MARTOR
30/2025

BODIES IN MOTION:
DANCE, MOVEMENT, GESTURE

The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Journal / Revue d'Anthropologie du Musée du Paysan Roumain

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In memory of
JÁNOS FÜGEDI (1953-2025)

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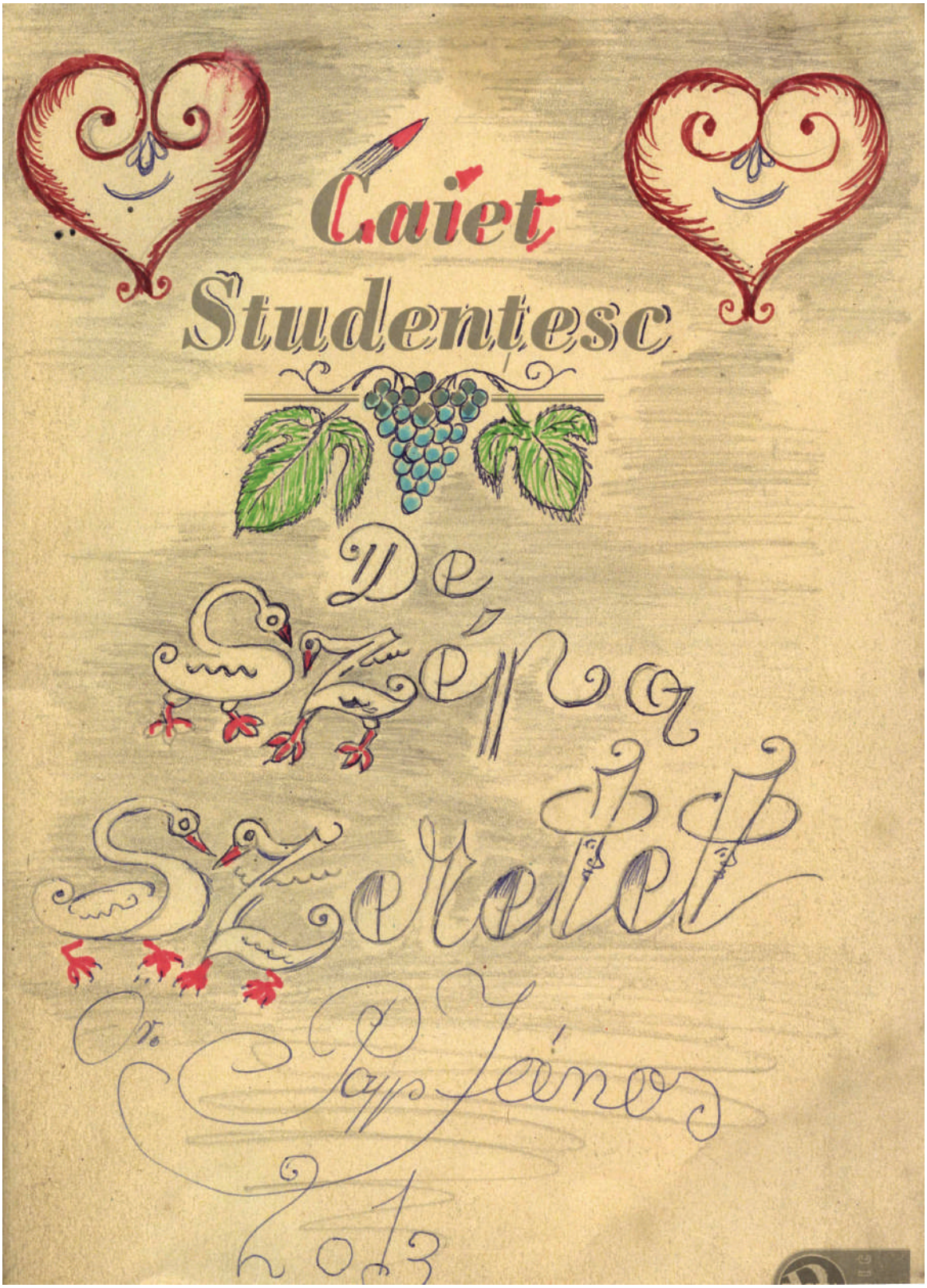

Figure 1. *Caiet Studențesc* [Student Notebook]. *De szép a szeretet* [Love is beautiful].[4] János Papp, 2013.
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The Devil's Images: Dance Scenes in Naïve Paintings

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the work of János Papp, a self-taught artist from Vișea, a village in the Transylvanian Plain, Romania. Known locally as *Ördög* (the Devil), Papp was renowned for his vivid naïve paintings and his multifaceted role in the community. His artworks depict idyllic village life, combining images of nature, animals, and rural customs. Among his creative legacy are richly illustrated notebooks. This research focuses on his visual representations of traditional village dance scenes. Papp's paintings are both autobiographical and documentary, reflecting his life experiences and the collective memory of Vișea. His works are distinguished by a detailed, realistic style, yet often reinterpret traditional scenes with symbolic or aesthetic intent. The study highlights how his drawings of dances preserve gestures, costumes, and gender roles typical of past eras. His paintings reveal both historical accuracy and personal stylization, offering unique insights but requiring cautious interpretation in dance scholarship. Through text and image, Papp's notebooks construct a distinctive self-portrait embedded in local culture. His works reflect influences from *falvédők* (embroidered wall hangings), merging domestic folk aesthetics with visual storytelling.

