she derives his/her personal identity from the culture of the community, which may not necessarily be compatible with the accepted norms of society. There are therefore two possible paths towards social integration: the individual and the communal. However, the latter is only possible if the values of the community and the culture of the community can be functionally matched to the system integration expectations of society. These options can also only work if the two approaches - i.e. levels and modes - are compatible with each other.

Then, after the short and necessarily rough theoretical explanation, let's look at the history of the Poles from Andrástanya, which is of course only an illustration!

Historical consciousness and tradition

The path of the Poles from Ládbesenyő did not lead directly to Andrástanya. The first stop was the village of Derenk, where some families of the Gorals living there began to immigrate in the 18th century from the north-western areas of Szepesség. According to various sources, settlers came primarily from the settlements of Bialka Tatrzanska, Bukowina Tatrzanska and Czarna Góra. This is supported by register sources on the one hand, and linguistic and ethnographic research on the other.¹⁰¹

Those families whose names already appear in the death registers between 1789 and 1821 can be considered as deep-rooted Derenki. Csulács, Ruszó, Körösi, Takács, Kováts, Guszpán, Gaál, Spissák, Voda, Bartók, Kuchta, Gogolya, Sztasko, Misera, Králik, Bubenko, Koronovszky, Adamusz, Tomko, Zubriczky, Remjás, Veldzsák Kiss, Tóth, Bartko.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ SZABÓ-TÓTH 2014

¹⁰¹ Krasinska, Ewa–Ryszard Kantor 2008

¹⁰² Rémiás 2004

For more than two hundred years, the village preserved its traditions, its Catholic religion, and its characteristic Goral dialect. The village was endogamous, neither with the Hungarians, nor even with the Slovaks living in the area. Their identity was basically determined by their language and religion, as their lifestyle and farming habits were basically no different from the lifestyle of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. They did what the landscape allowed. Farming, animal husbandry, forestry and some poaching. The big change in the life of this community came during the Second World War. Between 1941 and 1943, the population of the village was moved to Martonyi, Szendrő, Andrástanya near Ládbesenyő (20 families), Sajószentpéter, Vatta, Istvánmajor near Emőd, Tiszaszederkény, Büdöskútpuszta. The people of Derenki, who used to live as a closed community for about two hundred years, in several cases moved to settlements far from each other, where in more than one case they formed a tolerated, immigrant minority. Naturally, they kept in touch with each other in the decades to come, not only among relatives, but also generally in the spirit of "righteousness", but this relationship and system of relations was quite different from the village community that had lived two hundred years before! The people of Derenk were not separated from each other by the demands of modernization, the legalities of economic and social differentiation, but by the passion and scavenger of a nobleman.¹⁰³ However, what happened to them is like a laboratory experiment that shows the impact and consequences of modernization. A previously long-standing community fell apart and ceased to exist in its former form. In this situation, industrialization affects the people of Derenk, and then, in a short period of two or three generations, the political institutional system changes twice. Individualization was imposed not only as a natural part of modernization, but also as a compulsion. What was the identity of the two or three generations who lived through this more than half a century built?

The transformative effect of modernization naturally affected not only the people of Derenk, but actually the whole society. The fate of the people of Derenk is closely connected with the fate of the people living in this region. Under the same economic and political conditions, faced with the same challenges, they had to organize their lives and find meaning for their own individual destiny. The people living in this region lived through the same history, so the similarity is natural, not only in the fate they experienced, but also in the consequences. Derenk as a village ceased to exist in a few years, and today it exists only as a "memorial place" and, of course, in the consciousness of the descendants of Derenk, which is a very important circumstance. However, many villages and settlements in this area no longer exist, if not in a physical sense, but in a symbolic sense. It is no longer what it was a few decades ago, and most importantly, it no longer lives in the consciousness of the descendants. Descendants do not think of their ancestors' former place of residence as something that, for them, could be an identity-forming force with the help of historical consciousness and tradition. They forget, and even often want to forget the past, that which connects them with the fate and life of their ancestors, with the culture hidden in their own traditions. They build their identity not on the

¹⁰³ The expansion of Governor Miklós Horthy's hunting grounds was the reason for the liquidation of the village.

memories of the old culture, on tradition, but on something else, something radically new - modern.

