

PhD Dissertation Theses
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**The *Székely* Village Organization Unit, the *Tizes*
A particular settlement organization system functioning as the
framework of the socio-economic activity**

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1. The selection of the topic and aims

The synthetic analysis of the *Székely* Region in which the organizing principles are the interactions between the natural elements, as well as the historical reality is a topic which lies on the common border of the historical, general, settlement and economic geography, the dynamic settlement morphology and the cultural geography. The necessary self-protection as a result of the conquest of the new homeland and the natural conditions led to the development of the *tîzes*. Later on it defined its own direction of development by searching for higher dimensions of its existence.

Within a uniform mental construction I fundamentally consider the *tîzes* to be a cultural formation of capital where the social, economic and technical spheres which play a part in the spatial structure constitute the organic elements of the culture but the physical bases and the conditions of its development are defined by the natural environment and its resources. The *tîzes* means a normative integrative power which ensured the survival of the *Székely* society. During the centuries the organic structure of the *tîzes* defined the way and quality of living of the inhabitants in the settlements. It ensured a framework for the development of the people's life in which a certain folk culture, an unwritten "law" appeared and was consolidated and to which this culture is closely connected, even in our days. The delay of modernization, the conservation of the peasants' usage of space maintained the elements of the historical-cultural landscape.

The complex survey on the cultural landscape of the *Székely* Region, which was carried out within the scope of historical geography (taking into account the natural and social factors influencing the development, the individual aspect, the elements of preservation and sustainability and the processes ensuring structure) can contribute, as an auxiliary and background science, to the revelation of the processes and factors which ensure the structure of the character of the settlement, to the reinterpretation of the culture awareness in the 21st century and to the protection of the cultural heritage. At the same time it can promote the development of the settlement and it can make people be aware of the historical past of the *Székely* Region and of the importance of the social, economic and socializing role of the lifestyle heritage related to the *tîzes*. The *tîzes* mean a social capital (Ex verbum: K. HAJNAL, 2009) for the *Székely* Region. In this respect not only the history, the local history or the national self-knowledge can be enriched, but the geography, along with its subsiences, can also have the opportunity to participate in the complex work of settlement development, in the region protection and the space exploitation (Z. ILYÉS, 2007).

I think it is essential that the development, which is a naturally continuous phenomenon, should be accomplished in a way that does not risk the disappearance and annihilation of the vital system of the *tîzes*. However in order for the *tîzes* to avoid the unconscious transformations – as it chooses Europe- the local inhabitants, but also Bucharest and Europe should be made aware of the "beaten path". While Europe is looking for its own identity among the powers to come and beyond the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, an identity which is different from the submission of the "big companies" belonging to selfish individuals, the *tîzes* make us think about the message of a community which doesn't build its deep unity on a vision of identity but on the recognition of a particularity that offers a common social contribution.

In this thesis I am going to sum up the presumed or real knowledge connected to the *Székely tîzes* and the historical facts which led to the development of the *tîzes*. I am going to examine in space and time which natural and – in a wider sense – social factors led to the transformation, development, conservation or regression of the *tîzes*. It is also important to point at the effects of the danger brought by globalization, which can endanger the mentality, the power and the so far preserved discipline of this community. At the same time I would like to present the problems caused by the changes in the structure of the region and the settlements in the *Székely* Region and to stress the importance and the possibilities of the cultural economy and the spatial aspects of the heritage protection during this process.

As the *tizes* society has been living in a sustainable way over the centuries, an important aim for me was to examine whether the wisdom and ideology of the *tizes* could offer a lesson to reflect on, a model to follow nowadays. That is the reason why, on one hand the aim of my research is to show how the *tizes* of the *Székely* village proved to be stable in spite of the gradual, history dictated changes of the different juristic institutions and to what extent the local inhabitants are acquainted with the typical characteristics of settlement structure, morphology, history and ethnography. On the other hand, in the handling of the more and more tensions which appear in the norm world of the socio-economic structure I want to point to the values of locality, the self-organizing power of the *tizes*, the social institution which can organize and operate the community from the inside, the grounds of the tourism which appears in the culture of the *tizes*, the opportunities for development, the amount of unique attractions of tourism, the reinforcement of the image of the region and – last but not least – the heritage protection.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore and to interpret the *tizes* of the *Székely* village as a “value of understanding” and to attempt such a historical and systematic opinion formation which can be a starting point to the possible solutions given to the wide-ranging social and economic challenges at the beginning of the third millennium. It is important to understand and to make people understand the self-organizing forms which constitute the *Székely* society, in which the systems of connection developed and which worked with a particular structural construction, a separate system of laws and tasks, as well as, many times, a quite wide-ranging autonomy.

Once the traditional, mature, clean and landscape fitting style and aspect of this region is developed, it cannot disappear even if the conditions leading to its birth vanished. But for this a simple logic must be applied: we are not talking about the implantation of the transcendent elements of the Kantian idealistic philosophy and the restoration of a romantic village structure and community organization, but it is the wider socio-economic demand that requires the survival of the *tizes*.

In the light of this, the basic aims of the research examining the connections and opportunities of the *tizes* can be summarized in the following points:

- the exploration, the documentation (mental mapping) and presentation of the historical and settlement morphological particularities which define the character of the region,
- the spatial identification of the *tizes*,
- the collection of quantitative and qualitative data which certify the individuality of the cultural region,
- the conceptional definition of the socio-economical and political tasks,
- the foundation of the starting point for further research which can serve the practical exploitation of the opportunities lying in the geography of tourism.

As there are no examples of the practical usage of the mental mapping in the *Székely* Region, the dissertation tries to find out whether this method of research can be used in an effective way in the settlement planning and developing work. For the sake of connecting the theory and the practice, the dissertation releases a structure of concepts based on the region definition to focus on the opinion formation of the tourism product which is built on the spatial characteristics and to weigh the effectiveness of the Tourism Destination Management model and the suitability of its application - as a method and a means.

2. The antecedents of the research

The authenticity of the historical reconstruction of the region specific *tizes* is greatly defined by the sources that we have at our disposal and the advancement of the preparatory work. The preserved written documents are naturally very partial because many events were not originally written down in the Árpád era and in the 14th and 15th centuries, the existing documents vanished in the vicissitude of history. Thus the historians had to undertake a bold

enterprise of applying the mathematical logic and method of *reductio ad absurdum* on the basis of the data they collected from different sciences (archeology, linguistics, religion, justice and ethnography) to argue in favour of the most likely variant. That is why it is a professional challenge to explore the socio-cultural heritage and values of the settlement parts of the *Székely* Region which are so typical from the settlement historical, ethnographical and linguistic perspectives and to accurately analyze the economic and infrastructural state of the region. In the absence of historical data and documents referring to the *Székely* settlement structure and organization which could be used as primary sources, it is difficult to answer questions referring to origin. It is not just a coincidence that from the last century to our days several historical and ethnographical dissertations only mention the *tizes* when discussing about the *Székely*. But the researchers had to feel the weight of its sinking into oblivion. The basic difficulty of the work is also increased by the fact that in the absence of relevant, reliable statistical data it is difficult to answer the most important question groups: the quantification of the economic and technical structures.

The late appearance of the written sources (16th century) is due to the particular situation of the *Székely* society. As the *Székely* were a group of people endowed with general privilege, they did not need to prove their rights with documents until their ethnical organization was disorganized by the feudal system. The changes occurring in the second half of the 16th century led to the publishing of a considerable amount of documents.

In fortunate cases the relics can refer to the past of some settlements. In this field the past of the *Székely* Region is very poor, since the organized archeological research began only at the beginning of the third century.

Most famous specialists connect the formation of the settlement structure to the remnants of the organization of the army at the time of the homeland conquest (ORBÁN B, 1869-1871, SZÁDECZKY L, 1905, 1915, BARTALIS Á, 1933, KRING M, 1934, ENDES M, 1938, MILLEKER R, 1939, CSIBI A, 1939, LÁSZLÓ Gy, 1944, BENKŐ K, 1853, DUKA J, 1978, BIERBAUER V, 1942, 1986, GYÖRFFY Gy, 1973, 1990, 1995, IMREH I, 1973, 1983, TARISZNYÁS M, 1982, GARDA D, 1992, 1994, 2001, 2002, VÁMSZER G, 1977, 2000, ZAYZON S, 1997, EGYED Á, 1999, 2009, KOLUMBÁN-ANTAL J, 2006, KÁLNOKY N, 2007). They analyse the development of the later social and economic *tizes* structure as a system.

The ethnography researcher J, BÁRTH (2007) changes the accepted trends of the above mentioned researchers. He creates a new horizon as far as the genesis of the *tizes* is concerned. He refers to the absence of the oldest written documents when he states that the *tizes* did not appear as a result of the accommodation to the military organization but the need and practicality of organizing a grown community in the 17th century that was revived and kept alive by those in power in the modern times. However the author himself stated the following connected to the *tizes* of *Csíkszentlélek*: „...they give the impression of small villages separated by mountains, plough-lands and fields”, „...the *tizes* of *Szentlélek* appear as small villages which are close to each other but which do not touch”, „...in olden times they probably existed as separate villages”.

The author draws a parallel between the Saxon *Nachbarschaft* (Segesvár, Szeben and Brassó) which already existed in the 16th century and the world of the settlements in Dunántúl, Felföld and Alföld, as well as the settlements outside the *Székely* Region (Győr, Sopron, Székesfehérvár, Eger, Besztercebánya, Lőcse, Debrecen, Karcag, Kecskemét, Szeged, Kolozsvár and Szék) in which existed the *fertály*, the *tized* and the Romanian *vecinătate*, community organizing units in the 17th-19th centuries (both the German and the Romanian word meaning neighbourhood). As the written Saxon documents mention these structures earlier (Segesvár in 1526, Brassó in 1533 and Nagyszeben in 1563), the writer tries to imply that the particularity of the settlements from the *Székely* Region could have developed under a German influence. The specialists have not reacted to this point of view yet, it hasn't produced a serious feedback.