KEYWORDS

Naïve art; autobiographical representation; traditional dance culture; visual ethnography; collective memory; Transylvanian Plain; emic perspective.

Walking down the streets of Vișea, a village in the Transylvanian Plain,[1] one is met with an unusual sight: rooftops are adorned with paintings of mountains, forests, deer, rabbits, and other animals, streams, lakes, and people fishing peacefully. Similar scenes appear on the inner walls of the old cooperative granary in the village centre: drawings and short explanatory captions that depict an idyllic rural life. When asked about the origins of these artworks, locals offer a surprising answer: "The Devil painted them!" Each of these creations is associated with János Papp, known as *Ördög* [lit. the Devil].

The Life and Career of János Papp

János Papp was born in Vişea in 1930 as the fourth of six children. His mother died when he was young. His father was an amateur poet and also a local master of ceremonies, performing at baptisms and weddings. After completing his military service in Popeşti (Alba County) and Clinceni (Muntenia), János Papp married Zsuzsanna Fodor from Vişea in 1953. They had one son and two daughters. Throughout his life, *Ördög* held numerous occupations:

> shepherd, farmhand, soldier, sign painter, farmer, livestock breeder, vintner, hauler, machine operator, warehouse and factory worker, bricklayer, house painter, fish farmer, bull caretaker, (...) postman, night watchman, occasional musician (...) and who knows what else. My fellow villagers said: only the Devil had a more diverse set of jobs. (Papp 2010, 4)

János Papp can also be considered a specialist from another perspective: from 1977 to 2012 he served as the Calvinist cantor of the village.[2] In addition, he took on the role of "village crier," regularly announcing important events from the hill near Vişea, all while continuing to paint and decorate until his death in 2021. His naïve paintings adorn houses and public buildings in Vişea and neighbouring villages (Bărăi, Gădălin, and Jucu).[3]

The booklets of János Papp

This study focuses on dance representations found in the artist's archive, which includes a wide range of writings, drawings, and paintings. We first learned about Papp's creative activity during fieldwork in 2007, and about their continuously growing archive in 2010. At that time, his collection included 13 handwritten, richly illustrated booklets, 67 pages of drawings and stories, as well as the typewritten manuscript and illustrations of his self-published 150-page book (Papp 2010). The book was published with a CD supplement featuring the author's organ performances and Christmas carols. The notebooks combine visual and written materials, personal and local histories, and poems reminiscent of folk rhymes.

The number and content of János Papp's notebooks changed over time. He began drawing and writing his stories and memories on separate sheets of paper. He then bound these sheets together into a large A4-sized notebook. Whenever he recalled a detail about any story, he would draw it, take the notebook apart to insert it, and then rebind the pages. From the 2010s onward, his grandson who lived in Cluj, started supplying him with small booklets. From then on, János Papp made his drawings in these booklets.[5]

The role of artistic creation in the life of János Papp

Reading the writings of János Papp and looking at his pictures, we occasionally come across episodes where his knowledge and abilities stand out—qualities that distinguish him from other members of the community—such as his work as a village crier, cantor, author, or his mastery of painting and drawing. When constructing the narrative of his life story, the

latter appears to be the most prominent, as illustrations accompany each of his stories. In his self-ontology and in the process of becoming a creator, he emphasises his family's difficult situation and his development through self-reliance.[6]

János Papp's drawing skills and his unique, detail-rich perspective already stood out in his childhood. In his writings, there is only one single reference suggesting that he might have inherited his creativity from his parents: he noted that his father was a voluntary poet that was invited at weddings and christenings. Without offering any explanation for his writing or drawing activities, János Papp opens his earliest memoir with these lines:

> One day I went with the lambs to the hill called *Surlo*. It was a beautiful day, there was also a lake there on the plain. I always carried a booklet and pencil, and I loved to draw: landscapes, a threshing machine with people threshing, the lambs sleeping, the buffalo bathing in the lake, the village. Then, a woman came down from the hill where she had been hoeing, to relieve herself. Back then, people didn't wear underpants. She threw her skirt over her back and did her business. I immediately drew the scene in my notebook. In the evening, the teacher came and asked about my booklets (...). While flipping through them, he stopped. I was sitting on the bench by the stove when he called me over, looked at the drawing, looked at me, and said: "What is this?" I shrugged and said: "Well, I saw the lady like that." "Okay, okay, but pay attention next time to what can and cannot be drawn!" "Alright, teacher sir." But as I observed, that this was the picture the teacher liked best.[7]

János Papp offered two explanations for his nickname *Ördög*. Both explanations emphasise his expertise and exceptional skills and justify his unusual activities in the eyes of the local community. According to one version, he earned the nickname because of his many trades—he was skilled in so many things, just like the devil himself. In another version, he recalls that in 1957 (according to the date of the related illustration) the local schoolteacher was directing a play with the village youth and asked him to paint the scenery.

