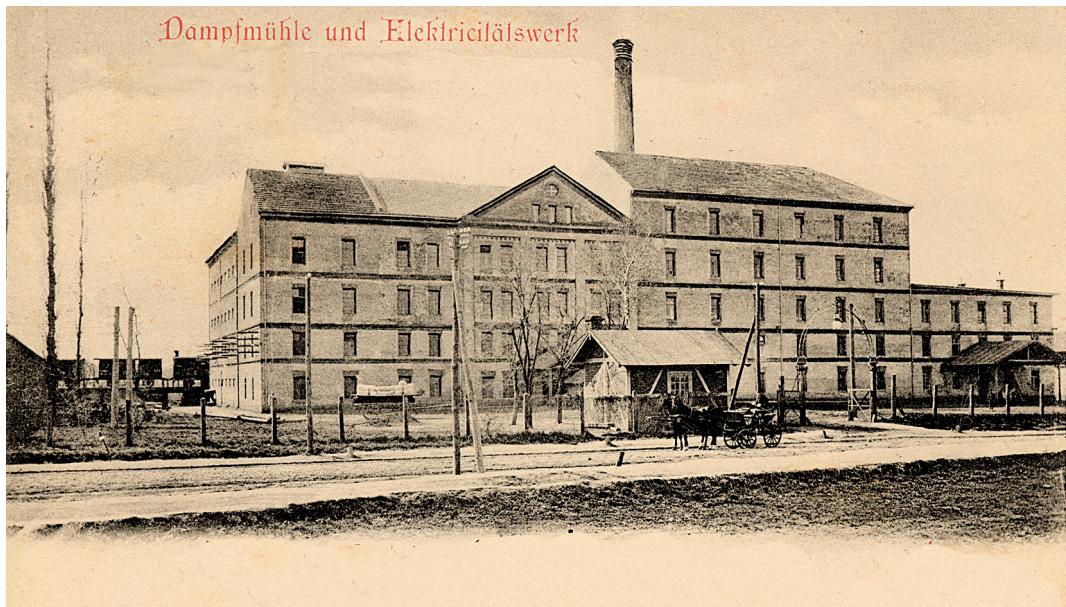


Different Approaches to Economic and Social Changes: New Research Issues, Sources and Results

Edited by Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab



Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia II.

Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia
II.

Series Editors: Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab

Different Approaches to Economic and Social Changes: New Research Issues, Sources and Results

Edited by Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab

Working Group of Economic and Social History
Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs

Published in 2022 by
Working Group of Economic and Social History
Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs

Jurisics M. utca 44, H-7624 Pécs, Hungary
Telefon: +36 72 512-620
E-mail: pab@tab.mta.hu
Website: <https://tab.mta.hu/pecsi-teruleti-bizottsag/>

Responsible for Publishing: Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab
Responsible for Editing: Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab

Revisers:

Zoltán Raffay
Zoltán Kaposi
Szabolcs Kaposi
Virág Rab

Layout editor:

Róbert Acél

ISBN 978-963-429-921-9
ISSN 2732-3048
DOI: 10.15170/SESHST-02

Cover image: Steam mill and power station of Lajos Franz and Sons around 1900.
Source: Thúry György Museum, Nagykanizsa. Pb. 1903. Szombath Collection

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the permission of the Publisher. The book was supported by the Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs and the Southern Transdanubia Committee of the Hungarian Historical Society.

Tartalom

Preface	7
Márta Fata	
`One Man´s Gain Is Another Man´s Loss? Interim Report on the Consequences of Emigration for Those Staying at Home in the 18 th Century	8
Zoltán Kaposi	
Entrepreneurs, Enterprises and Innovation in Pécs (1850–1914).....	21
Virág Rab	
The Role of Work in the Life of Loránt Hegedüs (1872–1943)	35
András Máthé	
The Economy of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status Between the World Wars	45
Judit Borsy	
Situation économique des orphelins du domaine du fonds public de Versend dans la première partie du 19 ^{ème} siècle.....	56
Imre Gábor Nagy	
Le rôle des pâturages communaux dans l'agriculture de Pécs à l'époque du dualisme.....	67
Réka Horeczki	
Operational Structure of the Hungarian Royal Agricultural Schools - the Example of Somogyszentimre	77
István Lengvári	
The Social Composition of Medical Students at the Erzsébet University Between 1930 and 1945	85
Imre Halász	
Changes in the Financial System of Vas County at the Beginning of the 20 th Century	97
Márton Pelles	
The Austrian Lloyd's Marine Trade in Fiume (1871–1913)	112
János Fritz	
Komitat Somogy im Spiegel der Angaben der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebszählung vom Jahre 1935.	121
Máté Szabó	
Wood Industry in the Region of the Dráva at the Age of Dualism.....	132

Dániel Luka	
Teaching Land Law: Controversy and Land Policy in Hungary from 1948 to 1968.....	145
Tamás Nyári	
The Issue of the Utilization of Thermal Resources in Somogy County (1960-1990).....	158
Sára Czina	
The Role of Vilmos Tarján in the History of the Newyork Coffeehouse	168
Péter Pavletits	
The Golden Age of Narrow-Gauge Railways in Hungary after World War II until the Transport Policy Concept of 1968, Through the Example of the Szerencs-Prügy Narrow-Gauge Railway.....	179
Barbara Bolechová – Branislav Kršák – Csaba Sidor – Ľubomír Štrba	
Development of Cave Tourism in the Domica Area in Slovakia	196
Patrik Zsolt Varga	
The Businesses and the Innovations of Adolf Engel in the Second Half of the 19 th Century	208
Borbála Rózsa Zsindely	
Lage der Mühlenindustrie im Komitat Baranya und die Veränderungen der Beschäftigtenzahlen zwischen 1876 und 1886.....	220
About the Authors.....	228

Preface

This series was launched in 2021 by the Working Group of Economic and Social History of the Pécs Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to present research conducted within its framework. The foreign language edition is meant to be a contribution to the internationalization of research made in Hungary. The Working Group has made every effort since the publication of the first two volumes to allow its members, and also their Ph.D. students, to publish their findings more easily and in larger volume, providing at the same time an opportunity for other professionals in the region of South Transdanubia to publish their researches.

The majority of the studies in this book, similarly to the first volume of the series, are about the history of the region, but some of the papers go beyond this theme. The diversity of the papers created an inspiring environment for the authors, which in turn has greatly stimulated the already existing professional cooperation among them.

Both the editors and the authors find it very important to popularise the economic and social history of the region as broadly as possible, in line with the ambitions of the Pécs Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In addition, this book also promotes the cooperation among generations of researchers; it is not only the young that enjoy the support of their senior colleagues but the ideas and momentum of the younger generation also keep the activity of the Working Group at a high level. It is due to the well-functioning generational discussions, among other things, that several young researchers earned their Ph.D. degree in 2021.

The framework of the studies in the broader sense is the economic and social history of Hungary and Europe in the 18th – 20th centuries. The papers in this volume also provide information about the development and current phases of the different pieces of research. Several papers are sequels to publications released in 2021 from a chronological or thematic aspect, however the book contains brand new topics as well. Great significance is attributed to the fact that several renowned international members of the research network of the Working Group were also persuaded to publish. The results of some ongoing Ph.D. research are also presented.

The high number of young authors is a proof that the professional interest in economic and social history is not decreasing at all. We do hope that this book will contribute to the maintenance of this trend.

Pécs, 31 December 2021

Prof. Kaposi, Zoltán DSc.
Chair of the Working Group of
Economic and Social History

Dr. habil Rab, Virág
Secretary of the Working Group of
Economic and Social History

Márta Fata

**‘One Man’s Gain Is Another Man’s Loss?’
Interim Report on the Consequences of Emigration for Those Staying at
Home in the 18th Century**

Abstract

Research on historical migration has so far focused on the impact of immigration on recipient areas. Although several researchers have already pointed out this bias, no studies have been conducted on the impact of emigration from the early German Empire on the affected areas. In this study, the southern German territories affected by emigration to Hungary in the 18th century are examined. Through some examples, the paper seeks to assess potential source groups and provide a preliminary picture of impacts. In conclusion, further research needs to be carried out through intensive resource exploration, covering individuals, smaller communities along with distinct provinces and regions.

1. Introduction

In migration research, under the dichotomous conceptual pair of ‘loss’ and ‘gain’, the question about the consequences of migration movements is raised in a variety of manners: for, it is possible to ask about the effects of migration both at the societal and the personal level, i. e. both from the point of view of emigration- and immigration societies and from that of the migrants and of those staying at home. If it was about the consequences of emigration as a permanent shift of the centre of one’s life to a foreign country, as yet the focus of early modern migration research has almost exclusively been on the causes but not on the consequences of emigration for the region where emigration happened. As early as in their compilation of 2006, Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss pointed out to this one-sidedness, while at the same time suggesting to research this neglected part of the history of migration: on the one hand under the aspect of the farewell ritual, on the other hand concerning the effects of emigration on the emigration society in general and on those family members and communities who were staying behind in particular.¹

However, studies published since then have hardly discussed the topic, and if yes, then only if it was easy to refer to meaningful sources from the archives.² But which sources could be referred to concerning the here discussed 18th century emigration from the West and South German emigration regions to the Habsburg Southeast? And how did this numerically considerable migration affect the emigration region? To answer these questions, at first the conceptual pair of ‘loss’ and ‘gain’ shall be introduced as a backdrop for the study. By a second step, farewell is determined as a turning point, to be able to judge on the dynamic of loss and gain in the time after emigration.

2. The contemporary view at loss and gain

The ‘Oeconomische Encyclopädie’ by Johann Georg Krünitz, one of the most important sources on the early-modern economic history in the German-speaking countries, describes loss as a

¹ Gestrich, A. – Krauss, M. (2006): 9–28; See also Krauss, M. (2008): 79–91.

² Which was the case e. g. with those Italian craftsmen, tradesmen and merchants who developed a transnational way of life between their Italian region of emigration and their German region of immigration. On this see Reves, Ch. (2012)

state of being bereaved e. g. of ‘one’s wealth, life, senses, reason or office’ („seines Vermögens, des Lebens, seiner Sinne, des Verstandes oder seines Amtes“).³ Gain, on the other hand, is an action, for making gain is possible by way of working and attempting, although not exclusively.⁴ As the encyclopaedia emphasizes, loss and gain are dynamically related to each other, as one man’s gain is always another man’s loss. However, gain and loss cannot always be clearly identified: accordingly, in trade it is indispensable to make an inventory and to check the account balances, to be able to exactly calculate the difference between an account’s debit and credit. The authors of the ‘Universallexikon’ (Universal Encyclopaedia), edited by Johann Heinrich Zedler, pursue quite a different approach. There, loss means any kind of harm,⁵ whereas gain is interpreted first of all in the theological sense, to give heavenly gain priority over earthly gain.⁶ By their deliberations, the authors of the two encyclopaedia entries concerning the matter point out to economic and religious points of view which, just the same, play a role with the process of migration. For, although in the century of Enlightenment doubtlessly economically motivated migration was predominant, still migration caused by religious constraints was an element of the people’s everyday lives, for which e. g. the fate of those 20,000 emigrants from Salzburg is clear evidence who had been evicted from their homes because of their Lutheran faith.⁷

The definitions from the 18th century demonstrate that one assumed a balanced dynamic of the dichotomous conceptual pair and that profit and loss accounts were considered a fixed element of life which, however, could not be reduced to economic calculations.

3. Farewell

Like all transitions in the human life cycle, also emigration happened according to a fixed order.⁸ In the case of emigration, the fixed succession of action steps did not only include the usually long process from the decision to migrate via being discharged from the association of persons as far as to selling one’s goods and chattels and even farewell as a ritual and ceremonial act. However, other than in the case of the Salzburg emigrants, whose emigration was richly illustrated by contemporary texts and images, the farewell of economically motivated migrants was most of all not reflected on. Not even in their letters and other personal testimonials did these emigrants describe their partings, although they left their families and communities forever. That emigration was considered a radical turning point in the lives both of the emigrants and of those staying at home and that the parting was thus ceremonially staged is proven by entries in Church registers. The emigrant was given a ceremonious farewell from his/her parish in the context of a service. In 1737, after 66 people had gone to the East, Josef Frei, the Catholic parish priest of Untermettingen in the Fürstenbergian Landgraviate of Stühlingen, entered into his Church book: ‘Cibili morte obierunt et abierunt.’ He added the blessing with which he certainly had released his parishioners at the end of their last service together: ‘Archangel Raphael may accompany them and may take them to the Land of Milk and Honey.’⁹ Frei’s entry into the Church book, saying that now the emigrants were dead for their native place, gives an impression of the way of thinking of those staying at home. Like their dead, they included the emigrant into their prayers, like also Magnus Braun in Herbertingen in the County of

³ Krünitz, J. G. et al. (1753–1858): www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/v/kv04161.htm (last access 01.11.2021).

⁴ Ibid.: www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/g/kg02134.htm (last access 01.11.2021).

⁵ Zedler, J. H. (1732–1754): <https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html?c=blaettern&id=426110&bandnummer=47&seitenzahl=0625&supplement=0&dateiformat=1%27> (last access 01.11.2021)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ On this see Haver, Ch. E. (2011)

⁸ Durkheim, É. (1972): 219–224; Belliger, A. – Krieger, D. J. (Eds.), (2013)

⁹ „Quos angelus Raphael comitetur et introducat in locum lacte et melle fluentem“. Quotations after Ebner, J. (1932): 71f.

Friedberg-Scheer included his brother Lorenz Braun who had emigrated to Frauenbach in Hungary. 'Let us pray for each other', he wrote, 'that in Heaven, our general fatherland, we may come together' („Wir wollen für einander betten [...] daß wir in dem Him[m]el, unserm allgemeinen Vaterland, zusammen kommen“).¹⁰

If after emigration there were still some reports on arrival and situation in the region of immigration, after a short time contact to the place from which the emigration had started broke, be it because of everyday concerns or of the often lacking writing skills of the emigrants. Family members, friends and acquaintances were no longer present, they did write no longer, and so their memories started fading.¹¹ Bibiana Weberin addressed this in her letter of January 14th, 1786. After her husband's death she was living with her daughter in Temesvar. When she was told that her stepdaughter's grandfather had died in Plochingen in Württemberg, she tried to save the granddaughter's portion of the inheritance, giving the reason that 'after my death [the daughter] would not know how to insinuate herself, being a person who would be completely unknown at her father's native place.' („nach meinem Tod als eine in der Heimat ihres Vatters gänzlich unbekannte Persohn sich nicht zu insinui[e]ren wüsste.“)¹²

Emigration did not necessarily mean the end of all relationships, but the following cases allow for stating that parting resulted in an emotional separation between emigrants and those staying at home which paved the way for material interests.