It is uncertain whether the existence of the *tizes* in the 13th-15th centuries can be denied in the light of the absence of the written sources in these centuries. Can the cores, the points of junction (centres) of the settlements, which are well-contoured in space, be, at a later date, the results of socio-historical organizations in the 17th century? Moreover we cannot fully answer the question if it is the 17th century when the *tizes* organization form and its representation on the image of the settlement structure developed consistently in the other settlements of the Carpathian Basin. We cannot say that about the German model, either.

It is possible that the formation and the accurate reconstruction of the *tizes* should remain an eternal cultural mystery for us, but it is not essential to reveal the secret of the formation of the *tizes*, but to understand what they mean to us nowadays.

3. Methods

In order to analyse and value the processes and phenomena which are deeply embedded in the history of the Hungarian geography, but which did not get the deserved attention until now, on the basis of information received from as wide areas as possible, we used several primary and secondary methods, following the concept of triangulation (BABBIE, E. 2000). The secondary research involved the examination and processing of the historical, ethnographical and linguistic technical literature (ORBÁN B, 1869-1871, SZÁDECZKY L, 1905, 1915, BARTALIS Á, 1933, KRING M, 1934, ENDES M, 1938, MILLEKER R, 1939, LÁSZLÓ Gy, 1944, BENKŐ K, 1853, DUKA J, 1978, BIERBAUER V, 1942, 1986, GYÖRFFY Gy, 1973, 1990, 1995, IMREH I, 1973, 1983, TARISZNYÁS M, 1982, GARDA D, 1992, 1994, 2001, 2002, VÁMSZER G, 1977, 2000, KOLUMBÁN-ANTAL J, 2006, KÁLNOKY N, 2007, EGYED Á, 1999, 2009). The source material was the first and most important method for me, as it led to the enlightenment of interpretational problems related to the concept, the formation and the development of the *tizes*.

Within the primary research I used the mental mapping from the qualitative and quantitative methods. This method is based on the common research performed by the psychologists and geographers: the former give the methods of research, the latter bring the geographical topic. It covers all those cognitive and spiritual skills which enable us to gather information from the spatial environment and to analyse and interpret the processes which led to the spatial behaviour (DOWNS, 1970, LAKOTÁR, 2004, GÁL, 2006).

During the research I interviewed the locals while taking part in their every day life. I asked questions with a historical and diachronical aim referring to the existing or believed to be existing system of the settlement parts, to the awareness of the name science, to the land ownership, to the ways of farming and the exploitation of the land. I processed this data when I interpreted the geographical space and when I performed the formative, historical, genetical and functional examination and interpretation of the settlement structures. I published the information obtained in this way along with the name of those who gave the information.

I completed the study of the technical literature and the research based on maps (the first military survey in 1769-1772 and the maps which were made nowadays) with observation on the scene and the examination of the morphology of the villages. This enabled me to get a more objective picture of the situation.

Using historical and statistical data, I performed a comparative research with an enclave from *Csikszék* of Romanian nationality, Lóvész (Livezi). This put the *Székely* Region under examination as an ethnocultural contact zone.

The researchers of the sciences which assume functionality point to essential results when they examine the descendants of the peoples living on the former borderline of the Carpathian Basin. These results appeared mainly in the context of historico-cultural, linguistic and archeological relics and habits. I performed a comparative research between the particular settlement structure and natural endowments of the two ends of the Carpathian Basin. In this way the geography – which is the link between the natural and social sciences – can make

people understand the cohesive and value-bearing power of the *Székely* Region and the Region of *Őrség*.

As the existence and development of the tourism appearing in the *tizes* culture is justified both by the internal endowments and the trends of the demand, I summarized the characteristics and determining phenomena of the current rural tourism of the *Székely* Region with the method of the strategy-oriented situation survey (SWOT analysis). The facts revealed by the SWOT analysis are the summary of the documents, the survey of the place, the consultations with the specialists and the answers given to the auxiliary questions of the mental maps. The analysis reckons with the existing realities and marks the direction of development which is taken into consideration by the Tourism Destination Management model.

4. Results

Within the framework of historical geography I am presenting the evaluation and the results of the complex examination of the cultural *Székely* Region, grouping them into three categories, according to eleven points of view:

Results I.: The review of the subject bases

- geographical location, natural endowments,
- historical background,
- the *tizes* as a basic settlement structure unit which defines the geographical space,
- the social, economic and cultural organization of the *tizes*,
- the space structure of the *tizes* as an ethnocultural contact zone,
- the *Székely Őrség* or the *Székely* from the Region of *Őrség* – the *szér* of *Őrség* on the scales of the *tizes*.

Results II.: The *Székely tizes* reflected by the mental maps

- looking for the way through the *tizes*.

Results III.: Tourism in the *tizes* culture

- the interpretation of the rural tourism based on regional particularities,
- the complex system of the *Székely tizes* in the relation between the tourism exploitation and the heritage protection,
- the *Székely tizes* in constructions which go beyond borders,
- the possibility and demand for the development of the tourism appearing in the *tizes* culture.

4.1. The review of the subject bases, geographical location and natural endowments

Nowadays, when we want to mark the territory and the borders of the *Székely* Region we have to face numerous difficulties. Legally it meant the amount of regional administrative units where the *Székely* privilege and law were applied. These units were: the *Szék* of Udvarhely with Keresztúr and Bardóc as filial *szék*, Háromszék (Kézdi-, Sepsí and Orbaiszék) with Miklósvár as filial *szék*, the *Szék* of Csík with the *Szék* of Gyergyó and the filial *szék* of Kászón, Maros and the enclave of Aranyosszék (figure 2). The *Székely* Region, which appears as an ethnic Hungarian island, is defined nowadays as the territory of Kovászna, Hargita and Maros counties either by tourism handbooks or by the available statistics. This greatly differs from the historical definition and the borderline of the *Székely* Region and naturally it requires the acceptance of the territorial bordering of the counties from 1968. It also supposes the application of the Romanian development law (2000) which puts the *Székely* Region into The Central Development Region with the counties of Brassó, Fehér and Szeben, with Gyulafehérvár as the centre.

The first assertion of the dissertation is that as long as there is no declaration of the regional self-consciousness which could assure the self-accomplishment, we have the possibility to draw the territory of the *Székely* Region using the natural environment and the consciousness

the *tizes*. The starting points for the planning and organizing the strategy and the tactics were the natural-geographical conditions of the given geographical region. The protection of a territory has to be in keeping with the natural endowments, because these are the ones which determine the practicability or impracticability of the artificial defense system. Many researchers pointed to the military reasons of the formation of the *Székely tizes*, as an element of the settlement and landscape structure. They also drew a parallel between the *tizes* and the military organization of the Turks and the Mongols (ENDES M, 1938, MILLEKER R, 1939, GYÖRFFY Gy, 1990, DUKA J, 1978, GARDA D, 1992, BIERBAUER V, 1942, IMREH I, 1973, 1983, VÁMSZER G, 2000, EGYED Á, 1999, 2009).

Of course the early *Székely* settlements, composed of family groups, did not only provide soldiers (GYÖRFFY Gy, 1973, 1990, 1995, TARISZNYÁS M, 1982, BARTALIS Á, 1933, ENDES M, 1938, VÁMSZER G, 1977, GARDA D, 1991, 1992, 1994, 2001-2002, LÁSZLÓ M – LÁSZLÓ A, 2005, EGYED Á, 1999, 2009), or performed military tasks, but, according to the everyday realities, they gradually assumed the organization of the Church and also economic, juristic and administrative roles in their self-organizing world.

According to the reports of the historical toponomastics, we cannot accurately establish and state that the word *tizes* was born before the word *szeg*. But it is a fact that in time specific name forms appeared. Often they named these settlement parts after the family group that lived there, the leading families, the nicknames, the humour, the crafts, the orientation and the particularities of the landscape. Sometimes they marked them with Roman numbers and there are village names which cannot be understood because of their obscure origins. These led to the appearance of a wild range of *tizes* names.

On the basis of the results I obtained by using the primary and secondary research methods I consider the settlement parts from the *Székely* Region (both the *szeg* and the *szér*) to be the structures of the technical and social organization, military formations which cristalized in the settlement order. This point of view, which is like a fundamental principle and which is asserted during the further research work, is supported by the following arguments:

- we can draw an authentic historical picture only on the basis of written data,
- at the age of the settlement of the *Székely* the military duty took priority,
- if you are looking for the conditions of the development of the settlements, the existence of the *Székely tizes* military formation cannot be overlooked,
- in the centuries 13th-14th the military and settlement forming roles of the *tizes* interwove,
- both in the military organization and later in the administration the *tizes* system came into being and was kept alive for practical reasons during the centuries,
- the *tizes* is such an organic and effective organizing principle which appeared not only in the military organization and the space formation, but also in the determination and completion of the common social duties,
- the *tizes* worked as an integrative, representative power among the people, it proved to be a democratic form,
- on the level of the community, from the perspective of order and rank, it ensured the unity of the inhabitants: the soldiers, the bondsmen, the landowners and the small nobility through its gradual development in time,
- on the basis of the equal rights it inherited and preserved the well-proved ancient function of the *tizes*,
- the preservation and survival of the *tizes* organization of Csík was mainly assured by the dispositions of the commanders of the frontier guard regiments which were established in the second half of the 18th century; these dispositions promoted the practicability of the *tizes* organization,

- in the *Székely* villages of the 19th and 20th centuries there were not less affairs to be dealt with and the administration was not easier than in the centuries between the 16th and the 18th centuries; however the last two centuries almost made the once so well functioning *tizes* organization sink into oblivion,
- the villages from Csík whose different parts are separated in space from each other offer a system of perspectives which can serve as a model; naturally with the exception of those Romanian settlements which show the signs that their inhabitants were shepherds, but which were founded much later (18th century),
- the name *tizes* (formation by ten) itself is the continuation of the military formation,
- but when our task is to examine the structure of the settlements from a geographical perspective and we want to outline and define all of the social structures, duties, conceptions and aims, the name science is secondary.
- the principle which accommodates the most simply to the historical conditions and the nature is the universal reference to the decimal numerical system,
- we have ten fingers, these people did not have to write or read to deal with this number, but this does not mean that the *Székely* got only to ten in their counting.