> As I was working, I heard several adults say to their children: "See, this is pure devilry!" (Referring to what I was doing) (...) The next day, while walking through the village, I heard the children behind me saying: "That's *Ördög*, Uncle János!" And that's how I became, to this day, *Ördög* János. (Papp 2010, 78)

Just like in his childhood episodes, he attracted attention during his years in the military service because of his drawing skills. During this period, he was ordered by higher authorities to create large (100 x 80 cm) caricatures of Tito, Eisenhower, and Ranković,[8] which were later published in the newspaper Glasul Armatei.[9]

Neither the life interviews conducted with János Papp nor the handwritten manuscripts contain any specific reference to him having formally studied drawing or receiving external training in this regard. However, we do know that after his discharge from the military service, he learned interior painting and decorating. Many of his stories begin with a situation where someone invites him to a village to whitewash or paint. Moreover, nearly all episodes are permeated by the theme of creativity and individual artistic expression. Beyond simple wall painting, he decorated clients' homes with ornamental designs, flowers, or detailed scenes from everyday life. The geometric precision in his compositions, the accurate proportions, perspective, and the fine rendering of details all suggest that part of his drawing skill was consciously developed over time.

His adulthood was a period of active work, with his services primarily sought by the villagers and people from the surrounding area, However, in his old age, remembrance and the act of commemorating came to the forefront. From 2009 onward, he wrote and drew

mainly in the afternoons and during winters in his booklets, where he depicted everyday life in Vișea and episodes from his own life.

Frames of local history in the works of János Papp

The manuscripts in János Papp's archive consist of a series of loosely or closely interconnected stories and drawings, resembling comic strips. The texts operate on multiple levels: beneath their primary readings, one can infer hidden meanings—so-called coded texts (Lotman, 1994, 57-80). Stories within stories, or in other words, possible coded texts include the following:

- Construction of the self: emphasizing his unique skills and his status as a specialist;
- Local history: especially collectivization and its aftermath;
- Stories of overcoming dangerous situations and escaping harm, usually through luck, honour, shared responsibility, and solidarity.

As a primary source of inspiration and reference for these works, we can consider the visual world of *falvédők*,[10] a topic that long remained at the periphery of ethnographic research and outside the institutional framework of officially accepted visual culture, much like naïve art.[11] In János Papp's works, scenes reminiscent of those depicted on *falvédők* come to life. At the same time, the relationship between text and image—the captions, the dating, and the detailed, precise style of depiction—suggest something more. While *falvédők* symbolically express new desires, new roles, and the promise of a more independent, freer way of life (Hankiss 1987, 71), Papp's material is instead defined by the myth of the self and local history.

János Papp dated most of his drawings with remarkable precision—often down to the exact year or even day—and responded sensitively and accurately to the changes brought about by modernization. His works represent alternative forms of historical knowledge, primarily reflecting an interest in the local past and a desire to structure and preserve it (Keszeg 2007, 18-43). His images include direct references to numerous details of local history—for instance, who was the village teacher or pastor at a given time, which public building had what function, or how the different parts of the village were called by locals. At the same time, he also reflects on current events, highlighting elements that may be of broader interest and contribute to local heritage. One such example is a poem he wrote for the harvest ball held in October 2010, which was attended by visitors from Hungary:

> Don't let us down, people of Vișea
> The folks from Hungary are watching ya.
> They travel here from far and wide,
> Let your fame spread far with pride.
> Let not the village bring on shame —
> It's small, but proudly Hungarian all the same.[12]

Papp János's writings and drawings can be understood as autobiographical constructs "in which one's social position, everyday conflicts, and sense of security are made visible" (Keszeg 2005, 20). His archive preserves stories related to his own life, the local past, community events, and the representation of the landscape. Yet he does not merely describe events – he "draws maps" that act as interpretive guides, enabling the viewer to imagine and understand a world that is gradually disappearing.

