

A KIND OF CAKE — 'MOLNÁRKALÁCS' — IN THE HUNGARIAN POPULAR CULTURE

In order to define the dietary region showing a more or less integrated picture regarding the structure of popular foodways, the cooking technique and the tendency in taste¹ it is an important and conspicuous criterion to examine the force and local appreciation of the individual dishes.

In the Hungarian ethnic area there are four great dietary regions distinguished by ethnographic studies.² The object of our investigation belongs to the northern great region of the Hungarian ethnic territory. Based on the collection of material of the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas³ and the monographs on food⁴ as well as papers and reports,⁵ the geographical outlines of this dietary region can be drawn more precisely. The present results suggest that this great region stretches from the northern-southern line of the junction of the rivers Ipoly and Danube to the Bodrogköz. Thus towards west and east it extends from river (the Ipoly) to river (the Bodrog). It to the south it separates sharply from the lowland, i. e. from the Great Hungarian Plain. In the east it differs from the area of Szatmár, which is already under the influence of the peculiarities of Tran-

1. The advocate of the examination of the Hungarian dietary regions and the regional peculiarities *E. Kisbán*: Táplálkozás. Módszerek és feladatok. Palóckutatás. Módszertani közlemények I. (Red.: *F. Bakó*). Eger, 1968. 95—102.; A sertés-hús tartósítása a paraszti háztartásban. Kutatási feladatok. Népi kultúra — Népi társadalom II—III. (Red.: *Gy. Ortutay*) Budapest, 1969. 103—116.; A kenyér a táplálkozási struktúrában. Népi kultúra — Népi társadalom IV. (Red.: *Gy. Ortutay*). Budapest, 1970. 97—125.

2. The Transylvanian, the lowland, the highland and the Transdanubian ones. Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon V. Budapest, 1982.

3. Mutatvány a Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz anyagából. Néprajzi Értesítő, XLIX. 1967. 5—72.

4. *I. Ecsedi*: A debreceni és tiszántúli magyar ember táplálkozása. Déri Múzeum Néprajzi Osztályának Ismeretterjesztő Közleményei 5. Debrecen, 1935.; *L. Kardos*: Az Őrség népi táplálkozása. Budapest, 1943.

5. *E. Kisbán*: A táplálkozás néprajzi vizsgálatának negyedszázada (1951—1976). Dissertationes Ethnographicae II. (Red.: *I. Tálasi*). Budapest, 1976—78. 152—203., map 1.

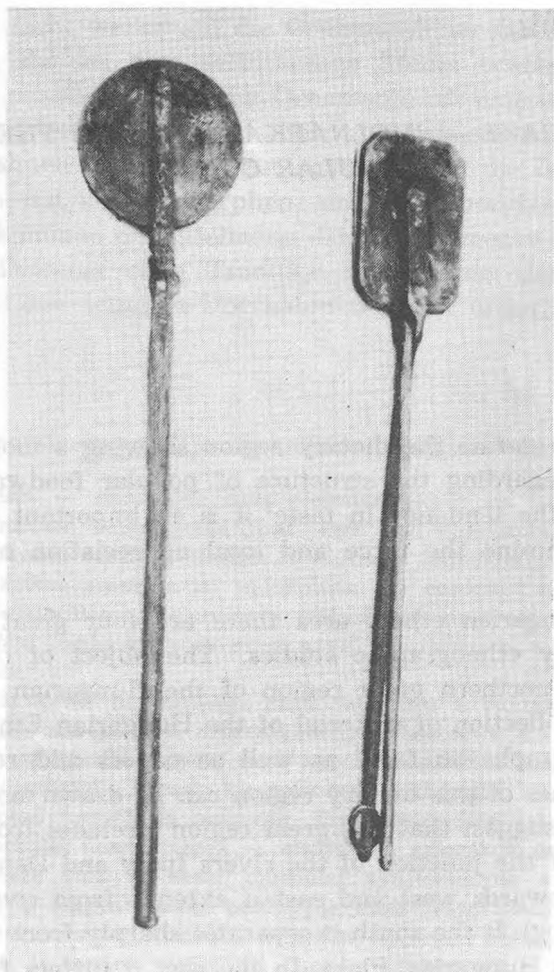


Fig. 1. A waffle-iron and a griddle for baking 'molnárkalács'. Hegyemeg (Dolné Zahorany), County Gömör, Czechoslovakia. Photo E. Bódi, 1983.

sylvania. In the latter case it is again a river, i. e. the Tisza that means the dividing line. It is on the northern edge that it is the most difficult to draw the limit. Neither the Hungarian nor the Slovak material gives important proof to go by in this question. This borderland can already be found in Czechoslovakia. Taking all the facts known so far into consideration we can only state that the regional peculiarities operating up to the present which are characteristic of the region of Northern-Hungary as well exist also in the dietary culture of the region inhabited by Hungarians in South-Slovakia.⁶