In my opinion it would be strange now, in the 21st century, to see that those people who were frontier guards in the 13th century and who preserved the best their own spatial and territorial organization, their inner administration, their social organization or their archaic language organized according to the Hungarian grammatical structures, changed these things where it was not necessary, because that is not what the peasant common sense dictated. The preserving power of the Székely Region proved to be stronger until now than the capacity to last of the Saxons from the neighbouring Saxon Region, where we can barely find any Saxons.

4.3. The *tizes* as a basic settlement structure unit which defines the geographical space

As the the *tizes* developed the most vigorously in the villages of the *Szék* of Csík and Kászón (IMREH I, 1973) and these are the regions where it remained the most evidently as an important specific element which defines the spatial structure, I carried out my research and survey in 27 settlements of the *Szék* of Csík and Kászón (figure 2).

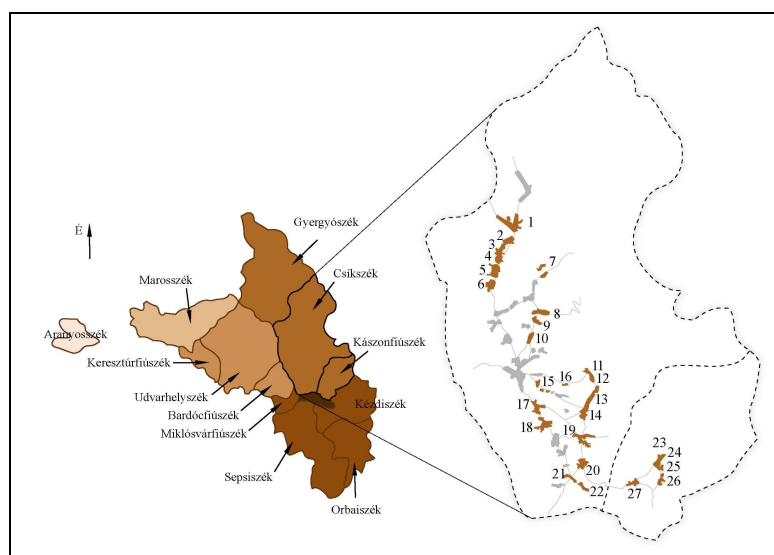


Figure 2: The geographical position of the *Székely szék* and the examined settlements
 Legend: Csíkszentdomokos, 2 Csíkszenttamás, 3 Csíkjenőfalva, 4 Csíkkarcfalva, 5 Csíkdánfalva, 6 Csíkmadaras, 7 Lóvész/Livezi, 8 Szépvíz, 9 Csíkszentmiklós, 10 Csíkdelne, 11 Pottyand, 12 Csíkmenaság, 13 Csíkszentgyörgy, 14 Csíkbánkfalva, 15 Csíkszentlélek, 16 Csíkmindszent, 17 Csíkszentkirály, 18 Csíkszentimre, 19 Csíkszentmárton és Csíkcekefalva, 20 Csíkkozmás, 21 Tusnád, 22 Csíklázárfalva, 23 Kászónfeltíz, 24 Kászónaltíz, 25 Kászónimpér, 26 Kászónjakabfalva, 27 Kászónújfalva.

(Based on the source: KÁNYA J, 2003, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

Starting from the tetrahedron model elaborated for settlements by József TÓTH, the dissertation establishes and proves that the examined geographical space is a systematizing category which synthesizes the natural conditions and the social sphere taken in a wider sense.

If we draw a parallel with the gradually advanced *gyepű* when we examine the interaction between the natural conditions and the social structures taken in a wider sense, it is very likely that, before the mountains, the first, the earliest fortified settlement was founded where the valley opened to a plain – like in the case of the later towns of fairs. Then the line of defense was pushed up to a higher valley pass, which had a greater relief energy. Finally the defense or observation point got to the cols of the source region of the rivers.

The archeological discoveries and the results of the linguistic etymological research can provide a lot of data to verify the drafted analogy and the memory. The foundation-stones of the cellar pits in the hill-sides and the remnants of old mountain roads can tell us if we are talking about a *Székely* settlement from the age of the homeland conquest. All these can be associated with all the history of the Carpathian Basin and they can also be important segments of the framework of the national development.

Thus the natural sphere played an important part in the formation of the settlements from the homeland conquest: the diversity of the relief, the articulated surface, the abundance of rivers and the richness of plants and forests. The frequent cols, passes and passages required that the *Székely* had to protect a borderline of many hundred kilometres. The spatial formation and development of the *tizes* was influenced not only by the natural conditions, the land conditions and the technical structure, but also by anthropogenous factors like the organization of the Church, the self-sufficiency which accommodated to the natural resources, the Mongol devastation and the natural disasters (fires and floods). These factors influenced the *tizes* both from a morphological and a functional and structural perspective, or even their existence.

The draw back of the settlements to the wider areas created by the waters and to the edge of the basins, as well as their expansion on the alluvial plains of the basins occurred later, periodically and gradually – mostly in more peaceful times – when the demographical growth brought about a need for a natural environment which could offer more favourable living conditions. With this development and functional transformation of the specific settlements, the structures composing them also regrouped. Following the rhythm of the demographical growth, the natural conditions gave the opportunity for the partial or accretion of the *tizes*.

4.3.1. The settlement morphological and structural particularities of the *tizes* in the space structure nowadays

On the basis of the results of the research we can state that the structure and the morphology of the settlements reflects the process of the formation, development, accretion and organization as an autonomous settlement of the *tizes*. In most of the settlements the *tizes* have already partially or totally united, in fewer settlements we can identify in the space a network of separate village parts which remind us of their original state and which lie far from each other. These relics represent the final phases and periods of the landscape genesis and still have their influence on the basic structure of the space.

We can mention here the *tizes* of Csikmindszent and Csikszentlélek, which were formed with clearing, as typical examples of the conservation (figure 3). In today's sense, the two settlements accurately reflect the signs of the archaic settlement order, the historical process that occurred in the structure of the space and in the formation of the landscape.

The *tizes* of Csikmindszent (the *tizes* of Sillók, Prédák, Templom, Józsa, Nagy, Ambrusok and Mindszentboroszló – except the the *tizes* of Hosszúaszó), in or beside the valley of the Mindszent stream, and the *tizes* of Csikszentlélek (the *tizes* of Fitód, Templom, Alszeg and Szentlélekboroszló – including the *tizes* of Hosszúaszó), along the Hosszúaszó and Bánátus rivers, were organized in a horseshoe-shape, in an arched line of settlements (figure 3). The *tizes*

were situated 100-500 metres from each other and included 20-80 houses, families. The settlements parts worked as separate small villages.

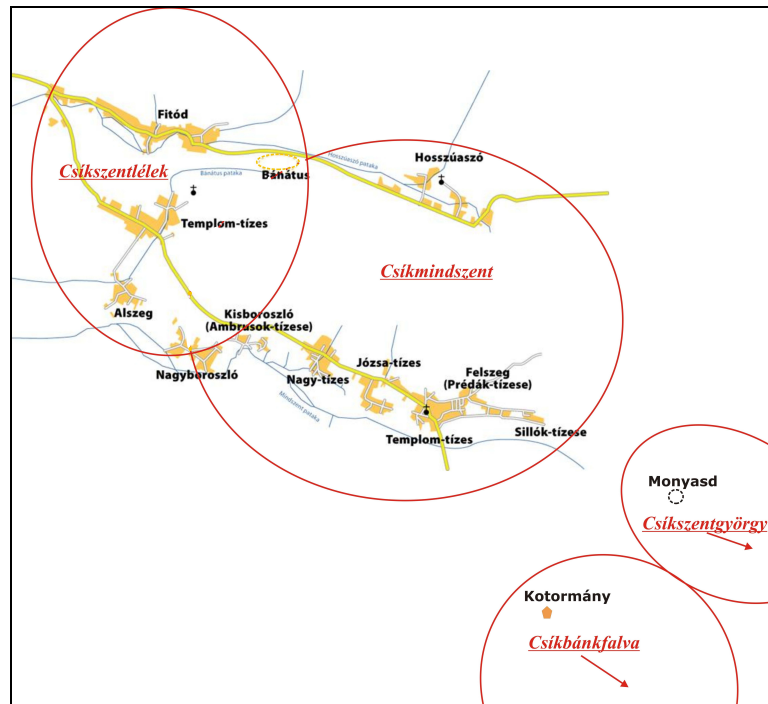


Figure 3: The *tizes* of Csikmindszent and Csíkszentlélek and the conserved *tizes* as parts of the administrative units today

(Based on the source: Hargita – Illustrated County Atlas 2005, edited by AMBRUS T, 2006)

The separate *tizes* is the territorial appearance of a particular society organizing unit even today. Their examination helps us greatly in understanding the formation of the settlement structure and settlement morphology in the *Székely* Region.

By our days three out of the ten *tizes* from Csikmindszent (the *tizes* of Prédák, Templom and Józsa) have already grown together (figure 3). Since the end of the 19th century, since the highway was built, the inhabitants of the *tizes* have been building their houses along the new road. We can mainly experience this at the *tizes* of Templom, Józsa, Nagy and Fitód. Every *tizes* includes a few streets.