The people of Derenk found it and created their own historical consciousness. They revived the dead village, if not actually, but at least symbolically. They made it a memorial site of "Derenkism", a central element of their own historical consciousness, which should be known to all descendants if possible. It was made a place of pilgrimage in the strictest sense of the word. For those who want to have something to do with their ancestors in Derenk, to have the memory of their Goral ancestors become part of their own identity, it is almost a ritual obligation to make a "pilgrimage" to the former area of the village. This kind of historical consciousness is one of the means of strengthening identity. Conscious, planned construction, the artificial creation of historical memory. For this activity, people of Derenk had a place available - the former village - and several specific features that others did not have. It is primarily a specific tradition based on language and nationality separation. The fragments of this tradition had to be put together and linked to a special place. The special place is of course the former village. The expansion of collective memory was also accompanied by the extension of historical consciousness. Emphasizing the Goral tradition also extended the cultural assets that can be consciously used for the construction of identity. The result seems suitable for confirming the identity. The people of Derenk have chosen a solution that - with some exaggeration - can be called mystical. A dead village, where time has stopped, and the revival of certain elements of a lifestyle that no longer functions as a tradition, more than once bearing the signs of folklorism, has created a static collective memory-culture in a particular historical sense. That's why it can seem "mystical". The cultural elements no longer function in their original way and the place no longer provides space for human community as a village. Both historically and culturally, the people of Derenk enter a frozen, stagnant time when they "pilgrimage" to the village that no longer exists in order to confirm their identity. Let's add right away, all this is not absurd, but conscious, useful and at the same time indispensable. Despite their dispersion, they have successfully integrated into society even in the midst of modern conditions, with Goral historical awareness and identity. And this cannot be said about the population of the region as a whole.

In this part of Northern Hungary, in addition to the Edeleny District, the Encs District, and the Ózd District, remarkable demographic processes have been taking place for decades. Of course, many professional services monitor these processes, taking economic, educational, health and other aspects into account. However, I am interested in something else behind the numbers, or instead of the quantitative approach conclusions that can be derived from the number series. Why does one cultural characteristic decline so spectacularly in this region and why does another appear dynamically? There is also a simple and obvious explanation, which, due to its simplicity, does not explain much of the essence of the phenomenon. Of course, if a place or landscape is left by the people who used to live there, others will move there, others will take possession of it. This is true, but it does not answer the question of why, and even prevents the question from being asked. From the conclusions drawn from the various statistical numbers, it is difficult to answer the question of why they left and, which is closely related, why they didn't stay there? To clarify the latter, why couldn't they stay there? What played a role in the fact that the people born in this region, who live here, were not able to

achieve system integration and social integration at the same time where their parents or grandparents were still able to do it?

We can now return to the analysis of the consequences of modernization processes. This region was also affected in several waves by what we collectively call modernization. The process itself has been going on for more than a hundred years. Capitalization, industrialization, and then the so-called socialist version of this, the imposition of heavy industry, which was often accompanied by forced mass mobilization. Then change again, the consequences of the market mechanisms of the economy, etc. From the very beginning, all this was accompanied by the disintegration of organic communities, and in one case even their violent termination. All this is compounded by the neglect of tradition, the elimination and replacement of historical consciousness, collective memory, and other cultural aspects of modernization. At the same time, the relationship with the natural environment also changes. What used to be a condition that determined the way of life as a result of farming habits - a specific relationship with nature - has become an object to be exploited as a result of modernization. It is not an eternally present nature that provides the basic conditions of life, but a tourist attraction.

The specific example of the Derenk Gorals shows that it is possible to create a "mythical tradition" that creates identity even artificially. Of course, this is not the tradition, but it helps that someone can integrate into society with a stable identity in this region, or anywhere else. I wonder why the majority society that used to live in this area was not able to create such a "mythical tradition" for itself?

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Mental mapping, local image and place identity – case study of a small town in Borsod

When interpreting the world around us, we strive to make reality more coherent, that is, we try to create a kind of order. This intention can be realized in the form of mental maps.¹⁰⁵ Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that mental or cognitive mapping is known for both everyday and scientific uses. Interdisciplinary studies of the contents of consciousness concerning space began in the 1960s.¹⁰⁶ Since it is a field in which several sciences are involved, there is no uniform methodology for its research. Researchers themselves often treat mental and cognitive maps as synonyms.

In this study, due to the brevity of the scope, I will not present in detail the different concepts and ways of using the mental or mind map in the social sciences, nor will there be a detailed description of the methods used.¹⁰⁷

The main line of my concept is the presentation of the connections between the settlement identity, the settlement image and mental maps, and the examination of how all this is connected to the competitiveness of the settlements, by increasing the attachment of the inhabitants to the place, through the consolidation of the place identity.