6. Cf. the indices and preliminary studies published from the collection of the Slovak Ethnographic Atlas.

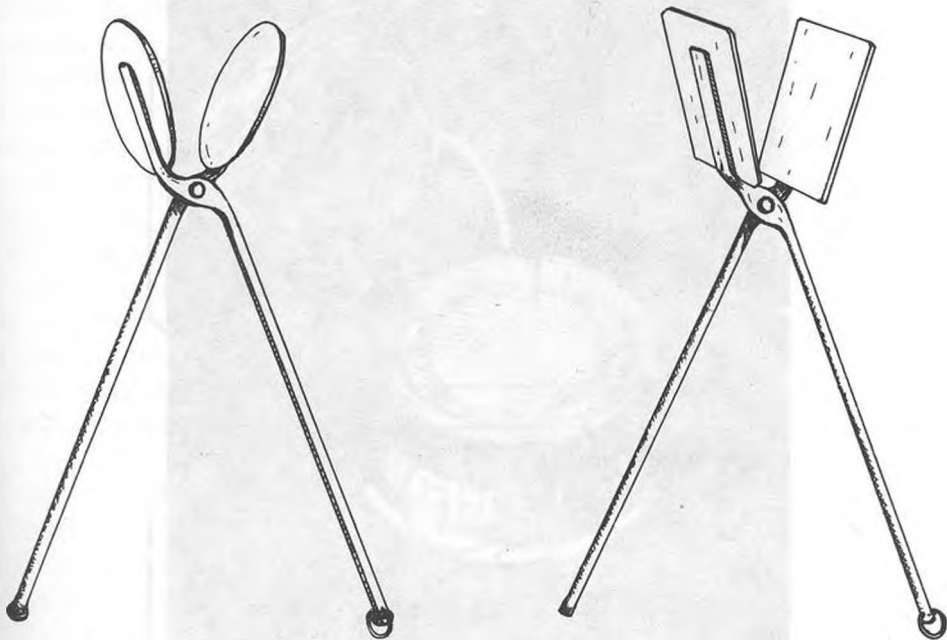


Fig. 2. Drawings of griddles for baking 'molnárkalács' and waffle-irons. Hegymeg (Dolné Zahorany), County Gömör, Czechoslovakia.

The geographical environment hampers the finding of the distinguishing features and the formation of the western-eastern cultural boundary in the north. There are not any mountain-ridges, rivers or other natural obstacles in this direction. Among the various connections of the culture of the region the northern connections were strong. These connections determine, of course, the diet of the region. In the case of several basic types of dishes, e. g. dishes made of mushroom⁷, semolina⁸, or potato⁹, the change, the development shows greater similarity to the adjacent Slovaks than to the areas lying either to the west or to the east. This northern dietary region is broken up in the northerly and

7. É. Cs. Pócs: A karácsonyi vacsora és a karácsonyi asztal hiedelemköre. Néprajzi Közlemények X. 3—4. (Red.: L. Takács). Budapest, 1965. map 1.

8. E. Kisbán: Nyersanyag és technika. Pépes ételleink típusai. Néprajzi Értesítő XLII. 1961. 13., 21.

9. E. Bódi: Ethnocultural Connections between Hungarians, Slovaks and Poles as Reflected through a Popular Dish. Műveltség és Hagomány XX. Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica. 2. (Red.: Z. Ujváry) Debrecen, 1981. 85—105.



Fig. 3. A modern griddle for baking 'molnárkalács'. Hegymeg (Dolné Zahorany), County Gömör, Czechoslovakia. Photo E. Bódi, 1983.

southerly direction by the separating microregions. In these cases we can draw the border lines along rivers again. For example, the peculiar name for the leaven of bread extends from the west to the line of the river Tarna. From the east the characteristic varieties of pulp foods and the types of cakes fried in grease can be found as far as the river Bódva. The same holds true of, for example, the stuffing of pig's maw with dehydrated foodstuff and semolina.¹⁰

10. I. Dobrossy: Az aszalás mint konzerválási mód a Zempléni-hegység falvaiban. *Ethnographia*, LXXX. 1969. 531.

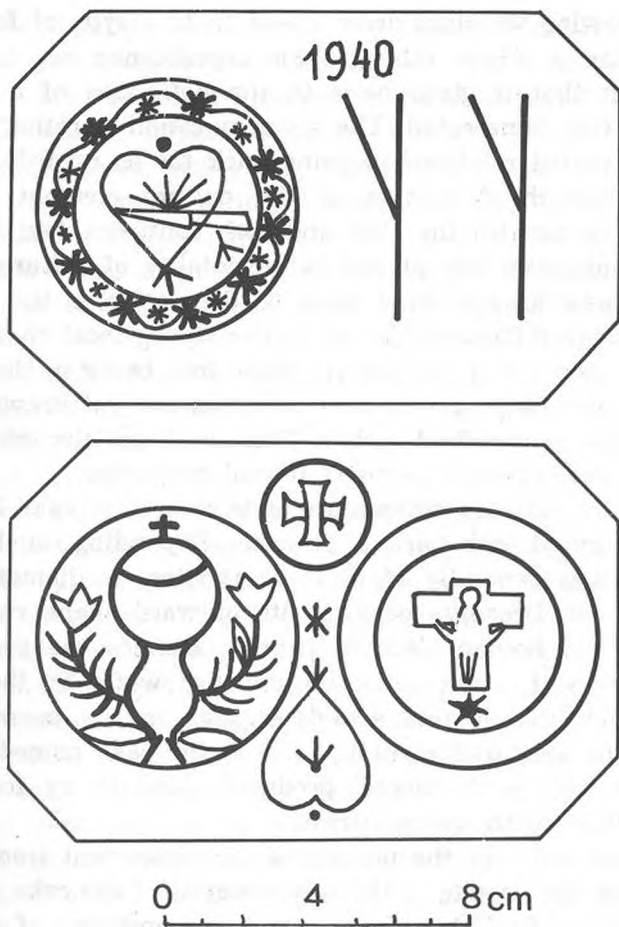


Fig. 4. A recent waffle-iron. Perse (Prša), County Nógrád, Czechoslovakia.

