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## THE HUNGARIAN TRANSYLVANIA: SYMBOLIC RECONSTRUCTION OF LOST TERRITORIES

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This study is about how Transylvania, the multiethnic region that was once part of the Hungarian Kingdom and later the Habsburg Empire and the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy and which since 1920 has been part of Romania, was rediscovered by Hungarians over the past twenty years. More precisely, it examines what the Transylvania that citizens of Hungary discovered and created was like in Hobsbawm's sense of the invention of traditions. The theoretical focus of my analysis is the symbolic construction of places through discourses and performative acts of identification and occupation. My primary claim is that the restoration of a territorial approach to the nation, a national re-territorialization, is taking place in rediscovered Transylvania, accompanied by a new discourse of national authenticity.<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** nationalism, authenticity, territory, symbols, tourism, ritual, Transylvania

### Identity Discourses and Locality

Over the past decades many social scientists have found that people's lives and their views of themselves and the world are less and less determined by location or the feeling of belonging to a place. The spatial determination of identity is disappearing as different forms of globalization and transnational movements are accompanied by a re-evaluation of lifestyle and cultural identity (Gupta-Ferguson 1992; Appadurai 2001). However, there is a trend in the opposite direction as well. Re-territorialization means that certain places are (re)discovered and invested with new symbolic meanings, making them the target and locale of identity-search and creation. Imagined communities are tied to certain places, imagined landscapes or distant sacred places, especially if those communities live in diaspora or are nationalities with extra-territorial minorities not tied to a certain area or territory. The increasingly rich literature on diaspora has to a significant degree been influenced by an idea from William Safran (Safran 1991). Accordingly, the image of a distant homeland, living in the collective memory or recre-

ated by a collective memory work, determines the constitution of diaspora communities. The original source of this idea is, naturally, the Jewish diaspora and its relationship to the Holy Land, but this works in a similar way in the Chinese, Greek, Irish, Maghreb, and Palestinian diaspora communities. In what follows, by examining the relationship of Hungarian people (mostly citizens of Hungary but partly assisted by local ethnic Hungarians as well) to Transylvania, I will come to the conclusion that the reinvention and occupation of symbolic places that have been lost in the political sense for 80 years makes re-territorialization an important tool not only for diasporas that come into being as a result of migration, but also for those diaspora-nations that have come to being as a result of changes in state borders.

The symbolic strategies of territorialization or re-territorialization can be well appreciated through Arjun Appadurai's analytical framework. Appadurai speaks of two strategies related to nation states: for the first part the nation state attempts to create "a flat, contiguous, and homogeneous space of nationness"; and simultaneously it creates "a set of places and spaces (prisons, barracks, airports, radio stations, secretariats, parks, marching grounds, processional routes) calculated to create the internal distinctions and divisions necessary for state ceremony, surveillance, discipline and mobilization" (Appadurai 2001, 16). At first glance it appears as if Appadurai were describing the political and cultural process through which the territory of a country is turned into a *homeland*, more precisely into the homeland of one and only one nation, by clothing it with cultural, cognitive and emotional content. This generally happens through the cultural and symbolic domestication of territories lying within political boundaries. In our case, however, the situation is a little different. We will discuss how the symbolic *expansion* of national life through the symbolic tools mentioned above can occur on territories to which the nation belongs in a historic sense, but not in the political sense of the nation state. Another method to create locality, the marking of symbolic places necessary for the establishment of national movements and discipline, is most relevant in connection with Transylvania; especially through the creation of sacred places that in themselves (and especially through associated rites and performative acts) are strong transmitters of national sentiment. To make geographically bounded spaces and physically existing places able to transmit these symbolic messages they need to be "culturally worked" (Hennig 1997). In what follows we will speak of three strategies used to work on Transylvania culturally as a geographic space: (1) the symbolization (historicizing or folklorizing) of places, which means at the same time the localization of certain symbols and discourses; (2) the occupation of symbolic places through sacred and secular rituals, which through personal and bodily participation in performative acts produces a high degree of identification and (3) the creation of a national imagination about the entire geographic area, that of an authentic national space.

### **Localization: Hungarian Symbolic Places in Transylvania**

According to Anthony Smith two of the most important ways through which nations come into being are in the acting out of cults of the golden age, heroes, and myths of foundation and independence and the transformation of a geographical territory into a homeland. About the latter he first speaks of a poetic use of space: “A modern romantic historiography of the homeland turns lakes and mountains, rivers and valleys into an authentic repository of popular virtues and collective history.” The second transformation occurs through the naturalization of the connection between homeland and nation through places. “Tells, temples and stone circles are treated as natural components of ethnic landscape with a historical poetry of their own” (Smith 2004, 222–223).