The most isolated *tizes* is Hosszúaszó. The unfavourable natural conditions (the bad quality of the plough-land, the limited opportunities for expansion) caused the gradual atrophiation and its *tizes* institution disappeared. The complex role of the old, self-organizing *tizes* of Hosszúaszó cannot be reproduced. The houses which are built here cause the appearance of a new type of settlement whose functionality is the recreation. According to the last two national censuses, only one person has a permanent residence here.

But if we look at these region specific relics with the vivid imagination of a settlement researcher, it is not difficult to establish that the settlement order was grouped into administrative units according to the needs and desires of the later ages, that is to say in reality the *tizes* which are separate in space even today are usually enumerated along with the nearest settlement parts, even though during the settlement they were viable social formations which could work individually. In this way Hosszúaszó became the “wandered” settlement part of Csikmindszent, Kotormány became part of Csikbánkfalva and the public beech forest of Monyasd became part of the public estate of Csíkszentgyörgy, through the transmission of legal rights by the former settlement of Monyasd (figure 3). M. ENDES, (1938) sums up this specific moment of development in the settlement history in the following way: “The *tizes* became later villages and the *tizes* became the *tizes* of these villages...”.

While the unfavourable natural conditions (the geographical isolation, the lack of water, the bad quality of the plough-land and its limited extension) led to the slow growth, the conservation in a more primitive state of the *tízes* (the *szeg* and the *szer*) and, in some cases, the depopulation, atrophiation and disappearance of some village parts, the favourable conditions (plough-land of good quality and the situation beside streams with abundant water) resulted in spatial growth, expansion and accretion.

The distance between the once separate *tízes* became smaller and smaller with the demographical growth and the increase of the built in spaces. The village parts which were articulated by plough-lands, meadows and mountains became part of a uniform settlement block. The village types with a varied morphology, the settlements with the *tízes*, the *szeg* and the *szer* developed by greatly accomodating to the conditions of the landscape. Thus the *tízes* could develop linearly firstly because of the relief and water conditions. The streets which look disordered, the crowded grounds, the belt-like agricultural lands at the border of the village have a communicative role: the fathers parcelled out and distributed their ground among their sons.

In the examined territory we can distinguish twining, horseshoe, ramified or feeler, quadratic, twin and gathering-network villages (AMBRUS T. – ZAYZON S. 2008, 2010).

The narrower river valleys are favourable to the linear accretion. The twining village which was formed in this way is not the typical band village which is situated along a single road, because its every *tízes* usually has more streets and a little centre (point of junction).

The accretion is complete in the case of three of the *tízes* of Csíkszentgyörgy and four of the *tízes* of Csikbánkfalva (figure 4). Háromtízes, Jenőfalva and Körösményfalva, which developed from the *tízes* of the Lacz, the Czikó and the Gál and which grew together along the Fiság stream, are closely connected to the *tízes* of Csikbánkfalva which are situated in the wider valley mouth of the Fiság (Ittkéfalva, Simószeg, Altízes and Martonos). The two villages, taken in today's sense, form together a five kilometre long settlement, the *lok* of Fiság, in the language of the locals, where we can find tiny piled settlement seeds.

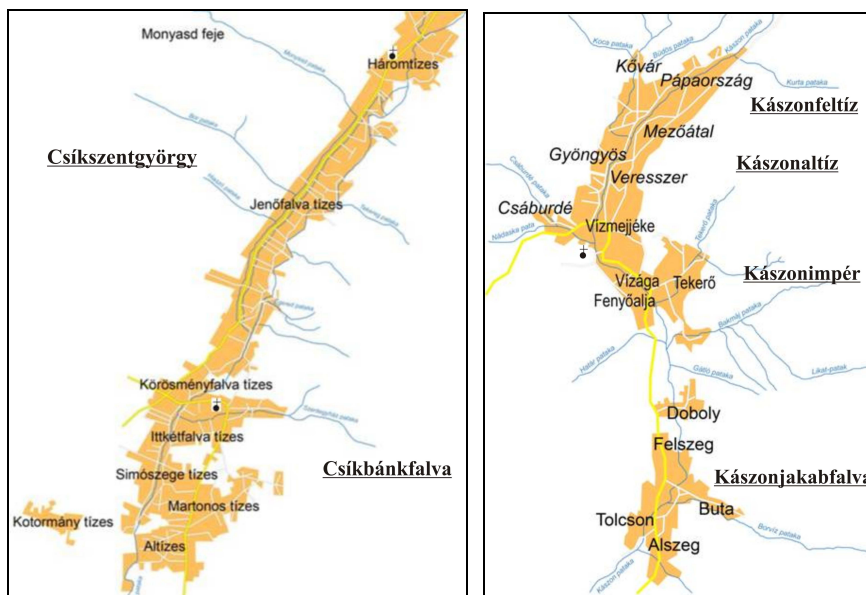


Figure 4: The completely accreted *tízes* of Csikbánkfalva and Csíkszentgyörgy

Figure 5: The villages of Kászon as partially accreted twining villages

(Based on the source: Hargita – Illustrated county atlas, 2005, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

The house group in zigzags of the *tízes* of the Czikó, the entangled block of the *Altíz* from the upper part of Jenőfalva, the house group of the *tízes* of the Lacz, the middle part of Ittkéfalva on the left bank of the Fiság and the southern part of Simószeg are good examples of piled centres. With the help of these piled blocks we can reconstruct the former *tízes* seeds,

which did not touch each other, but which were connected by the ever growing expansion of grounds and houses.

We can find a twining village whose parts partially grew together in the region of Kászón too. The four *tízes* of Kászónfeltíz (Kővár, Pápaország, Mezőáltal and Gyöngyös) grew together with three *tízes* of Kászónaltíz (Veresszet, Csáburdó and Vízmejjéke) and three *tízes* of Kászónimpér (Vizága, Fenyőalja and Tekerő), but did not grow together with Doboly and four *tízes* of Kászónimpér (Felszeg, Buta, Tolcson and Alszeg) - (figure 5).

A good example of the typical horseshoe or U-shaped twining village is Csíkszentmárton. The settlement is formed by three *tízes* on both of its sides and it is the result of the accretion of Csíkszentmárton and Csekefalva, which were independent for a long time, along the main road (figure 6). The ground-plan of today's village shows the development connected to the natural conditions and the population growth.



Figure 6: The completely accreted *tízes* of the linearly developing, horseshoe-shaped Csíkszentmárton and Csíkcekefalva

Figure 7: Csíkszentdomokos as a ramified or feeler village

(Based on the source: Hargita – Illustrated county atlas 2005, edited by AMBRUS T, 2008, 2010)

The ramified or feeler villages are the results of the *tízes* which are irregularly situated along the streams and roads. A village of this type is Csíkszentdomokos. The *tízes* of the settlement understood in today's sense developed in the flood area of the Olt river and in the valleys of the Szádok, Nagylok, Szedloka, Kurta and Hú streams. The three *tízes* nuclei (Altíz- Lower Tíz, Középtíz- Middle Tíz and Felszeg- Upper Szeg) – formed with clearing – “stretched their feelers” along three streams (figure 7). It is striking that the roads set out from the *tízes* nucleus of Felszeg like the rays of the sun, but no main road leaves the central nucleus. Thus we can identify a ray structure within the ramified type.

In the case of the quadratic ring-shaped villages the *tízes* surround extensive damp agricultural areas. The village of Csíkdánfalva has this formation, with its *tízes* (Oltfalva, Város, Középszeg and Felszeg) building their network on more than 10 hectares of agricultural area (figure 8).

The agricultural territories are separated from each other by parallel streets and built in areas. Narrow transversal streets set out like fibres from the regular parallel streets which go along the two sides of the meadows. These regular village parts seem to lack the various morphological features: they give the impression that they were designed on a joiner's table, but they cannot be, by any means, considered to be the results of the aspirations of the 20th century modernization.

The twin village formation is characteristic of Alcsík (Lower Csík). The wider, damp flood area of the Olt divides the village parts which developed from the *tízes* situated opposite

each other and which formed individual villages during many centuries. These include the *tízes* of Csíkszentimre situated beyond the Olt: Felszeg, Sándorszeg, Alszeg and Pálszeg (these are collectively called as Oltelve) and Bedecs, which is located on the left side of the Olt (figure 9).

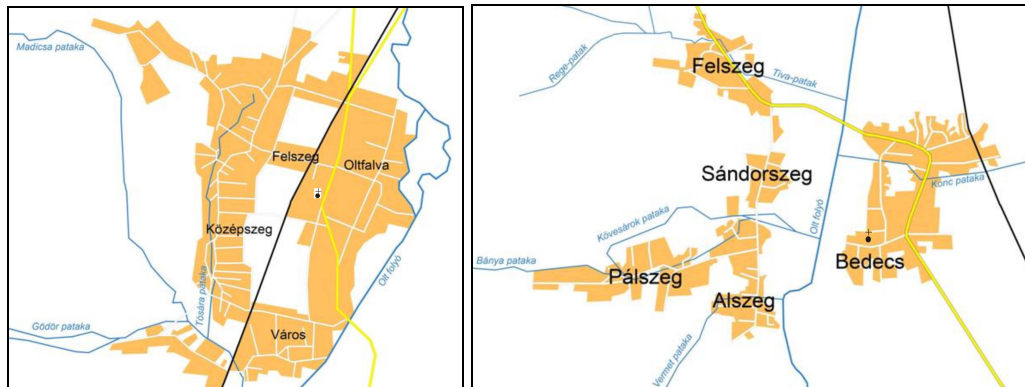


Figure 8: Csíkdánfalva as a quadratric ring-shaped village

Figure 9: Csíkszentimre as a twin village

(Based on the source: Hargita – Illustrated county atlas 2005, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

The gathering-network villages are the results of the fast development and they appeared at the edge of the basins, where there was no obstacle for the spatial expansion. The more or less parallel streets, which cross the accreted *tízes*, lead into a widened area. In these villages the people often created lanes which led to the stream, thus an irregular network becomes distinct. Inside the “net chains” there are frequently areas which have not been built in yet, plough-lands and other agricultural lands. We could say that these villages developed as the lucky combinations of the ring-like and ramified settlement types. The nuclei of the *tízes* can be considered the parts where the widened area is not built in and the houses around it lie unsystematically and at random, where the piling up has already begun, where the grounds are irregularly positioned and where more streets converge (figure 10).