The neighbouring dietary microregions generally do not separate sharply from one another. From territorial point of view their zone of transition is wide.

Chronologically, the circumscribed dietary regions known at present began to form in the 18—19th centuries. Within a great region the regional characteristics of food culture change quicker, on account of the altered socio-economic causes, than in the case of great regions. One of the peculiarities of microregions is that they can rearrange in a short time.

In the following we shall draw attention to a type of food having a regional peculiarity whose ethnographic significance can be accounted for by the fact that it gives basis to the definition of a microregion which can be well demarcated. The given question is rather complex as it comprises a varied relationship going back far as regards history and time. Nevertheless, the formation of the culture element in question dates back to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. But we can give account of its intensive role played in the totality of culture these days.

As it is a new kind of food, even its denotation in the special literature causes some difficulty. Owing to the strong local character, a generally known term for it has not yet come into being in the Hungarian everyday language. Gastronomic literature has not yet drawn the attention of the public to this food, either. Thus we begin the introduction of this food by describing its presentday formal properties.

Regarding its outward appearance it is a circular cake baked in an iron mould decorated with various patterns. Depending on the measures of the griddle, it is generally 14 to 17 centimeters in diameter and 3 to 5 millimeter thick. Broadly speaking, its outward shape resembles the wafer used in the Roman Catholic liturgy. Besides the genetic relationship that is why it is put under the entry of wafer by the special literature,¹¹ though this joining sounds strange in the present common knowledge of the area under study, such as the cake named *sajtosropogós* 'crisp thin cake with cheese' produced recently by food industry cannot be identified with wafer, either.

The development, viz. the process of disengagement from wafer can be well traced in the change of the raw material of the cake in question. Even today we can find its primitive variety consisting of water, flour and salt, which shows identity with the unleavened flat bread made of wheaten meal as well as with the original state of wafer. First the quality of the cake was improved by adding milk. Then it was made more substantial with yolk. This composition is reflected in the general ethnographic descriptions.¹² People, however, have increased further the food value of the cake by now. They have mixed also fat (butter) into its paste¹³. Adding fat has become completely general in those areas where it is very often baked and plays a part in everyday diet, i. e. in Medvesalja and in the villages inhabited by Hungarians in the district of Losonc (Middle-Slovakia). Nowadays neither sugar (honey) can be left out of it. In most cases flour is wheaten meal, and it is not from that

11. Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon IV. Budapest, 1981.

12. Magyar Néprajzi ... III. op. cit.

13. E. Cs. Schwalm: A palócok népi táplálkozása. Eger, 1984. 81. (manuscript)

of the highest quality. Here and there (Zabar, County Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hungary) wheaten meal is mixed with corn meal. Corn meal does not play the role of the increasing material here,¹⁴ but that of the raw material causing improvement in quality. According to popular practice it enhances the nice yellow colour of the cake.

In its best developed variety the raw material of the cake in question is the same as that of plain cake, i. e. a kind of sweet bread raised with yeast and baked in plaits, with the exception that it never includes leavening material. Its raw paste is often compared to the wide-spread pancake-batter.¹⁵ According to the experience gained from recent data it is different from the composition of pancake all the more as some leavening material is also added to the batter of pancakes in the peasants' practice. In the case of the cake under study leavening material has never been used.

There are two kinds of cake made by people: the one prepared by mixing and the other prepared by kneading. Mixing is more general. Flour and the other ingredients are broken into bits, they are dispersed in the liquid by mixing. This method results in a pulplike paste. Common wooden spoons or special mixing sticks are employed for this operation. The paste is portioned out with a spoon on the griddle. When kneaded, a paste as soft as possible is made and it is shaped into small balls when baked. These balls are placed on the griddle. During baking the kneaded cake becomes redder than the mixed, thinner variety. At places where both procedures are known, local opinion considers the kneaded one the older and more traditional.¹⁶ It is enough to use flour and some liquid to the kneaded variety. Its paste is thicker than that of the mixed one. For baking an iron griddle similar to a waffleiron but bigger than that is used. The griddle consists of two casts, i. e. disc-shaped iron plates hinged together at the handles like a pair of scissors. One end of each handle is fixed to the outside of the respective plates, the other is held in the hand during baking. The handles are relatively long, their common length is 40 to 50 centimeters. Generally their free ends are joined with a ring. For baking the iron plates are heated and made red-hot over glowing embers made from wood and the paste is put between them. Then the handles are pushed together and the cake

14. I. Balassa: A magyar kukorica. Budapest, 1960. 421—423.

15. E. Cs. Schwalm: A palócok... op. cit. 82.

16. The cookery-book of the Zrinyi-court in Csáktornya, which comes from the 17th century in manuscript form, mentions only the thin variety of the cake. Szakácmesterségnek könyvecskéje. Budepest, 1981. p. 346.; The same can be read in I. Ecsedi: A debreceni... op. cit. 153.