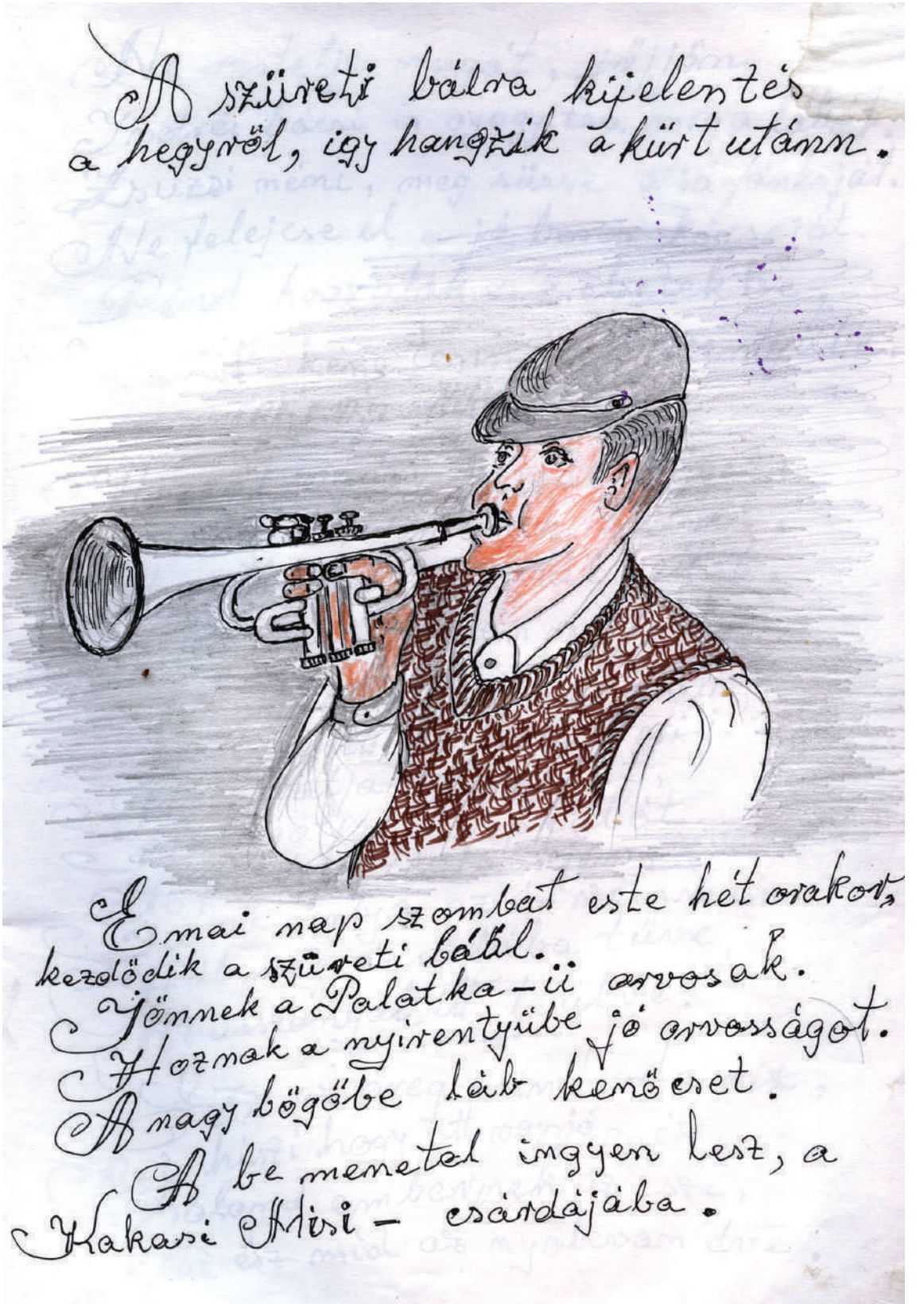

Figure 2. *Announcement of the harvest ball from the hill...* János Papp, 2013.

Images of dance

The examination of visual sources related to the dance culture of bygone eras and various ethnic groups is well established in European dance folklore studies and dance anthropology.[13] Hungarian researchers have often relied on historical sources, such as drawings and paintings, to develop the typology of folk dances in the Alpine-Carpathian Region (Pesovár 1994).

However, in ethnochoreology, it is relatively rare to use dance representations created by members of the studied communities themselves as emic sources.[14]

In the following, we analyse the visual recollections of János Papp concerning traditional dance events and dances in the village of Vişea.

In Figure 2, we see the scene where János Papp announces an upcoming ball.[15] The painting was created sometime between 2008 and 2010. Next to it, the following caption appears:

> Announcement of the harvest ball from the hill, this is how it sounds after the horn: "This very day, Saturday, the harvest ball begins at seven o'clock in the evening. Doctors from Palatka[16] are coming, bringing good medicine for the kidneys. Foot ointment for the double bass. Entry will be free, at Misi Kakasi's inn."[17]

Here, *Ördög* János is already reflecting on the impact of the dance house movement,[18] as by the 1990s the balls were mostly organised at the request of guests from Hungarian revival circles. In many cases, it was even these visitors from Hungary who organised the events, where traditional local dances were typically performed. Before the political changes of 1989, it was not customary for older or ill villagers to attend local dance events. However, dance house enthusiasts with an archaizing mindset and with a strong interest in traditions used to make efforts to invite many elderly dancers—the so-called tradition keepers—to these balls (Varga 2016, 11).

The caption includes the artist's name and the date of creation: *Ör(dög*) *Papp János, 2013 – Jan 18*. The person standing behind the bar counter, Levente Kiss, was the tenant of the local bar, between about 2010 and 2014. The bar, mostly referred to as a "buffet" by the locals, is located in the centre of the village. It was mostly frequented by the older generations. It hosted numerous dance filming sessions and smaller dance events, while the former cooperative granary mentioned above, could accommodate larger crowds and was used for balls and weddings. The bar counter visible in the picture and the mural in the background (also painted by *Ördög*) reflect the actual layout of the bar.

However, the spatial arrangement of the people in the painting is not realistic. The bar did not have a built-in musicians' platform like those used at weekend dance events or weddings—platform known as a *cigánypad*.[19] Rather, musicians used to play standing in the *buffet*. They stood on the left side of the room—in front of the mural, near the back door, or in front of the bar counter—usually positioned close together. Men dancing the solo *legényes*, usually faced the band and only turned away when the dance was filmed, if they wanted to look toward the camera—mostly complying with the researchers' requests.[20]

It is apparent that the painter considered the dance event a special occasion, as he depicted the dancer and the girls watching him dressed in festive attire. Furthermore, the man is not wearing the post-World War II jodhpurs, but an earlier costume piece – the *fehér harisnya*.[21] On the left side of the dancer's hat is a red and green floral ornament, indicating that he is a young man of Hungarian ethnicity.[22] It is also possible that the painter turned