Figure 10: Csíkszentmiklós as a gathering-network village

(Based on the source: Hargita – Illustrated county atlas 2005, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

The results of the research prove that no matter what form the villages from Csík and Kászon may have, they have more nuclei, more centres; they are created by the fusion of the basic units of the *Székely* regional autonomy, the village *tízes* (*szeg* and *szer*). The more significant settlement organization affected only the towns.

In time the ancient trait of the *tízes* structure and morphology faded or altered, yet we can draw conclusions regarding the basic structure from the above mentioned village types. Although the buildings (dwelling-houses and agricultural buildings) changed and the division of

the estates led to the growth of the building density, these settlements preserved their basic structures. The remaining spatial elements which can be related to the national defense, the protection of the borders and the military strategy are the reasons why we should record these settlements as defense or *gyepű* villages and we should place them under protection because of the uniqueness of the Carpathian Basin.

4.4. The social, economic and cultural organization of the *tízes* – The landscape forming effect of the surface morphological elements of the cultural region

The results of the research will prove that the settlement, in today's sense, is not different from the other settlements only as far as the structure, morphology and landscape forming power are concerned, but also in social, economic and cultural organization. The *tízes* is not a settlement unit which can be characterized only by spatial data, but it is also a social and economic unit. The *Székely* Region is undeveloped as far as the innovation and social mobility are concerned, but the diversity of its historical and cultural region represents a significant value.

The research work revealed the particular economic and religious structures which play an important part in the life of the *tízes*, the surface morphological elements of the cultural region which are connected to the economic structure of the *tízes*, the traditional customs related to the turning points of the human life, architectural values, segments of the history of civilization and the factors which led to the abundance of the *tízes* names. The dissertation focuses on these characteristics in an integrated way, as long as they are necessary for the comprehension of the presented things.

The *tízes*, as a total social unit, existed as the collective of the households. Although its households were divided into groups by the spheres of interest of the relatives, neighbours, economy and religion, the families, which had their independent farming and housekeeping, were kept together in an organic organizational framework, which worked as a unit, as a community, above all, by the *tízes*. The most typical and the most frequently occurring forms of the integrative role of the *tízes* can be considered the fountain, the gate, the fence, the bridge and water conducting communities, the fold societies, the higher society organizing structure of the estate connections and common estate ownership, as well as the rosary societies.

The dissertation reveals that the spatial structure of the *tízes* from the *Székely* Region bear the landscape forming effects of the agricultural and industrial technologies. It focuses on the surface morphological elements of the cultural region and the aesthetic relics which had a determining economic role in the life of the *tízes*. As a result of the efforts to exploit the lands more efficiently, the 2-4 metre high agroterraces, the so-called *muzsda*, and the lake basins for hemp soaking were created. The typical results of the development of the historical traffic and transport infrastructure are the deep roads, the trails of the stack traction and the stairs made by the trampling of the animals. The earth fences and ditches made for reasons of estate protection, the border signs of the estates of the *tízes*, the so-called mound systems, the crosses cut in the lawn and the transferred and reorganized string-like ant-hills which composed the borderline of the agricultural lands.

It was revealed and proved with the secondary research methods that the world of customs of the *tízes*, which is related to birth, marriage and death, represents the cultural, ethical, religious and spiritual capital of a tradition preserving community. „These three great needs of the human life” (L. BALÁZS,1999) form the model of the social and community organization. There are other communities where the spiritual traditions and heritage connected to birth, marriage and death worked as organizing elements. They offered the security of the existence and practicability. But the *tízes* also functioned as a spiritual collective work. The inhabitants of the *tízes* are born, love and die as social beings (L. BALÁZS,1999), but it is not certain that the chronological order of the continuous life cycle in this enumeration is the same in the view of the people.

In the dissertation I will prove that the connection of the *tizes* with the nature and the economy is also expressed in the architecture. Every remaining piece of the popular architecture (dwelling-house, agricultural building, gate, water mill and saw) ensures the communication of the culture of the *tizes*. This part of the dissertation focuses on the objective evaluation of the common architectural orders and tendencies of the *Székely* Region and on the phenomena which react sensitively to the challenges of the environment. When we analyse the connections, we can draw the conclusion that the western influence did not reach the *Székely* architecture in the way it did with its literature, music and philosophy.

Other determining objects in the image of the settlements are the sacral relics. The *tizes* which are farther away from the village centre and the church usually owned a bell (a bellfry) or a chapel, in the centre we can find the *tizes* crosses (crucifixes) which, beyond their religious message, can be seen as the symbolic signs of the ownership of the *tizes*, of a kind of *tizes* self-consciousness and a *tizes* identity.

4.5. The spatial structure of the *tizes* as an ethnocultural contact zone

It is well-known that the *Székely* Region can be considered to be an ethnocultural contact zone, due to the historical development (ILYÉS Z. 2007). The *Székely* Region integrated the Armenian settlers which fled from the Mongols in the 16th century, during the 17th-18th centuries the ever increasing waves of Romanians, which escaped from their landlord's lands because of the increased taxes, and the Germans which originated from the neighbourhood (the Saxon Region). Finally, in the last two centuries the Gipsy wanderers coming from India arrived in the basins of the Intra-Carpathians. By the middle of the 19th century the *Szék* of Csík and the filial *Szék* of Kászton had already gathered a significant number of nationalities, of which the most numerous was the Romanian minority.

It is not the aim of my dissertation to analyse this topic in a detailed, comprehensive way. That is why it involves only the necessary proofs and examples, focusing on the particularities of the settlements founded by the Romanians.

On the basis of the comparative analysis of the *Székely tizes* and Livezi/Lóvész, which is inhabited by Romanians, we can state the following:

- Livezi/Lóvész is the result of a slow, organic process of infiltration since the 18th century and it was formed during the shepherd migration.
- Also in the case of the settlements inhabited by Romanians, the individual sporadic settlements are the geosociological units of the national settlement.
- Contrary to the *Székely tizes*, Livezi/Lóvész is such a Romanian settlement situated in the mountains where the dwelling-houses and the agricultural buildings surrounding them follow the stream, but sporadically (figure 11).
- The settlement parts form a community, but in the spatial structure the density centres and the points of junctions characteristic of the *tizes* are missing.
- The names of the settlement parts contain expressions with the word *szeg*, but the genesis of the above-mentioned enclave is of a much later date and its structure does not reflect the view of the *tizes* structure.
- While the *szeg* of the diaspora are made up of 5-10 houses, the *tizes* relics contain 20-80 houses, which lead to the already closed settlement.
- The population of Lóvész also found the points of more favourable relief energy, where the young orthodox churches with onion-shaped cupolas could be built.
- The settlement of this population on a greater scale took place during the state socialism and in the following years.
- In our case we can talk about the phenomenon of aculturation (Z. ILYÉS, 2008), that is to say the inheritance due to the contact of a culture with another culture.

- The Romanians which settled in the *Székely* Region – while forming a community – took over some of the elements of settlement structure and culture from the *Székely* culture, due to their connection.
- The particularity of the settlement structure and the settlement names of Lóvész, as an examined enclave (figure 11), did not develop from the views and knowledge brought in by the settled Romanian inhabitants, but as an effect and practice of the *Székely* settlement order.

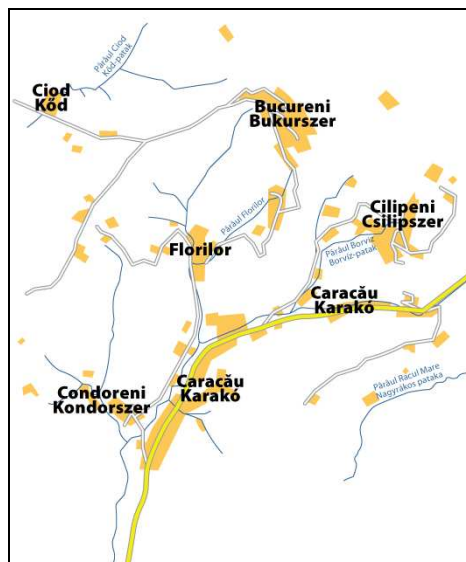


Figure 11: The settlement parts of Livezi/Lóvész

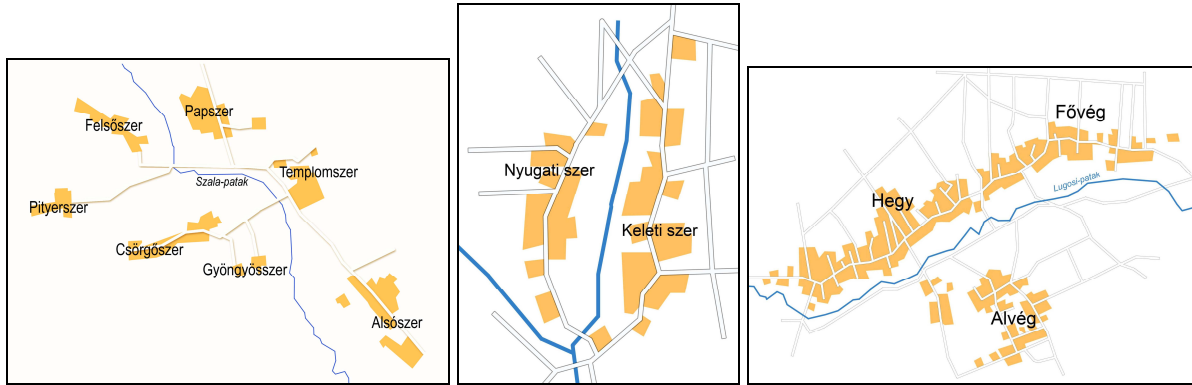
(Based on the source: Hargita – Illustrates county atlas 2005, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

4.6. The *Székely Őrség* or the *Székely* from the Region of *Őrség* – the *szér* of the *Őrség* on the scales of the *tizes*

The researchers of the sciences assuming functionality (historians, ethnographers and linguists) support the reflection in the consciousness of the social existence according to which there was a massive settlement of the *Székely* from the West to the East (figure 1). This historic event explains in an already understandable way that we can encounter the specific settlement structure and place names of the western borderline – the *Őrség* – at the easternmost *gyepű* gate, the *Székely* Region.