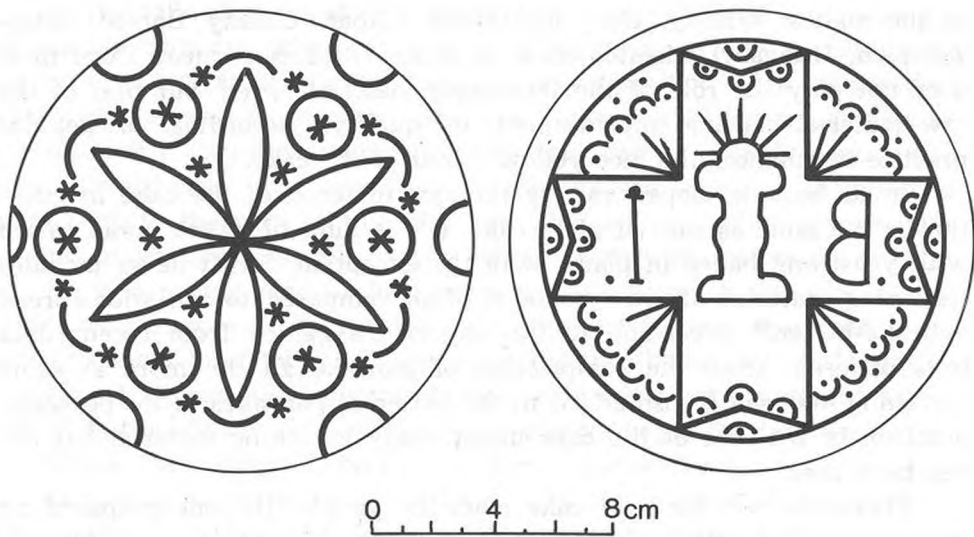


Fig. 5. A griddle for baking 'molnárkalács' received in token of love.

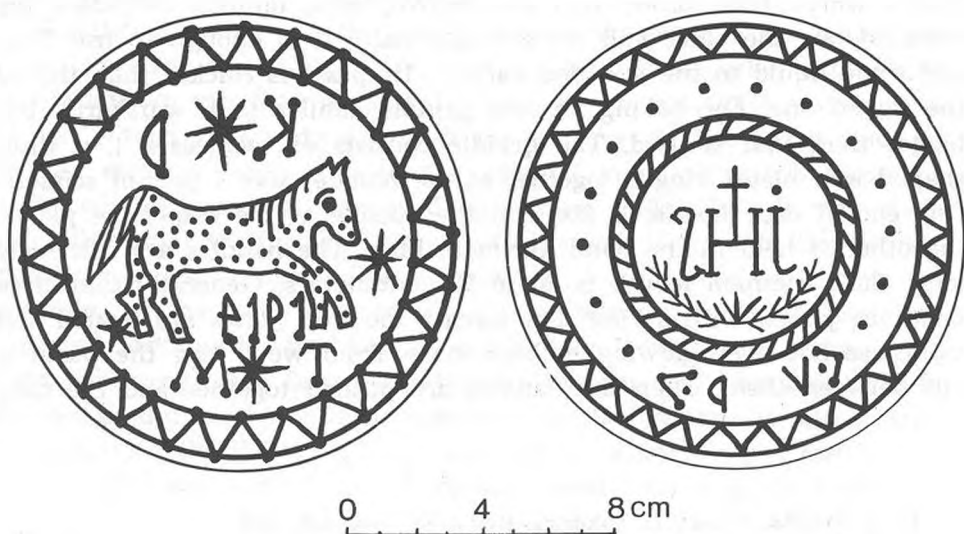


Fig. 6. A griddle for baking 'molnárkalács' made in 1914. Kalonda, County Nógrád, Czechoslovakia.



Fig. 7. A griddle for baking 'molnárkalács' made in 1956. Pinc (Pinciná), County Nógrád, Czechoslovakia.

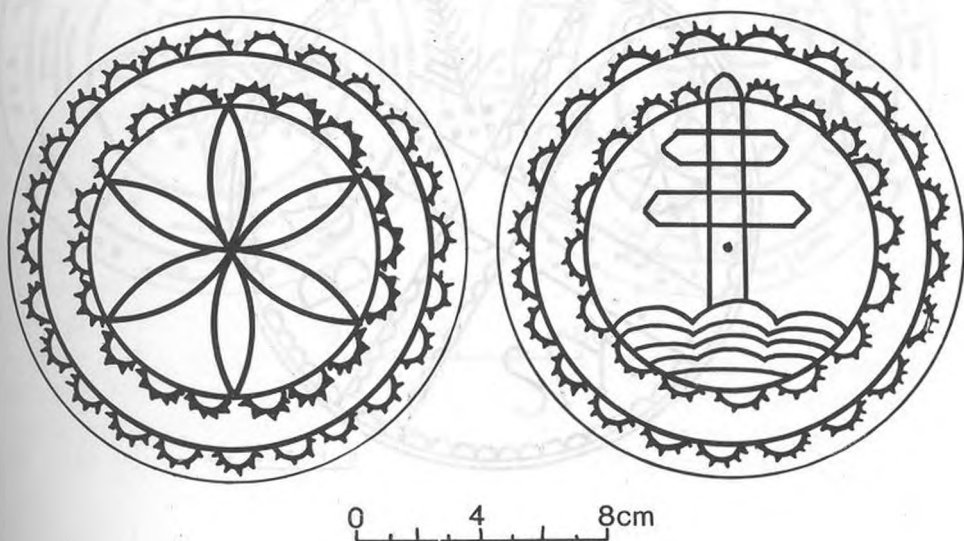


Fig. 8. A waffle-iron. Debrecen, County Hajdú-Bihar, Hungary.

