



Disputed Words of Disputed Territories: Whose Is *Kürtőskalács*?

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Abstract. *Kürtőskalács*, or chimney cake, is a Hungarian bakery specialty, made from sweet, yeast dough. The Hungarian lexeme *kürtőskalács* has two etymological explanations, and it has a lot of synonyms. The disputes over the paternity of this product between Romanian authorities and Hungarians have made us consider the history and origin of the term, the evolution of the recipe, and other additional information regarding linguistic, cultural, and translational implications (we have identified the first attempts to translate the recipe of the dish into Romanian). The very first written recipe known today dates back to 1784, when *Gazda Aszszonyi Bőltéségnek Tárháza*, Dániel Istvánné Gróf Mária Mikes's cookery book was issued, although the word had been mentioned in much older documents. The name *kürtőskalács* has not penetrated the Romanian language yet, although attempts to translate its recipe can be spotted in the 19th century. The words used by Romanians are either transcriptions or borrowings, or adapted or coined variants (*cozonac secuiesc*, *colac secuiesc*) or even calques (the case of *tulnic*, which is used to echo the phonetic similarity of *kürt* (trumpet) and *kürtő* (chimney stove) in Hungarian, as *tulnic* means a kind of trumpet). Our research focuses on the history of this product, the history of the words related to it, taking into account one of the most interesting parts of gastronomic literature, i.e. the history of cookery books.

Keywords: *kürtőskalács*, *cozonac secuiesc*, cookery book, cultural identity, gastronomic history, semantic void

1. Introduction

Kürtőskalács, or chimney cake, is a Hungarian bakery specialty which originates from Transylvania. It is made from sweet, yeast dough, which is striped and wrapped around a cone-shaped baking roll and baked above charcoal. The name *kürtőskalács* has two etymological explanations. One of these two competing explanations is that its name hints to the name of the stovepipe chimney, around

which, they say, the dough was rotated until it was baked. What has brought this bakery product to public attention more than ever was the intention of the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture to patent it as a traditional Romanian product, or, more specifically, as a PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) product. That is why we wish to take a look at the history of this product, the history of the words related to it, taking into account one of the most interesting parts of gastronomic literature, i.e. the history of cookery books.

2. Cookery books in Hungary and in Romania

The bulk of the surviving Hungarian cookery books come from Transylvania (Radvánszky 1893: VII). Although relatively few cookbooks have survived physically, sources hint to the existence of numerous cookbooks in Hungarian in different castles and mansions, which proves the incredible richness of cookbooks in previous centuries in the Carpathian Basin. For instance, as Radvánszky puts it, a 1701 inventory of Count Miklós Bercsényi's belongings from Ungvár mentions nine cookery books owned by the noble's household, out of which two were handwritten manuscripts and seven printed cookbooks (inventory found in Thaly K. II Rákóczy Ferencz levéltára, volume 8, p. 807).

Nevertheless, only Misztótfalusi's *Szakácmesterségnek könyvecskéje* [Little book of cookery] has survived in printed form, although it is stated on the front page of this book that it follows a series of other, earlier cookery books in Hungarian.

In what manuscripts are concerned, Radvánszky mentions two early writings which came to be printed in the 19th century: *Szakácssághoz való mesterség* [The craft of cooking] (1580, discovered in Miklós Jankovics's library), edited by Radvánszky in his *Családélet és háztartás*, volume 3, 37–49) and *Közétkeknek főzéséről való rövid feljegyzés* [Notes on cooking dishes] (written in the 17th century, discovered in Miklós Zrínyi's library and edited by László Toldi in *Történelmi Tár* 1881: 367, 569). András Szántó (1986: 72) also mentions a book dating from 1570, containing a book fragment, i.e. a collection of recipes, medicines, and related pieces of information and advice related to gardening.

The volume *Házi történelmünk emlékei. Szakácskönyvek* [Memories of our domestic history], published by Radvánszky in Budapest in 1893, contains three parts. The first part is a collection of a few old Hungarian and Czech recipes, written in German, and the second part is a cookbook dating from the late 16th century, discovered in András Fáy's library, most probably entitled *Szakács Tudomány* [The science of cooking] (also known as *Az erdélyi fejedelem szakácskönyve a 16 századból*).¹ The editor proves that this manuscript belongs

1 <http://lexikon.kriterion.ro/szavak/4238/>.

to the chef of a Transylvanian ruling prince, possibly István Báthory, Zsigmond János, Kristóf Báthory, or Zsigmond Báthory. The third part of the volume is a menu list dating from January 1603 from the Castle of Galgócz, belonging to Szaniszló Thurzó.