The examination proves that the geological, technical and water structure directed the settlement ways and conditions of the western guardians. The valleys of the Zala, Kerka and Pinka rivers were gates that had to be closed if the enemy was threatening them. That is why the most important defence lines of the western guardian region were the regions along the Zala, Kerka and Pinka rivers. These valleys were also important because the abundant sources with clear water streamed from „the mountain-sides”. This natural gift and the reason based on military technique required that the guardian settlements should be placed on the cleared tops of the hills.

The dissertation analyses and proves that on both „ends” the existence of water, the ways of the streamlets was an important factor when founding a settlement, but in the *Székely* Region it worked in another way than in the Region of *Őrség*. When we take into consideration the relief, water and soil conditions of the two regions, we can see that in the *Székely* Region people could and had to go by the proximity of streams (figures 3-11), while in the *Őrség* the principle of „being close, but not in it” prevailed (figures 13-15).



Figures 12-14: The szer of Szalafő, Ispánk és Kondorfa
(Based on the source: The way of the guardians, 2007, edited by AMBRUS T, 2009)

The comparative analysis leads to the conclusion that despite the differences in the ways of compliance with nature and the relief, water and soil conditions, on the two examined territories – the Székely Region and the Region of Őrség – the structure, morphology and place names of the settlements and the inner organization of the inhabitants, as well as their set of laws developed in a very similar way. Although most of the settlement parts have already accreted by now, the buildings (dwelling-houses and agricultural buildings) changed several times and the density of the buildings increased with the division of the grounds, these settlements from the Őrség also preserved their basic structure (figures 12-14). We can find preserved, independent settlements parts or linearly developing, partially and totally accreted twining villages also on the territory of the Region of Őrség. The szer of Szalafő, Ispánk and Kondorfa are good examples for this.

Despite the different natural particularities, the similarity of the typical settlement structures which can be traced back to the ancient military organization of the Székely (the *tizes* and the *szer*), serve new evidence for the presumed common roots of the people from the Székely Region and the people from the Region of Őrség. The similar history can explain now that the settlement, settlement part and balk names existing on the western borderline can be found in the same form at the eastern Székely (Kotormány, Templomszer (the Szer of the Church), Felső-, Alsószer (Upper and Lower Szer), Őrhegy (Guardian Mountain), Nagy erdő (Big Forest etc).

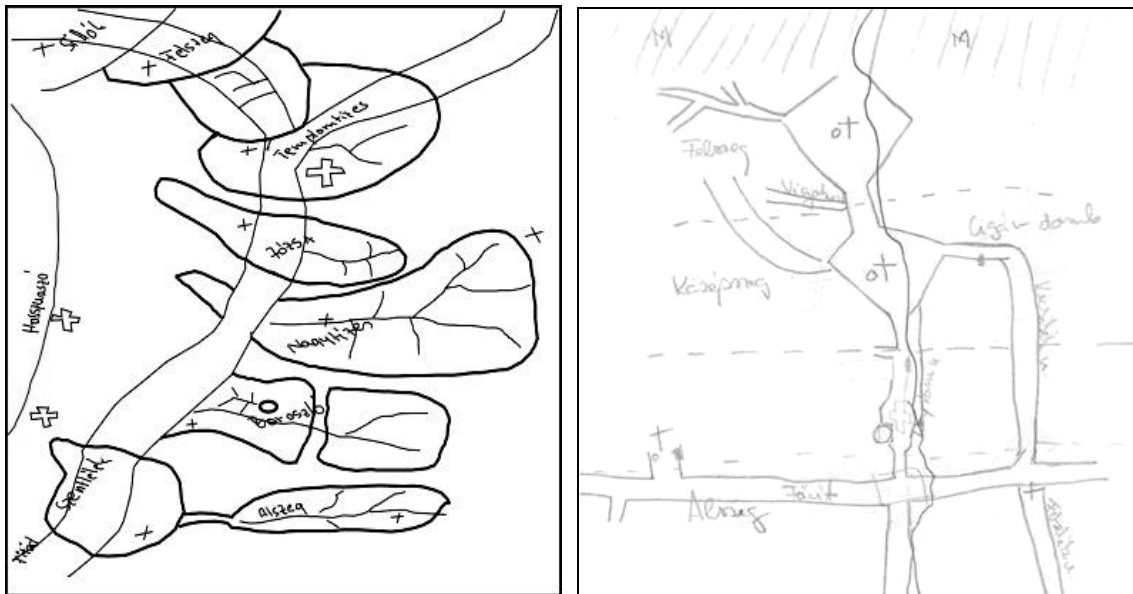
4.7. The Székely *tizes* reflected by mental maps

The results of the aim and control group examination performed within the empirical research (mental mapping and the received answers to the connected auxiliary questions) prove the individuality of the Székely Region. They document that the *tizes* are still existing entities of the community, units which still determine the inner functioning, the structure and the form of the villages.

In the light of this, the most essential results of the research which was carried out within the empirical research and which is aimed at knowledge and awareness, are the following:

- The utility of the applied „behaviourist revolution” method (Z. CSÉFALVAY, 1989) in the settlement developing work was proved also in the research aimed at smaller areas, during the applications performed until now on the level of a settlement.
- It was proved that thanks to the usage of this method the geography can integrate the results of many other social sciences (psychology, social psychology, sociology, history and anthropology).

- The remaining settlement structural relics can be recognized on the drawings and the actual state of the cultural landscape can be drafted (e.g. figures 15-16).
- The mental maps reflect the traces of the arrangement of the *tizes* (e.g. figures 15-16).
- On the basis of the information bearers referring to space, we could determine the spatial location of the *tizes*.
- As the settlement parts of the *tizes*, *szeg* and *szér* adapted to the geomorphological and water conditions, they could develop mainly in a linear way (e.g. figure 16).



Figures 15-16: The way a villager from Csikmindszent and a villager from Csikszentmiklós see their villages

(Based on the source: A survey carried out among the local inhabitants, edited by AMBRUS T, 2008)

- The inhabitants of the region inherited the ancient forms and ways of the home-creating culture, which survived during the centuries, through the names of the villages, village parts and streets. These forms and ways are accompanied by adequate behaviour and mentality.
- The knowledge of the region, which is reflected also by the names, sum up the experience of several generations and is synthesised in the subconscious.
- The representations of the symbols of the sacral memory receive an outstanding role, the crosses, bells, and wooden bellfries are situated, according to the realities, at the entrance or in the centre of the *tizes*, as well as in street junctions (figures 15-16),

4.7.1. Looking for the way through the *tizes*

For the individuals the space has a symbolic importance which determines and sets the framework for the mentality and behaviour of the local inhabitants, the functioning of the life of the community, the rules of accessing the resources and the economic activity.

On one hand the subtitle, which may be surprising at the first reading, is motivated by the particular settlement structure and the preservation of the cultural heritage connected to it, which are based on historical reality, on the other hand it is explained by the practical problem, which is waiting to be solved, that the region got back a good part of its commuters from the industrial and agricultural factories.

While the nationalism which appeared during the years of the state socialism dealt with the cultural values and traditions on an ideological level and the programmes of the party set the objective of destroying the villages on a national level, nowadays in the region developing

aspirations – though not without conflicts even today– one tendency should be aimed at protecting the village from „the false illusion of development” (HAJNAL K, 2006) and at the same time the other should make it competitive as a cultural heritage. This should be done in a time when the reason of the „people’s migration” is more and more the escape. The escape from the stress, the work, the boss, the clients, the commuting, the house and the dripping taps (R. JONSTON, 1970) towards a society which was born in a more stable, organic view of the system.

The results of the analytical data of the subjective-conscious evaluations, the elements of knowledge, the opinions and the stereotypes connected to the auxiliary questions can be summarized in the following points:

- The local inhabitants bear in their mentality the conscious elements of the self-organization, the heritage referring to lifestyle and the set of customs which, in fact, ensured the functioning of the life in the community (religion, farming etc).
- The *Székely* society organization proved to be stable and was preserved during a long period of time, in spite of the changes imposed by history on different legal institutions.
- Despite the fact that the *tízes* lost some of their importance and their set of roles, they still exist as individual settlement units.
- During the socialism and the following years, the different kinds of nationalism, the ideologies which sentenced the villages to destruction and the aspirations aimed at eradicating locality, helped and reinforced precisely the preservation of the *tízes* until our days.
- One of the most positive results of the survey was the positive affective relation to the home.
- The elements referring to content of the cognitive images formed of rural tourism prove that the content living in the minds is made up of tiny and varied parts.
- The answers to the questionnaire reflect the susceptibility to the multiplying economic and socio-cultural effect of rural tourism, but the locals are afraid of the ecological footprint of the tourists.
- The proportion of the people who would like to work in tourism is representative.
- The enumerated tourism attractions and famous sights (that they would especially like to show to the arriving tourists) contribute to the variety and territorial differentiation of the tourism landmarks.
- But they do not think about emphasizing the characteristic attractions of the *tízes* and the tourism products that could originate from them (the war ways, sacral relics which attest the ownership of the land, bellfries, folds, cultural-morphological elements, built heritage and the establishment of look-out points which could make the most of the unique panorama of the settlements etc).
- They do not suppose that the unique values that are connected to the organization of the *Székely* society can also be used as elements which can organize the economy.
- They do not realize that the aspect of the settlement, its features, the way the system of the houses, streets and squares is constructed, the way it is filled with life as a result of the social organization and the elements of knowledge related to the given region and its historical reference, which live in the minds of the inhabitants, could mean a region specific tourism attraction or product.
- The positive and negative image of the „lured” stereotypes within the semantic differentiation refers to the reality of the demographic, environmental and tourism situation (figure 17).