Researchers on nationalism, particularly those who stress the similarities between national and religious communities, between the imaginary world of the nationalist and religious imagination, especially call attention to the similarities between the relationships of the two types of ideological and symbolic systems to places (e.g., Anderson 1983; Hastings 2002). Sacred spaces brought to being for the nation work in a similar way to those of religion, and both arise from the very old folk belief that the sacred can come into contact with particular places. To visit these places is to meet the sacred, and they offer the possibility of washing away sins. According to Appadurai the sacred or cultic sites were brought into being by nation states in two ways: primarily, by filling already existing sites of religious pilgrimage with national meaning. In other words, pilgrimage is simultaneously sacred and national, and thus the sacred places where this happens are attractive in both a national and a religious sense. Second, by assigning a mythos of origin or foundation of national history to geography, as Anthony Smith also points out. Excellent examples of this are the Serbian national cult of the battlefield of Kosovo Polje or the Hungarian national shrine at Ópusztaszer (Vucinich and Emmert 1991; Zirojević 1996; Kovács 2006, 15–113).

Sacred national sites that lie outside the boundaries of the nation state are under foreign occupation, or are in territories of disputed status, have particularly strong emotive power. Jerusalem is such a place, as is the holy site at Ayodhya in India over which Hindu and Muslim nationalist political and religious communities compete and are in conflict (Veer 1994; Brass 1996). The Catholic pilgrimage site at Șumuleu (or Csíksomlyó to use its Hungarian name) is another such place. Csíksomlyó lies at the foot of the Eastern Carpathians in Romania some 400 kilometers from the Hungarian border. It has been a pilgrimage site for the almost exclusively Catholic and ethnically Hungarian villagers of the Ciuc Basin for several hundred years. The pilgrimage was banned for a time under communism, but the tradition, which was kept by a few hundred people in the interim, gained new life after the change of regime in 1989. Participants came from farther and farther

away, most of them, some 200,000 to 300,000, coming from Hungary. Regular television coverage over the past several years has made the pilgrimage a media event and has spurred the Catholic Church to identify with pilgrims, whose journey has acquired a nationalistic overtone.

The unique attraction of Csíksomlyó comes from the sacred experience evoked by the traditional order of the pilgrimage and the feeling of authenticity and community that arises from meeting with Csángós and Székelys (the most traditional ethnic Hungarian groups living in Romania). The national symbols carried by participants or built into the surroundings, which include Hungarian national flags, songs, and the great open altar the shape of which imitates the triple hill and the double cross, ensure that national imagination is attached to the experience. For many, Csíksomlyó has become the most important sacral center of the Hungarian communities. It is unique, because as media coverage and many of the participants have expressed there is no other sacred place or ritual center on the territory of Hungary today that would be visited in such great numbers by such diverse groups of Hungarians, Catholic and Protestant, civic and religious alike.



The pilgrims with their church flags and the altar in front of them, which bears the shape of a national symbol

(Photo: Gabriella Vörös)



Young bicyclists from Budapest at the pilgrimage in Mircurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda)  
(Photo: Gabriella Vörös)

National sites of memory, to use Pierre Nora's term (1990), constitute the second largest category of symbolic places maintained by Hungarians (both Hungarian citizens and local ethnic Hungarians, sometimes even involving the Hungarian state). We must not forget that the zenith of Hungary's establishment of national memorials was at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, when Transylvania was still part of Hungary. However, a significant number of the Hungarian national monuments in Transylvanian towns were taken down after the changes of regime in 1919 and 1945. Some of them still stand or have been re-erected since 1990. From a Hungarian point of view the national memorials of Transylvania have been "liberated" or "freed," put back in their places and re-taken, or need to be "protected" from the desire of the majority to take them over, re-name them or relocate them. The Martyrs' Statue in Arad is an excellent example of the former, while the statue to King Matthias in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) is the best example of the latter. It had to be protected from attempts made to have it moved or removed by the Romanian nationalist mayor of the city (Feischmidt 2002; Bodó and Bíró 1993).