4. 'One man's gain is another man's loss'?

The analysed migrations from the West and South German emigration regions to the Hungarian immigration regions, which were very intensive throughout the entire 18th century, were most of all based on the rural classes. For a short time peasants, day labourers, servants as well as rural craftsmen, although not seldom they found writing difficult, had a lively correspondence with family members and relatives at home if it was about being paid their fortunes still existing at their native places or about hereditary titles there.¹³ Included into the correspondence were also the local and mid-ranking authorities and even the highest governmental authorities both of the emigration and the immigration regions.

The group of sources on the financial and inheritance matters of emigrants, consisting of letters, petitions, official certificates and diplomatic correspondence, provides insight into why the migrants were petitioning so persistently.¹⁴ The avails from their real estate and their inheritances were supposed to help them through the difficult beginnings of settling or to be invested in the purchase of lands, draught and farm animals at their destinations: 'Now, as I intend to make use of what is mine for my true benefit, to make my house as good as possible, and to be able to care for myself and my family' („Da ich nun das Meinige zu meinem wahren Nutzen verwenden möchte, damit mein Haßwesen in die beste Laage kom[m]t, und vor mich und die Meiningen nützlich sorgen kann“),¹⁵ this was the reason the widow of Johann Spieß, who had emigrated from the County of Falkenstein, gave to her claim to being paid her inheritance of 460 Guilders. That her efforts lasted several years was no exception at all. Frequently there were lengthy negotiations on purchase prices and inheritances between emigrants and those staying at home. Reasons were not only the various family circumstances

¹⁰ Stail, G. (1930): 136.

¹¹ On this see in detail Fata, M. (1999): 385–404.

¹² Quoted after Hefner, A. (2002): 135.

¹³ Medick, H. – Sabean, D. W. (Eds.) (1984)

¹⁴ For files on financial and inheritance matters of migrants see, among others, Wolf, M. (2012): 91–195; Krauss, K-P. (2015)

¹⁵ Landesarchiv Speyer C 14, Grafschaft Falkenstein, Bürgerrecht und Auswanderung, Nr. 372, File 52; printed in Krauss, K-P. (2015): 147.

and circumstances of emigration¹⁶ but also the modalities of the transfer of wealth to a foreign country. And because generally any transfer of money to a foreign country was considered a loss, such transfers were strictly observed and regulated.¹⁷ If governments could not or did not want to prevent emigration, at least they tried to make a certain percentage for the government coffers by imposing taxes on exported wealth.¹⁸

In times of economic or starvation crises, such as in 1690/91, in 1712 or between 1770 and 1772, when quite a few people incurred debts which by far exceeded their properties and thus wanted to emigrate, houses, fields and other real estate were sold just to pay the debts. However, as there is evidence from preserved lists of emigrants and immigrants,¹⁹ quite a few among the emigrants belonged to the more or less wealthy classes, even more so as from time to time a minimum wealth was demanded in the country of immigration.²⁰ If the emigrants could not or were not allowed to sell their real estate before their emigration, their lands were either let out on lease or sold or auctioned at a later time. Not seldom the purchasing price was only partly paid in cash, whereas the remainder was paid by instalments until a fixed date, with interest. Even in case of inheritances, frequently the proceeds from real estate were lent with interest to subjects in the region of emigration. Rents and avails were administered by relatives or by those appointed by the authorities, until the emigrated person presented documents which provided evidence of his/her entitlement or until he/she gave up on citizenship and paid the taxes for being released and the administrative fees. The proceeding was the same in case of emigrated minors, whose inheritances were at first retained.²¹

It was not even a rarity that the relatives tried to keep inheritances for themselves or that it was not possible to cash in the instalments from the debtors. Under these circumstances, emigrants were even ready to not insist in the full payment of money they were entitled to. In 1764 Joseph Steib, who had emigrated from the small hamlet of Immendingen, owned by the Lords of Schreckenstein, inherited 37 Guilders from his father, which were supposed to be lent out and be paid back by instalments until 1793.²² However, he found it most difficult to find out about this, for, as he said, his siblings did not tell him about 'how our matters are'. 'I think they [are] of the opinion that I am far away from them, that I will never come to them to claim anything' ('wie es mit unsern Sachen steht' [...] 'Ich glaube, daß sie der Meinung [sind], ich seye weit von ihnen entfernet, ich werde nimmermehr zu ihnen kom[m]en etwas zu fordern'), he wrote. But he did not stop claiming the portion of the inheritance he was entitled to. However, because of the thirty-years period of payment for his portion he was of the opinion that 'perhaps neither me nor my children will live to see the time [of payment]' ('vieleicht ich undt meine Kinder die Zeit [der Auszahlung] nicht erleben kön[n]en'). Thus, on advice by the administrator of the dominion of Immendingen, he made an attempt to achieve an agreement

¹⁶ For example, if people were emigrating legally or illegally, if they paid their fees when still being at home or later.

¹⁷ E. g. in the Duchy of Württemberg, as early as in 1709 Duke Eberhard Ludwig created the position of a 'Kommerzienrat (Councillor of Commerce)' to improve the 'Landes-Oeconomie (the county's economy)', 'so that the money may not be taken out of the country' ('damit das Gelt nicht ausser Landes geführet werden möge'). Reyscher, A. L. (Ed.) (1842) Vol. XIII, 870. One assumed the danger of an outflux of money and thus had a particular focus on balancing export and the export of money. On this see, among others, Graumann, J. Ph. (1762), in part. 73f.

¹⁸ On the emigration procedure and taxation see, among others, Heinz, J (1989): in part. 66–93.

¹⁹ On this see, among others, Wilhelm, F. – Kallbrunner, J. (1936); Pfrenzinger, A. (1941).

²⁰ From time to time, immigrants to Hungary were demanded to own a minimum amount of money, usually 200 Guilders, to this way prevent the immigration of people owning no money. Fata, M. (2014): 222.

²¹ 22 Examples of the handling of emigrants' portions of wealth and inheritances in Krauss, K–P. (2015); Hacker, W. (1970): 20f.

²² Gemeinearchiv Immendingen, Rechtspolizei, Verwaltungssachen, A 234, Fasz. 1762–1768: Nachlassengelegenheit über das Vermögen des verstorbenen Joseph Steib zu Immendingen; printed in Krauss, P-K. (2015): 166–177.

with his sister who had stayed at the place from where he had emigrated. He offered her to reduce his claim by 15 Guilders of his portion if the sister was ready to buy his portion from him and to immediately pay 22 Guilders in cash. Over time, Steib even went as far as to being ready to give up one half of his portion for being paid in cash. Only then the sister agreed with the deal, which was now in her favour, however still in 1768 Steib was waiting for the agreed payment. In that year the correspondence, as far as it is preserved, came to an end, so that we do not know if or when he was finally paid the desired money.

Not only the emigrants did not cease claiming what was theirs. Also those staying at home had years-long correspondences with the authorities if they believed to have drawn the short straw. This was the opinion of some inhabitants of Großostheim in the Electorate of Mainz who approached the 'Vizedomamt (Cathedral Vice Office)' concerning the estate Jakob Ballmann²³ had sold when emigrating to Werschetz in the Banat.²⁴ Jakob Ballmann, an 'inhabitant and fellow neighbour', decided to emigrate in 1723, 'with the consent of his wife, also after having asked for advice and for their greatest benefit and to prevent other possible hardships' („mit Verwilligung seiner ehelichen Hausfrau, auch mit zeitigen vorgehabten rath und umb ihres besten Nutzens und andere erwegnate Beschwernussen damit abzuwenden“). If this, somewhat vaguely formulated, reason to emigrate was also the reason why Ballmann had not offered his family members and relatives to buy his estate cannot be proven. Ballmann's son, brother in law and nephew, however, contested the selling and demanded to apply the so called 'Abtriebsrecht'²⁵ - meaning the driving out of a foreigner from illegally purchased land and the preemptive right of the locals. The relatives, who belonged to the better-off and renowned families of Großostheim and were frequently members of the local court, were familiar with regulations and stipulations.²⁶ They justified their claim by stating that the purchaser was not from the village and, being the Tithe Inspector's father-in-law, had purchased the 20 acres large estate without the sale having been publicly announced. Also, they said, the sales contract had been confirmed not 'by our ancient court seal' but by the Chief Bailiff of Bachau. Furthermore, they stated, the purchaser was neither a citizen nor a resident alien of the village, he did not pay any capitation tax and did not go on watch with the other inhabitants. The relatives, whom the emigrant had not offered the estate to buy while not even informing them about the purchasing price, demanded the annulment of the contract and the implementation of their preemptive right. However, after the investigation by the 'Vizedomamt' had produced the result that for 17 years the purchaser had been acting as the Tithe Inspector of Chapter Cathedral of Mainz and was thus considered a pious subject in the Electorate, the application of the 'Abtriebsrecht' was rejected. Furthermore, the investigation produced the result that the purchase had been correct. Thus, the relatives had to be satisfied with the decision that the contract was valid, although they were still of the opinion that this had been a 'Kunkelgeschäft (wheeling and dealing)'. They must have considered the selling of the estate to a non-local, who did not really stick to the village order, a curtailment of the village's resources of lands.

Other sources from the Electorate of Mainz provide evidence for the dynamic of gain and loss from the point of view of the parishes. Upon request of Emperor Charles VI., Elector Lothar Franz von Schönborn granted emigration to Hungary and the Banat only to subjects owning up to 100 Guilders. In 1724 there was another decree by the Elector, according to which the wealth and legacies of illegal emigrants were supposed to be confiscated. Up to 100 Guilders the

²³ On this see Karch, H. (1977): 162.

²⁴ Staatsarchiv Würzburg (StAWü), Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 4545: Das von Valentin Wasser, Joh. Kausch und Konr. Ballmann beanspruchte Abtriebsrecht.

²⁵ Churfürstlich-Mayntzisches Landrecht für sämtl. Chur-Mayntzische Landen, Maintz (1755): 47–49.

²⁶ Jakob Ballmann was a member of the local court at about 1705, his son Konrad until 1769. Karch, H. (1977): 60.

confiscated money could be used for parish purposes.²⁷ Even before the decree was confirmed in 1724, the citizens of Dieburg demanded to be allowed to make use of 100 Guilders from the confiscated wealth of illegal migrant Johann Wöll. They needed the money urgently to repair their 'poor ruined church' („armen ruinosen Kirche“).²⁸ At Vilbel, the inhabitants demanded to be given the 80 Guilders of Nicolai Jacob, who had emigrated to Hungary but had returned after a short time, to build a church. Jacobi was unlucky because he and his daughter had sold their personal possessions before the emigration ban, on the other hand their house and their 'few fields' („wenige[n] Feldtgüthern“) after the decree. Accordingly, the 236 Guilders coming from the selling of the real estate were confiscated. When Jacobi came home seemingly on his own, given his old age he was given 100 Guilders *ex gratia*.²⁹

In Schlierstatt, on the other hand, in 1727 the parish priest was allowed to make use of the patrimony of Jakob Heck, who had legally emigrated in 1724, for the church 'ad pias causas'. This emigrant donated his patrimony, 'in the awareness that said legatum was most urgently needed for this poor church [in Schlierstatt]' („wohl wissend, das sothanes Legatum dieser armen Kirch [in Schlierstatt] höchst nöthig“), as the grateful priest wrote.³⁰ However, after the donation for the church was more than 100 Guilders, the priest requested to be allowed to spend the other ca. 50 Guilders on regaining the paraments which had been stolen from the small church of Seckach. Heck's donation must be emphasized simply because it provides evidence that, apart from the predominant economic way of thinking, there was also a degree of solidarity between emigrants and those staying at home. Accordingly, although much more seldom, it happened that emigrants and those staying at home gave up on their inheritances in favour of others. In Heck's case, however, we can also identify a religious motivation, which again was not unparalleled. Before leaving, emigrants made larger or smaller donations at their places of emigration, for their own salvation and not least to achieve God's blessing for their enterprise.

The file of Paul Lips, a master smith from Thüngfeld, points out to another aspect of loss and gain.³¹ In his petition to the government of the Bishopric of Würzburg in 1726 he asked for being helped with his attempts to have his wife sent back to her fatherland, who had run away to Hungary the year before. Two times the abandoned husband had already made his way to the Royal Free Town of Szeged, to convince his wife to come back, who was living there with a butcher called Bartholomäus Wagner. At the second attempt there happened a fierce argument between the husband and his rival. Wagner abused the abandoned husband and 'declared him a disreputable man and a rascal [...] so that I would never be allowed to appear in my fatherland again' („vor einen ehlosen Mann und s. v. schölmen [...] und also ich mich nimmer mehr in meinem Vatterland dörfte sehen lassen“), Lips told in his petition. This insult, which he considered a violation of his honour – perhaps the people's biggest social capital in the Early Modern Age³² – he could not take, which is why he wanted to restore his honour as a husband by help of the government.

5. Emigration as an economic zero-sum game?

Until the second half of the 18th century, the cameralists in their texts, who were dominating both the administrations and economies of the German territorial states, assumed the 'limited

²⁷ Karch, H. (1977): 100; Schmahl, H. (2001): 121–143.

²⁸ StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 23319: Memoriale der Bürgerschaft zu Dieburg, Letter of October 3rd, 1724.

²⁹ StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 23322: Mainzer Hofratsprotokoll wegen des Gesuches des Nik(o)las Jacob(us), Letters of January 24th, 1724, and of March 8th, 1724.

³⁰ StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 26617: Akten der Mainzer Regierung betreffend ein Vermächtnis, welches die Kirche Schlierstadt von einem nach Ungarn auswandernden Bewohner von Schlierstadt, Jakob Heck, erhalten hat.

³¹ StAWü, Würzburger Archivalien 1054: Schreiben des Paul Lips, Schmiedemeister zu Thüngfeld.