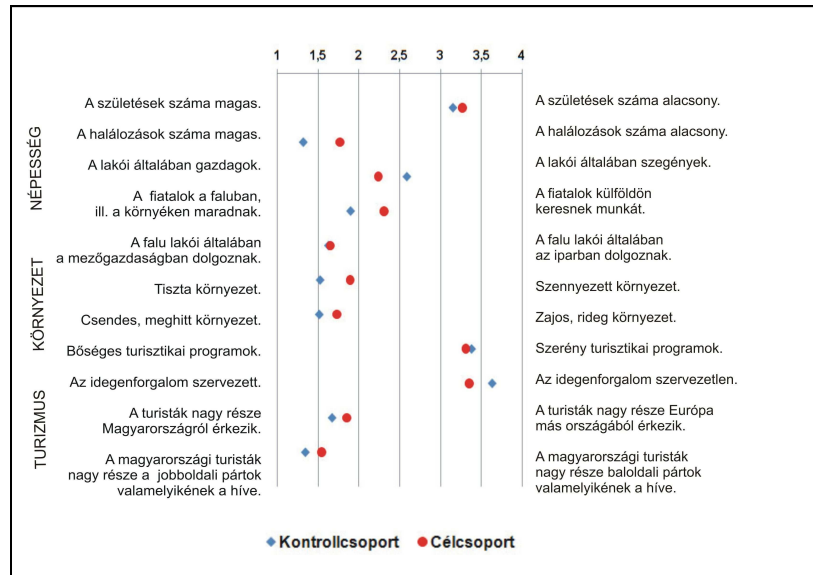


Figure 17: The comparison of the results of the semantic differentiation
(Based on the source: The auxiliary questions of the aim and control grouped research, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

4.8. The tourism in the *tízes* culture – The interpretation of the rural tourism which is built on the particularities of the region

This part of the dissertation summarizes the theoretical and practical frames of the rural tourism with the interpretation of a conceptual structure based on the definition of the rural area, in order to focus on the view formation of the tourism product which is built on the particularities of the *tízes*.

According to the basic thought of the multifunctional society, the „income” of the population of the rural area does not derive only from their primary functions (the production of food and industrial raw material), but also from the accomplishment of cultural tasks. This realization can create protection and common social capital for the *tízes* of the *Székely* Region. However, in order for this to happen, the simultaneous presence and sustainable application of the following two paradigms is necessary: the traditionality and the innovation. That is to say, one of the key tasks of the development of the *Székely* Region is precisely the moderation of the contrast between the preservation and the renewal.

The appearance of the *tízes* culture in rural tourism was analysed under the following three aspects:

- the rural tourism as a region specific tourism product,
- the rural tourism as a method for development,
- the rural tourism as the creation of the local community.

The *tízes* – as a region specific tourism product – has, in fact, a mediating role between the strongly urbanized person who detached himself from nature and the rural landscape which still preserves naturalness. The closeness of nature is attractive for the rural, the hiker, the documentary, the biking and the ecotourism, in an equal way. The rural tourism is not, by definition, a concrete type of tourism, but it can be seen as some kind of amount of tourism products where the general and unique elements are adequately structured.

The mentality based on inner resources, which developed by the end of the 20th century, helped the appreciation of the countryside. The rural areas which were barely affected by tourism, the ethnographic landscapes got more and more in the centre of attention. The acceleration of the process of urbanization and the different socio-cultural and economic took a considerable part in the popularization of the rural tourism. In the postindustrial society – as a counter-reaction to the previous age – the countryside, which is sometimes called rural area, but

which, in the everyday usage – sometimes in an erroneous way - is called village area, became valuable again.

As every product of tourism, the tourism which appeared in the *tízes* culture also has three essential components on the macro-level:

- the power of attraction based on the closeness to nature and on tradition, which means a diversified offer,
- the possibilities to approach these areas and the accommodation, which represent the infra and superstructure and which are closely connected to the power of attraction,
- the attitude, which involves the human relationships and the hospitality

The rural tourism does not only mean an attraction based on naturalness and tradition or hospitality, but it became a region developing method and practice, due to its positive effect on several professional domains. The development of the tourism which appeared in the *tízes* culture may not be exclusively promoted by the demand, but also by the necessity of the *tízes*, which represents the offer. However, the rural tourism cannot mean a delivering solution for the *tízes*, it can only aim at ensuring the continuous function of income supplement.

Finally, the model of region development cannot be simply called region development any more, it is more than that: it has to be an integrated development based on the community.

4.9. The complex system of the Székely *tízes* in the relation between the tourism exploitation and the heritage protection

Due to the ever shrinking world which is close to nature and the disappearance of the historical elements and parts of the cultural region, the uniqueness of the *tízes* became one of the most important value-increasing factors. Thus the *tízes*, which still preserves the relics of the natural characters, as well as the lifestyle heritage and the elements of the cultural region which are connected to them, become more and more valuable from the perspective of the region exploitation and more and more important from the perspective of the planning of the heritage protection.

We already have to research, because there is still something to research. We already have something to lose and something to gain (K. HAJNAL, 2010). That is why the most important task of the researchers is to set out from the experience of the *tízes*, as well as the set of laws and conclusions of the processes which bring about the changes, to build on the situation analysis and to promote the results which will be realized in the future. It is well-known that a significant part of the rural settlements is able to display a spiritual and objective heritage of some level. However, the Székely Region can only be competitive if it concentrates on „the privileges”, the local values and relics. In the race for the tourism market, on the side of the offer, only the regions where the demand for development starts from below, where there is professionalism and cooperation, where people want to create such complex tourism products which rely on unique attractions and where the tourism products and forms can be filled with particular content, can reinforce their role.

4.10. The Székely *tízes* in constructions which go beyond borders

In the spatial structure of the Carpathian Basin we can encounter exemplary realizations and tendencies which promote the perspective of the ecotourism products. Although they do not play an important part as complex products in the offer of the rural tourism, we can mention the initiatives of the Region of Felsőőr, the *Sváb* settlements from the Region of Dunántúl, Mohács, Bereg and Matyóföld. As far as the side of the demand is concerned, the Region of the Saxons is more and more highlighted because the Saxons who had left the region gladly return.

As far as our research is concerned, the most outstanding example is the successful model offered by the world of the *szer* from the Region of Órség.

After the change of the political system, the Region of Órség, as a western border region which still preserves the characteristic relics of the *gyepű*, realized the moderation of the

contrast between the traditionality based on historical reality and the innovation (AMBRUS T, 2009). As a result of the cooperation, collaboration and common mentality of the participants from the Region of Órség and the Region of Vend (civil societies, local administrative institutions and businessmen) the Nature Park Region Developing Public Society was founded in 2000. Its most important mission was to form the common identity and the cultural-historical aspect of the area, the development of the products, the organization of marketing and promotional activities and the realization of investments. They cooperate mostly in the interest of tourism development. They founded the „Órállók Útja” („The Way of the Guardians”), which is a united Slovenian-Hungarian thematic tourism presenting area.

In order to ensure the development, the Nature Park sends in applications to obtain both national and international funds. Its relevant result is the application called *Naturally Órség*, which made the region Hungary’s most developing rural destination in 2007. The local initiatives drew up an exhaustive inventory of the attractions, based on the particularities and the essential elements referring to aspect and with the contribution of the experts. The positioning of the region was completed on the basis of this inventory.

When they developed the tourism attractions in the Region of Órség, they took into consideration the particularities of the sustainability and the modern destination management, as well as the burdening capacity of the area. The particularities of „the world of the *szer*” and the lifestyle traditions and customs connected to the *szer* received an important role in the definition and formation of the tourism products.

The movements of the local society, the experts in tourism as a branch of economy and the civil societies, as well as the research results of the sciences which assume functionality can make people think of values which refer to the entire society (cultural, economic, infrastructural, political and social) and which develop in types if they can make people understand the cohesive and value-bearing power of the western and eastern „ends”. If the two *gyepű* pay attention to each other, they could create common projects, called *Órség-Székelység* or the *Székely Órség*. Within the project, investments aimed at the extension of the tourism offer could be made or the two regions can appear together at tourism exhibitions. The programs of cooperation can mean not only new sources of development, but also a transfer of knowledge and perspective. This could be a good example of the transnational cooperation in the European Union (Hungary – Slovenia – Austria – Romania).

The aspiration after cooperation is evolution itself. In other words: naturalness can be formed by an inner designer and with our own power. The definition and formation of the competing tourism products evidently depends on the ways in which the local society, which uses the rural area, exploits the inner sources of attraction and on the interests, values and needs of usage according to which this area is exploited.