With the help of mental mapping, I demonstrate the intertwining of place identity, the attachment to the place and the image of the place through the example of a small settlement in Borsod. This is all the more important, because where it is good to live, where you can bond, emigration decreases, the perception of the region improves, the composition of the population becomes more favorable (younger people, higher levels of education), thereby the competitiveness of the region or settlement is improving.

In this short study, I mainly focus on the presentation of my research results. I conducted a qualitative and quantitative at the same time. On the one hand, interviews with five local leaders in the small town of Borsod provide the basis for the conclusions, and on the other

¹⁰⁴ The study was realized as part of the project within the framework of the Topic Excellence Program 2021 -National research sub-programme, Creative Region III, identification number TKP2021-NKTA-22 - with the support of NKFIH.

¹⁰⁵ SZABÓ-TÓTH 2023A, 2023B, SZABÓ-TÓTH – PAPP Z. 2019

¹⁰⁶ LETENYEI 2006

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. 1960 - Kevin Lynch: The Image of the City; 1976 – Milgram and Jodelet – mental maps of Paris, study by Downs and Stea, or Tversky's thoughts on cognitive mapping and cognitive collage.

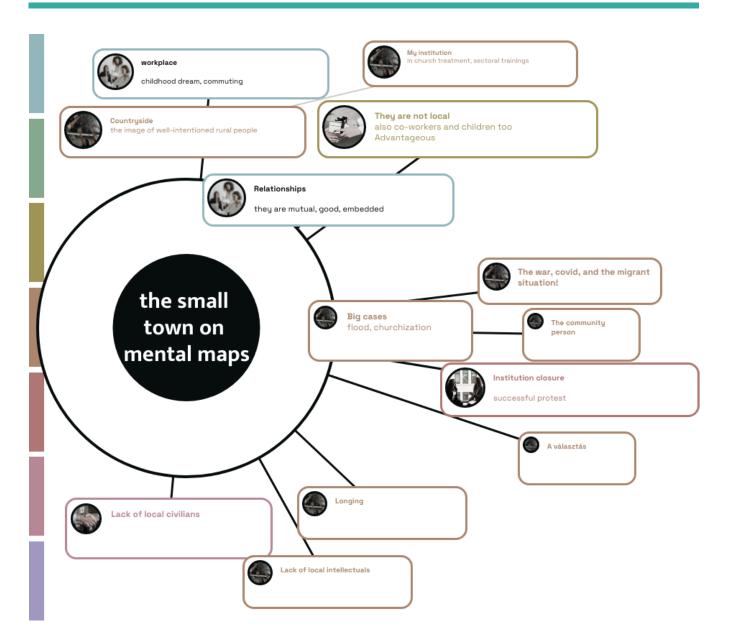
hand, the questionnaire data, which was created in August 2022, by asking 100 residents of the small town.

I used Weder's theory as the theoretical background of the research. In his concept, local identity blends very well with mental mapping. He distinguishes three components of local identity: cognitive, affective and conative elements. Cognitive is the identification with the settlement on a mental, conscious level, and the conscious perception itself: what do I think about the settlement, what do I think of its parts, and so on. As in mental mapping, emotions, attachment, and the emotional relationship to the settlement appear here as well. The conative dimension includes an acting attitude, i.e. what an individual does or does not do for the settlement in practice, how much he is present in the life of the settlement, how much he/she is involved in the events (measurable as social participation).

During the research, I built on the constructivist and interpretive traditions for the qualitative analyses, and our results are themselves secondary constructions. The interviews were read and coded throughout, based on the main narratives of the interviews. In essence, we did not create a traditional mental map, but created the image of the settlement with the help of a mental mapping program using the narratives and text corpora that emerged from the interviews. Not in the form of a map, but as a kind of cognitive, mental map.

The results of qualitative research are illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 1: Mental maps of the small town by local leaders



Source: Own research based on own editing

Based on this map, 5 main narratives unfold: (1) the narrative of "absence" (no local intelligentsia, no real civil life, longing from here); (2) the narrative of the rural town (everyone here is a walk-in, non-locals, etc..); (3) as well as a kind of "continuous heroic struggle" narrative, which is also characteristic of to rural life in Borsod (involvement in local "big issues", the community person who stands up for others, the image of the "institution rescuer"). In addition to these, there is (4) a narrative based on contradictions (emigration as a problem, but at the same time opportunities for those who stay here), and (5) the image of the local man of action (many events, emphasis on freedom in the planning of programs), coupled with some resignation (everything must be free give, only then will people come).