³² Bourdieu, P. (1983):183–198.

good'. They considered the amount of land and money to be limited, according to which any growth on the one hand had to come along with loss on the other.³³ According to their ideas, a gain in arable land, which they believed to be necessary given a constant growth of the population, was only possible under certain preconditions: if seigniorial lands or commons were parcelled as ploughland, if ways of inheriting were in line with the population growth, if fallow land (bogs, mountain slopes etc.) were made arable, if maladministering farmers were driven from their lands, or if peasants had emigrated. But these preconditions were regionally very different: even in West and South Germany the parcelling of seigniorial estates was no common practice, just like the early abandoning of commons. Fallow lands to extend productive land, on the other hand, were not always at hand to sufficient amounts,, and inheritance practices such as partible or impartible inheritance were in the long run mostly not expedient; this way either the number of small heirs or of those without possessions at all was increased. Accordingly, family strategies counted among the expedient methods of preserving and increasing landholdings.³⁴ One important element of the family strategy was the real estate market. In the West and South German territories, even in the 16th century there gradually developed the trend of treating hereditary fiefs as actual property.³⁵ As a result of this development there established a peasant real estate market which could be regulated by opening or secluding the village community, such as by help of raising or lowering fees, by regulating the right to using the commons, or by practicing preemptive rights.³⁶

In which ways could emigration affect the peasant real estate market? And how significant was it when it came to the balancing of swiftly growing population numbers and resources which were growing only slowly? As frequently depicted, governments in the 18th century considered emigration a means for overcoming social tensions.³⁷ In the spring of 1712, at the Commandry of Achberg of the Bailiwick of Swabia-Alsace-Burgundy of the Teutonic Order, 'some de-homed poor' („einige ausgehauste arme“) were released who wanted to emigrate to Hungary. On their leaving the Chief Bailiff noted that he was allowing them to 'leave all the more so' („umsoliber abgehen“) as they had worked their fields badly and had incurred large debts, as a result of which they were not able to make a living. But after their emigration, he wrote, he would be able to replace them 'by honest, decent and affluent people' („mit ehrlich, hauslich und bemittelten Leuten“).³⁸ But not always the release of impoverished people looked desirable. For example, decades-long emigration had taught the Fürstenbergian government to rather prevent people from emigrating, so as to not be forced to accept returning shipwrecked people as their subjects again. For 'frequently [emigrants] have returned as beggars and have thus become a burden for the country and the other subjects' („schon oft haben [...] Emigranten [...] als Bettler retourniert und [sind] damit dem Land und den übrigen Untertanen zur Last gefallen“).³⁹ When, in the 1760s, ever more day labourers and servants were seeing the opportunity to get their own plot of land and thus asked for being released, on April 24th, 1769, the Prince issued a general ban on emigration, giving the reason 'that this increasing emigration makes it difficult for the established subjects to find the servants they need and thus even to pursue their business in the house and on the field' („daß dieses so starke Auswandern denen eingesessenen Untertanen die Aufbringung der benötigten Dienstboten und so gar [die] Bestreitung ihrer Haus- und

³³ On „Limited Good“ see Fertig, G. (2000); Fertig, G. (2014): 80. See also Zeithofer, H. (2014): 115–119.

³⁴ On this see Maisch, A. (2016); Maisch, A. (2015): 105–123.

³⁵ Bart, F. K. (1928): 15–19; Fertig, G. (2004): 44–63.

³⁶ On this see, among others, Thut, W.–Pfister, Ch. (1986)

³⁷ Hippel, W. (1984): 150. Fertig, G. (2003): 27–55.

³⁸ Quoted after Hacker, W. (1975a): 151.

³⁹ Hacker, W. (1975b): 81.

Feldgeschäfte“).⁴⁰ But just one year before, in 1768, the government had announced that at the Hungarian royal places and the Banat there was need of immigrants fit for agricultural work and crafts.⁴¹ Every government pursued the goal of keeping the balance between servants and peasants. But also beyond this one aimed at balancing emigration and remaining population numbers. In 1785 the government of Anterior Austria banned Gallus Band at Heimbach from emigrating, indeed giving the reason that ‘for three years there has been more emigration from the Lower Rhine District of the Breisgau than immigration’ („aus dem unteren Rheinviertel des Breisgaus seit 3 Jahren mehr aus- als eingewandert seien“).⁴²

In faraway countries the emigrants expected improved living conditions and hoped for opportunities of social climbing. In 1785 Johann Michael Baldauf, an emigrant from Hörschwang in the Principality of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, wrote in a letter to his family: ‘Overhere, life is better than in Swabia’ („Hier ist besser zu leben als im Schwabenland“), and with some pride he signed the letter ‘No longer a tailor at Hörschwang but a farmer of Kerbei’ („Kein Schneider mehr in Hörschwang, sondern ein Bauer von Kerbei“).⁴³ The promises made in the conditions for immigration, such as a farm of one’s own, became true. Emigration had its advantages also for those staying at home. For, the selling of land and property by the emigrants was an opportunity for them to round off or enlarge their own property, to allow, by purchasing land, for independent lives for children who were not entitled to inherit, or to buy into other places and even become land owners.

Particularly suitable for analysing the effects on those staying at home are those places from where larger numbers of people emigrated within a short span of time. One such place was the Fürstenbergian market town of Trochtelfingen where, in April and May, 1786, a total of 28 families as well as three unmarried males left their homes. The files on their discharge as subjects,⁴⁴ on their statements in the well preserved although not complete so called Vienna Immigration Lists (Wiener Einwanderungslisten) as well as on their purchase contracts⁴⁵ allow for insight into the structure of their professions and their financial situations and for some hypotheses on the effects of their emigration.

Zedler’s encyclopaedia describes Trochtelfingen as ‘a tidy town and castle in Swabia, towards the Danube, between Reutlingen and Sigmaringen, owned by the Prince of Fürstenberg’ („eine reine Stadt und Schloss in Schwaben, gegen die Donau, zwischen Reutlingen und Sigmaringen, dem Fürsten von Fürstenberg gehörig“).⁴⁶ After the great fire of 1726 the town, which had a remarkable fortification since the Middle Ages, was rebuilt within the town walls and was thriving. It was the seat of the 93 km² large Bailiwick which also included, apart from Trochtelfingen and the neighbouring village of Steinhilben, the more remote villages of Melchingen, Salmndingen and Ringingen. In the town of Trochtelfingen, like almost everywhere in the Southwest German territories, most plots were peasant-owned and corvée had been changed into dues. Also the fact that the inhabitants were both active in agriculture and in the trades must be considered typical. Since 1777 there existed four guilds at Trochtelfingen, the situation of the craftsmen, despite

⁴⁰ Ibid., 83

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Hacker, W. (1980): 46. For the debate on the population level at that time see, among others, Pfister, Ch. (1990): 283–313.

⁴³ Quoted after Kaller, G. (1962): 678f.

⁴⁴ The files on this, to be found at Fürstlich Fürstenbergisches Archiv Donaueschingen, were assessed by Hacker, W. (1969)

⁴⁵ Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Ho 172 T3 Nr. 642: Kopien von Kauf- und Tauschverträgen und -handlungen aus der Stadt Trochtelfingen 1764–1783 and Ho 172 T3 Nr. 654: Kopien von Kauf- und Tauschverträgen und -handlungen aus der Stadt Trochtelfingen 1779–1802.

⁴⁶ Zedler, J. H. (1732–1754): <https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html?c=blaetter&id=406490&bandnummer=45&seitenzahl=0527&supplement=0&dateiformat=1%27> (last access 01.11.2021).

the ban on peddling, being rather bad, for, as the priest wrote: 'In most cases the professions are nothing more than minor side jobs, and agriculture provides the main nourishment!' ('Die Professionen sind meist weiter nichts als eine kleine Nebenerwerbung und der Feldbau der Hauptnahrungszweig!').⁴⁷ Thus, it is no wonder that out of those willing to emigrate at least twelve were (also) craftsmen. However, with one exception these professions were withheld from the emigration commissioner of the Imperial Government in Rottenburg on Neckar – not just because the Austrian government wanted good farmers but, among others, simply because only ploughmen could receive a full plot of 24 acres of land in faraway Hungary.⁴⁸

If we consider the size and equipment of the real estate sold at Trochtelfingen, it becomes obvious that only two of the emigrants are likely to have made their livings exclusively from agriculture: Joseph Freudemann sold his fief which consisted of 12 ½ acres of fields and ¾ acre of meadowland. And when finally he also sold his house, this included a horse and cart. The second 'full farmer', Sebastian Braun, sold more than 15 acres of fields, several meadows and also a horse necessary for agricultural work. Johann Martin Hennes, who also owned a farm of more than 10 acres of fields, was at the same time working as a canvas weaver. However, it seems as if not even he was able to be successful with these professions, for as his reason to emigrate he stated his debts which forced him to sell.

There were 19 emigrants selling their property and 77 people ready to buy, all of them local, with one exception. This man came from the neighbouring community of Steinhilben and purchased one acre of field. Although most emigrants sold only one or two acres of field and the smallest plots of meadows and gardens, the number of buyers was four times bigger than that of emigrants. This is an indication that those staying at home were not able to strike big deals given a total offer of 50 acres of field. What was purchased was small and smallest plots of field, meadow and garden, to round off one's own property. Only in six cases it was next door neighbours who were interested in the fields and gardens on sale, thus rounding off one's own property had no top priority. Probably one had since long become reconciled with the parcelled property structure. The purchase of bigger plots would have required larger loans which, it seems, was out of the question. One would not or could not run any higher financial risk, as one had to pay interest elsewhere. Accordingly, in most cases the buyers were not able to pay the full price. Without exception, only a part of the real estate was paid in cash, for the rest one agreed on instalments over two to three years.

There is also evidence of gardens and meadows having been sold after one's arrival at the Hungarian place one had emigrated to. It must be assumed that the reason for this was less disinterest but rather the sudden oversupply, which made prices go down. For in 1786/87, apart from Trochtelfingen, families were emigrating also from other municipalities of the Bailiwick and from the Hohenzollern neighbouring communities of Hörschwang and Mägerkingen, who had offered their property at the same time.⁴⁹

It seems as if at Trochtelfingen itself the interest in offered gardens as well as houses and parts of houses was bigger than in fields. Other than in the case of purchasing fields, in these cases there were no partitions. Involved in the purchase of houses were relatives, co-owners of houses and other inhabitants of the place to the same degree, and in some cases even clauses were negotiated. The latter concern old parents staying at home, who were granted by contract a lifelong right of residence in certain rooms of the sold house and also a lifelong supply of wood. The sources do not tell if the buyers used the house for themselves or if by the purchase they wanted to take care for their children. Only in one case there is evidence that an unmarried white tanner purchased a house.

⁴⁷ Quoted after Eisele, F. – Griener, R. (2020): 5.

⁴⁸ Fata, M. (2014): 121.

⁴⁹ On this see Hacker, W. (1969)

According to the preserved sources, real estate worth about 9,354 Guilders was sold. The emigrants on the other hand, according to their own testimony, exported 7,300 Guilders but had claims of several hundreds of Guilders towards those staying at home. If we relate the capital made available by emigration and the amount of landed property to each other, we must state that both on the side of the emigrants and of those staying at home it was small and smallest owners who did business with each other. Probably those staying at Trochtelfingen invested their small savings into real estate, and the lacking solvency was compensated for by loans – quite in the sense of the proven practice of mutual lend and lease.⁵⁰

6. Conclusion

Granted, one case example is not enough for answering the question if and how emigration significantly affected the property situation. Also the gain-loss relation cannot be answered conclusively. However, the examples show neither the emigrants nor those staying at home as clear winners or losers. As a preliminary result, the following may be concluded: in the 18th century emigration was understood to be a means of regulation, applied by the governments to keep the balance between possibilities to earn a living and population growth. Probably that is why emigration could be considered a loss of workforce or a gain in distributable land, each according to the given situation. However, the emigration of people could not result in any progress. On the contrary, progress could be expected from a growth of population.⁵¹ This was an insight shared both by the German territorial lords and by land owners in Hungary or by the Viennese and the Hungarian Court Chambers which, after the Peace of Westphalia in the mid-17th century or after the liberation of the Hungarian territories from the Ottoman Empire since the early 18th century, supported immigration.

In the West and South German territories, however, where as early as since the year 1700 no immigration was needed anymore, views became common which, starting out from the theory of limited resources, considered a fast population growth an obstacle for keeping the balance between gainful work and population and attempted to control it by help of marriage bans, inheritance practices or emigration.⁵² Everywhere there was the complaint 'that there were too many people, that the property was distributed too much, and that neither humans nor cattle could find the merest food if this would go on just for a short time, and that in a way one was wishing new hard luck, so that the surplus of people would be wiped out. These were not only the thoughts of simple peasants but even the clergy and the laypeople were wholeheartedly engaged in the discourse' („daß es der Leuth zu viel gebe, die Güther zu sehr vertheilet würden, und weder Menschen noch Vieh ihre nothdürftige Nahrung finden könne, wann es nur noch eine kurtze Zeit also fort ginge, und mann wünschte gleichsam ein neues Unglück, so die überschüssigen Menschen aufreiben mögte. So dachten nicht allein schlechte Landleuthe, sondern auch Geist und weltliche führten den Discurs von gantzen Hertzen“).⁵³ Privy Councillor Johan Jacob Reinhard from Baden-Durlach gave the opinions of the first half of the 18th century in retrospect. He himself, on the other hand, was a representative of those ideas, common since the 1760s, according to which gainful work and population were no longer considered to contradict each other but to be a self-regulating unity.⁵⁴ Even according to Reinhard, growing population numbers caused a growing demand for land, which could result in this resource becoming tight

⁵⁰ Ogilvie, Sh. – Küpker, M. – Maegraith, J. (2015): 125–157.

⁵¹ On this see, among others, Boehler, J-M. (2003): 101–123.

⁵² Reinhard, J. J. (1760): 7.

⁵³ Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 65/1030: Reinhard, Johann Jacob, Versuch einer pracktischen Betrachtung über die Ursachen des schlechten Fortgangs verschiedener angegriffener Land-Oeconomie-Verbesserungen in rheinischen und schwäbischen Landen sambt einigen Vorschlägen, Manuscript ca. 1767, File 76r–76v.

⁵⁴ Fertig, G. (2000): 93–98.

if the people were not provided with new or additional means to earn a living. But Reinhard and the representatives of the optimistic variant of cameralism considered population pressure an opportunity to generate growth by way of work and diligence. Reinhard was convinced that the peasant was 'not lazy at all, and even less wasteful. He was working hard', but his intentions to grow e. g. 'vegetables and other plants which would be advantageous for the household' were not supported. Thus, he should be supported by introducing new methods and profitable cultures. Thus, the support of emigration was replaced by the opinion that growing numbers of people would indeed result in more ideas and proposals for improvement, such as concerning cultivation methods or the division of labour, which way resources could be increased.