4.11. The demand for and the possibility of developing the tourism appearing in the *tizes* culture

On one hand the tourism development in the *Székely* Region is required by the low efficiency of the primary and secondary branches. However, the current low efficiency does not point at the primordial nature of tourism and does not consider it to be the only way out – this would not be necessary anyway - , it can only be one of the segments of the economic sphere. If it gets rid of spontaneity – beside the positive aspect of preserving the values of the *tizes* – it can acquire a more and more important role, it can contribute to the improvement of the inhabitants’ quality of life and to the equalization of the differences originating from the economic backwardness. The region and the culture living in it can only be economically exploited by tourism.

The demand appearing in the *tizes* society can form a market for the different activities of services, which can ensure that the tourists look for and gain experience and adventure in an organized and institutionalized way. The organizations of market and services can transform the

cultural space of the *tizes* into a space where the tourists can gain experience and the particularities of the region into tourism products through the constructed tourism infra and superstructure, the services and the generation of the relationship between the guest and the host. The tourism can also be seen as a reflective perception: it can generate the turning of the individual towards himself and his own social environment, as well as the increase of his interest and the awareness of his own set of values. At the same time it can mean the opening of the people living in the given *tizes* environment towards other societies, cultures and localities.

The development of tourism in the *Székely* Region is motivated by the inner particularities and the trends of the demand. I summarized, on the whole, the grounds for the existence of tourism or the characteristics of the attractions defining it, using the SWOT analysis, whose actual aim is the strategy oriented evaluation of the situation. This analysis points at factors which are present in most of the parts of the *Székely* Region, but which appear differently in the inner spatial structure of this region.

One could expect that the dissertation should contain concrete suggestions for development, conceptions, ideas and programmes. But I am convinced that this is not an individual task (for one single geographer), the competent work of different professional fields and the power of the local communities is also needed. The real communities have an enormous power and the research work should be mainly focused on establishing the identity of the community, which is more and more loosened by the processes of urbanization and globalization, through revealing its past and its values. Beside the awareness of one's identity, the awareness of one's own set of values is also very important. We need scientifically established awareness of our own set of values that only has to be transmitted to the community (K. HAJNAL, 2010). Assuming this responsibility, I did not make a plan for tourism development, I only focus the attention to the direction that the efficiency of the Tourism Destination Model (from now on TDM) – as a method and a means – takes into consideration. I consider that saving the values is of paramount importance and that we should wait patiently for the time when the crisis sends a message to the local inhabitants, the experts and the politicians.

4.11.1. The efficiency of the TDM model in the organization of the space, the society and the economy

The greatest challenge for the tourism of the *Székely* Region is the limited objective, the organization, the sustainability, the competition and the enforcement of the interest. The spontaneous tourism which grows to a greater and greater extent nowadays can lead to inevitable conflicts and can endanger the points of attraction that it relies on.

The *tizes* need more and more the well-functioning of a tourism which provides good results and which is sustainable. However, in the age of strategies it is not hard to realize that the more and more complex thematic organizations and the more and more ramified fields of intervention require the comprehensive procedures, because only the analyses which present the current situation, which set goals and assume responsibility can carry out the planning, the exploitation and the sustainability of the resources. The politics and the sciences should only be present at these activities, in the case of the *tizes* which have a particular past, the people should think on their own and not just make the degrading social tendencies more bearable. This time all this has to be constructed in the scientific language, the structural elements, methods and means that are accepted and can be interpreted by the needs of the current age, the modern sciences and the system of institutions of the European Union.

The tourism must be analysable on all the regional levels of the spatial and social organization, from the global to the local (figure 18). Therefore we must realize that the planning, the organization and the orientation of the tourism appearing in the *tizes* culture cannot avoid the integration of the regional perspective, which developed according to the needs of the age, but it cannot neglect the different branches of politics either (agrarian, industrial, transport and commercial politics).

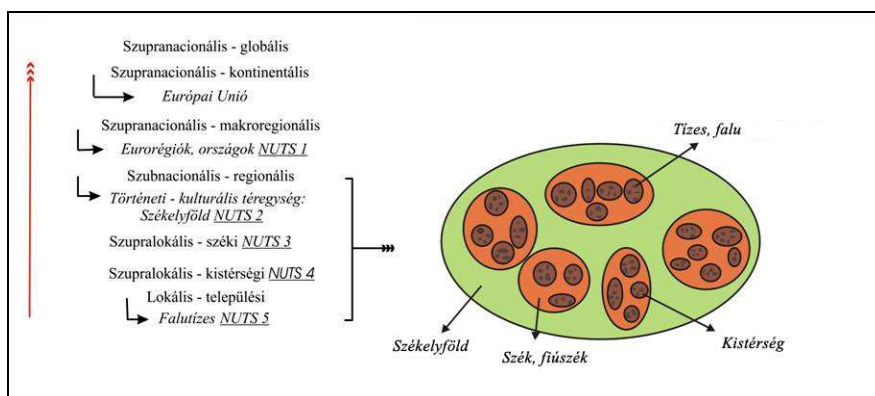


Figure 18: The regional levels of the spatial and social organization
(Based on the source: HORVÁTH A, 2010, edited by AMBRUS T, 2010)

The space organizing power and the interpretation as a social phenomenon of the tourism appearing in the *tízes* culture is almost obvious, since in its development we can sense the reflection of the needs the people faced in the course of history. According to the needs of the time, the inner urges led to the formation, as *tízes*, of fold societies, common ownership, well, bridge and water conducting communities. In the same way, the tourism can also be organized, as a community, from below in the 21st century. It would be advisable if the *tízes* served as a starting point and an organizational basic cell in the organization of the region, the society and the economy. The efficiency of the TDM model lies precisely in the organizing principle that the community preserving, cohesive power and complexity of the *tízes* appear in the organization of tourism, while the patronizing county organizations, central powers and supranational organizations do not plan and control everything with an unlimited system of means and goals. That is to say, it is the result of the organic development of the *tízes* that the „*tízes* embryo” appears in the organization of tourism, the researcher only reveals, the expert cooperates, institutionalizes and sets the course. A new system of interests develops as a result of building from below. Beside the community preserving power, there is another important element: the perspective of the owner (A. AUBERT – B. MÉSZÁROS ÉSZÁR – E. SARKADI, 2010).

The system has a comprehensive and connecting perspective. „We can achieve a synergy effect through the reorganization of the resources that can develop more the destination in its totality” (A. AUBERT, 2010). Moreover, we can expect from the well-built TDM system that it can promote the demystification of the idea of the autonomy through its marketing activity, making it easier to understand for the majority (A HORVÁTH, 2010).

5. The possibilities for the utilization of the results

The complex examination of the cultural space of the *Székely* Region, which was carried out within the historical geography (an account of the natural and social factors influencing formation, particular aspect, preserving and sustaining elements and processes ensuring structure), contributes, as a sort of an auxiliary or background science, to the exploration of the factors and processes which ensure the structure of the settlement character, to the heritage protection and offers the opportunity for the exploitation of the region. It makes people aware of the historic past of the *Székely* Region and the importance of the social, economic and socializing role of the lifestyle heritage connected to the *tízes*.

The dissertation make us think about the message that the common social heritage sends. In this respect, the geography, with all of its branches, will have the opportunity to participate in the very complex work of settlement development, settlement protection and the exploitation of the region.

When dealing with the increasing tensions in the world of norms of the socio-economic structures, the dissertation draws the attention to the values of locality, to the amount of specific tourism attractions, to the reinforcement of the image of the region and to the protection of the landscape. At the same time it can methodologically help with the reconstruction of the *tízes* situated on the territory of the other *Székely szék*.

If the local society, the activities of the civil societies and the experts involved in tourism as an economic branch, as well as the research results of the sciences assuming functionality can make people understand the cohesive power and value-bearing nature of the western and eastern „ends”, they will help us think in values which refer to all the aspects of the society (natural, cultural, economic, infrastructural, political, social etc.).

6. Further directions for the research of the topic

I think it would be a priority to reconstruct the borders of the *tízes* that the research work has not identified yet. In this work we could rely on the organizing role of the Church and on the fact that the Church councillors were elected according to the *tízes*.

I think it would be extremely important to extend the research to the territories of the other *Székely szék* and to the territories beyond the Carpathians where many *Székely* migrated. In this respect, it would be advisable to continue the methodological research connected to the settlements from the *Székely Region* and Moldavia, most of all in the *Szék* of Gyergyó, Udvarhely, Maros and Háromszék, as well as in the region of Gyimes and the region of the *Csángó* (migrated *Székely*) from Moldavia.

The cohesive power and value-bearing nature of the spatial structure of the Region of *Őrség* points to another direction of research. This would require a more detailed methodological research.

It would be closely connected to the content of the dissertation to carry out research on the regions of the Carpathian Basin where the *gyepű* were formed – except the *szeg* from the *Őrség* – in order to reveal the traces of the settlement structures which were suitable for the military technique of the age. The territories covered by this research would be the western gate of Transylvania, the Saxon Region, Göcsej, the region situated along the Drava and the gate of Moson.

Since we live in the age of strategies, after the complex research and explorations extended to the entire *Székely Region*, it would be important to plan and put in practice the resources of the *tízes* (for example the actualization of the list of attractions in the *tízes* culture, the reconstruction of the war ways, the establishment of look-out points which could exploit more the unique panorama of the settlements, the planning and accomplishment of the heritage protection etc.).

It would be important to form a research workshop of the *Székely Region* for the three involved counties, where the representatives of each professional field could identify and analyse the challenges of the age. They could integrate the conceptions of regional development into the regional cooperative practice of the Carpathian Basin and Europe and, according to these, make suggestions for the regional decision makers. With the definition of the basic directives of the tourism adapted to the region-specific values, it would be advisable to examine the organizational framework and the development of spheres of authority which could help the system of the tourism destination management that we know from the technical literature to make the *Székely Region* a sustainable and competitive tourist destination.

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