Márta Mészáros points out that most of the old Hungarian cookery books date back to the 16th–17th centuries. One of the first mentioning of such manuscripts belongs to the famous novelist Mór Jókai, who cites in 1862 some traditional Hungarian meals from the cookbook of Mihály Szentbenedeki (1601). This manuscript written by the cook of Sebestyén Thököly was discovered by Jókai in 1862 (he received it from Károly Mezőtelegdi Miskolczy, as he writes in the pages of *Vasárnapi Újság*). Szent-Benedeki's cookbook was recovered and published by Jókai in the pages of *Vasárnapi Újság* (1862, iss. 28–32), under the pseudonym Márton Kakas. In an introductory article published in *Vasárnapi Újság* (1862, iss. 27, page 322), in which he announces his intention to publish the manuscript in the following numbers, Jókai also proposes readers to construct a national Hungarian cookery book, which would include several traditional Hungarian meals, including *dorongos fánk*.²

One idea worth highlighting here is the fact that these meals, among which chimney cake, also called *dorongos fánk*, were known to and prepared by Hungarian cuisine but were not necessarily included in cookbooks. He urged his readers to send old recipes and cookbooks to be published. The content of this book was copied and sent to Jókai by Mező-Telegdy Miskolczy Károly from Berettyóújfalu, who most probably owned an original copy of this book, the complete title of which was *Magyar étkeknek főzése Thököli Sebestyén Uram Ő Nagysága Szakácha Szent Benedek Mihály által 1601 X Augusti Késmárckon* [The cooking of Hungarian dishes by Mihály Szent Benedek, cook of Sebestyén Thököli, compiled in Késmárck on 10th August 1601]. Mihály Szentbenedeki's book was later published in a volume in 1959 by József Kovács.

According to Szántó (1986: 17), the cookery book edited and published by Radvánszky in 1893 is the oldest cookbook in Hungarian known so far. Besides these two cookbooks (*Szakács mesterség* edited and published by Radvánszky and *Szent-Benedeki Mihály szakácskönyve*), until 1695, only private letters, diaries, and other writings contained recipes. In 1695 and in 1698, Tótfalusi Kis Miklós's *Szakácsmesterségnek Könyvecskéje* was published in Cluj, slightly preceded by *A csáktornyai Zrínyi udvar szakácskönyve* [The cookbook of the court of Zrínyi from Csáktornya] in manuscript. Most probably, the author of this 1695 cookbook knew Radvánszky's cookery book, or, even more likely, a common ancestor and source of both (Szántó 1986: 89). If Szántó's assumption is correct, then another, earlier Hungarian cookbook (from the centuries prior to the 16th century), now lost, inspired them.

2 <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/00437/pdf/>.

Another volume preceding *Szakácmesterségnek Könyvecskéje* was Tóffői Zsófia's *Szakátskönyv*, which survived in a 1772 copy under the title *Szakátskönyv mely 1692-ben M.Vásárhelyen concinnált Toffei Sofia Szakáts: könyvéből irattatott le 1772 die esztendőben G Bethlen Susánna* [Cookbook compiled by Sofia Toffei in 1692 and copied in 1772 on the order of Susánna Bethlen], which is kept in the Teleki Library of Târgu-Mureş (for more details, see András Józsa's article *Tóffői Zsófia 1692-ben Marosvásárhelyen szerkesztett szakátskönyve* and other writings on the topic).³

Balázs Füreder (2009) provides a list of the Hungarian cookery books from the 18th century. Relying on this source and gathering information regarding old cookbook literature, we have completed the list of old Hungarian cookbooks with manuscripts or publications. Thus, here is a list with some of the most important titles in Hungarian gastronomic and cookery book literature until the end of the 19th century (nevertheless, we must add that starting from the 19th century the list is highly selective; we have not included all the manuscripts; even today, there are numerous manuscripts in different libraries and archives which have not been published and/or studied yet, not to mention the possibly many other manuscripts which might have contained valuable information but have been lost over time).⁴

Table 1. *Hungarian cookbooks in the 16th–19th centuries*

16 th century	1580: <i>Szakácssághoz való mesterség</i> [The craft of cooking] (edited by Radvánszky in his <i>Családélet és háztartás a XVI és XII században</i> , 1896), regarded by Szántó as a book dating from 1570: <i>Következnek szakácssághoz való mesterségek</i> (Szántó 1986: 72); <i>Szakács Tudomány</i> [The science of cooking], possibly from the late 16 th century, published by Radvánszky in <i>Házi történelmünk emlékei. Szakácskönyvek</i> , Budapest, 1893. Some sources state that the surviving copy is dated from 1622; ⁵
17 th century	1601: Szentbenedeki Mihály szakácskönyve (<i>Magyar étkeknek főzése Thököli Sebestyén Uram Ő Nagysága Szakácha Szent Benedek Mihály által 1601 X Augusti Késmárckon</i> [The cooking of Hungarian dishes by Mihály Szent Benedek, cook of Sebestyén Thököli, compiled in Késmárck on 10 th August 1601]; Around 1662: <i>A csáktornyai Zrínyi-udvar szakácskönyve</i> [The cookbook of the court of Zrínyi from Csáktornya], also known as <i>Közétkeknek főzéséről való rövid feljegyzés</i> (discovered in Miklós

3 <http://ww2.bibl.u-szeged.hu/index.php/magunkrol/kincseink/17-magyar-nyelvu-tartalom/magunkrol/977-a-misztotfalusi-szakacskonyv>.

4 For instance, *Szakács könyv, festések módja s egyéb...* At: <http://dspace.bcucuj.ro/jspui/handle/123456789/46739>.

5 <http://lexikon.kriterion.ro/szavak/4238/>.