Bibliography

- Bart, F. K. (1928), *Der baaremer Bauer im letzten Jahrhundert vor der Mediatisierung des Fürstentums Fürstenberg 1700 bis 1806*. In: Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte und Naturgeschichte der Baar und der angrenzenden Landesteile in Donaueschingen 17. 13–98.
- Belliger, A. – Krieger, D.J. (Eds.) (2013), *Ritualtheorien. Ein einführendes Handbuch*, Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien
- Boehler, J – M. (2003), *Routine oder Innovation in der Landwirtschaft. „Kleinbäuerlich“ geprägte Regionen westlich des Rheins im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Prass, R. (Ed.), Ländliche Gesellschaften in Deutschland und Frankreich, 18.–19. Jahrhundert, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 101–123.
- Bourdieu, P. (1983), *Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital*. In: Kreckel, R. (Ed.), Soziale Ungleichheiten, Göttingen: Springer Fachmedien
- Churfürstlich-Mayntzisches Landrecht für sämtl. Chur-Mayntzische Landen, Maintz 1755, 47–49.
- Durkheim, É. (2013), *Religion and ritual*. In: Giddens, A. (Ed.), Selected Writings, Cambridge: University Press
- Ebner, J. (1932), *Auswanderung nach Ungarn aus zwei oberbadischen Ortschaften*. In: Deutsch-ungarische Heimatsblätter 4. 71f.
- Eisele, F. – Griener, R. (2020), *Zur Trochtelfinger Stadtgeschichte*. In: Hohenzollerische Heimat 52. 4–6.
- Fata, M. (1999), *Deutsche Immigranten im ländlichen Ungarn. Zu Fragen der Erforschung der Integration am Beispiel von Sekundäreinwanderern im Komitat Tolna in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. In: Beer, M. – Dahlmann, D. (Eds.), Migration nach Ost- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 385–404.
- Fata, M. (2014), *Migration im kameralistischen Staat Josephs II. Theorie und Praxis der Ansiedlungspolitik in Ungarn, Siebenbürgen, Galizien und der Bukowina von 1768 bis 1790*, Münster: Aschendorff Verlag
- Fertig, G. (2000), *Demographische Autoregulation in vorindustriellen Bevölkerungen*. In: Beiträge zur Historischen Sozialkunde 30. 93–98.
- Fertig, G. (2000), *Lokales Leben, atlantische Welt. Die Entscheidung zur Auswanderung vom Rhein nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert*, Osnabrück: Universitäts-Verlag Rasch
- Fertig, G. (2003), *Flucht, Verführung und Symptom? Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland nach Nordamerika im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Löwenbrück, A-R. (Ed.), Auswanderung, Flucht, Vertreibung, Exil im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Berlin: PhiloVerlag. 27–55.
- Fertig, G. (2004), „*Der Acker wandert zum besseren Wirt?* Agrarwachstum ohne preisbildenden Bodenmarkt im Westfalen des 19. Jahrhunderts. In: Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie 52. No. 1, 44–63.
- Fertig, G. (2014), *Auswanderungspolitik am Oberrhein im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Beer, M. – Dahlmann, D. (Eds.), Migration nach Ost- und Südosteuropa vom 18. bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 77–88.
- Gestrich, A. – Krauss, M. (2006), *Zurückbleiben. Der vernachlässigte Teil der Migrationsgeschichte*. In: Gestrich, A. – Krauss, M. (Eds.), Zurückbleiben. Der vernachlässigte Teil der Migrationsgeschichte, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 9–28.

- Graumann, J. P. (1762), *Gesammelte Briefe von dem Gelde [...]*. Berlin: Voß
- Hacker, W. (1969), *Auswanderung aus dem Raum der späteren Hohenzollerischen Lande nach Südosteuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Eine Dokumentation*. In: Zeitschrift für Hohenzollerische Geschichte 5. 45–230.
- Hacker, W. (1970), Auswanderer vom Oberen Neckar nach Südosteuropa im 18. Jahrhundert, München: Oldenbourg
- Hacker, W. (1975a), *Auswanderungen aus dem nördlichen Bodenseeraum – archivarisch dokumentiert*, Singen: Verlag Hegau-Geschichtsverein
- Hacker, W. (1975b), *Auswanderungen aus dem südöstlichen Schwarzwald zwischen Hochrhein, Baar und Kinzig, insbesondere nach Südosteuropa im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, München: Oldenbourg
- Hacker W. (1980), Auswanderungen aus Baden und dem Breisgau: obere und mittlere rechtsseitige Oberrheinlande im 18. Jahrhundert archivalisch dokumentiert, Stuttgart – Aalen: Theiss
- Haver, Ch. E. (2011) *Von Salzburg nach Amerika. Mobilität und Kultur einer Gruppe religiöser Emigranten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn: Schöningh
- Hefner, A. (2002), *Tscherwenka – Cservenka – Crvenka, Batschka, 1785–1944: Tscherwenkaer Familien*. 2nd revised edition CD-Rom, Karlsruhe: Selbstverlag
- Heinz, J. (1989), „*Bleibe im Lande, und nähre dich redlich!*“ Zur Geschichte der pfälzischen Auswanderung vom Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts, Kaiserslautern: Institut für Pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde
- Hippel, W. von (1984), *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland. Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta
- Kaller, G. (1962), *Auswanderer aus Hohenzollern-Hechingen nach Ungarn im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 11. No. 4, 673–680.
- Karch, H. (1977), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Marktgemeinde Großostheim und des Bachgaues. IV. Teil: Die Bevölkerung von Großostheim*, Großostheim: Gemeindeverwaltung
- Krauss, K-P. (2015), *Quellen zu den Lebenswelten deutscher Migranten im Königreich Ungarn im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag
- Krauss, M. (2008), Zurückbleiben – ein migrationshistorischer Perspektivenwechsel. In: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichte 19. No. 1, 79–91.
- Krünitz, J. G. et al. (1753–1858), *Oekonomische Encyklopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats- Stadt- Haus- und Landwirthschaft*, <http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/>
- Maisch, A. (2015), *Oben im Dorf, unten im Dorf*. In: Hirbodian, Sigrid – Ogilvie, Sheilagh – Regnath, R. Johanna (Eds.), Revolution des Fleißes, Revolution des Konsums? Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 105–123.
- Maisch, A. (2016), *Notdürftiger Unterhalt und gehörige Schranken. Lebensbedingungen und Lebensstile in württembergischen Dörfern der frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart – Jena – New York: Gustav Fischer Verlag
- Medick, H. – Sabean, D. W. (Eds.) (1984), *Emotionen und materielle Interessen. Sozialanthropologische und historische Beiträge zur Familienforschung*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
- Ogilvie, Sh. – Küpker, M. – Maegraith, J. (2015), *Private Haushaltsschulden im frühneuzeitlichen Württemberg. Belege aus den „Inventuren und Teilungen“*. In: Hirbodian, Sigrid – Ogilvie, Sheilagh – Regnath, R. Johanna (Eds.), Revolution des Fleißes, Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 125–157.
- Pfister, Ch. (1990), „*Entvölkerung*“: Genese, handlungsleitende Bedeutung und Realitätsgehalt eines politischen Erklärungsmodells am Beispiel des alten Bern in der Spätaufklärung. In: Endres, R. (Ed.), Nürnberg und Bern. Zwei Reichsstädte und ihre Landgebiete, Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek. 283–313.
- Pfrenzinger, A. (1941), *Die mainfränkische Auswanderung nach Ungarn und den österreichischen Erbländern im 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien
- Reinhard, J. J. (1760), *Von dem Maße der Bevölkerung [...]*. In: Reinhard, J. J., *Vermischte Schriften*, Frankfurt – Leipzig: Michael Macklot. 1–19.

- Reves, Ch. (2012), *Vom Pomeranzengänger zum Großhändler? Netzwerke und Migrationsverhalten der Brentano-Familien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöning
- Reyscher, A. L. (Ed.) (1842), *Sammlung der württembergischen Regierungs-Gesetze*, Vol. XIII, Tübingen: Fues
- Schmahl, H. (2001), *Innerlicher Mangel und äußerliche Nahrungshoffnung: Aspekte der Auswanderung aus Kurmainz im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Hartmann, P. C. (Ed.), *Reichskirche – Mainzer Kurstaat – Reichserzkanzler*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang GmbH. 121–143.
- Stail, G. (1930), *Auswanderung aus der oberschwäbischen (gefürsteten) Grafschaft Friedberg-Scheer*. In: Deutsch-ungarische Heimatsblätter 2. 131–136, 231–240.
- Thut, W. – Pfister, Ch. (1986), *Haushälterischer Umgang mit Boden: Erfahrungen aus der Geschichte*, Bern: Historisches Institut der Universität
- Wilhelm, F. – Kallbrunner, J. (1936), *Quellen zur deutschen Siedlungsgeschichte in Südosteuropa mit einer statistischen Tabelle und einer Karte*, München: Reinhardt
- Wolf, M. (2012), *Auswandererbriefe aus Ost- und Südosteuropa nach Reutlingen und Umgebung. Mit einem Dokumentenanhang*. In: Reutlinger Geschichtsblätter 51. 91–195.
- Zedler, J. H. (Ed.) (1731–1754), *Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, <https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html>
- Zeitlhofer, H. (2014), *Besitzwechsel und sozialer Wandel. Lebensläufe und sozioökonomische Entwicklungen im südlichen Böhmerwald, 1640–1840*, Wien: Böhlau

Primary Sources

- Gemeindearchiv Immendingen, Rechtspolizei, Verwaltungssachen, A 234, Fasz. 1762–1768
- Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe 65/1030: Reinhard, Johann Jacob, Versuch einer praktischen Betrachtung über die Ursachen des schlechten Fortgangs verschiedener angegriffener Land-Oeconomie-Verbesserungen in rheinischen und schwäbischen Landen samt einigen Vorschlägen, ca. 1767
- Landesarchiv Speyer C 14, Grafschaft Falkenstein, Bürgerrecht und Auswanderung, Nr. 372
- Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Ho 172 T3 Nr. 642: Kopien von Kauf- und Tauschverträgen und -handlungen aus der Stadt Trochtelfingen 1764–1783
- Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen Ho 172 T3 Nr. 654: Kopien von Kauf- und Tauschverträgen und -handlungen aus der Stadt Trochtelfingen 1779–1802
- Staatsarchiv Würzburg (StAWü), Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 4545: Das von Valentin Wasser, Joh. Kausch und Konr. Ballmann beanspruchte Abtriebsrecht
- StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 23319: Memoriale der Bürgerschaft zu Dieburg
- StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 23322: Mainzer Hofratsprotokoll wegen des Gesuches des Nik(o) las Jacob(us)
- StAWü Mainzer Regierungsarchiv 26617: Akten der Mainzer Regierung betreffend ein Vermächtnis, welches die Kirche Schlierstadt von einem nach Ungarn auswandernden Bewohner von Schlierstadt, Jakob Heck, erhalten hat.
- StAWü, Würzburger Archivalien 1054: Schreiben des Paul Lips, Schmiedemeister zu Thüngfeld

Zoltán Kaposi

Entrepreneurs, Enterprises and Innovation in Pécs (1850–1914)

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine how the 19th century economic modernisation (Western type of industrialisation, technological transformation and the birth of the manufacturing industry) unfolded in Central Europe; and more importantly in Hungary, at Pécs, and what technological innovations were created by local entrepreneurs.

Applied methods. Literature review including the history of the manufacturing industry. We involved sources from monographies, employment and census records, reminiscences and our own data from researches of archives. The research framework is the history of distinct businesses. We introduced five businesses whose economic effects influenced the operations of Pécs in the long run. We made a structural analysis examining the entrepreneur and its business together.

Outcomes. The Austrian First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company (DDSG) became the largest works in the city by starting intensive coal mining and creating modern technological background since 1852. It employed four thousand souls at the beginning of the 20th century and the city profited a lot from its developments (railway construction and electric power plant). The Zsolnay Porcelain Manufactory quickly became the synonym of Pécs. Vilmos Zsolnay ended up being a world famous entrepreneur because of his technological innovations (eosin, pyrogranite, etc...) and products. The term “Glove of Pécs” came alive in the ages of the dual monarchy. János Hamerli founded the first glove manufacturing plant in the country. The Angster Organs have played for hundred and fifty years. The company founded by József Angster emerged at the end of the 19th century and represented state of art technology.

Keywords: Pécs, city, entrepreneur, company, innovation, development

1. Economic Development and Innovations in Western Europe in the 18-19th Century

The international Economic History literature considers the long 19th century as the age of modernisation. Its most important feature was that old, traditional economic and social boundaries were dissolved and they were replaced with new, mostly market-based relations. This happened in England first, but market relations quickly appeared in other European areas too. The cause of the changes has been debated for one and a half century, namely which were those economic and social contexts that made the birth of the new economic model possible. Univocal answer can hardly be given since there were special phenomena in all countries that could have made the changes locally unique.¹

Those innovations which were present in almost all industries played a key role in the Western European economic transformation. We can consider technological innovations, new manufacturing processes, expansion of manufacturing industry, integration of the extra-European markets, those raw material sources that enabled the creation of new industries as such innovations.² Innovation is nothing else than creative destruction, which aims to cause imbalance and initiate a sensitive and comprehensive economic selection process.³ In the centre of changes there stands the risk-taker, calculating entrepreneur who also considers investments with only long-term profitability and whose role was decisive in the spread of a rational, market- and profit-oriented worldview.

¹ Ránki, Gy. (1983): 206-208.

² Cameron, R. (1994); 208-219.; Landes, D. (1969): 69-70.

³ See Schumpeter, J. A. (1980).

The question is in which industries the innovations can be seen the most. Without doubt there were many areas of the transformation and we shall highlight a few (non-exhaustive).

Since the 1720s the English and Dutch agriculture transformed quickly. In order to meet the growing populations' demand, mass production was necessary, which resulted in the restructuring of the traditional agricultural production. Since the 1730s the enclosures created the basis of large-scale manufacturing, hence the linked large estates were adequate for investments.⁴ The first steam tractor appeared in England in 1835 which made deep ploughing and better soil-turning possible. After this, steam powered threshers, steel harrows, seeders and reapers heavily increased the productivity of agriculture.⁵ The development of chemistry and biology provided more available knowledge about plants and animals. Operational knowledge of farming gained significance too.