Arad, a city in present-day Romania, is the site of memory of the defeat of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, and can be seen as a ritual center of a different sort. The statue, erected in 1890 to commemorate the leaders of the 1848 Hungarian revolution executed in the city, is considered a great work of historical art (its creator, György Zala, designed the Millennial Memorial at Budapest's Heroes' Square). After the change of borders due to the Treaty of Trianon, the Romanian leadership had the statue removed, but did not destroy it. After 1990 it was given to the Catholic Minorite Order and then, as a result of the initiative of conservative parties in Hungary and the Democratic Alliance of Romanian Hungarians (RMDSZ), it was restored to its original site. The agreement between the Hungarian and Romanian government concerning the statue again came about as a result of the positive mood created by Romania's accession to the European Union. Thus, in April 2004 the statue, then called the Statue of Liberty, was unveiled in the so-called Park of Reconciliation, created to evoke the European spirit in this region near the border between the two countries. However, this statue of liberty is not an "ordinary" statue of liberty: it represents the victorious or resurrected



The Hungarian Statue of Liberty in Arad  
(Photo: Margit Feischmidt)



*Hungaria* (the female symbol of Hungary), as Ibolya Dávid, leader of the Hungarian political party Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), confirmed in her dedicatory speech: “This marvelous statue of liberty is also the symbol of the resurrection of the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin, of our common liberation.” Since its restitution the statue has become the central site of the Hungarian national holiday on October 6th, the National Day of Grief, which was held for decades in Arad. Unlike the pilgrimage in Csíksomlyó, which excels in popularity, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of people yearly, the significance of the national day of grief, which never had more than a few thousand participants, is the product of the rank of the event in the Hungarian calendar of political rituals. The main commemorative speeches are held every year by Hungarian state officials and the political leaders of Transylvanian Hungarians and broadcast on national television (Feischmidt 2006).

The significance of symbols and symbolic places grows when they are threatened (or perceived to be threatened) or used for commemorative practices. There are, however, other objects and places (churches, castles, cemeteries, statues and memorials) that are significant only because they are considered parts of a national cultural heritage. They are associated with individuals (authors, poets, politicians, revolutionaries), or events (national assemblies, battles, etc.) taught in the Hungarian public schools as part of the Hungarian national history. Other places have become important because they represent the material folk-culture considered the most traditional in the territories that once belonged to historical Hungary. Examples include some of the Székely villages with their adorned gates and headstones, Korond with its pottery, and the villages from Kalotaszeg region distinguished by their needlecraft.

The last category of symbolic places is the product of what Anthony Smith calls the naturalization of the homeland and nation through places. Zoltán Ilyés has given us a vivid description of how the “millennial borders” at Gyimes (Ghimeş in Romanian), the only part of the historic boundary of old Hungary that has an ethnic-Hungarian populace, has been incorporated into the repertoire of nostalgic Hungarian ethno-tourism (Ilyés 2005). The “millennial borders” are a *mnemotopos* (as Jan Assmann put it); a sign that the culture of memory plants into the environment which in this case serves to remind one of a history that centers on losses and tragedies:

Here at the thousand-year-old boundary Trianon hurts more than anywhere else. We have seen, and every day we see sick attempts to wipe away the beautiful traces of our history. We have seen and see figures with crow-bars who overturn the stones of the 400-year-old castle... (Váradi and Lówey 2001, 24, cited in Ilyés 2005).

The process of creation of symbolic places has not ended. A recently completed study describes how tourism provides a strong impetus for the creation of new places and objects to fit within the system. A work by József Gagyí examines how this process works through the concrete case of the memorialization of the Székely gates at Satu Mare (Máréfalva). Gagyí introduces the processes motivating local leaders, organizations and ordinary people through which everyday objects (in this case gates) are raised into the national canon, becoming “Székely gates,” while the village thereby comes to be featured on the virtual map of places in Transylvania that are part of the Hungarian national patrimony (Gagyí 2005).

### **The Occupation of Symbolic Places: Tourism and Pilgrimage to Transylvania**

Most of the examples presented above can be considered acts of invention of tradition. As such they are initiated and designed by the state authorities, in this case by the Hungarian state or other institutions with high prestige – the Catholic Church, political parties or civic organizations. However, as Eric Hobsbawm has pointed out, the invention is successful only if followers are found, which seems here to be the case (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). We have studied all sorts of activities both of locals and those coming from other areas, devoting particular attention to the cultural practices of people who come to visit Transylvania from Hungary. Concerning their physical movement and their acts of symbolic appropriation we found that three social practices play the main role in this regard: a folk-movement (the dance house movement), ethnic or heritage tourism, and a nationally recoded catholic pilgrimage.