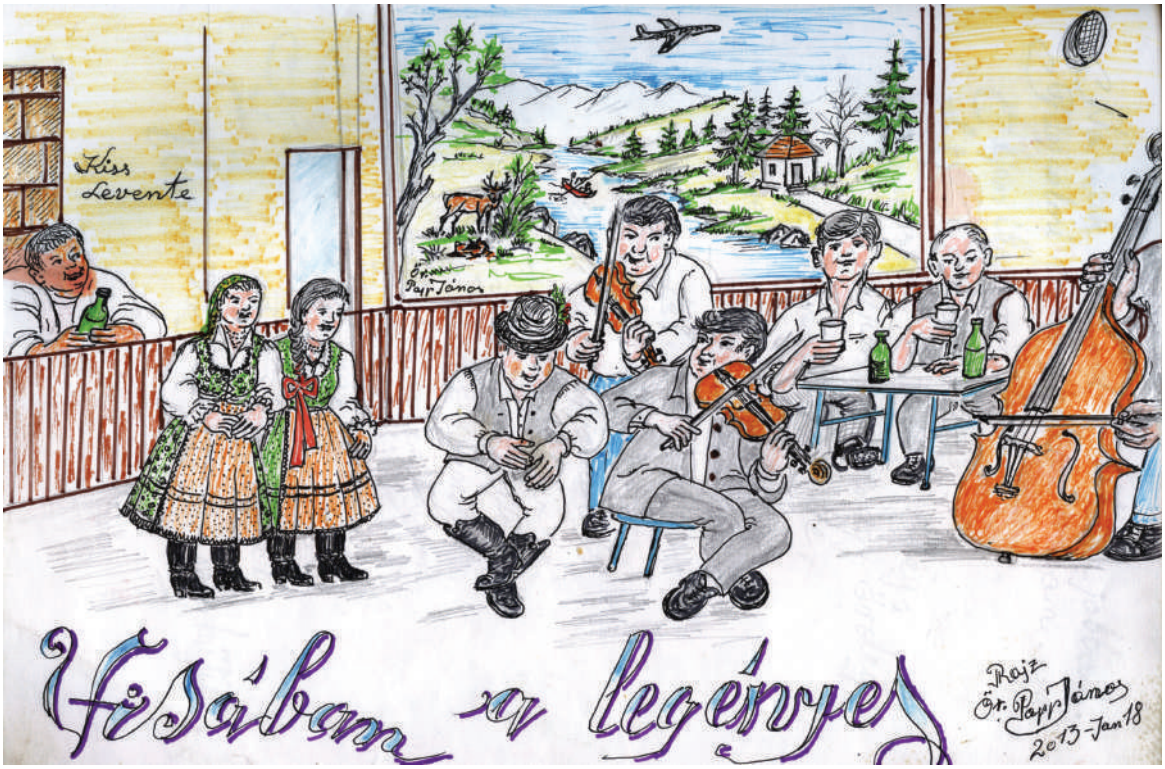

Figure 3. *The legényes dance in Vişea.* János Papp, 2013.

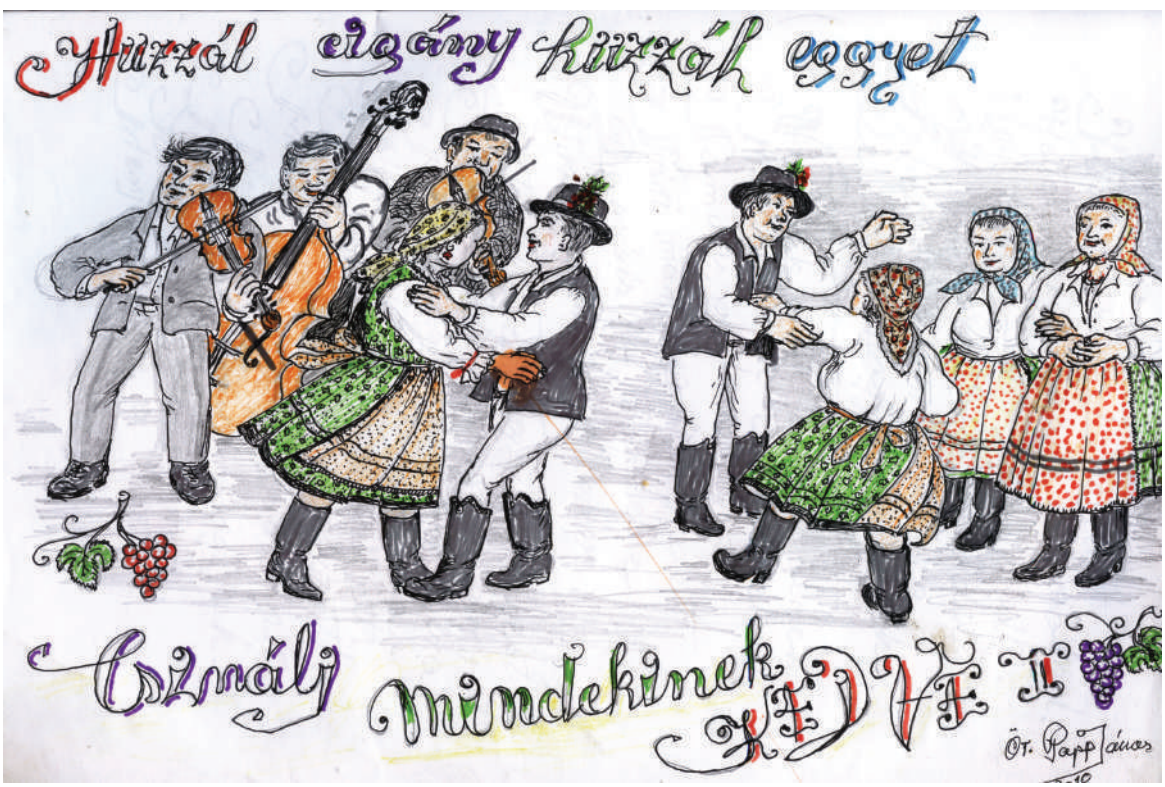

Figure 4. *Play, Gypsy, play a tune, make everyone feel the groove.* János Papp, 2013.