Development resting on scientific research can mostly be recognised in the industrial sector. People had long been trying to replace charcoal necessary to smoke iron ore with another fuel. In 1709 Darby invented the coke-fired furnace solution. Henry Cort founded the basis of steel production in the 1780s. In the middle of the 19th century contemporary iron-smelting processes were perfected and in the second part of the century the heavy industry poured raw material which was increasingly utilised by the machinery industry, transportation and agriculture. As a result of development in almost all countries, heavy industrial areas came to life which concentrated an enormous workforce; some areas in Germany stood out.⁶

Steel production made it possible to create high pressure steam engines, which were used in many industries. The explosion-like spread of steam engines started at the beginning of the 19th century. Machinery industry, transportation, textile industry and agriculture provided great demand. Through many technological improvements piston steam engines became the major innovation of the 19th century and it ruled the market until the spread of internal combustion engines; they achieved their greatest impact through steam locomotives.⁷

The textile industry's technological and operational innovations had been present since the 1730-40s. The mechanisation of weaving and spinning at first with water and later with steam overshadowed the traditional artisan industry. Demand grew more and more for textiles made of cotton coming from overseas (India and USA); therefore, mechanical improvements mostly aimed towards that direction. The textile industry mobilised masses of people; factories employing thousands of workers mostly utilising the cheap labour of women and children spawned in England; which resulted in the birth of numerous new regional industrial centres.⁸

The increased product volumes generated demand for transportation which brought a new challenge to the transportation sector. The renewal of public roads happened in parallel with the construction of river canals; until 1840s the European 10,000 km canal system provided enough transportation capacity. Maritime transportation developed too: the age of steam started as a result of the spread of steamships. The most important part of the transformation was the railway. In the second part of the 19th century railroads grew in number very fast; before 1914 there were 330,000 km of railroads in Europe. Railway became the most important means of transportation: it was faster than shipping on road or on water. Railway provided huge orders for other industries and other sectors; we could say that most of the economy turned towards railways.⁹

⁴ Turner, M. E. (1989): 489-510.

⁵ Overton, M. (1996): 9-23.

⁶ Kaposi, Z. (1996): 27.

⁷ Landes, D. (1986): 69-178.; Cameron, R. (1994): 219-228.

⁸ Berend, T. I. - Ránki, Gy. (1987): 110-113.

⁹ Berend, T. I. - Ránki, Gy. (1987): 45.

2. Adaptation and Convergence: Opportunities of Central Europe

The question is which of the previously presented modernisation processes happened in Central Europe? The Habsburg Empire including Hungary was the second largest country by area and the fourth largest country by population at the beginning of the twentieth century. Economic development was quick in the empire in the 19th century. Its area was barely affected by wars after 1850; therefore, production per capita significantly rose during economic booms and there was also meaningful improvement in quality of life.¹⁰ As a result, the Monarchy became a moderately developed country by the turn of the twentieth century. However, regional differences were significant: compared to the developed Austrian and Czech provinces the Bukovinian, Dalmatian, etc. ... regions did not achieve one third or one fourth of the above mentioned regions' economic standard of living.¹¹

In order to have economic development there was need for a conscientious, Western Europe oriented economic policy system, which in principle was the import of modern technologies, enhancing railway constructions and establishing free trade among the borders of the empire. The theory's important element was isolationism: high tariffs protected the market of the empire from developed and competitive Western European countries.¹² In the middle of the 19th century the customs frontier separating the two countries was abolished, which enabled the freedom of goods traded between Austria and Hungary. The Austrian tax system, land register and industrial freedom was established too.¹³

In the dual monarchy era Austria-Hungary was more than a simple customs union: it functioned as a common market with full monetary integration and as a partial tax union. Spread of shared Austrian-Hungarian enterprises had great significance, which mostly occurred in the large-scale industry.¹⁴ Economic development of the Monarchy compared to the previous eras was rather quick in the second half of the 19th century, which is proven by growth and quality of life measurements too (Good 1986). Growth varied regionally but differences inside the empire were decreasing. The income of Hungary was around the mean of the whole empire.¹⁵

3. Economy of Pécs in the Middle of the 19th Century

Let's examine the economic and social structure of Pécs in this quickly changing environment in the middle of the 19th century. Pécs was the most populous city of the Southern Transdanubian region in the above-mentioned era. Its population grew fast: around 1828 it had 11,300 souls, while in 1850 there were 15,300 people living in the city.¹⁶ Population growth was especially high between 1850–1870 when the number of people living in the city rose to 24,000. This dynamics was not unique in the region.¹⁷

The situation of Pécs was special because it was a regional centre. South of the Mecsek hills there were agricultural areas: most of the trade coming from Slavonia, Bácska and the Ottoman Empire did reach Pécs. The size of the city together with its accommodations made it an important station of transit traffic. The size of the market area of Pécs was already the second largest in Hungary in 1828 behind Pest-Buda.¹⁸ The blossoming of trade was largely aided by

¹⁰ See Bairoch (1976); Komlos, J. (1990); Good, D. (1986).

¹¹ Berend, T. I. - Ránki, Gy. (1987): 417-418.

¹² Kövér, Gy. (1982): 23.; Kaposi, Z. (2002): 206.

¹³ Kaposi, Z. (2002): 168-175.

¹⁴ Katus, L. (1989): 832-845.

¹⁵ Berend, T. I. - Ránki, Gy. (1987): 417.

¹⁶ Based on Nagy, L. (1828) 1.; Fényes, E. (1851).

¹⁷ Katus, L. (1995): 41.

¹⁸ Bácskai, V. (1988): 198.

the fact that three busy roads intersected in the city. The number of merchants was growing steadily: the city could hold four countrywide fairs per year; meanwhile the number of retail stores supplying locals increased.¹⁹

One of the most important aspects of the economy of Pécs can be traced to its grape and wine industry. 15% of the land was planted with vine: in the 1850s 1093 hectares of vine was cultivated.²⁰ Based on our calculations in case of 7000-8000 adults out of the population of 15,000 seven to eight hectolitres of wine for each person were produced; which was way over the consumed amount of wine per capita. Grape and wine were more than an easy to consume goods or income in the life of the people of Pécs. Grape and viticulture were the symbol of middle-class lifestyle in most of the contemporary cities.²¹

The industry of Pécs depicts an interesting picture in the middle of the 19th century. Artisanal handicraft was the dominant industry for a long time. However, the development of the industry could only be achieved with technological innovations or investments due to the quickly growing population's demand. Individual craftsmanship could survive for some time but progress only came from increase in size and mass production. We can date the renewal of the industry of Pécs since the 1840s; that is when the first factories started to operate. Amongst them there was a brewery, a liquor factory, a cigar factory, a machine factory and a paper factory.²² The first sugar factory of Pécs was founded in 1844 by Gyula Linberger Gottlieb, an entrepreneur from Pozsony. The factory used up 1900 tonnes of sugar beet while produced 80 tonnes of sugar in its first year.²³ In 1844 the first iron factory started to operate which used two steam engines for production. Iron ore was transported from Gömör County in Northern Hungary while coal was mined in the Mecsek Hills. The business was founded as a corporation in which Concordia Association and András Madarász ironmaster from Gömör played a key role.²⁴

Coal mining played a more and more important role in the city's economy. There were significant coal sources in the Mecsek Hills lying on the northern side of the city, which proved crucial in the latter development. Citizens had the right to freely dispose of coal found on their own private property. At first, mostly bellfounders, coppersmiths, etc. ... used coal for industrial purposes. More and more people started to dig up coal on their own property for sale. The earliest private mines were started in the 1780s.²⁵ The value of those lands where coal was found rose sharply and citizens tried to acquire such lands. Even bigger coalfields lay east of the city in the villages Mecsekszabolcs and Somogy which belonged to the Diocese of Pécs.²⁶

4. Innovations and Enterprises (1850-1914)

Compared to the previous eras we can sense a significant economic development in Pécs in the 1850-60s. This is shown by many signs. There was an increase in the number of merchants at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867); one hundred and sixty of them lived in the city, which strongly links up with the economic boom observed in this era. Businesses grew in number; many new factories were founded and small-scale industry flourished. These, and many other signs show that the previously started transformation accelerated, which could have laid the foundations for the dynamic development under the dual monarchy era. Next, we are going to review the era till WWI (1914) focusing on the most typical cases and types of business in

¹⁹ Antalffy, Gy. (1982): 73-94.

²⁰ Kovács, A. (1973): 279.

²¹ Kaposi, Z. (2017): 11.

²² Kaposi, Z. (2017): 13-14.

²³ Kopasz, Gy. (1968): 47.

²⁴ Remport, Z. (1996): 105-118.

²⁵ Babics, A. (1952): 7-17.

²⁶ Pálfi, A. (2002): 258.

Pécs, which enabled the owners to create significant innovations which in turn generated long term economic successes. We are going to introduce four innovative businesses which had their results written into the golden book of Pécs' Economic History.

4.1. Effect of Large-Scale Industry coming from abroad: the Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft (1st Danubian Steam Navigation Corporation)

The Erste Donau-Dampfschiffahrts-Gesellschaft (from now on DDSG) had one of the largest effects on the economic development of Pécs. The Austrian owned corporation continuously expanded its Danubian transporting fleet. It had 48 steamships in 1850 and 120 in 1860, which was crucial to export crops to Austria.²⁷ The corporation's need for coal was continuously growing: it became obvious that it was worthwhile to build a coal mining logistics rather than buying coal from the market. Therefore, the DDSG bought up the lands lying on the northeaster side of the city (later known as Pécs-bányatelep) and established its first mine (András-akna). The mine was expanded after 1853 through continuous acquisitions and leases. As a result, many mines owned by citizens of Pécs were purchased by the corporation. In 1855 the Karolina mine was bought from Antal Riegel, in 1864 the Istenáldás mine was purchased from Ferenc Czvetkovits and in 1867 Lőrinc Littke's mine along with the Feketehegy mine association was bought up. The corporation also leased and later purchased coalfields from the city.²⁸

DDSG had to solve the problem of transportation of coal. High transportation costs were contemporary issues. At first, transportation of coal to Mohács, a port city alongside the Danube happened by wagons on miserable public roads. In 1852 the coal mining company started to construct the railway among Pécs, Villány and Mohács, which was one-and-a-half-time longer in distance than on public roads. The six-kilometre phase between Pécs-bányatelep and Üszögpuszta was constructed in two years' time, financed directly by the Austrian government, since strengthening the Austrian owned DDSG fitted well with the intensions of the Crown. The end of the railroad at Üszögpuszta was directly adjacent to Pécs on its south-eastern side, and the large estate was owned by two members of the Vienna based banker and wholesaler Biedermann family. However, the Austrian government's concept changed in the middle of the decade and the DDSG had to finish the remaining phases between Üszög and Mohács from its own money. The construction was finished in 1857 after great difficulties and the fifty-six kilometres of railway between Mohács and Pécs was opened. The first "coal train" arrived to Mohács on 2nd May 1857. The DDSG was provided with cheap, high quality, easy to access and safe-to-transport coal. The corporation originally planned to use the line only for freight transport and had no intension of running passenger trains or transporting other goods. Without doubt the opening of the railway made the haulers lose their incomes; however, the railway construction, its operation and the Pécs and Mohács stations' demand for labour aided the employment situation.²⁹

What was Pécs given by the DDSG apart from its first railway? The corporation expanded even further in the 1860-70s: it bought and leased more and more land. At the beginning of the 20th century, it owned 436 hectares of land.³⁰ It increased employment in the city and in the neighbouring villages.³¹ At the end of the century Pécsbánya-telep had a population of 4,300 and it ended up being the fifth district of the city.³² The land that the DDSG leased in 1868 for fifty years from the Diocese was significant too. As a result, the Church institution had

²⁷ Huszár, Z. (2013): 80.

²⁸ Babics, A. (1952): 26-30.

²⁹ Erdősi, F. (1986): 388-389.

³⁰ Pécs ezer éve (1996): 191.

³¹ DGT (1894): 4-5.

³² Pécs ezer éve (1996): 181.

a humongous rental income, which enabled it to finance the rebuilding of the basilica; and after the renewal of the contract the construction of the Pius church and the boarding school too. It is a fact too that the headquarters of the corporation was built under 5 Mária Street while most of the mines were located outside of the city. We cannot forget either that approximately 3,500 miners (among them about 900-1000 from Pécs) were earning above the mean income rate, which gave a huge opportunity to manufacturers and merchants of Pécs to increase their incomes. And finally, let's mention that the large-scale company was sticking out of the line: it was a rationally structured, profit-oriented corporation mostly employing foreigners for a long time, whose technological developments and innovations were integrated into the public life of Pécs. For instance, Pécs was supplied with electricity by the DDSG's power plant since 1918.³³

4.2. From Merchandise to Industrial Innovation: the Zsolnay

Through time, the term “Zsolnay” became a special symbol in the industry of Pécs. It embodies the capitalist entrepreneur's prototype, the puritan, always innovation seeking successful businessman who subjected his entire life to the success of his company and artistic self-expression. The man who did not hesitate to show his creative, artistic side while merged a large-scale company and high level of business professionalism.³⁴

The father of Vilmos Zsolnay was a merchant from Pécs belonging to the top tier of the middle class. His store on the Main Square and its wide variety of goods and its profitability enabled him to provide for his family and have his sons taught. His marriage produced six children. Vilmos Zsolnay, the famous entrepreneur was the second born son in 1828. After elementary school he was an apprentice in his father's small wares wholesale business, finished his apprenticeship at the age of 15 and went on to learn commerce at Polytechnisches Institut in Vienna. He found a job in Vienna at a leather goods store but during the revolution of 1848 he was working in his father's business in Pécs again. He issued a son (Miklós) and two daughters (Júlia and Teréz).³⁵

Vilmos Zsolnay did not deal with ceramics manufacturing at first. His father passed on his Main Square store to him in 1853.³⁶ Being a merchant at that time meant that he had to deal with great many things. After gaining his independence from his father he was active in many different industries between 1854-65. He expanded his Main Square store and continuously expanded supply. The “Bazaar” provided him secure living and also development resources for his latter factory.³⁷ In the 1850s he transported wine to Austrian territories and to Croatian cities too. Zsolnay tried to benefit from the railway construction too: he partnered up with a company for constructing the Ūszög-Pécs railroad. He almost came into contact with the industrial sector by accident: his older brother, Ignác's small-scale pottery works at Lukafa was indebted and it was only saved by the loan granted by Vilmos; and later in 1865 Ignác had to sell his works to his younger brother. After remaking the works, Vilmos Zsolnay established the “Első Pécsi Cement Chamotte és Tűzbiztos Agyagárúk gyára” (i.e. “First Pécs Cement Chamotte and Fireproof Earthenware Factory”) business in 1868.³⁸

Vilmos Zsolnay subjected his different business activities to the development of his ceramic works. At that time the market was growing. It was important for Zsolnay to exceed the traditional experience and practice-based operations. The regular examination of raw materials, the continuous renewal of firing methods and safe harmonisation of masses and glazes enabled

³³ Kaposi, Z. (2006): 120.