In the 1970s, in defiance of bans by both communist countries, hundreds of young people from Hungary set out for the villages in Romania said by folklorists to maintain the most archaic Hungarian folk culture: Sic (Szék), Mera (Méra), Răscruți (Válaszút), Gyimes, and the Csángó villages of Moldavia. Solidarity against a common enemy, the communist party system, with the politically oppressed and economically depressed Hungarians of Transylvania motivated opposition intellectuals in Hungary and Transylvania alike (Gal 1991). Zoltán Szabó, who has examined the connection between the dance house movement and tourism, estimated that some twenty-thousand people took part in the movement at the start of the 1990s (Szabó Z. 1998). He also called attention to the different sorts of tourists that formed part of the dance house movement: The first were dancers and musicians who were followed to the prime destination, ethnic-Hungarian regions of Transylvania, by visitors to the dance houses. From the 1990s one of the major goals was to take part in a momentous event, such as a wedding party or a village or church celebration. Later camps of various sorts became pop-



ular where one could learn to sing, dance, and play music from “knowledge providers.” Szabó also mentions movement in the other direction by “knowledge providers,” who traveled to dance house events in Hungary.

Some two and a half or three decades after the first appearance of dance house followers these Transylvanian villages underwent dramatic economic transformation. The dances, which were carried out according to tradition when they were discovered in Sic, have disappeared in the village due to the fast pace of economic change or have “moved” to Budapest. While the majority of young villagers in Sic go to discos, some of the migrants from Sic working in construction in Budapest take part in intellectual efforts to bring dance house culture to clubs in Hungarian cities and, through camps, to take them “back” to their villages of origin (Molnár 2005). But the choreography is prepared in Budapest, while Sic, Răscruți and Sîncraiu (Kalotaszentkirály) are now just “authentic locales” for Hungarian folkdance club camps. Sic, with its mythic image in which the traditions conserved because of the isolation and relative underdevelopment of the village were highly valued, has changed drastically as the village’s inhabitants dropped their old customs with dramatic speed after 1989 when they became able to earn significant income by working abroad. Their “undressing” (in other words the abandonment of traditional peasant attire), the gathering of new types of consumer and symbolic goods, and the greater value placed on earning wages are seen by the “guards of tradition” who visit Sic as a form of “spoiling,” as a loss of values. They try to convince the youth of the village and workers from the village in Budapest that re-traditionalization is a path away from the negative effects of fast modernization (Pulay 2005).

At the start of the 1990s tourists arriving by bus and families who came for a quiet vacation joined youths backpacking in Transylvania as visitors to the region. In our research so far we have seen how tourism from Hungary takes two forms. In the first case tourists primarily stay in villages and peasant houses in the Székely Land or Kalotaszeg region or buy such houses for themselves because they are attracted to the natural beauty of the landscapes and the way of life of the villages. However, those who stay in village houses also spend a significant amount of their time visiting sites mentioned as parts of the national heritage by Hungarian guide books and local tourist guides. So we can say that Hungarian tourism to Transylvania is well on the way to becoming a sort of heritage tourism (Szilágyi 2004). Heritage tourism in Transylvania focuses on folk tradition and historical memorials. The primary concern with regard to memorials, churches and village houses is that they be (as a tourist interviewed by us put it in 2002) “beautiful, interesting places with a Hungarian background that are worth seeing.” So we are faced with a special sort of heritage tourism (which I call ethnic tourism) in which an important motivation is to meet with and experience a shared ethnic and cultural background with people from distant “Hungarian regions.”

Heritage tourism is a sort of pilgrimage in the search for authenticity. We experienced in many cases during our research how difficult is to distinguish between the two sorts of motivation and action, the profane (tourism) and the sacred (pilgrimage). Religious tourism usually connects the two, people generally visit sacred places or shrines on the occasion of religious festivals. This sort of pilgrimage, which has a spiritual side, is comprised in Catholic tradition of a sort of penitence through which grace can be won. At the same time, sightseeing along the way provides it with a secular side.

In the 1990s, following the fall of communism, Hungarian pilgrim-tourists discovered the pilgrimage site in the Székely Land and Csíksomlyó and, as we have seen, turned it into a national pilgrimage site. This is how a pilgrim put it to one of my colleagues:

Not everyone comes here because of the Catholic religious thing. There were a lot of Calvinists and Lutherans on our bus. ... The few hours here are, practically, the site of meeting for Hungarians from throughout the world. This is what brings us. We show we are here, and every year there are more of us.