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- 17th century Zrínyi's library, edited by László Toldi, and written in the 17th century – according to Mészáros, around 1662);
 1680: *Bornemisza Anna szakácskönyve* [The cookbook of Anna Bornemisza] (edited under this title by Elemér Lakó in 1983, although it was written or rather translated by János Keszei in 1680;⁶
 1693: *Csíksomlyói ferences recepteskönyv* [Book of recipes of Franciscan monks in Csíksomlyó] (published by György Stoffán in 2015 under the title *Barátok konyhája* [Kitchen of monks];
 1692: Dobos/Tofeus or Tóffői Zsófia, *Szakátskönyv mely 1692-ben M.vásárhelyen concinnált Toffei Sofia* [Cookbook compiled by Sofia Toffei in 1692 and copied in 1772 on the order of Susánna Bethlen];
 1695: Tótfalusi Kis Miklós, *Szakács mesterségnek könyvetskéje* [Little book of cookery];
 early 18th century: *Szakácskönyv és hasznos feljegyzések* [Cookbook and other useful notes];
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- 18th century 1711: *A Szakács-Mesterségnek rövid leírása* [Short description of the science of cooking];
 1727: *Apor Zsuzsanna liktáriumos könyve* [Book of beverages by Zsuzsanna Apor], (its complete title being *P. Haller Jánosné született Apor Zsuzsanna : J. M. J. N. Liktariumoknak, Confectumoknak, és sütedeknek, ugy nemű étkeknek készítéséről, és külömb külömb féle virágok csinálásának módgyáról valo jedczések*);
 1743: *Szakáts Könyv* [Cookbook], by M. Ts. (although Füreder states that this manuscript is today lost, András Szántó (1986: 106–117) presents and cites it as an available manuscript and reproduces quite a lot of recipes taken from it);
 1753–1758: *Ételek Nemeiről, vagy Hellyessen lehető Készítéséikről, és más egyéb a féle Szükséges Házi dolgokról írott Könyv* [A book on dishes and their preparation and other household activities], Sárospatak (today lost);
 1769: *Balassa Ágnes szakácskönyve, Külömb-Féle Nád Mézel és Más Ahoz Alkalmaztatott Elegyítésekkel ízesített sütemények, melyeket Ms. N. Báró Balassa Ágnes Asszony-nak Német nyelvről magyarra fordított Ájtatos Oskolabéli Szerzetes Száblik Istvány Váczon* [Cookbook of Ágnes Balassa. The recipes of pastries made with cane sugar. Translated from German by Száblik Istvány];
 1771: Nánási István, *Szakácskönyv. Szakátskönyv avagy minden féle meleg és hideg leves és sült étkeknek tálban főtteknek és tésztaeműeknek pastétomoknak draga ízű vizeknek és italoknak külömb külömbféle rosolisoknak, és festékeknek készitetéseknék modja és mestersége Nyomatott Bolyában Ezer Hét Száz Hetven Égygyedik Esztendőben. Szent András Havának Első Napján*
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6 <http://lexikon.kriterion.ro/szavak/4238/>.

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- 18th century [Cookbook of István Nánási. The recipes of cold and hot soups, steaks and the preparation of syrpus and colouring substances];
 1772: *Wesselényi Kata szakácskönyve*, or *Szakácskönyv és háztartási tanácsadó. B. Wesselényi Katájé. Fordította Németből Méltóságos Groffné Asszonyom parantsolattyára Szebenbe 16 dik. Augusto Anno 1772. Groff Lázár János* [Cookbook of Kata Wesselényi. A book of recipes and household related advice, translated from German by János Lázár];
 1777: *Babós Gábor szakácskönyve* [Cookbook of Gábor Babós], Szászvevessződ;
 1779: *J. szakácskönyve* [Cookbook of J.];
 1782: *Koszdercka Emmanuel szakácskönyve: „Egy Négy Részből álo Konyha és Házi Kőnyv”* [Cookbook of Emmanuel Koszdercka];
 1784: *Mikes Mária szakácskönyve* [Cookbook of Mária Mikes];
 1788: *Csinálóssi Ravazdi András néhány receptje* [Some recipes by András Csinálóssi Ravazdi];
 1795: *Simai Kristóf szakácskönyve, Némelly Étkek Készítése módgya: Körmöcbánya*;
late 18th century: Jo Gazda Asszony az az Jo Gazda Asszonyt illető házi szükségre valo hasznos könyv”, Cluj-Napoca [Cookbook of Kristóf Simai. A book on how to make different dishes];
 1796: *Mihály Veres: A jó gazdaasszony, Füstkuti Landerer Mihály költségével és bötűivel 1796-ban*, Pest [Cookbook of Mihály Veres: The good housewife];
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- 19th century 1803: *Gromid de la Reynière ínnyességi Almanach* (translation from French, published along ten years);
 1807: Szirmay, *Hungaria in parabolis (Budae)*;
 1816: István Czifray, *Magyar nemzeti szakács könyv, a Magyar gazda asszonyok számára szerzette Czifray István szakács mester Pesten*. The book came to be republished nine times [Cookbook of István Czifray for Hungarian housewives];
 1820: Nagyváthy János, *Magyar házi gazdaasszony* [The Hungarian housewife], Pest: Trattner Kiadó;
 1830: Ferenc Zelena, *Minden háznál használható közönséges és legújabb Nemzeti szakácskönyv* [Cookbook of Ferenc Zelena for all households];
 1834: *Lagerda udvarmester Az ételfölszelés mestersége* [The art of serving dishes by Lagerda], Pest: Ifj. Kilián György Kiadása;
 1843: *Egy magyar gazdaasszony* [A Hungarian housewife], Pest;
 1876: (Zsalovits Józsefné) Teréz Doleskó, a famous cook and cookery book writer (under the name Rézi néni), published the first edition of her *Szegedi szakácskönyv* [A cookbook from Szeged];
 1881: József Dobos C., *Magyar-Francia Szakácskönyv* [The Hungarian-French cookbook], Budapest;
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19 th century	1888: József Hegyesi, <i>A legújabb házi cukrászat kézikönyve</i> [The handbook of pastry cooking]; 1892: Ágnes Zilahy, <i>Valódi magyar szakácskönyv</i> [A veritable Hungarian cookbook], Budapest; 1896: Géza Kugler, <i>A legújabb és legteljesebb nagy házi cukrászat. Cukrászok, vendéglősök és háziasszonyok legpraktikusabb kézikönyve</i> [A cookbook for confectionaries, restaurants and housewives]; 1909: <i>St Hilare Józefa-féle Képes pesti szakácskönyv</i> [Illustrated Pest cookbook by Józefa St Hilare].
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The first Hungarian cookery book which is known today to have been published was printed in 1695 in Cluj, while the next printed cookery book was published only in 1816. Nevertheless, it is agreed that a lot of handwritten cookery books were circulating, but few of them survived to the present moment.