In the case of the active dimension appearing in Weder's concept, it can be said that all five of the above interviewees are active shapers of the life of the small town, as they are the leaders of the various institutions in it. At the level of the actions, which here are primarily related to work, the activity shown in the direction of the settlement appears.

We can see in the diagram what kind of emotional and mental images accompany this activity, what the image of the place is like in the minds of those who hold responsible positions there.

The image of longing, a somewhat pessimistic, depressed attitude appears in this, but at the same time, it is also the image of an acting, active person emerging from lack. The whole thing oscillates on a kind of double balance: sometimes more towards longing, sometimes with greater emphasis towards staying in one place. At the same time, there are also signs that the feelings arising from the anxiety or tension of "we stayed here in the end, even though we could have gone" must be resolved somehow, and from this resolution or the intention of it, a kind of active intention can arise: sublimation of unpleasant feelings at the level of actions is a kind of form of activity for the benefit of the settlement.¹⁰⁸

In the course of the research, the data obtained from the questionnaire data collection (quota inquiry) provide some possibilities for measuring place identity according to Weder's theory. However, the questionnaire research was basically intended to map the cultural values and traditions of the population and the place, not specifically the attachment to the place. So now I use it afterwards to measure this concept in order to reveal the local identity of the population and present the mental maps for the small town along this line.

Let's see how we can operationalize the dimensions described by Weder in relation to our research:

• Emotional dimension: identification with the place (in the questionnaire: would you move from the settlement; where would you move to)

• Cognitive dimension: thoughts and knowledge about the place (based on the questions in the questionnaire: are there any local, community events; do you know a significant person or event who is connected to the area and should be remembered; are there typical foods; are there crimes; have such crimes been committed against the respondent in the settlement; how do you judge the activities of the district commissioner; in case of trouble, can you count on the help of your neighbors; are there many antagonisms between people in the settlement)

• Conative dimension: connection to the place appearing at the level of actions (in the questionnaire: at which community events do you usually appear; do you work in the settlement or elsewhere; do the locals help each other).

Examining the emotional cross section, a split picture can be drawn: half of the respondents would stay, half would move from the settlement. Most would move to a bigger city, then to the capital, this is followed by the proportion of people moving abroad and then to center town of the county i.e. to Miskolc.

¹⁰⁸ SZABÓ-TÓTH 2014

Measuring the cognitive dimension, according to 76% of the respondents, there are local community events in the settlement. Every tenth person can name a person who is connected to the region and place and should be remembered. Two thirds of the respondents can mention typical local dishes. 60% consider the district commissioner's work adequate, 21% rather good, and 16% rather bad. According to 38% of the respondents, the number of crimes in the settlement has increased in recent years, while half of them have remained the same as before. In their immediate environment, people consider the situation of public safety to be slightly better, according to a large part of them, everything would rather remain as it was, and 28% said it had increased. A third of the people report that a crime has been committed against them in the settlement. According to 57% of respondents, there are many contradictions between people in the settlement. In case of trouble, however, 83% of people can count on the help of their neighbors.

Looking at the dimension appearing at the level of actions, 39% of them work in the settlement, 31% elsewhere. According to 57% of the respondents, the locals help each other. Based on the survey, 39% of people go to at least one community event.

The independence from the space can be seen somewhat in the fact that half of the residents long for it, in the fact that two-thirds of the respondents work elsewhere and in the fact that the place appears as a place that provides security (that is, the immediate neighborhood yes, but the more distant one no longer).

The results of the questionnaire research confirm the concept of "wobbly identity": go or stay, is it good here or not, where should our future be? We saw signs of this earlier also during interviews with formal leaders.

People living in the settlement share a kind of common local culture, but this does not necessarily manifest itself in close ties to the place.

In summary, we can state that those places that can be characterized as culturally domesticated spaces can offer real homeliness to those who live in them. In the minds of the people living in this kind of places, the feeling of belonging, the feeling of involvement, the feeling that it would not be good to leave the place/or it was not good to leave, and the relationship to the neighborhood (mutual help, sense of community) appear. The relationship to the neighborhood and the local identity are therefore mutually related: where it is good to live, where you can bond, emigration decreases, the perception of the area improves, the composition of the population becomes more favorable, thereby these all help to improve the competitiveness of the area or the settlement.

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