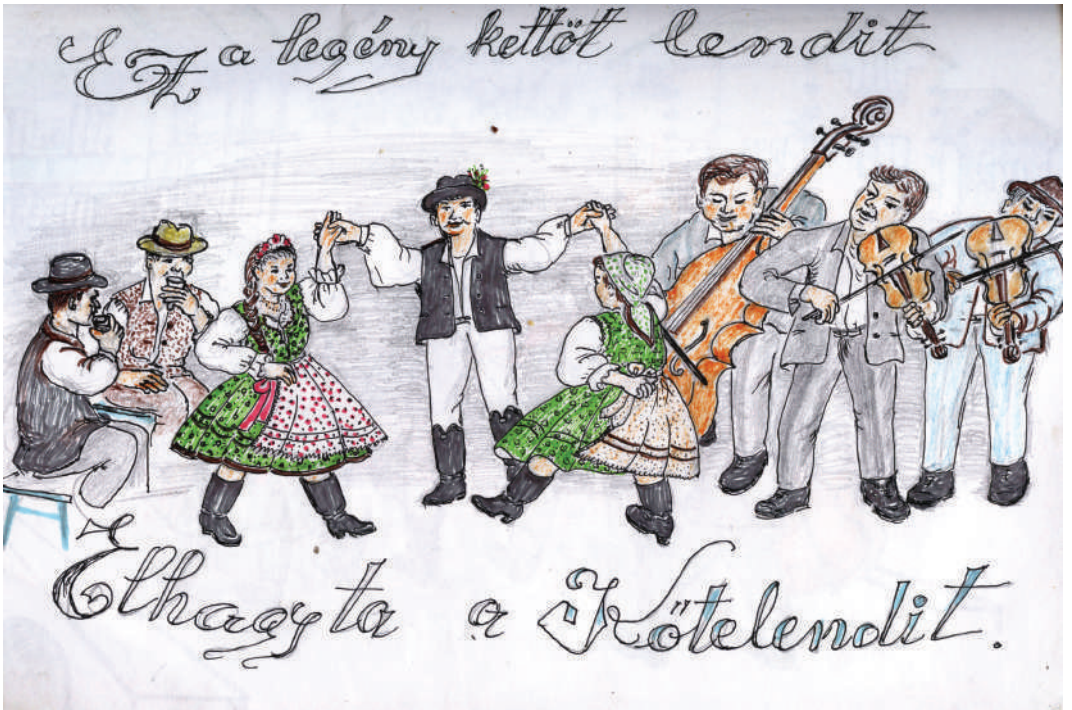

Figure 5. *This lad swings two girls, leaving behind the girls from Gădălin.* János Papp, 2013.

the dancing figure toward the viewers to make the movement more visible. As in reality, the musician watches the dancer's movements closely, which is clearly visible in the picture. The solo dancer's movements are noteworthy: bent legs and a forward-leaning upper body prepare for a leg-hitting motif. The painting may refer to a dance style typical before the World War II: according to archival film footage and recollections, men born around the late 19th and early 20th centuries often hit their shins while leaning forward from the waist during the *legényes*.[23] In later generations, this forward bending during shin hitting was no longer considered aesthetically pleasing and survived only among a few men who danced in an old-fashioned manner.[24]

The title of the painting (Figure 3), "The *legényes*[25] dance in Vișea," suggests that the painter intended to give a general impression of male dances in the village. It is worth noting that by the 2010s, the *legényes* dance was very rarely performed in Vișea. On the left side of the picture, a few women are holding each other's arms. From their headscarves, we can tell that the woman on the left is likely married, while the one on the right is a girl wearing a ribbon in her hair. Both wear a *lájbis köntös*,[26] a garment that became fashionable in the region around World War I. The women watch the dancer passively, reflecting a spatial arrangement and gender differences found in traditional settings (Varga 2017, 105).

Figure 4 was drawn on 18 January 2013 by Papp János. Its caption paraphrases a shouted rhyme: "Play, Gypsy, play a tune, make everyone feel the groove." In the lower corners of the picture, we can see grape clusters—decorative elements used to adorn the harvest ball venue. This suggests that the dance event shown here no longer takes place in the village bar but rather in the former cooperative granary. The granary could accommodate larger audiences and is the traditional venue for the harvest balls in Vișea. On the left, the musicians are playing while standing, as they would in the *buffet*, but not as they would in the cooperative

granary. Their positioning is not entirely realistic either: the double bassist stands between the lead violinist (on the left) and the viola player (on the right), whereas in practice the viola player would usually stand next to the lead violinist. The lead violinist has turned his head away from the dancers (a rare occurrence in real life), while the other two members of the band watch the movements closely. The couple dancing in front of the band is about to begin a turn, as suggested by their body positions and arm placements. To the right, another couple prepares for a characteristic Transylvanian Plain-style dance movement in which the man spins the woman behind his back from his right side to his left side—a move locally known as *elhányja a* nőt *pe la spate*.[27] The image captures the preparation phase for this movement.