³⁴ Jávor, K. (2004): 245-246.

³⁵ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 46.

³⁶ Zsolnay, T. (1974): 17.

³⁷ Mattyavszky-Zsolnay, T. (1999): 203-204.

³⁸ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 49.

him to target wider range of customers. In order to step forward he had to study the European manufacturing technologies and since he had no chemical knowledge, he tried to compensate his inherent deficiencies with employing great professionals in the early years.³⁹ The constant researches and experiments became more and more his life.

The raw material found at Pécs and its neighbourhood areas was favourable for Zsolnay. It allowed him to create his faience, being less sophisticated than porcelain but also a very durable material. He was always searching for a new and new clay pits; and those lands which meant secure raw material sources were usually bought up by him.⁴⁰ Zsolnay applied the Italian technology where the wares were shaped on potter's wheel, then they were fired on low temperatures, then tin-glazed them and finally, they were painted and fired on high temperatures. Since porcelain ruled the market in the second half of the 19th century, Zsolnay had to refine the technology of faience all the time, while the end product had to be similar to porcelain. He reached his peak in 1877 when he managed to make tiles named after him which he called porcelain-faience.⁴¹ This was a porous material which withstood physical impacts and unlike porcelain it contained no hairline cracks. These wares were painted, glazed and fired. This process was called by Zsolnay as "high-fired enamel technic".⁴² He achieved success with this technology at the Paris World's Fair of 1878.

Later Zsolnay got even further with glazing. He created the so called "shrinking glazing" in 1883, he developed the oily glazing in 1885, but the real advancement was the eosin (metallic glaze, lustre) which he managed to finalise in 1893. During the eosin making process the already fired tiles are painted with metal oxide compounds and then heated until glowing red, which resulted that oxygen was released from metal oxides, and a metallic glaze remained on the workpieces.⁴³ These processes were mostly used for everyday and decorative dish production.

The researching large-scale manufacturer was able to conquer other markets too. The economy had increasing demand for ceramics used for industrial purposes. First, Zsolnay produced insulations made of faience which were to replace insulations made of porcelain; however, a decade later he switched to porcelain insulations too.⁴⁴ The factory was capable of producing new products for the construction industry too. The pipeline factory became an autonomous department in 1884. In the 1880s stove production started too. Since 1891 wall tiles and floor tiles were produced in separate departments. In 1895 they started the production of pyrogranite (ornamental building ceramics) which brought a huge success to the entrepreneur.⁴⁵ It is well known that the continental climate of the Carpathian Basin has deteriorating effects on most construction materials. However, the pyrogranite resists against frost, acid and it is easy to form.⁴⁶

Zsolnay had big plans. The Monarchy as a customs union was a market given but he was able to expand even farther. For that, he needed to enhance his factory. A very interesting business model came to life. Although local and national banking system was already in function, Zsolnay sought no bank loans and he tried to self-finance his developments. If he needed outside funds, he mostly borrowed from his friends, in whom he could trust unconditionally.⁴⁷ In his case we can observe an entrepreneur who tried to reinvest his profit into his company. As a result, the development of the factory was progressing more languidly than it could have been with bank loans; but it significantly decreased the business risk for Zsolnay. Zsolnay's lifestyle was

³⁹ Ibid. 29, 62–66.

⁴⁰ Zsolnay, T. (1974): 30.

⁴¹ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 75.

⁴² Zsolnay, T. (1974): 66.

⁴³ Ibid. 176–177.

⁴⁴ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 79.

⁴⁵ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 60.

⁴⁶ Pécs Lexikon (2010): Vol.2. 157.

⁴⁷ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 90.

also moderate, despite the fact that he stood out massively from his class, he stayed away from representative expenses.⁴⁸

For the entrepreneur, competitive challenges were more important, and for that great fairs provided the best grounds. First, he appeared in Vienna Exhibition in 1873 where the genuineness of his fancy goods caught the attention of foreign professionals and he got so many orders that he had to increase production capacities of his factory.⁴⁹ Among others, he received orders from England, France, Russia and even from the United States. Zsolnay became a well-known manufacturer by participating in the Paris World's Fair in 1878.⁵⁰ For Zsolnay, the time for domestic fair and exhibition challenge came in 1885. This was the moment when he could show his products on home grounds. The exhibition convinced the professionals that faience was superior in the modern art industry and Vilmos Zsolnay stood out among his competitors.

The once merchant Vilmos Zsolnay, who became a large-scale manufacturer, died in 1900. His life was full of public recognition along financial successes. His death caused no significant disruption in his factory since he previously involved his son Miklós into the business operations. In the 1890s Miklós took over the most important leadership positions, and since 1897 he appeared as partner and business decisions could only be made with his agreement.

Miklós Zsolnay differed in personality from his father. Reminiscence showed that he lacked the artistic vein his father and his older sister had. However, he excelled in business.⁵¹ He was raised up in a changed world. If we consider his father as great founder, then Miklós has to be considered as a real manager type. He started as a salesman and since 1880 he managed foreign sales. He toured the world and sought for markets where products of the factory at Pécs could be sold. After the death of his father, the Zsolnay factory became a really successful large-scale enterprise in his hands. He rose high in public esteem and received vast amounts of awards just like his father; he became the member of the Upper Chamber too.⁵²

Under Miklós Zsolnay's reign dynamic expansion started at the turn of the century. The new owner had visionary plans: he wanted to achieve monopolistic position in the Monarchy and on the Balkans too. A growing number of smaller and larger porcelain and pottery businesses came under the influence of Miklós Zsolnay.⁵³ Miklós Zsolnay had his profit invested in many institutions but he also had interests in large insurance companies and also possessed many industrial companies' shares in and out of Pécs. The factory's increasing efficiency and the other businesses' increasing profitability is shown by the fact that in 1915 Miklós Zsolnay had a wealth of 7,356,000 Krones while his shares were worth another 2 million Krones.⁵⁴ The aggregate production of the factory skyrocketed particularly before the war which is implied by the fact that while in 1900 the overall production was worth 1.1 million Krones it reached 3.1 million Krones in 1911-12.⁵⁵

Development is expressed through changes in employment too. In 1872 only 30-35 people worked for the Zsolnay factory. Some data suggest that the number of employed increased after the Paris World's Fair in 1878: 460 people worked for the enterprise in 1882. In the pre-war years approximately 800 people were employed by the company.⁵⁶ The Zsolnay factory was unique not only in Hungary, but in the Monarchy too, since the three ceramic factories outside of Hungary employed 327 workers together in 1907.

⁴⁸ Zsolnay, T. (1974): 113.

⁴⁹ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 83.

⁵⁰ Várady, F. (1896): 612.

⁵¹ Zsolnay, T. (1974): 178.

⁵² Vargha, D. (1999): 223-226.

⁵³ Ibid. 222.

⁵⁴ Rúzsás, L. (1954): 149.; Vargha, D. (1999): 224.

⁵⁵ Based on Rúzsás, L. (1954): 245.

⁵⁶ T. Mérey, K. (1999): 21.

4.3. Renewal of Traditional Professional Knowledge: The Case of Hamerli Gloves Factory

We shall deal with János Hamerli, creator of “Gloves of Pécs”, and founder of the first gloves factory of Hungary as the third case of our innovative enterprises series. Hamerli’s career typically characterises those entrepreneurs’ opportunities whom had limited funds but great craftsmanship. Hamerli’s father ended up in Baranya County in the 1830s and served as a wrangler for the bishop in Püspöknádasd (today’s Mecseknádasd). He married in 1834 and his third son, János was born in Pécs in 1840.⁵⁷ János Hamerli learnt to be a tanner, then he started his journeyman years when he examined the profession in Temesvár, Arad, Pest, Graz and Vienna. He came home in 1861 and had clear business plans, thus requested a permit from the city council to start his own gloves business. His request was denied on the grounds that he was a minor; nevertheless, Hamerli solved the problem: he became an emancipated minor, thus the council agreed on giving him the license necessary for his business operations.⁵⁸

Hamerli set up his small workshop in his father’s house at 8 Kis Flórián Street, but soon he moved to 5 Fő Street which he rented in the beginning.⁵⁹ Hamerli was considered to be a glove maker in the city records at this time. Let us point out that the building on the end of the street meant a busy workshop and apartment. We do not know what funds Hamerli had when he started his business, but he most likely had some accumulated money (maybe inheritance or some savings from early and student years), since the rent could not be cheap; in addition, we also know that he bought machines for his workshop in the end of the 1860s.⁶⁰ His business must have run well, which is shown by the fact that he requested a permit in the capital of the empire, Vienna to open a glove making workshop and a residence permit too. During his journeyman years he assessed the market of Vienna and realised that there was a stable demand for quality gloves in the capital of the empire. The Pécs born entrepreneur operated his business in Vienna until 1874.⁶¹

Market growth forced Hamerli to continue the expansion of his workshop. He kept a shop in the City Hall building on Fő Street until 1888. One sign of expansion was the increasing number of sites. He had to face with the fact that maintaining a smelling and polluting tannery in the middle of city where the middle class was growing was not an option; in addition, he ran into trouble expanding his works. Thus, Hamerli had to buy new houses and lands again and again. In 1877 he bought the lot in Alsó-Puturla Street where he moved his raw skin warehouse and later his tannery workshop.

The other real estate acquisitions served different purposes. He purchased many bigger or smaller lands and lots which he tried to sell for profit.⁶² In the second half of the 1870s he bought the building and the yard under 21 Mária Street not far from his works. In 1883 he purchased a house with garden and yard in Szigeti outskirts, the western part of the city; and later he acquired the Three Crows inn. He invested some of his capital in passenger transportation enterprise, he bought lands for horses in Postavölgy.⁶³ Just like Zsolnay, he tried to find secure investments (real estate purchases) to increase his wealth.

From early on Hamerli tried to push both foreign and domestic sales. The common market of the Monarchy with its almost 40 million people provided a secure demand at the turn of the century; however, the great step forward was the government orders. The common military force of the Monarchy (KuK) was a secure and enormous market. Hamerli supplied 45,000 pairs of

⁵⁷ Déry, J. - Gál, É. - Márfi, A. (2016): 48.

⁵⁸ Déry, J. (1977): 22-23.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 23.

⁶⁰ Sey (2005): 114.

⁶¹ Déry, J. - Gál, É. - Márfi, A. (2016): 49.

⁶² Ibid. 52.

⁶³ Sey, G. (2005): 114.

gloves every year for the military in the early 1880s. In addition, we cannot forget that the Pécs born entrepreneur was influential in the country regarding fashion: more and more domestic merchants bought his products. After successes in the Monarchy his gloves were bought in Western European cities too at the turn of the century. The annual production in the middle of the 1890s was about 80,000-100,000 pairs of gloves.⁶⁴

In the ages of the Dual Monarchy the term quality “Gloves of Pécs” was formed. The essence of good gloves is good raw material. In his works Hamerli used no skin bought from others, but only those skins which he prepared himself.⁶⁵ Quality of his products were shown by trade fair awards and product display awards. The 1873 Vienna World’s Fair resulted in a medal for him, the 1875 industrial exhibition in Neusalz brought him a gold medal, while the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia made him receive a certificate of appreciation. But he was also present at national exhibitions where he received numerous awards.⁶⁶ Hamerli became publicly known as a successful entrepreneur of Pécs famous for his quality gloves. At this time there was no other gloves factory than the one at Pécs, the competition in the Monarchy was represented by the works in Czechlands.

Apart from quality raw materials there was a need for technology too. Glove manufacturing was solely handmade according to traditions. Since the 1830s substantive experiments were conducted in Western Europe to make different patterns in order to increase productivity. The real breakthrough happened in 1867 when gloves sewing machine was invented. The new technology quickly appeared in Hamerli’s quality focused works in Pécs. In 1868 he bought a compactor from Western Europe, also a calliper and the number of sewing machines kept growing until there were 50 pieces of them in the late 1870s.⁶⁷

Properly trained workforce was a crucial step ahead for business progress. Just like in ceramic manufacturing most phases of leather production required specially trained workforce. Leathers made for industrial application had to go through various processes like preservation, soaking, liming, unhairing, fleshing, frizzing, splitting, deliming, pickling, depickling, shaving, softening etc... At first, he had to invite craftsmen from areas known for their high quality leathers. In 1878 seventy-seven workers were employed in the factory out of whom 50 were needlewomen.⁶⁸ Hamerli had the chance to expand when a new factory building was constructed in the early 1900s. The government subvention contract specified that 200 people had to be employed by 1905 and it was easily fulfilled with the new factory.⁶⁹

4.4. Passing the Western European Technological Standards: The Angster Organ Factory

Metal industry and lumber industry has always been significant in Pécs. Regarding metal industry coppersmith workshops and locksmith workshops occurred in large numbers, but the foundation of the iron factory in the Reform Era was also mentioned previously. The same could be said about the lumber industry including lumberjacks who were represented in large numbers too among industrial workers. The connection of these two industries provided supply to the musical instrument industry, and organ builder József Angster’s Organ and Harmonium Factory from Pécs became known far and wide.

József Angster was born in 1834 in a South-eastern Transdanubian village of Kácsfalu. He was raised up in a thatched mudbrick house in rural environment. It is told that even in his young ages he made musical instruments and played them. Angster had no organ builder

⁶⁴ Várady, F. (1896): 625.

⁶⁵ Lenkei, L. (1922): 209.; Ágh, T. (1894): 251.

⁶⁶ Déry, J. (1977): 49-50.

⁶⁷ Várady, F. (1896): 625.

⁶⁸ Déry, J. (1977): 58.