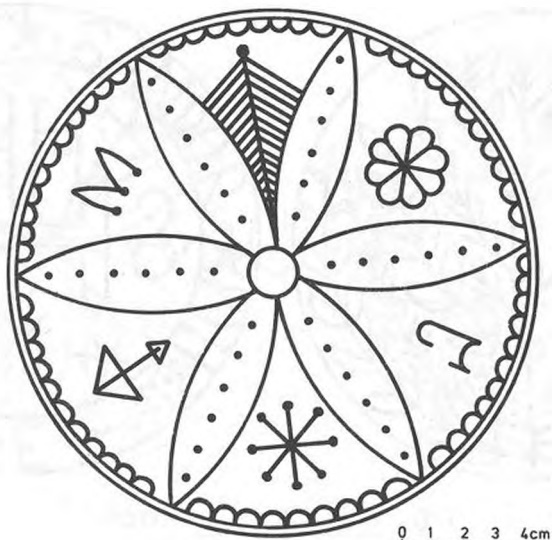
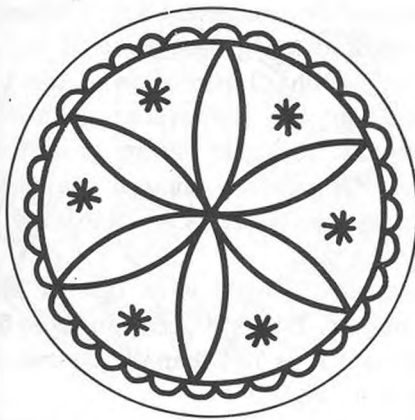


Fig. 9. A griddle for baking 'molnárkalács' decorated with ancient signs. Almágy (Gemerský Jablonec), County Gömör, Czechoslovakia.



0 4 8cm



0 4 8cm

Fig. 10. A griddle for baking 'molnárkalács'. Zabar, County Gömör, Hungary.

bakes in seconds on the hot griddle. When it is ready, the two handles are opened and the cake falls out.

The inside of the griddle has to be greased. Even today it may take place with bacon put on a spit. This procedure preceded the the general use of grease, i. e. melted fat. Today most often grease is used for this purpose as well, or butter with high fat-content. In the case of the newest composition of paste it is not necessary to grease the griddle because the paste itself is greasy enough not to stick to the griddle.

When ready, the cake is cut round if necessary though the pattern of the griddle of almost every known specimen ends at the edge and the groove prevents the paste from flowing out.

The baking of the cake requires time. That is why it was baked more often in the winter than in the summer. For one occasion 20 to 50 or even over 100 pieces were baked. At meals it is not a main course. It is always an additional dish, most often a dessert.

The name of the cake described above refers to its role played in the structure of food. In the course of the survey of the terminology and thereafter we shall already try to find the answer to the questions which concern the history of the given culture element as well as certain regularities and peculiar features of culture. The cake is denoted by the word forms *molnárkalács* (*mónárkalács*), *mónárpogácsa*, *malomkalács* and *nyirka* in the vernacular. Its variant *molnárkalács* 'miller's plain cake' is known more and more extensively in everyday language, and with the increase in the importance of the culture element it is probable that this word will become an element of our common everyday vocabulary. This is the most wide-spread of all the terms. This is the one whose variants also have been formed. With the exception of *nyirka* the terms are compound words. The word *molnár* 'miller' denotes a trade dealing with the grinding of grain into flour in the Hungarian language. Its linguistic record dates back to the 13th century.¹⁷ Certainly, our word *malom* 'mill' denoting the machinery for grinding is even earlier; it comes from the 11th century.¹⁸ The word form *kalács* 'plain cake' can be traced back to the 14th century in the Hungarian language.¹⁹ It is a collective term in the vernacular. The Hungarian peasantry denote their sweetish cakes of the highest value with it. The word *pogácsa* made its way into the Hungarian language also in the 14th century. It denotes a kind of bread and the name supplied with the attribute *molnár* was known all over the

17. A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára II. Budapest, 1970. 945—946.

18. A magyar nyelv... op. cit. 831.

19. A magyar nyelv... op. cit. 314.

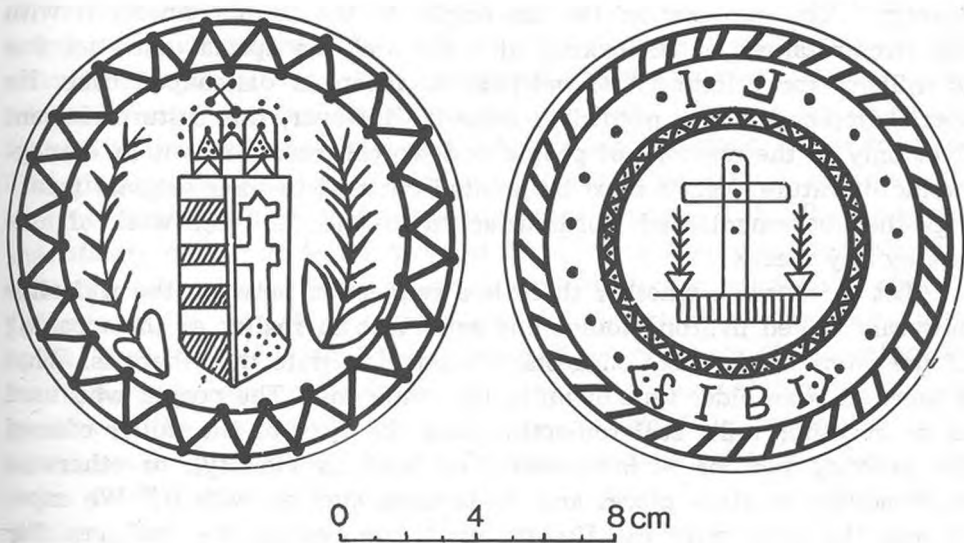


Fig. 11. A portrayal of arms on a griddle for baking 'molnárkalács'.
Kalonda, County Nógrád, Czechoslovakia.