The first Romanian cookery book was Mihail Kogălniceanu's and Costache Negruzzi's *200 de retete cercate de bucate, prăjituri și alte trebi gospodărești* [200 recipes of dishes, pastries and other household chores] published in 1841 in Iași, in Cyrillic letters. As it is stated in the reprint edition, the recipes included here were copied from French and German sources as Moldavian cookery and cuisine were considered rather poor and insufficient by the authors of the volume.⁷ Later editions were issued in 1842, 1846 Iași, Cantora Foi Sătești.

Among other Romanian cookery books from the 19th century, we mention:

Table 2. Romanian cookery books from the 19th century

1806–1825	<i>O cărticică folositoare</i> [A useful book] translated from Polish by Gavriil Vinețki;
1812	J. N. Neuhold, <i>Învățătură de a face sirup și zahar din mustul tuleilor de cucuruz după ce s-au cules cucuruzul de pre ei</i> [A book on preparing syrup from sweet corn] (Buda);
1813	<i>Învățătură despre agonisirea viței de vie și despre măestria de a face vin, vinars și oțet întocmită de autorii Chaptal, Rosier, Parmentier și Dussieux</i> [A book on making wine] (Buda);
1818	Christian Albert Rückert, <i>Învățătură sau povățuire pentru facerea pâinii ceii de obste mai neagră, pentru cea albă de casă, pentru făina cea spre întrebuițarea bucatelor; pentru hrizi, și altele, din cartofle, pentru sămănatul lor, lucrarea și păstrarea lor. Alcătuita de cătră... în limba nemțească, acum întâi tălmăcită întru cea grecească de cătră Dimitrie Samurcas</i> [A book that teaches how to make bread, brown and white, from wheat and other foodstuffs] (Iași: Tipografia Sfintei Mitropolii);

⁷ For further details, see Nagy (2017).

1846	<i>Rețete cercate în număr de 500 din bucătăria cea mare a lui Robert întâiul bucătar al curții Franței. Potrivit pentru toate stările. Traduse de post. Manolachi Drăghici</i> [500 recipes from the kitchen of Robert, the best cook in France, translated by Manolachi Drăghici] (Iași: Tipografia Institutului Albinei);
	<i>Carte de bucate (190 retete) alese și încercate de uă amică a tuturor femeilor casnice</i> by Maria Maurer [Cookbook of Maria Maurer] (Bucharest);
1865	Christ Ionin, <i>Bucătăria română. Cartea cuprinzătoare de mai multe rețete de bucate și buffet</i> [Romanian gastronomy], Bucharest;
1871	Steriady Ecaterina (colonel), <i>Buna menajeră</i> [The good housewife] (Galați: Editura Otto Bielig);
1874	Steriady Ecaterina (colonel), <i>Buna menajeră. Carte de bucate practică, edițiunea a II-a corectată, adăugită și ilustrată cu 50 de figure</i> [The good housewife]. A practical cookbook, second edition with 50 pictures (Bucharest: Editura Socec);
1900	<i>Regina bucătăriei. Bucătărie universală pentru sănătoși și bolnavi</i> [The queen of the kitchen. Universal cookbook for the healthy and the ill], Bucharest.

3. History of (the term) *kürtöskalács*

Hantz et al. (2015) make up the genealogy of this bakery product (the Hungarian *kürtöskalács*, the German *Baumkuchen*, the Old German *Ayrkuchen* or *Spiesskuchen*, the Austrian *Prügeltorte*, the Saxon *Baumstriezel*, the Swedish *spettekaka*, the Slovak *trdelník*, the Tchech *trdlo*, the Lituianian *ragouli*, and the French *gâteau-a-la broche* are all cakes prepared on rotated barrels). The forerunners of *kürtöskalács* can be found, according to Hantz et al. (2015), in mediaeval German texts: a 1450 manuscript kept in a Heidelberg archive describes a cake cooked on a barrel (*kuchen an eyne spiss*), a 1485 official document refers to a type of wedding cake called *Ayrkuchen*, whereas a 1539 cookery book linked to a Dominican Catholic monastery provides a detailed recipe and description of this ancient chimney cake type. Hantz et al. also mention other sources where this cake is described (*Spiesskuchen dorong-sütemény*, 1450).