Further right, two women stand arm-in-arm, watching the event. The dancing men wear festive lad's attire, as indicated by the decorative sprigs on their hats. However, the man on the right appears older, suggesting that the image was inspired by a festive dance occasion, such as the harvest ball attended by visitors from Hungary. At such events, men often wore their old traditional youth attire, to please the Hungarian folk tourists. The women in the picture appear fuller-figured and older. Only one woman wears the *lájbis köntös* typical of unmarried girls.[28] The other three wear chin-tied scarves characteristic of married women.

In Figure 5, neither the creator's name nor the date of creation is visible; nevertheless, it is likely that the final picture in our series also belongs to the above-mentioned painting cycle. The text in the painting—"This lad swings two girls, leaving behind the girls from Gădălin"—is a lively rhyme reminiscent of shouted verses, presumably written by the painter himself. The little verse refers to a humiliating ritual that sometimes occurred during dancing: a young man who was angry at a girl for some reason would invite her to dance, but during a spinning turn he would "accidentally" leave her behind and continue dancing with another partner. The abandoned girl would stand for a while, then usually sit down, or in worse cases, leave the dance floor in shame.[29]

In the centre of the picture, the dancers are performing the *hármas* csárdás.[30] The image captures the exact moment when the man, dressed in traditional festive attire, spins both women under his arms. The woman on the left is likely unmarried, as suggested by her *párta*,[31] while the woman on the right is presumably married—although she wears a *lájbis köntös* typical of unmarried girls, her headscarf indicates otherwise. The band's setup and positioning are realistic. The way the lead violinist tilts his head suggests he is closely watching the dancers' movements. On the left side of the image, men in festive attire sit at the table with drinks, also observing the dancers.

Conclusions

This study examines the paintings of János Papp from the perspectives of naïve art, self-expression, collective memory, and the documentation of local dance culture. Papp's work forms a bridge between traditional village life and individual storytelling. His paintings work at once as visual chronicles, records of dance history, and personal confessions. Thus, the images are not merely illustrations but distinctive representations of autobiographical sources, local history, and creative self-representation. Papp's works offer an emic perspective on the traditional dance culture of a Transylvanian Plain village, yet—as evidence for dance-folklore or dance history research—they should be used with caution (see, for example, the placement of the band in Figure 4). The drawings often present an idyllic view of tradition that reflects the painter's aestheticising intent. Much like *falvédők*

or popular folk plays, the drawings align with the urban elite's romantic notions of rural life. Regarding local traditional dance customs and dance forms, the images provide only limited and uncertain data, even when the existence of a given phenomenon (such as shin-clapping performed with a forward-leaning posture) is confirmed by other sources.

NOTES

1. The Transylvanian Plain (in Hungarian: *Mezőség,* in Romanian: *Câmpia Transilvaniei)* is a region with a multi-ethnic population of Romanians, Hungarians, Gypsies, and formerly Armenians, Jews, and Germans, and is known for its exceptionally rich dance and music culture. Visa (in Hungarian) or Vișea (in Romanian) is a small village with a Hungarian majority population in the western part of the Transylvanian Plain. Local folklore plays an important role not only in ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological research but also in the Hungarian folk music and folk dance revival scene.

2. This role is also reflected in a popular joke in Vișea: "Which is the village where the priest preaches in the church, and the devil plays the organ?" The playful people of Vișea even made a pun on the name János Papp, saying: "In Vișea, Pap(p) is the devil" [*pap* means "priest" in Hungarian].

3. In Hungarian: Báré, Kötelend, and Zsúk.

4. The expression "Caiet Studențesc" is in Romanian, while "De szép a szeretet" is in Hungarian.

5. During a fieldwork in May 2013, *Ördög* only had five small-sized booklets containing his own drawings and notes. The rest had most likely been taken by his grandson, who had encouraged him to draw from the very beginning.

6. See a more detailed content analysis of János Papp's autobiographical works in Gatti 2013.

7. Excerpt from János Papp *Ördög* 1937–2009: *Remembering the Past*, from the handwritten booklet. (Translation by the author).

8. Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980) was a Croatian-Slovenian Yugoslav communist revolutionary and head of state. Dwight David Eisenhower (1890–1969) was a US Army General and the 34th President of the United States. Aleksandar Ranković (1909–1983) was a Serbian and Yugoslav communist politician, Minister of the Interior.

9. *Glasul Armatei* [lit. Voice of the Army], was a periodical of the People's Army of socialist Romania.

10. Traditional embroidered wall hanging pieces, often used in Hungarian and Romanian folk culture. The embroideries typically portray stylized, idyllic scenes of rural life.

11. Following Bourdieu, self-taught artists who begin with "limited cultural capital" are often regarded as "intruders into the realm of culture" (Bourdieu 1970, 169).

12. Excerpt from János Papp's poem Declaration for the Harvest Ball.

13. Theresa J. Buckland wrote an excellent summary on the subject (Buckland 2006).

14. The main themes in the work of Juli Vankóné Dudás, a Hungarian peasant painter, were the folk customs of her native village and scenes from everyday life and festive occasions. The volume dedicated to her art includes a selection of her paintings along with biographical information (Vankóné 1983).

15. The traditional weekend dance events were announced in some villages neighbouring Vișea with a shout from the hill. In Tăușeni (in Hungarian: Marokháza), for example, the *kezesek* (lit: quarantors, dance organizers) were traditionally proclaimed in this way. In Vișea, this practice was revived in the 2000s by the elderly local cantor *Ördög*, who took it on voluntarily or for a modest fee. Previously, only the popular folk plays and the subsequent dance parties were proclaimed, while news of the dance events used to spread informally (Varga 2023: 146). This tradition resembles a normative custom widespread in almost every village of the Transylvanian Plain region – see, for example the St. George's Day or New Year's announcements, when local youths would shout out noteworthy or humorous events of the past year from the hill (Gatti 2011 and Zsigmond 2018).