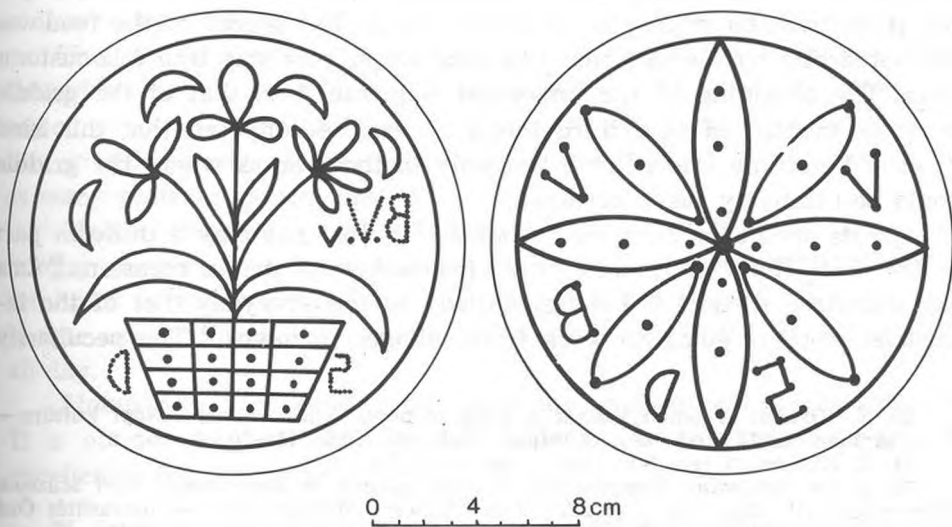


Fig. 12. Stylized motifs of flowers on a griddle for baking 'molnárkalács'.
Hegymeg (Dolné Zahorany), County Gömör, Czechoslovakia.

country.²⁰ The explanation for the origin of the term connects it with the circumstances of its baking at mills and the special usufruct due to millers for grinding.²¹ *Molnárpogácsa* meant a discshaped cake. No special implement was needed to bake it. However, this culture element lives only in the memory of people and we can read about it in ethnographic literature. Yet, it must be pointed out that in their original meanings the abovementioned words attached to mills and the work of millers by any means.

Let us examine whether there is a connection between the waferlike new cake baked in iron moulds and mills also in reality as the meaning of the name of the cake suggests. We have to state that there is. What is more, it is an older type of mills, the water-mill. The people who used to be at water mills still remember that the wife of the miller offered the arriving persons *molnárkalács* (Ózd and its vicinity), or otherwise *malomkalács* in other places and made them stay on with it.²² We experienced the same with the Hungarians living beyond the frontiers. For example, the former miller of the water-mill in Almágy (Gemensky Jablonec) had some griddles and day after day his wife made up the paste for the people come to have their corn ground. People appeased their hunger with the cake, and they had fun and a talk during baking. As for the miller, it meant hospitality and the cultivation of relations. The already done cakes are also known to have been offered to the arriving persons. The role and influence of watermills played in the formation of the custom of the baking of *molnárkalács* cannot be considered absolute but it contributed greatly to its rapid spread. The spread of the food was promoted also by the fact that this cake worked its way into folk customs soon. The obtaining of the important requisite, i. e. that of the griddle must be mentioned as a third factor. It can be supposed that this kind of cake has come into general use only in those areas where the griddle could be relatively easily obtained.

In its area of occurrence *molnárkalács* does not play a uniform part in the diet. There are places where it attaches to certain occasions.²³ In a big industrial district it belongs already to the everyday diet of the industrial workers going to work from villages to towns.²⁴ The peculiarity

20. E. Kisbán: A lepénykenyér a magyar népi táplálkozásban. Népi kultúra — Népi társadalom I. (Red.: Gy. Ortutay). Budapest, 1968. 75—80.; + map 2.

21. E. Kisbán: A lepénykenyér... op. cit. p. 79.

22. E. Cs. Schwalm: Kenyérsütés Hevesaranyoson és Egerbocson. Egri Múzeum Évkönyve XIII. Eger, 1975. p. 222.; J.-né Soltész: Molnárkalács — ostyasütés Ózd környékén. in: Lakóhelyünk Ózd. 8. (Red.: K. Nagy). Ózd, 1983. 178—179.

23. E. Cs. Schwalm: A palócok... op. cit. 223.

24. P. Nemcsik: A borsodnádasdi kétlaki munkásság életmódjának változása. A Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum Néprajzi Kiadványai VII. (Red.: I. Dobrossy). Miskolc, 1976. 52.

of the attachment to occasions manifests itself in the fact that the cake is generally connected with holidays involving fun, entertainment and merriment, with St Luca's day, weddings and the spinnery, though nowadays it occurs in the Christmas diet as well. Its main characteristic feature is that it is an extremely suitable kind of food to eat to wine. Though its making is labour-consuming because its baking requires a lot of time, but regarding its composition, it is a cheap dish. The necessary ingredients are produced on peasant farms. It is an excellently conservable dry cake. As we have already demonstrated in connection with its baking at mills, its baking gives a splendid opportunity to develop a team spirit. That is why it could become one of the elements of the entertainment in the evening of St Luca's day²⁵ in the villages inhabited by Hungarians in the district of Losonc (Middle-Slovakia). In these villages the marriageable girls gather the ingredients of *molnárkalács* in a house and bake it together. After playing a dramatic play they consume it while drinking the wine brought by the boys. The local people carry a great deal of *molnárkalács* to the popular festivals aimed at the official preservation of nationality traditions. They are aware of the fact that this is their own cake characteristic of their region. People have always liked to show their specialities and favour others with them. The inhabitants living there know that this kind of food is unknown with the neighbouring Slovak people in this form. Only wafer is known there. Thus *molnárkalács* has become one of the effective culture elements of nationality separation and regional division for the Hungarians living in the districts of Losonc and Rimaszombat.