As we have already pointed out in Nagy (2016), the etymology of *kürtöskalács* has been traced back to the noun *kürt* (horn) (cf. Pozsony 2013) or to *kürtő* (chimney-stack) (cf. Szabó T. et al. 2000). Szabó T. states that *kürtöskalács* is the name most frequently used in Szeklerland, whereas *botkalács* and *rudasfánk* are forms used only outside Transylvania.

According to Hantz et al. (2015), the very first written document mentioning the term *kürtöskalács* dates back to 1679, Úzdiszentpéter, a document which disappeared from the Cluj archives (*Kürtös Fánk sütéshez való fa, Uzdiszentpéter*,

Bajoni János inv. 63). Hantz et al. mention some other early records of the word, listed by Attila Szabó T., such as a 1772 inventory from the Mikó family (confirming the existence of a chimney-cake-baking pot ‘Kürtő kaláts Sütő tserép’ in their household), a 1773 document from László Teleki’s archives, a 1811 inventory from Mezőőr, a 1811 document from Mihály Trintsini’s house from Târgu-Mureș, a mentioning from 1822 in József Gyulakuti Lázár’s mansion from Nyárádszentanna, a 1827 mentioning in Károly Petrichevich Horváth’s castle from Felsőzsuk, where they had a bin named *Kürtös koláts sütő fa tserépével*. Among further related word recordings, we mention: 1792 (*Kürtös kalács forma*), 1761 (*Kürtös kalács formájú*), 1761 (*Kürtös kalács sütő*), and some others in 1804, 1806, 1807, 1810, 1816, 1840, 1851, etc. (Szabó T. et al. 2000: 711–712). Balázs Füreder in an article published in 2013 reinforces Szabó T.’s findings, according to which the term *kürtőskalács* was far earlier in use in Transylvania, its first written record being linked to the village of Úzdiszentpéter, where, an object used for baking chimney cake was put down during one of the inventories.

Zaicz (2006) states that the term *kürtőskalács* was first recorded in 1787, whereas the noun *dorong* is of Slavic origin, and it must have entered the Hungarian language before the 10th century. Attila Szabó T. in his study *A szó és az ember* [The word and the man] mentions the usage of the word *kürtőskalács*, *kürtőskalács* with reference to the tool with which this bakery product was prepared. Szabó T. et al. (2000: 710–711) consider that the name *kürtőskalács* was first used in written records earlier, in a 1723 letter sent by Countess Ferrati Lajosné Kálnoki Ágnes to Apór Péterné Kálnoki Borbála. As Attila Szabó T. puts it, the Hungarian name which survived up to now must have come from the name of the chimney-stack (*kürtő*), a viewpoint sustained by the fact that the Saxons living in Transylvania call this cake *Schornsteinkuchen*, which is a calque of the Hungarian compound noun *kürtőskalács*. In *Régi magyar glosszárium. Szótárak, szójegyzékek és glosszák egyesített szótára* [Old Hungarian glossary. A united dictionary of glossaries and dictionaries], the term *kürtösasszony-mesterség* is listed (in literal translation: *chimney woman*, most probably *chimney-cake-baking woman*, as the other possible interpretation, *woman who plays the horn*, is very unlikely) as a word first recorded in *Gyöngyösi Szótártöredék* in 1560 (Berrár-Károly 1984: 442). Nevertheless, further research is needed in this respect.

According to a glossary database of old Hungarian words (*Régi magyar szavak magyarító adatbázisa. Kihalt, elfeledett és kiveszőben lévő szavak, szóalakok és szójelentések magyarázata*), the lexemes *kürtősfánk* and *kürtőskalács* are perfect synonyms. In *Magyar tájszavak és népies lexikai elemek adatbázisa 25000 tájszó és népies szó magyarázata, köznyelvi értelmezése, gyakran ekvivalens szinonim szóval* [A database of old Hungarian lexemes. The explanation of 25,000 dialectal and regional words and their synonyms], the terms *botratekercs*, *dorongfánk*, and *kürtőskalács* are total synonyms.

Some authors⁸ mention that *Kürtös kalács* was also known by the names *botratekeracs* vagy *dorongfánk*, *kürtöskalács*, *kürtősfánk*, *kürtőspánkó*, or simply *kürtős*. Bán Jánosné, Béla Nagy J., and István Léstyán also reinforce the plurality of names in the case of *kürtös kalács* (*kürtös fánk* or *kalács*, *botratekeracs*), but they deny that *dorongfánk* is the same as *kürtös kalács* on the premise that the form *durungfánk* has been collected in Veszprém County (in present-day Hungary). Dalos (2009) highlights that several names of *kürtöskalács* (*kürtöskalács*, *kürtősfánk*, *kürtőspánkó*) were in use in the eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin, and *dorongfánk*, *botratekeracs* were used in the Western parts (the region known as *Dunántúl*). István Grenscy (1905) mentions the synonyms *Formabeli* (*kalács*), *kürtös kalács*, *botra tekeracs*, and *tökébélés*. Károly Viski (1932) mentions the names *botratekert* and *kürtöskalács* in the 1909 edition of *St Hilare József-éle Képes pesti szakácskönyv*, the recipe of *hengerfánk* is provided (St. Hilaire 1909: 250), which in fact seems to be, in point of ingredients and the procedure of preparation, chimney cake itself.