16. In Vișea and its surroundings, Gypsy bands from Pălatca (in Hungarian Magyarpalatka) have been providing traditional dance music for centuries. "Doctors from Palatka" is a humorous nickname referring to them. Among the Gypsy musicians of the Transylvanian Plain, there are three groups speaking three different languages. Of these, only one group uses the term "Roma" to refer to themselves, while the other two (such as the musicians from Magyarpalatka) reject it. Therefore, we use the umbrella term "Gypsy" as an exonym, even though we are aware that it is a politically charged term. Additionally, the local majority society often uses the word "Gypsy" synonymously for the musicians, even if the musician is of Romanian or Hungarian nationality.

17. A similar text is quoted by Beáta Gatti in an earlier publication (2011, 14). Mihály Kakasi *Misi* is a local entrepreneur who, since 2008, has rented the cooperative granary from the municipality to use it as a venue for balls and weddings. In the spring of 2014, the bar was transferred

to Mihály Kakasi by the previous tenant, Levente Kiss. *Ördög* depicts Levente Kiss as the bartender in the third picture.

18. The dance house (in Hungarian: *táncház)* movement is a Hungarian folk dance revival that began in the 1970s. It started as a grassroots effort to preserve and celebrate traditional Hungarian folk music and dance by organizing community dance events where people could learn and enjoy authentic folk dances in an informal, social setting – see Taylor (2021).

19. Traditionally the music band was usually situated on a waist-high wooden platformt, called *cigánypad* (lit. gypsy bench, because on the Transylvanian Plain the musicians usually were gypsies) in order that the spinning skirts would not disturb them while fiddling (Varga 2017, 106).

20. In one of Csenge Keresztény's studies, we read about how the presence and requests of researchers influenced dance performance during the filming process (Keresztény 2023, 219-221).

21. The *fehér harisnya* (lit. white stockings) were narrow, close-fitting men's trousers made of broadcloth. The Hungarian population of the villages in the Transylvanian Plain wore them until the mid-20th century, usually as part of festive attire.

22. After World War I, in many Transylvanian villages certain clothing items functioned as ethnic markers and identity symbols. Hungarians very often wore green hats decorated on the left side with a bouquet of red and white flowers and green leaves. The red-white-green colour combination symbolised the Hungarian national colours. In contrast, during the same period, the Romanians from the Transylvanian Plain often danced wearing brown hats, decorated with yellow and blue flowers on the right side.

23. See, for example, the stylistic differences in the recording No. Ft 802.10, available in the Knowledge Base of Traditional Dances (https://neptanctudastar.abtk.hu/en). Here, the older man wearing a traditional fur hat (Mihály Gáspár *Misi*), dancing on the left side of the frame, performs a more archaic version of the *legényes* than the men dancing next to him:

https://neptanctudastar.abtk.hu/hu/dances?Localities=%5B%22Visa%22%5D.

Similarly, we see an old-style performance in the recording ZTI Ft.864.12a-b+, performed by dancers among whom the second person is originally from Vișea:

https://neptanctudastar.abtk.hu/hu/dances?Localities=%5B%22V%C3%A1lasz%C3%BAt%22%5D.

24. Locals pointed out to us several times—for example, when teaching us a dance—that the generations born in the 1930s and later considered a straight posture is more attractive.

25. The *legényes* is a traditional Transylvanian men's solo dance. It is a highly energetic and improvised dance performed mostly by young men, showcasing their strength, agility, creativity, and masculine behaviour. For more about the legényes dances of the Transylvanian Plain, see Martin (2020).

26. The *lájbis köntös* is a vest sewn together with a skirt, following the fashion of the Empire era. It was in style on the Transylvanian Plain from the early 20th century until the 1970s. For more details, see Székely (2025, 124).

27. In the Transylvanian Plain, mixed Hungarian-Romanian expressions are common, such as *elhányja a nőt (Hungarian for "throws the woman") followed by pe la spate (Romanian for "behind his back").*

28. By the 2000s, most women from Vișea had already sold their traditional *lájbis köntös* to folk dance revivalists.

29. Gădălin is a village with a Romanian majority population, located near Vișea. Visits by people from Gădălin to Vișea were always regarded with particular attention, as ethnic tensions during the World Wars had strained relations between the young people of the two villages. It is possible that *Ördög* János is referring here to an actual incident when a young man from Vișea humiliated a girl from Gădălin.

30. The csárdás, during the era of national romanticism in the 19th century, was a Hungarian national dance that rapidly spread from urban ballrooms to rural villages. In Transylvanian dance folklore, it coexists with and interacts closely with earlier dance traditions, primarily from the Renaissance period. A special form of this is the *hármas* [lit. triple] csárdás, in which one man dances with two women. This can be seen in recording No. Ft. 686.6 of the Knowledge Base of Traditional Dances:

https://neptanctudastar.abtk.hu/hu/dances?Localities=%5B%22Magyarpalatka%22%5D&SearchResult=1.

31. In Vișea, the *párta* (maiden's headdress) was rarely worn. It appeared almost exclusively at harvest celebrations and school festivities around the time of the Second World War. Occasionally, female characters in popular folk plays wore it in the 1950s and 1960s.

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