The role of the cake itself as an ornament is also important. It is hanged up on Christmas trees by the population of the small villages situated along the river Ipoly. On this occasion the neighbours change their iron griddles among themselves so as to get hold of *molnárkalács* with as many patterns as possible.

Molnárkalács is a kind of food which in itself does not satisfy hungry people. That is why it can come after another substantial dish for lunch in the everyday diet.²⁶ This dish is generally thick bean soup. It was one of the dishes eaten also by the people working in the fields all day.

Molnárkalács is in connection with the nourishment of children, too. It is often baked particularly for children.²⁷ It appeases their hunger excellently for the moment.

25. E. Cs. Schwalm: Parád és környékének népi táplálkozása. in: *Eredmények a Mátraalja néprajzi kutatásában. Néprajzi tájkonferenciák Heves megyében 2.* (Red.: J. Kriston Vizi) Eger, 1983. 33.

26. A. Paládi-Kovács: *A barkóság és népe.* Miskolc, 1983. 105.

27. P. Nemcsik: *A borsodnádasi ... op. cit.* 52.



Fig. 13. The occurrence of 'molnárkalács' in the northeastern Hungarian language area: 1. Órhalom (County Nógrád, Hungary); 2. Losonc (Lučenec, County Nógrád, Czechoslovakia); 3. Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota, County Gömör, Czechoslovakia); 4. Serényfalva; 5. Putnok (County Gömör, Hungary). Collection of data: P. Nemcsik 1976. 52—61. (Borsodnádasd); E. Schwalm 1975. 222. (Hevesaranyos, Egerbocs); 1983. 33. (Bodony, Mátraderecske); 1984. 223. 3. map (Órhalom, Felsőtárkány, Putnok); A. Paládi-Kovács 1982. 105. (Borsodnádasd, Arló, Sajóvárkony); J. Soltész 1983. 189. (Bánréve, Putnok, Királd, Dédestapolcsány, Szilvásvárad, Bélapátfalva, Tornaleesz); the author's own collection of data: Ózd, Putnok, Losonc (Lučenec), the vicinity of Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota).

The peasant women living in the vicinity of bigger settlements or towns have become specialized in producing *molnárkalács* as a domestic industry. They bake and sell the cake in great quantity at markets. They have appeared at the markets in Eger, Göngyös, Ózd, Mezőkövesd, Fülek and Losonc. *Molnárkalács* is a product in demand especially in the winter period. It is not sold only in a round form. Following the demand of market it is shaped into an empty roll, which can be excellently filled with various buttered creams. Thus the simple peasant cake has been changed according to the town-dwellers' taste.

The examination of the important requisite of *molnárkalács*, i. e. the iron griddle also comprises a complex subject. The survey of the production and the designs of the griddle well exceeds the theme of food.

Looking at the map we can see at once that the iron griddle has become an indispensable household utensil in the areas where there has

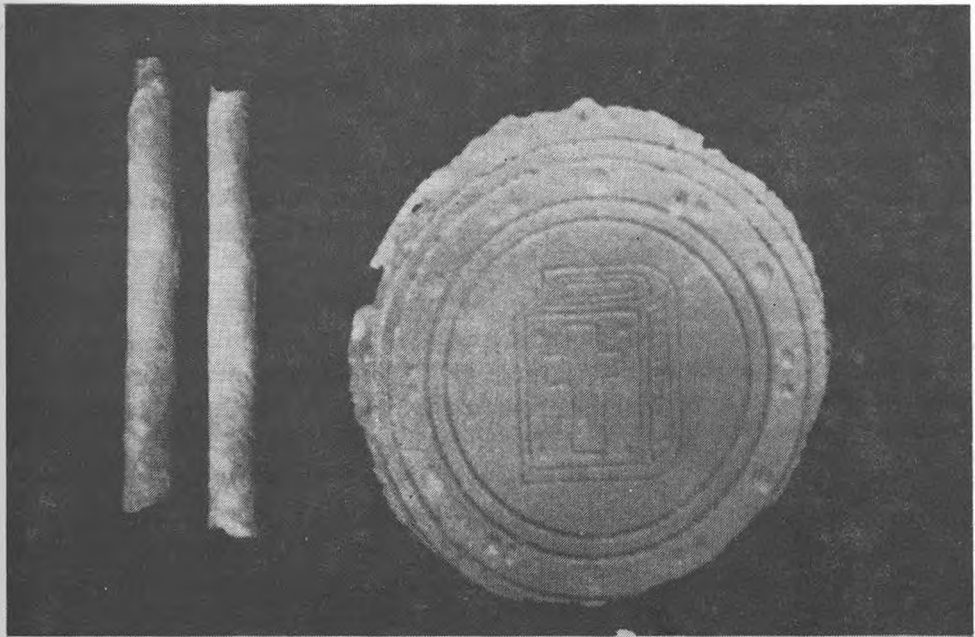


Fig. 14. Forms of the cake ready to eat. Mikófalva, County Heves, Hungary.
Photo E. Bódi, 1984.