Therefore, in this study, we will focus on all synonyms of *kürtöskalács* as, according to many sources, in early writings among other names of the same product, there were *kürtös kalács*, *kürtös*, *kürtős*, *dorong fánk*, *dorongos fánk*, *durungfánk*, *dorongfán süített kalács botfánk*, *botratekeracs*, *kürtősfánk rudasfánk*, *kürtőspánkó*, *formabeli*, *tökébélés*, and *hengerfánk*.

One of the most frequently cited sources featuring the term under analysis is the letter sent by Countess Feratti Bertalanné, Ágnes Kálnoki (living in Iași, in the court of the Moldavian Prince), in which the author tells her aunt, Apor Péterné Borbála Kálnoki, living in the Transylvanian village of Torja (Turia), that the wife of the Moldavian Prince would like her to send them the recipe of chimney cake. Péter Apor, author of *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*, does not refer to this cake as a well-established product worth of including in the gallery of Transylvanian meals although the above mentioned letter proves that chimney cake was prepared in their household on a regular basis. Apor's *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* (finished in 1736) rejects all German influence on Hungarian cooking and lifestyle, calling such phenomena *náj módj*⁹ (Szántó 1986: 100). Hantz et al. (2015) explain this reluctant behaviour by the conservative Apor's probable resentment related to this fashion, which he attributed to the Austrians and/or Germans.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the cookery book of Countess Mária Mikes (1736–1817; married to Dániel István in 1779) was published: *Gazda Aszszonyi Böltséégnek Tárháza. Dániel Istvánné Gróf Mikes Mária*. What we know for certain about Mária Mikes's cookery book is that the writer is unknown, all the recipes were written in Hungarian, and it was written in 1784.

8 <http://karpatmedence.net/targyineprajz/taplalkozas/351-egy-majdnem-hungarikum-akurtskalacs>.

9 *Neue Mode*.

Countess Anna Mária Mikes's cookbook includes 376 recipes overall, and it has three main parts and two secondary or hidden chapters. Part of this book is a reproduction of an older cookery book, *Szakáts Könyv*, from 1743. Mikes's cookery book presents many *kalács* recipes. This 1784 cookery book provides the first written record of the chimney cake's recipe called *Porániné módja szerint kürtőskalács* (in a literal translation: 'Chimney cake as Mrs Poráni makes it').

We cannot fail to notice that this habit of providing the proper names with recipes, accompanied by structures meaning "as it is prepared by", such as *á la*, *módja szerint*, or *féle*, is widespread in Hungarian gastronomic literature, and such names do not necessarily refer to the inventor of that kind of food, but they hint either to the person from whom the recipe was copied or to the famous person who liked it very much or to the person who first introduced it. It is hard to believe that Mrs Poráni was the woman who invented chimney cake as it had been known long before her time. Most probably she was either the cook in the household of Countess Mikes or she was the woman from whose recipe collection this recipe may have been copied.

Thus, this 1784 cookery book contains the first written record of the chimney cake recipe, at least as it is known today: *Porániné módja szerint kürtőskalács*. As Füreder (2009) mentions, another recipe appeared in 1812, in Kristóf Simai's recipe collection. Simai's volume (the first section of which dates back to 1795, whereas the second section is from 1812) contains the writer's own recipes and other texts compiled from Jean Neubauer's 1779 cookery book published in Munich and Borbála Hükmann's 1794 *Szakáts könyv* [Cookery book]. The book contains 712 recipes in 17 chapters. Recipe number 23 is *Dorongos fánk* (*Botra tekercs, Kürtőskalács, Botkalács*).

We have tried to research into some of the earliest cookbooks in Hungarian to check whether the name and/or the recipe of chimney cake was included in any of the cookbooks or manuscripts mentioned earlier. We have searched for the term in Anna Bornemissza's 1680 cookery book, and the product is mentioned under the name *Botfánk* in two places: on page 65 and on page 263, where the semantic identity between *botfánk-kürtőskalács* is also suggested. In this 1680 cookery book (in subchapter no 167, pp. 223–230), the recipe of chimney cake is provided (recipe no 20), without providing the name of the product (in fact, the whole chapter is a long, numbered list of recipes and cooking tips; the names of the 76 cooked meals are not given in any of the cases). Our findings are also consistent with Füreder (2013: 667), whereas Mészáros (2010) states that this cookbook does not provide the recipe of chimney cake (see also Nagy 2016).