An examination of speeches made at the pilgrimage and its representation in the media shows that above all statements with nationalist overtones prevail among the utterances made by religious leaders from Hungary and the diaspora, as well as among the comments made by politicians to the press. “The nation must be forged into one body and one soul through its faith and its Hungarianness” is how a Hungarian Bishop living in emigration put it in 1994.<sup>2</sup> The assistant bishop of Kalocsa-Kecskemét (Hungary) put it in a similar way in 2001: “We stand at the foot of the Virgin Mother of Csíksomlyó, where the solidarity of the nation is expressed not merely as a theory, but in practice.”<sup>3</sup> The primarily religious and Catholic nature of the pilgrimage is stressed (without conflict with the aforementioned) by the Franciscans who organize the events and the Archbishop of Gyulaférvár (Alba Iulia). The power and significance of these differing goals is determined by a third factor, the presence of the media. Csíksomlyó is depicted by the Hungarian satellite channel Duna TV as the most significant religious-national celebration. One of the directors of the station put it this way in an interview:

More than half of the people here come because of their Hungarian identity. In fact, this is the greatest Hungarian celebration. ... People cannot experience the power of collectivity anywhere else. National holidays in Hungary, even March 15<sup>th</sup>, have been emptied of meaning and have become protocol events where various organizations lay wreaths. ... Şumuleu did not used to play such a significant role, it wasn't even in the public's consciousness. Now it is the prime pilgrimage ... certainly from the point of view of the media in terms of

numbers of visitors and interest. This is precisely why I say that here faith and the nation are intertwined (Vörös 2006).

The combined roles of the media, politics, and the Catholic Church enable us to describe the pilgrimage to Csíksomlyó as a national celebration. But the great number of participants and the emotional behavior of the crowd cannot be explained solely by the efforts of these institutions. The numbers, behavior, national rhetoric and politics of symbols also come from below, and are based on the experience of commonality arising from the participation and work of congregations, civic and religious organizations, informal groups in villages and cities all over Hungary and Transylvania. National symbols play an important role in the development of this collective national experience. “Just imagine, I went up and saw the Hungarian flag flying, and I started crying!” said one interviewee. Over the past several years, as the result of changes in meaning, Csíksomlyó has become more than an ordinary national celebration, it is a demonstrative ritual of Hungarianness, of those who identify themselves with an ethno-national discourse recreating the unity of all ethnic Hungarians who live inside the country and outside it, on the “lost” territories that once belonged to Hungary.

### **Imagining an Authentic National Space in Transylvania**

Michel Foucault uses the term “heterotopes” for places simultaneously representing and localizing utopia and authenticity. Time also works differently here; they are places of movelessness and stationarity within a world in permanent motion. Late modern societies, however, have created cultural practices in which people living their everyday in the latter can come in their holydays in contact with the former. As a cultural phenomenon tourism creates a sort of alternative world that serves as a place of refuge from our everyday lives and gives security and protection by offering an alternative way to organize life. For tourists from Hungary, Transylvania serves in this sense as an alternative world, as an escape. The discourse about this alternative world, however, grows far beyond the experiences of tourism. Tourism merely brings a far broader discourse closer and makes it a palpable discourse on authenticity. The admission of someone who once backpacked through Transylvania demonstrates what I mean:

People still walk in Transylvania, they drink well water, and live in houses designed for humans. Their Hungarian identity is still important to them. There’s something there that we don’t have (Bárdi 1992).

Tourism to Transylvania is an excellent example of the search for authenticity of the sort that, along the general lines laid out by Dean MacCannell (1976), is

considered the essence of a tourist's behavior. In Transylvania, or at least in the villages of Transylvania that are the goal for Hungarian tourists, there are not yet many of the things that with modernization have come to be part of everyday life (or rather, the presence of such things is ignored). Nature is untouched and people live in communities in which they help one another. This is why people have the feeling expressed by many of our interviewees that: "A trip to Transylvania is different."<sup>4</sup>

Discourses of authenticity that evoke nature and a golden age of human relations center on certain values and ideals. The discourse on authenticity associated with Transylvania stresses national culture in an essential way that has been characteristic of this region since Herder. It transmits the idea that the nation expresses its essence in "a" culture, "a" tradition that is more authentically represented by certain parts of the nation than others, for example by villagers as opposed to city dwellers, or by Hungarians who live as minorities outside of Hungary as opposed to the majority. People at the center of this discourse are "real Hungarians", and the place where "real Hungarians" live is Transylvania. There are further distinctions within this. A century ago Kalotaszeg was considered the ideal region, now the villages of the Székely Land are regarded as the most authentic form of "Hungarian being." This discourse also contains a very important dimension in time. Transylvania is a remnant of a one-time Hungary, now filled with nostalgia, a memento of "the old Hungarian world." This is what Nándor Bárdi has called the Fairy-garden vision that appears in Hungarian discourse about Hungarian minorities outside Hungary; that is the imagination that "the old world of Hungarians still exists beyond Hungary's borders" (Bárdi 2004).

The historical background of this idea is the romantic ideal of the Hungarian village established by folklore and grounded in popular culture. In his book about Transylvania László Kürti shows how a Transylvanian myth entered Hungary through the dance house movement and contributed to a transformation of the language and symbols of national culture (Kürti 2001, esp. 137–165). I believe this process has continued, even with the fall of popularity of the dance house movement, and is part of the motivation for the throngs of tourists and pilgrims in numbers never before seen to the areas that it evokes and creates. Just as the village is imagined as an island in a sea of modernity represented by the city, so the constant, stable image of Transylvania is contrasted to indifference to the nation in this age of moving, hybrid identities. This Transylvania is a world opposed to changing and modernizing urban Hungary.

### Summary

Above I have examined how symbolic and expropriating practices directed towards Transylvania have created an area thick with symbolism. Representations of Transylvania follow a strategy of nation creation by attempting to show a place to be copied and disseminated where the nation exists in an “unspoiled,” “original” nature. Richard Handler, in his book on French cultural policies in Quebec and their selection on ethnic bases, says that for nationalists authenticity is the “proof of national existence” (Handler 1988; Linnekin 1991). This authenticity, the proof of the existence of the nation, is assigned to Transylvania, more precisely to the image of Transylvania that was created by Hungarian discourses. This “Transylvania” is the most important myth for Hungarian nationalism today. Adapting Anthony Smith’s insightful term, we could call it a mytho-motor. Its concrete effects lie above and beyond average political myths in its attachment to places that one can visit and to specific locales and people with whom one can meet to experience the ideology and feeling of community first-hand. This is how an old idea, that of the nation, is placed into contemporary surroundings and thereby renewed.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The statements made in this paper are based on research started in 2002 and a book project, published with the title *Erdély-(de)konstrukciók. Tanulmányok* (Feischmidt 2005). I would like to express my gratitude to the participants in the research: Anita Bodnár, József Gagy, Zoltán Ilyés, Kinga Kánya, Tamás Kiss, Péter Molnár, Gergely Pulay, Adrien Sebestyén, and Gabriella Vörös. A later version of my thoughts was presented at the conference “Regionalitás, közösségépítés, szórványgondozás Nemzetközi összefogás a szórványkérdésben”, 8–11 June 2006 in Jebucu (Zsobok), Romania. I would like to express my gratitude to the organizers of the conference. The translation was realized with the generous help of Eric Waever, many thanks for this.
- <sup>2</sup> Excerpt from the interview with Attila Miklósházi by György Stoffán, “Oltalmad alá futunk, Istennek szent anyja”, *Kapu*, 1994/6–7.
- <sup>3</sup> Excerpt from the speech by László Bíró in Frigyesy Ágnes, “A szél kihívásaira a fa gyökereivel válaszol”, *Kis Újság*, 8 June 2001.
- <sup>4</sup> This was the title of a study by Adrienne Sebestyén examining the image of Transylvania in Hungarian tourist literature. (Sebestyén 2005). The quote is from an essay by Pál Péter Domokos often cited by travel guides and web pages about Transylvania. The full text is: “A trip to Transylvania is different. We go to Transylvania, and we are all seized by the Transylvanian emotion so characteristic of our people. If you were not born in Transylvania, then the warmth all we Hungarians feel towards Transylvania fills you. The ingredients of this warmth are: gratitude towards this bastion that guarded Hungarian independence, respect for national conscience that is stronger here than anywhere else on the territories of the former Hungarian Kingdom, a motherly care for those who are smaller, and an excited expectation of the natural and historical beauties of the traces of our traditions that live within us.” (Pál Péter Domokos: *Várad felé ragyog az ég*)

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