always been enough iron and where foundries worked for a long time, then they were superseded by ironworks. In these areas the class of iron workers developed early and it is significant even today. The majority of them live in villages. Their way of living²⁸ is characterized by a double life: they live in villages but work in towns. Besides industrial workers the smithery in the villages is also considerable in this region. The artisans could make good use of scrap-iron, of which griddles were made. At the beginning of the present century it was still the wrought griddle that was frequent. Then it was superseded by the variety formed by turning in a lathe. The two handles were fixed by riveting while nowadays it is done by welding. The patterns are drawn with compasses. The motifs drawn are engraved with special tools. The griddles for baking *molnárkalács* are the secondary products of the experts in iron industry. Although certain makers became famous within certain communities, nobody became specialized in this work only. It did not provide subsistence.

28. T. Vass: Az ózdi acélgyári munkásság életviszonyai a XIX. század első felében. A Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum Néprajzi Kiadványai VII. (Red.: I. Dobrossy). Miskolc, 1976. 9—30.; Gy. Kováts: A diósgyőr-vasgyári munkások élete a felszabadulásig. Ibid, pp. 31—48.

The material hard to shape has always been ornamented. The griddles are remarkable as works of popular art, too.²⁹ The round space available has been tried to be filled with a composition forming a unity. We cannot undertake the systematization of the known and collected griddle-patterns within the narrow compass of this study. We can state that the spatial distribution is not characteristic and only the thematic grouping of patterns proves to be a feasible arrangement for further research.

In the drawings exhibited the motifs including the symbols of religious life are conspicuous. These are in close connection with the pattern of wafer, which is the sacrificial requisite of the Roman Catholic Church. Figures 1., 2., 3 show the differences in form and pattern between the waffle-iron and the griddle used for baking *molnárkalács*. Both of them are used even today. The crucifix, the heart, the chalice and the letters I. H. S. are frequent, arranged in different variations and compositions.

The elements of geometric ornamentation (circles, semicircles, arcs, points and stars) show similarity to the works of woodcarvers. We can find stylized motifs of flowers and other plants on objects of earlier origin. We can come across representations of horses, too. The symbols of the Hungarian statehood are also significant.³⁰ The portrayal of the arm of the Hungarian nation can be seen together with the representation of the religious symbols on the exhibited specimen (Fig. 11.). In the case of the griddles made recently motifs of completely different nature reflect the spirit and taste of the present (Figures 10. and 12.). Names, initials and dates can be read on most griddles. These property labels and the numbers showing the time of production are the elementary forms of Hungarian decoration. They express belonging to a family or a person.

Summing up all our knowledge we can point out that the terminology of *molnárkalács*, which is characteristic of a certain region, derives from the name of a simple food, a kind of girdle-cake previously known and generally consumed among the people. From formal point of view it is already the wafer of the Roman Catholic liturgy that it has developed from. Owing to the secularization of the consumption of wafer, it has adjusted itself to general taste in its composition. Its motifs reflect the current spiritual trends and emotions and convey them to consumers and the human society. The exploration of its geographical occurrence provides an excellent basis for the definition of a dietary microregion.

29. E. Szalay: Ostyasütők a Déri Múzeum gyűjteményében. Déri Múzeum Évkönyve LIII/1972. Debrecen, 1974. 469—487.

30. P. Nemcsik: A borsodnádasi... op. cit. 57.

Molnárkalács a magyar népi kultúrában

A népi táplálkozás szerkezetében, az ételkészítési technikában és ízlésirányban többé-kevésbé egységes képet mutató táplálkozási vidék meghatározásához egy fontos szembetűnő kritérium az egyes ételek meglétének és helyi értékelésének a felmérése.

A dolgozatban egy olyan táji jellegzetességgel rendelkező ételtípust mutatunk be, amelynek néprajzi jelentősége abban mérhető fel, hogy a felvidéki nagy táplálkozási régióban egy jól körülhatárolható mikrotáj meghatározásához nyújt támpontot. A kérdéses kultúrelem különféle motívumokkal díszített, két vaslap között sült kerek tészta. Külső formája, a sütés módja és tésztájának kezdeti összetétele a római katolikus liturgiában használt ostyához kapcsolódik. Terminológiája egy, régebben a magyar nép által széles körben ismert és fogyasztott egyszerű lepényféléhez vezethető vissza, a *molnárkalács*hoz, vagy másképp nevezve, a *mónárpogácsá*hoz. A kultúrelem elterjedésében a malmok játszottak szerepet. Jelenleg már helyi sajátosságai is kialakultak mind az elnevezésben, — *malomkalács*, *nyirka*, mind a funkciójában — a szlovák és a magyar nyelv érintkezési területen a magyar nép saját ételnemének vallja, a szomszédos szlovák falvak lakói ma még nem sűtik, csak ismerik. Története, kialakulása időben nem nyúlik messzire vissza. A táplálkozásban és a kultúra egészében betöltött szerepe nagyon sokféle, de napjainkban még jól felmérhető. Tárgyi kelléke, a sütővas, mint népművészeti alkotás is figyelemre méltó.

Bődi Erzsébet