István Czifray published his *Legújabb Magyar szakácskönyv* [Newest Hungarian cookbook] in 1816 (Pest), which later was improved and reprinted several times. Here one can find two variants of *Kürtőskalács*. Chimney cake is included here under the name *Dorongfánk zsírban kirántva* (recipe no 1241, in Czifray 1840:

430–431). Another very similar type of cake is recipe no 1231, on page 432, under the name *Csőves fánk*, which also mentions the tool, the barrel, with the help of which it is baked: *csőves fánkvas* (Czifray 1840: 426). Czifray's recipe was later reproduced by Zsuzsána Németh in 1858 under the name *Nagy dorong fánk* (Németh 1858: 180). In the seventh edition of *Pesti Szakácskönyv* (1870, ed. by *Magyar Gazdasszony*, the cake is found under the name *Dorong-fánk*. Zsalovits Józsefné Teréz Doleskó, who became a famous cook and cookery book writer under the name Rézi néni, published the first edition of her *Szegedi szakácskönyv* in 1876. In this first edition, chimney cake has the name *dorongfánk* (1876: 238). In the seventh edition of this book, the recipe appears under the name *Dorongfánk* (recipe number 851, *Szegedi szakácskönyv*, 1901: 289).

Ágnes Zilahy's 1892 cookbook provides the recipe of chimney cake on page 122 (*A kürtös kalács*). Matild Cs. Guits, in her *A jó barát nő. (Tanácsadó a háztartásban és gazdálkodás minden ágában. Kitűnő magyar szakácskönyv. Háztartási és gazdasági könyvvitel. Szépítőszerek, pipere- és hasznos háziszerek előállításának ismertetése* [The good friend. An excellent cookbook. House economy. Preparing cosmetics and other useful things], published by Kner Izidor in Gyoma in 1904, reproduces *Dorongfánk* (recipe no 266, Guits 1904: 124).

Despite the fact that the first recipe which survived is still considered the Mikes recipe, the cake itself must have been popular far earlier. Further manuscripts are still awaiting to be processed and analysed. Nevertheless, other documents might also be taken into consideration (inventories, ethnographic writings, diaries, literary texts, etc.). In the 18th century, *kürtöskalács* was widespread all over the Hungarian-speaking regions, and Hantz et al. state that the other names – *dorongos fánk*, *dorongfánk*, and *botra tekercs* – are calques of the German word *Baumkuchen*. The very first non-gastronomic document containing the term *dorongfán sült kalács* is the text of a 1789 comedy (cf. Hantz et al. 2015). According to Füreder (2009), cookery books are a conservative type of texts from a linguistic viewpoint as it takes time to include a recipe once it entered the gastronomic culture of a group. This may explain why the very first cookery books in Hungarian did not list *kürtöskalács*.

4. Kürtöskalács in Romanian gastronomic literature

Romanian cookery books do not mention chimney cake as a Romanian product although we should expect to have it included and described in at least some of the Romanian cookbooks, at least from the 20th century.

Kürtöskalács does not have its own name in Romanian; either calque (*cozonac Kürtös*) or total transformation (*cozonac secuiesc*) or transcription is used when attempting to include it in Romanian texts. It is the case of a typical semantic

void, i.e. *lacunes*, *blank spaces*, or *gaps*, which refer to the situation in which for certain words from the source language there are no corresponding words in the target language simply because the referent which the linguistic unit refers to is specific to the source culture but not specific to the culture of the target language. Basically, a void is the “non-existence in one language of a one-word equivalent for a designatory term found in another. Voids are found only at word level” (Shuttleworth-Cowie 2007: 196). There are four main types of semantic voids: a. environmental voids (untranslatability of natural phenomena): e.g. *tundra*, *el Nino*; b. cultural voids: religious and secular alike: e.g. *bar mitzvah*, *cream tea*, *samovar*; c. lexical voids: there is no single TL word for referents that are present in the speech community: e.g. *Gemutlich* and *toska*; d. syntactical voids: TL has a suitable equivalent, but it can be used only if some syntactical rearrangements are made: e.g. *know-how* or the Hungarian *barátnő*.

Environmental voids are usually translated with the help of transcription. Cultural voids can be translated with transcription and glossing, i.e. the addition of explanatory footnotes. With lexical voids, translators can choose between using a one-word equivalent, paraphrase, or omission. *Kürtőskalács* is a typical cultural void in point of the Romanian lexicon.

Lupescu (2000) does not list the chimney cake barrel among the instruments and cookery tools which were specific to traditional Romanian villages. Țibacov (2005: 181) includes chimney cake among the products characteristic for Hungarians from Transylvania (*Kürtös-Kalács*, *Colaci secuiești*, or *un fel de cozonac la protap*, the recipe of Borbala Kolumban, as stated by Țibacov 2005: 181).

The bulk of Romanian cookbooks we have researched do not mention chimney cake as a traditional Romanian product. The volume *100 Romanian recipes* does not list chimney cake amongst Romanian recipes although it does so with other old Hungarian dishes such as *Varza a la Cluj* (*Kolozsvári káposzta* described in early Hungarian cookery books such as Misztótfalusi's 1698 and Toffeus's 1692 cookbooks). The impressive volume with recipes entitled *Rețetar-tip pentru produse de patiserie, Institutul de Economia Comerțului Interior și a Turismului, Oficiul de Informare documentară pentru comerț interior* (1986) does not include chimney cake either although some other Hungarian recipes are provided, the names of the products being transcribed from Hungarian into Romanian, following the Romanian spelling rules (*Kuglof cu cacao*, p. 168, *Langoși*, pp. 174–180). The only volume which makes reference to chimney cake is Lucreția Oprean's *Bucătăria românească* [Romanian gastronomy] (1972: 234), which lists *Tulnici* (Kürtös kalács) in a chapter dedicated to dishes specific for ethnic minorities from Romania (*Preparate specifice ale minoritatilor conlocuitoare*), most specifically in the subchapter *Hungarian dishes* (*Preparate ungurești*, Oprean 1972: 228–236). This book lists some other Hungarian names, the techniques being in most

of the cases word borrowing or transcription (for instance, *Pörkölt din carne de vițel sau miel*).¹⁰