⁶⁹ Foglalkoztatás (1910): 1242.; T. Mérey, K. (1999): 25.

ancestors; his parents made him an apprentice in Eszék in 1850, where he learned as a joiner and then he started his journeyman years. He studied around Temesvár for two years, then he spent ten years in Western Europe studying the most advanced organ building technologies. He came home with the highest qualifications. He settled in Pécs in 1867 and started his own business. He received relatively large number of orders and his first major organ was played at the newly opened synagogue in Pécs in 1869.⁷⁰

As a result of continued development his enterprise dynamically grew and employed 50-60 workers in the early 1890s, while it had 110-120 employees right before the war.⁷¹ The company always outgrew its works' sites; therefore, it was always on the move, and as a result of the fifth resettling it found its final home. Under 30 József Street on the downtown's northern side a lot was purchased for the organ factory and Angster later bought the real estate under 35 Mária Street too.⁷² As a result, an extensive plant with multi-floor buildings was created. Steam engine powered the saws and lathes. Raw materials were bought partly from domestic merchants, but tin and lead were imported from English territories.⁷³ The factory made its one hundredth organ for the Basilica of Pécs in 1889.⁷⁴

The constant expansion of the factory required technical and technological developments too. In 1909 – using the government subvention too – more than a dozen work engines were planted in the factory powered by diesel engines. The market was given since high quality products were created; therefore, an increasing number of prestigious institutions were supplied with Angster organs. Only a few notable Hungarian examples: Basilicas of Pécs and Kassa, Kálvin Square Church, Saint Stephen Basilica in Budapest, downtown church in Pécs, the church in Győr and Kolozsvár, etc.⁷⁵ Export was very important: Angster's organs quickly conquered the Austrian markets too, crowding out the Western manufacturers. The biggest competitor was the Rieger brothers' factory headquartered in Vienna (but also having a plant in Budapest). Angster's factory was awarded with the contract for the Budapest Basilica's organ tender against the Rieger brothers.⁷⁶

The quick market expansion was made possible by the quality of the Angster organs. Angster not only adapted the Western European technology but also improved that and became the best organ builder in the Kingdom of Hungary.⁷⁷ Many of these improvements were considered brilliant in the history of organ building. He constantly developed the technology. At first, he produced organs with only 12-20 registers, later with 40 registers and in case of the Budapest Basilica it was a 65-register organ. The Angster factory was more like a moderate sized factory rather than a large one, but with its up-to-date technology and innovations it wrote its name into the history books of the city. The founder and factory owner Angster died in 1918 and his two sons (Emil and Oszkár) inherited after him.⁷⁸

5. Summary

Pécs was a rather quickly developing city in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its population reached 50,000 before WWI. Industrialisation clearly played the key role in the city's development. Industrialisation in Pécs produced no colossal industrial plants, but played

⁷⁰ Angster, J. (1999): 74-75.

⁷¹ Thirring, G. (1912): 303.

⁷² Pécs Lexikon (2010): Vol.1. 39.

⁷³ Várady, F. (1896): 605.

⁷⁴ Angster, J. (1999): 79.

⁷⁵ Ibid: 78-81.

⁷⁶ Pécsi Közlöny, 07. 04. 1903.

⁷⁷ Szita, L. (1995): 133–134.

⁷⁸ Pécs Lexikon (2010): 1. 40.

a decisive role in employment, income generation, value system and mentality. In the period examined, the quickly expanding manufacturing industry was responsible for the dynamics of the industrial sector. In half a century world famous enterprises and innovations came to life in the city. The industrial capacities created in this era lived through the great difficulties of the 20th century, including wars, crises, and the planned economy. Some of them still operate in smaller size and under different ownership; still influencing the city and the function of the city's society. The enterprises and industrial innovations presented aided Pécs to strengthen its position as a regional centre and made the city more famous.

Bibliography

- Ágh, T. (1894), *Emléklapok Pécs szabad királyi város múltjából és jelenéből*. Pécs: Taizs József
- Angster, J. (1999), *Az Angster-család és az Angster orgonagyár történetéből*, in: Szirtes Gábor – Vargha Dezső (eds.), *Angstertől Zsolnayig*, Pécs: P-BKIK, Pro Pannonia
- Angster, J (2017), Életrajzom. Egy XIX. századi orgonaépítő naplója. Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa
- Antalffy, Gy. (1982), *Reformkori magyar városrajzok*. Budapest: Panoráma
- Babics, A. (1952), *A pécsvidéki kőszénbányászat története*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Bácskai, V. (1988), *Városok és városi társadalom Magyarországon a XIX. század elején*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Bairoch, P. (1976), *Die Landwirtschaft und die Industrielle Revolution 1750–1914*, in: Cipolla, C. M. - Borchardt, K. (Hg.), *Die Industrielle Revolution. Europäische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Band 3. Stuttgart: Fischer
- Berend, T. I. - Ránki, Gy. (1987), *Európa gazdasági fejlődése a 19. században*. Budapest: Gondolat
- Bobrovszky, I. (1971), *Zsolnay kerámiák az 1885-ös országos általános kiállításon*, in: Hárs Éva – Mándoki László (eds.), *100 éves a Pécsi Porcelángyár*, Pécs: FIM Pécsi Porcelángyár, JPM
- Cameron, R. (1994), *A világgazdaság rövid története a kőkorszaktól napjainkig*. Budapest: Maecenas Könyvkiadó
- Crafts, N. F. R. (1985), *British Economic Growth during the Industrial Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon
- Déri, J. (1977), *A pécsi kesztyűipar kialakulása és története a Hamerli kesztyűgyár államosításáig*, in: Déri János (Ed.), *A Pécsi Kesztyűgyár története 1861–1976*. Pécs: Pécsi Kesztyűgyár
- Déri, J. – Gál, É. - Márfi, A. (2016), *Kesztyűkönyv*. Pécs: JPM
- DGT (1894), *Az I. cs. k. szab. Dunagőzhajózási Társulat Pécs melletti kőszénbányái*. Pécs: DGT
- Erdősi, F. (1986), *Baranya közlekedési hálózatának fejlődése a XIX. század második felében*, in: Szita László (Ed.), *Baranyai helytörténetírás 1985–1986*. Pécs: BML
- Fényes, E. (1851), *Magyarország geographiai szótára. I-II. kötet*. Pest: Nyomatott Kozma Vazulnál
- Good, D. (1986), *Der wirtschaftliche Aufstieg des Habsburgerreiches 1750–1914*. Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau
- Huszár, Z. (2013), *A Duna vonzásában. Fejezetek a Dunai Gőzhajózási Társaság történetéből*. Pécs: Virágmandula Kft.
- Jávor, K. (2004), *A Zsolnay család. Iparosok és művészek öt nemzedéke*, in: Sebők Marcell (Ed.): Sokszínű kapitalizmus. Budapest: HVG Kiadó
- Kaposi, Z. (1996), *A gazdasági folyamatok és a közgazdasági gondolkodás kapcsolata a 18. században*. Pécs: JPTE Kiadó.
- Kaposi, Z. (2006), *Pécs gazdasági fejlődése 1867–2000*. Pécs: P-BKIK
- Kaposi, Z. (2017), *Pécs gazdasági helyzete a 19. század közepén*, Közép-Európai Közlemények 10. (2017) No. 37. 2. 7–22.
- Kaposi, Z. (2019), *Uradalmak, földbirtokosok és birtokforgalom a Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században*, Mezőgazdaságtörténeti Tanulmányok 14. Budapest: Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum és Könyvtár

- Katus, L. (1989), *A Monarchia közös piaca*. Magyar Tudomány 34. (1989) 10-11. 808-820.
- Katus, L. (1995): Pécs népessége 1848–19120 között, in: Vonyó József (Ed.), Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből I. Pécs népessége 1543–1990. Pécs. 37–94.
- Komlos, J. (1990), *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia mint közös piac*. Budapest: Maecenas
- Kopasz, G. (1968), *A répacukorgyártás kezdete a Dél-Dunántúlon (1837–67)*, in: Szinkovich Márta (Ed.), Baranyai helytörténetírás 1968. Pécs: BML
- Kovács, A. (1973), *Adatok a pécsi filoxéravész történetéhez*, in: Szita László (Ed.), Baranyai helytörténetírás 1972. Pécs: BML
- Kövér, Gy. (1982), *Iparosodás agrárországban*, Budapest: Gondolat
- Landes, D. (1986), *Az elszabadult Prometheusz. Technológiai változások és ipari fejlődés Nyugat-Európában 1750-től napjainkig*. Budapest: Gondolat
- Lenkei, L. (1922), *Negyven év Pécs életéből. Egy pécsi újságíró visszaemlékezései*, Pécs: Pécsi Irodalmi és Könyvnyomda Részvénnytársaság
- Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay, T. (1999), *Adatok a pécsi Zsolnay-család történetéhez*, in: Szirtes Gábor – Vargha Dezső (eds.), Angstertől Zsolnayig, Pécs: P-BKIK, Pro Pannonia
- Orosz, I. (1989), *A mezőgazdaság modernizálása*, Magyar Tudomány 34. (1989) 10-11. 821–831.
- Overton, M. (1996), *Agricultural Revolution of England. The transformation of the agrarian economy 1500–1850*. Cambridge: University Press
- Pálfy, A. (2002), *A pécsi székesegyház önálló uradalmi szénbányászata (1798–1868)*, in: Szirtes Gábor – Vargha Dezső (eds.), Iparosok és bányászok a Mecsek alján. Pécs: P-BKIK, Pro Pannonia
- Ránki, Gy. (1983), Az angol ipari forradalom történetéhez, in: Ránki Gy. (Ed.), Mozgásterek, kényszerpályák. Válogatott tanulmányok, Budapest: Magvető
- Remport, Z. (1996), *A reformkor kiemelkedő ipari kísérlete: a Csetnek Pécsi Vasgyár*. Századok 130. (1996) 1. 105–118.
- Romváry, F. (2011), *Zsolnay*. Debrecen: Tóth Könykereskedés és Kiadó Kft
- Rúzsás, L. (1954), *A pécsi Zsolnay-gyár története*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Schumpeter, J. A. (1980), *A gazdasági fejlődés elmélete*, Budapest: KJK
- Sey, G. (2005), *A pécsi Hamerli-Hunor kesztyűgyár. Emlékezés a céglapításának 142., a gyármegnyitásának 100. évfordulójára*, in: Szirtes Gábor – Vargha Dezső (eds.), Mozaikok Pécs és Baranya gazdaságtörténetéből. Pécs: P-BKIK, Pro Pannonia
- Szirtes, G. (1998), *Pécsi Pantheon. Portrék a millenium korából*, Pécs: Pro Pannonia
- Szita, L. (1995), *A pécsi vállalkozó polgárság és a helyi hatalom a 19. században*, in: Fodor Zsuzsa (Ed.), Vállalkozó polgárok a Dunántúlon a dualizmus korában. Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum
- Thaer, A. (1810), *Grundsätze der rationellen Landwirtschaft*, Berlin: Universität Berlin
- T. Mérey, K. (1999), *Baranya megye ipara (1850–1914)*, in: Szirtes Gábor – Vargha Dezső (eds.), Angstertől Zsolnayig, Pécs: P-BKIK, Pro Pannonia
- Turner, M. E. (1989), *Parliamentary Enclosures: Gains and Costs*, in: Digby, A. – Feinstein Ch. (eds.), New Directions in Economic and Social History. London: Macmillan
- Váradyi, F. (1896), *Baranya multja és jelenje*, 1–2 kötet. Pécs: Telegráfiás Könyvnyomda
- Vargha, D. (1999), *Zsolnay Miklós életútja (1857–1922)*, in: Szirtes Gábor – Vargha Dezső (eds.), Angstertől Zsolnayig. Pécs: P-BKIK, Pro Pannonia
- Vörös, A. (1999), *Jánosi Engel Adolf (1820–1903)*, in: Font Márta – Vonyó József (eds.), Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 5–6. Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány
- Zsolnay, T. (1974), *Zsolnay. A gyár és a család története 1863–1948*, Budapest: Corvina

Sourcebooks and Statistics Cited

- Foglalkoztatás (1900), *A magyar korona országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása. 5. A népesség foglalkozásának nemely részletei és a vállalati statisztika*, Budapest: KSH, 1906.
- Foglalkoztatás (1910), *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása. 3. A népesség foglalkozása részletesen és a vállalati statisztika*, Budapest: KSH, 1914.
- Nagy, L. (1828), *Notitiae politico-geographico statisticae inclyti regni Hungariae partimque eidem adnexarum. I-II.* Buda: Landerer
- Pécs ezer éve (1996), Márfi A. (Ed.), *Pécs ezer éve 1009–1962*. Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány
- Pécs Lexikon (2010), Romváry Ferenc (Ed.), *Pécs Lexikon I-II.* Pécs
- Thirring, G. (1912), *A magyar városok statisztikai évkönyve. 1–2.* Budapest

Virág Rab

The Role of Work in the Life of Loránt Hegedüs (1872–1943)

„...He was a man who volunteered for any job, created something of value and excellence everywhere, and whose work served his nation in all fields, enriching it morally and spiritually...”¹

Abstract

Purpose of the study. Loránt Hegedüs was a remarkable historical figure in interwar Hungary. As a politician, economist, publicist, and belletrist, he influenced contemporary politics, economics, public life, literature, history, and religion. This study aims to understand the role of work in Hegedüs' life; in other words, the study provides a deeper understanding of what work meant for Hegedüs, which stood behind his extraordinary performance and productivity. In addition, the study addresses further questions as to what factors influenced Hegedüs' career choice and how, which occupation was the most significant at each stage of his life and why, as well as what his daily schedule looked like and what his working method was.

Applied method. The main research question, what role work played in Hegedüs' life, was examined chronologically and systematically throughout Hegedüs' entire life story, in close interaction with the socio-cultural context. Levinson's model provided the theoretical framework of the research. The Levinsonian theory interpreted man's work as the primary base for his life in society and allowed studying individual and society (in Levinson's words self and world) together. Based on Levinson's theory, four periods of Hegedüs' life were examined. A variety of sources, Hegedüs' published writings, other contemporary publications, personal records, and a family chronicle, were used to answer the research questions.

Outcomes. Work played a decisive role in Hegedüs' entire life especially in his social integration. On the one hand his exceptional abilities, his unique family (its members, financial background, social affiliation, religion) together with his upbringing, on the other hand external circumstances (changes in politics, economy, and society) shaped Hegedüs' idea and choices about work. As a result, Hegedüs established clear and strong values about work in adolescence and interpreted work as a duty owed to the community. In this context, his long-term goal was value creation, and his legacy, which he considered essential to support the next generation. Changes in the external world, especially challenges in work or limited possibilities for work, were reflected in the pattern of Hegedüs' periods of life.

Keywords: Loránt Hegedüs, Hungary, 20th century, biography, Levinson's theory

1. Introduction

Loránt Hegedüs (1872–1943) became an outstanding historical figure due to his work and the vast legacy he left behind in several fields. As a politician, at the peak of his career, he was a Minister of Finance, since 1937 the member of the Upper House; as an economist, he was a bank president, the founder, and the head of the Association of Savings Banks and Banks (TÉBE), the managing director of the National Association of Hungarian Industrialists (GYOSZ), a professor of finance and a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Over the course of five decades, he wrote about 60 studies, 50 books, and more than 2,000 newspaper articles through which, in addition to the areas mentioned above, he influenced literature, sociology, religion, and public life.

¹ Balla, A. (1943): 5.

2. Research questions

The aim of this study is to understand the role of work in different periods of Hegedüs' life. How did Hegedüs choose a profession? When and which of his activities was most decisive and why? How were these questions influenced by his close social environment (e.g., family) and the changes in contemporary society, economy, and culture? In the case of an impressive performance like his, the question also arises, as to what characterized his way of working.

3. Sources and methods

The research questions were based on the information the sources contained. As a result, the documents used were very diverse. Some of them were Hegedüs' published writings (journalistic or literary work), others were personal records (letters, notes) and the third was the family chronicle of Loránd Hegedüs' grandson. In addition, the study used some contemporary publications (newspapers, magazine articles, speeches) and diary entries which evaluated Hegedüs' oeuvre on his birthday or death.

This study is a preliminary preparation of a biography of Hegedüs. The development of the concept and form of the biography were influenced by the fact that the researcher recently wrote a psychobiography of Hegedüs.² It focused on Hegedüs' identity development and strategies in the search for meaning.³ The research revealed that work played a prominent role in Hegedüs' life, both in terms of meaning and identity.

Psychobiography is at the intersection of psychology and history⁴ and explores the lives of prominent individuals through the application of psychological theories. For Hegedüs' psychobiography, the author sought a theory that would provide an opportunity to examine Hegedüs' life history chronologically and systematically in the socio-cultural and historical context. For this purpose, Levinson's psychosocial model was the most suitable, which allowed studying the individual and society (in Levinson's words self and world) together.⁵ Furthermore, both Levinson and psychobiography were interested in the unique, idiosyncratic life of their subject.⁶

Moreover, Levinson's primary task was to construct the story of a man's life. He applied the biographical interviewing research method and created four occupational subgroups.⁷ The reason for the latter was, that according to Levinson a man's work is the primary base for his life in society. Through his work a man is „plugged into” an occupational structure and a cultural class, and social matrix.⁸ Levinson therefore provided a deeper understanding of a person's work by placing it within the context of his personal life and engagement in society.⁹ Furthermore, besides describing important work-related choices, Levinson also considered the *meanings and functions* of each choice within the individual life structure.¹⁰ Life structure is the key concept of Levinson's theory, it means the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at a given time. As a component of the life structure, every choice is saturated by both self and world.¹¹

² The writings of my colleague (Ágnes Bálint) aroused my interest in the subject. Bálint, Á. (2012), Bálint, Á. (2014), Bálint, Á. (2015), Bálint, Á. (2019)

³ Rab, V. (2021b)

⁴ Pontoretto, J. (2015): 460.

⁵ Levinson, D. J. et al. (1978): 46.

⁶ Ibid 43.

⁷ Ibid 9.

⁸ Ibid 9.

⁹ Ibid 16.

¹⁰ Ibid 43.

¹¹ Ibid 43.

4. Results

The Levinsonian model also provided the framework for the present research. Accordingly, the researcher examined the role of work in the life of Hegedüs in the following four eras:

- Pre-Adulthood (1–17)
- Early Adulthood (17–40)
- Middle Adulthood (40–60)
- Late Adulthood (60–71).

4.1. Pre-Adulthood 1872–1889 (0–17)

This is the period of preparation for a career. Children between the ages of 6 and 12 begin to fantasize about what they would like to be when they grow up, but they begin to become aware of the requirements of the dreamed occupations and their own abilities – during the tentative period – only at the age of 12.

In addition to the family's financial background, the family's social affiliation (including religion) could strongly influence career choices because family is the main mediator of culture. However, boys often choose an occupation that is the same as their father's or similar in content, career, and prestige. There are many differences in career choices across social groups.

Hegedüs' parents belonged to the elite. His father, Sándor, studied law (as did his father) and then economics whereupon he became one of the Hungarian financial authorities. He used his economic knowledge as a Member of Parliament. At the peak of his career, he was Minister of Commerce and later a member of the Upper House until the end of his life. He had a great influence on public life through his journalistic activities. Before the age of 40, he became a correspondent, then a full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the general superintendent of the Danube region diocese of the Reformed Church.¹²

Loránt was 17 when his father became Minister of Commerce, consequently he kept track of his father's activities closely, which meant that he was able to gather a wealth of information about the occupations he later tried. His mother was a tough family mother and a memoir writer. She was the daughter of the celebrated writer Mór Jókai. In other words, Lóránt was socialized in a particularly inspiring family environment. In addition, Loránt Hegedüs spent a lot of time with his godfather Mór Jókai.¹³ During this period, they also lived together in Stáció Street, Pest.¹⁴

Loránt also got his first name from Jókai, named after the protagonist of one of his novels¹⁵ This novel became a so-called destiny in the eyes of a Protestant-educated young man who believed in predestination. The character he was named after, Loránt Áronffy, a law student, could have been an ideal for Hegedüs in many ways. In his private life Áronffy was a loving son, a good brother and a faithful friend, as a member of the parliamentary youth he was brave, sincere, and purposeful. Moreover, he was also the one who was able to change his family's destiny, who saved his family from a curse. The motif of being the chosen person became a value and this way a defining element of Hegedüs' ideas about work. In 1920, Hegedüs was called the Savior of the Nation by the National Assembly Almanac.¹⁶

¹² Ujváry, G. (2014): 55–142., Nyíkos, L. (2014): 143–172.; Kárbin, Á. (2014): 173–238., Tőkéczki, L. (2014): 239–252.

¹³ Zsindely, S. (2007): 8.

¹⁴ Hegedüs, L. (1929): 260.

¹⁵ Hegedüs, L. (1865)

¹⁶ Nemzetgyűlési Almanach 1920–1922. (1921): 171.

He wasn't seven yet when he wrote his first poem (for his father) and edited his own newspaper a year later.¹⁷ He fantasized about becoming a confectioner and MP during the day and an astronomer at night.¹⁸ In 1929, he published the following childhood memory in the *Új Idők* [New Ages] columns — highlighting the importance of work-related information and experience within the family.

„At the apex of Humanity was the Lord, alias Alexander, the editorial servant. He commanded – I could see with childish eyes – Mór Jókai and Sándor Hegedűs. If Alexander said, „I need an article,” they wrote an article. If Alexander said, „A novel is not enough,” my godfather killed or married someone. If he proposed (because Alexander substituted the phone then) „go to the club”, then they went to the club even in the worst weather conditions...”¹⁹

The concept of work – according to Hegedűs – went back to somewhere there. Hegedűs assumed that work was a duty, that is, he considered the essence of work to be acting in the public interest. This was later supplemented by the notion of utility for the public, following his studies of economics. Hegedűs was impressed by what he experienced, namely that his family members enjoyed the recognition of society because of their work. During the first ten years of Hegedűs' life, he was given many opportunities to get to know the requirements of the occupations of each family member (Member of Parliament, journalist, belletrist, etc.) and to observe the expectations of them. The fact that he had been able to get to know the most important features of the careers he later chose helped him to form a realistic picture of the occupations concerned.

Between 1882 and 1889, Hegedűs studied at the same school his father had also attended: College of the Reformed Church in Budapest.²⁰ During this period Hegedűs began to realize his own abilities. He no longer received feedback and confirmation only from his family members, but also from his teachers and peers. He was a successful youth leader in the self-education circle, he also wrote studies and works for applications in literature and history, with which he won awards.²¹ Based on McClelland's motivational theory, in areas where someone has succeeded, they will take on newer and bigger challenges later.²² This was also the case of Hegedűs.

4.2. Early adulthood – 1889–1912 (17–40)

This is when the realistic period of career choice takes place; the profession is selected, and related studies begin. After implementing professional preferences and completing studies, the individual enters the world of work. The next decade is the period of stabilization, when the individual finds among the work activities the one or, less often, the ones for which they can use their abilities and knowledge.

He became a law student at the Royal Hungarian Pázmány Péter University, that is, he followed the pattern of the family (and the most typical path of the contemporary elite). During his university studies, Hegedűs developed the skills and met the requirements required for the occupations he wanted to choose. He learned languages, developed his communication, writing, presentation, and discussion skills, and eventually graduated as the best in his class. Eventually, he also chose the path taken by his father and was committed to economics. His choice was preceded by a search for possibilities, well-illustrated by the fact that for a time he wanted to assert himself by his knowledge of a rather new science, the field of sociology. He was greatly influenced by Herbert Spencer the author of the first book the title of which included the term

¹⁷ Zsindely, S. (2007): 8-9.

¹⁸ Zsindely, S. (2007): 8.

¹⁹ Hegedűs, L. (1929): 260.

²⁰ Zsindely, S. (2007): 11.

²¹ Iskolai értesítők (1888): 57., (1889): 58.

²² McClelland, D. C. (1987)

,sociology'.²³ However, in Hungary, it was not yet possible to obtain a higher scientific degree in this field.

Although he early developed many kinds of interest, it was only due to his outstanding abilities that he was able to keep them at this stage of his career choice. He had already received feedback and confirmation from the most outstanding professors in each field (Adolf Wagner, Herbert Spencer, and members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

His holistic thinking and disposition to diversification also played an important role in maintaining his multifaceted interest. The holistic approach was also supported by his professors and the German Historical School.²⁴

A further experience of this period was that hard work and effort would yield fruit. In 1895, at the age of 23, he was inaugurated as doctor of the royal ring (Loránt Hegedüs received a diamond ring with the initials of Hungary's King, Franz Joseph). In an oath taken in front of 900 guests at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he promised to serve the king, science, and his country to the best of his knowledge for the rest of his life.²⁵ Duty and service became dominant in the field of work throughout his life thereafter.

It is worth mentioning that 40 years later, in 1935, Hegedüs founded the Circle of Friends of Doctors of the Sub Auspicis Regis Et Gubernatoris, of which he was president until his death. According to Hegedüs, the members received the recognition (royal ring) not for their excellence but as a reward for their performance of their duties; consequently, the organization's goal for its members was to set an example to the youth in science and culture throughout their lives.

A good example of this is that after his studies, Hegedüs joined the Free Lyceum Society for the Dissemination of Science and Knowledge.²⁶ As a secretary, he organized and gave hundreds of lectures for low-educated women, workers, and peasants.²⁷

After his studies, he remained active in almost each field. His first job as a ministerial draftsman was in the Ministry of Finance. Here he was able to work with financial authorities such as János Teleszky and Sándor Popovics. Also in the late 1890s, his scientific career continued to curve upwards. He wrote high-impact scientific financial studies and began to study the issue of emigration and its economic and political interdependence.²⁸

By 1898 the number of his writings (scientific and journalistic) exceeded three hundred. In the same year, he entered the parliament as a representative of the Hungarian town of Pápa. His career culminated in almost every field in the early 1900s. He dropped out of national politics; his party (the Liberal Party led by István Tisza) failed in 1905, so he did not enter parliament.²⁹ He captured this crisis in a play. It was the first time he had treated political failure with creative writing. However, he was very successful in the field of economics (in both theory and practice).³⁰ In 1904 he became a private university professor of finance, one of the editors of the Economic Review, and from 1905 he led GYOSZ in various positions.

During this period, he organized the interest representation of the Hungarian manufacturing industry and made its 26 branches important organs of the national economic policy. From 1910 he became a member of parliament for the National Party of Work (also led by Tisza).

²³ Zsindely, S. (2007): 14.

²⁴ Madarász, A. (2002): 844.

²⁵ Pesti Napló (1895)

²⁶ The model of the organization was the university extension movement at Cambridge.

²⁷ Szabó, E. (1982): 36-37.

²⁸ Rab, V. (2021a)

²⁹ Zsindely, S. (2007): 18.

³⁰ Rab, V. (2021a)

After all, he managed to be successful in all fields. By the age of 40, he had become a recognized member of the Hungarian society for his work.

4.3. Middle adulthood (1912–32) 40–60

During this period, the development of Hegedüs' career was most influenced by a radical change in the social and economic environment. In connection with these changes, Hegedüs' aspirations (serving the Hungarian nation), which guided him in achieving his specific goals, intensified. The key event of the era was the First World War, which did not mean for Hegedüs limitations but opportunities in his work. As a member of Parliament, he took part in the work of the Finance and Military Committee, and in the aftermath of the events of 1917 and 1918, he agitated to extend the right to vote to industrial workers. The latter also indirectly supported the emancipation of physical labor.

He continued to build his career outside politics. Between 1913 and 1917 he became the president of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. He published numerous scientific and political papers in Hungary and abroad. After the lost war, the political environment changed to an extent never before. The political system based on the Soviet Russian model did not have any traditions or roots in Hungary. Moreover, as a member of the elite of the previous political system, he was considered an enemy. Therefore, he was twice taken under communist captivity in 1919.³¹ He recovered from this trauma by throwing himself into work.

After the fall of the Soviet Republic, Hegedüs organized the TÉBE, which was designed to protect and represent the common interests of savings banks, banks and bankers, and developed a uniform procedure in their business and legal affairs. The latter facilitated the development of modern, unified business practices.

In 1920, Hegedüs became a member of the Hungarian peace delegation on behalf of the government and economic interest groups and took part in the negotiations in Neuilly.³² He kept the public informed about what was happening there in his journalistic writings.³³ In this assignment, the overlaps between his various professions (economist, politician, publicist) were manifested. The common point in this case was also the work done for the benefit of society.

In 1920, he took up the post of Minister of Finance, which he considered to be the greatest challenge of his life. Despite his superhuman, in other words, unrealistic effort (primarily due to the unfavorable economic and social environment), his plan failed, resulting in the loss of his meaningful work.

"The man in front of you, this mass of muscles and bones, has done so much that no one can pump out more from him. (Cheers and applause.)... And today I feel one part of my soul has got completely exhausted in the struggle, though even today I am convinced that the financial plan I have set up is the only solution. ...And now, when, after so much affliction, after so much wrestling and self-mutilation, I speak from the depths of torment, I must say that all individual actions are fatal to our country. I wish I would be the last victim..."³⁴

The result was severe depression. After an unsuccessful suicide attempt, he moved to a sanatorium in Berlin, where he spent more than three years.³⁵ He stopped all his work and activities. As a result, he was completely torn out of the fabric of society and even rarely got into contact with his immediate family members.

³¹ Hegedüs, L. (1926): 117., Zsindely, S. (2007): 23–25.

³² Zsindely, S. (2007): 25.

³³ Hegedüs, L. (1920)

³⁴ Nemzetgyűlési Napló 1920–1922. (1921): 6–10.

³⁵ Agora, