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

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

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

European Union contribution:
EUR 581,954.68

Partners:

Lead partner:

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

Partner:

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

ISBN 978-606-020-354-4



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Hungary
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WITHOUT BORDERS**



PASSING A TRIPLE FRONTIER

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



Co-financed by
the European Union

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Passing a Triple Frontier

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EDITURA MEGA – Cluj-Napoca – 2021

ISBN 978-606-020-354-4

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

Layout – Sorin Mitu



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

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tourism anthropology – international and Hungarian aspects

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

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

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

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

Applied anthropological approach and methods in tourism

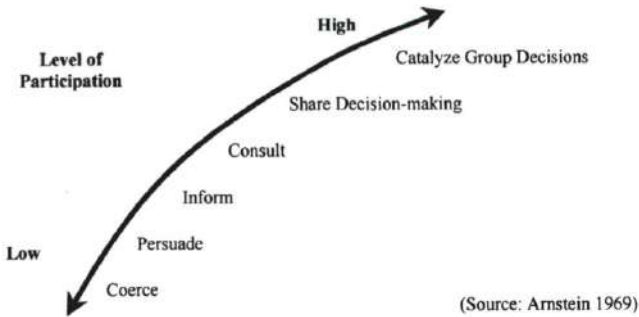
Interest in cultural tourism continued to grow during the 1980s and 1990s. This is due to the ‘recovery of the heritage industry’ (Hewison 1987), the steady increase in international and domestic travel, and the identification of cultural tourism as a ‘good’ form of tourism, which stimulates the economy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

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

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

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

Figure 1. Ladder of Participation



Source: Arnstein (1969)

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

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

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

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

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

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

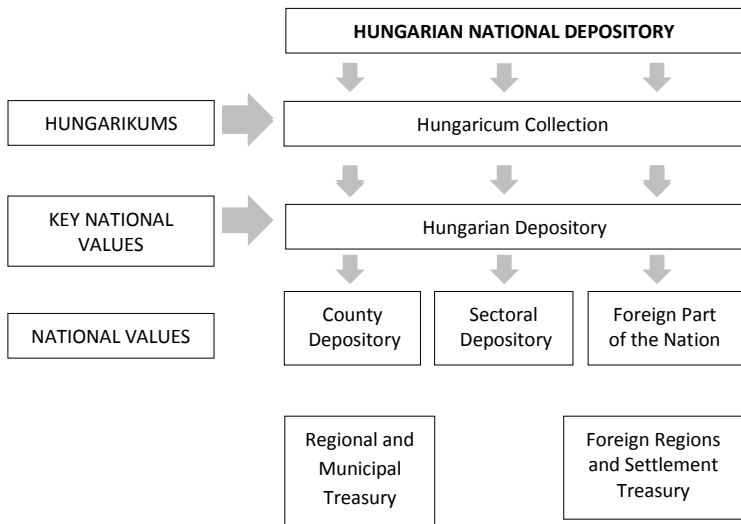
Hungaricums and county cultural values

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

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

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

Figure 2: Structure of the Hungarian National Depository



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: hungarikum.hu. Own editing

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

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

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

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

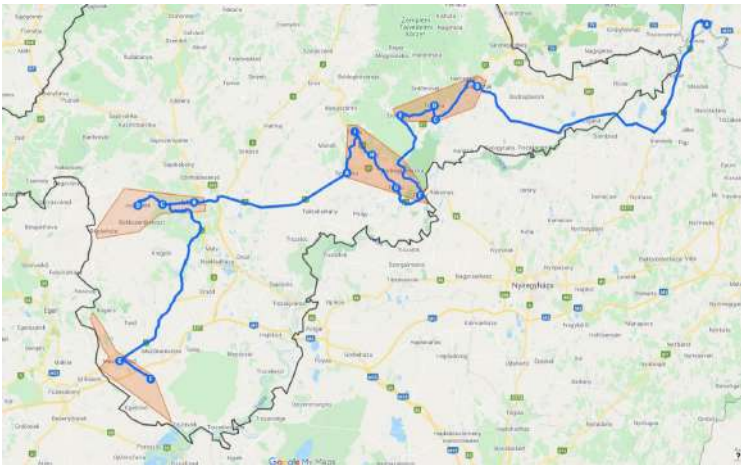
We see that reaching the lowest possible level of hierarchical levels of values, their utilization in tourism seems increasingly difficult. Even in the tradition of baking miller's cake in Borsodnádásd, which is one of the outstanding national values, only a local gastronomic festival can be built, which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

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

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

Route planning in the KRA’GAS project

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



Source: Google Maps/own editing

A meeting of new gastro trends and revived traditions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Creative artisan or mass product craftsman?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Motives for becoming a craftman and characteristics of the activity

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

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

Table 2. Motivations of handicraft activity in BAZ county

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

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

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

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

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

Source: own collection

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Summarizing thoughts: hybrid digital fieldwork

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

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

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

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