Still, in Kogălniceanu's and Negruzzi's *200 de rețete cercate de bucate, prăjituri și alte trebi gospodărești*, there is a recipe called *Buciume prăjite în unt* (p. 156), which seems to be the adapted variant of István Czifray's *Dorongfánk zsirban kirántva* (Czifray 1840: 430–431). However, the word *bucium*, a literal translation of *kürt*, has not been used with this sense ever since, meaning that the authors' attempt to establish a new name for a product borrowed from elsewhere did not succeed. Still, *Buciume prăjite în unt* might be the very first attempt to translate a chimney cake recipe into Romanian; nevertheless, neither *buciume prăjite în unt* nor *tulnic* came to designate the kind of dish that is known as *kürtőskalács*.

5. Conclusions

In the debate upon whose product *kürtőskalács* really is, the arguments provided by the media cannot be relied on as the most important reason for which they claim the product's *nationality* and ownership is the fact that Mrs Poráni must have been Romanian. What is more, Romanian newspaper articles state that the fact that she lived in Transylvania does not mean that she was Hungarian, it does not even mean that she was a Hungarian citizen, as she was a *Habsburg citizen*. In 1784, when *Gazda Aszszonyi Böltseségnek Tárháza*, Mária Mikes's cookery book was brought to light, Transylvania had a special status within the Habsburg Monarchy; it was an Austrian crownland but realm of the Hungarian Crown. The language in which the recipe is written is Hungarian, the name Porániné is also written according to the spelling rules of Hungarian language, and the very structure of the name itself shows that it is a Hungarian name. No one will tell who this much debated Mrs Poráni was, and it might be less important from a linguistic or etymological viewpoint.

Linguistically, *kürtőskalács* is definitely Hungarian. The Hungarian word *kürtőskalács* was mentioned centuries ago in written documents, the first written record of the recipe being also Hungarian. These are the most important reasons for which we consider that chimney cake is a traditional Hungarian dish, which survived best in the territories inhabited by Szeklers, in Transylvania, today part of the Romanian state. One must not forget that words like *kürtőskalács*, *vargabéles*, *rétes*, *hájás*, *dobos*, *zserbó*, *lángos*, usually transcribed into Romanian (*varga beles*, *reteș*, *haioș*, *dobos*, *jerbo*, *langoș*) are Hungarian words because Hungarian cuisine

10 In Kövi's *Erdélyi lakoma* (1980) in the chapter *Kőttetészták, palacsinták Kürtőskalács*, it is recipe no 268, p. 225; no Romanian name is provided in brackets, as with *Kukoricakása (păsat)*, *Puliszkağombóc (Papară din făină de mălai)*, a sign that *Kürtőskalács* did not have a Romanian name by the time the book was written, around the 1970s and 1980s.

launched them, as one must admit that words like *tochitură*, *drob*, *pârjoale*, etc. do not have Hungarian equivalents because they are Romanian dishes.

The name *kürtőskalács* has not penetrated the Romanian language yet – the words used by Romanians are either transcriptions, borrowings, adapted or coined variants (*cozonac secuiesc*, *colac secuiesc*), or even calques (the case of *tulnic*, which is used to echo the phonetic similarity of *kürt*/trumpet and *kürtő*/chimney stove in Hungarian, as *tulnic* means a kind of trumpet and the same goes with the word *bucium*). Interestingly enough, neither *tulnic* nor *bucium* came to be used in Romanian with the meaning of *kürtőskalács*, which might prove they are mere attempts to provide a literal translation for this term. Thus, the lack of a name usually means the lack of a referent in semantics, meaning that chimney cake was not common in Romanian gastronomy until quite recently. What is more, the recipe of chimney cake is not listed in Romanian cookbooks, the only exception being Lucreția Oprean's volume (1972: 234), which refers to *Kürtös kalács* (also called *Tulnici*) as a Hungarian product.

Whose is *kürtőskalács* after all? Judging by the etymology of the term and its historical recordings, one might say that it belongs to the Hungarian gastronomic language and culture. Judging by the impressive variety of similar dishes, one would say that it is Central European. What is certain is the fact that today it is a popular marker of the Transylvanian region's cultural identity.

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- acum de isnoavă scoase de Titus Moraru cu zugrăveli de Florin Creangă, înfățișate lumii de dumnealui Mircea Zăciu și tilcuite de vestit întru criticești izvoade și pre învățat al pandimoniului nostru literariu George Călinescu, s-au tras această carte de Editura Dacia, Clusiu, MCMLXXIII. Cluj: Editura Dacia.*
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valamint a modern asztal terítésével bővített kiadás, gondosan átdolgozta és bővítette Wiesner Emil).

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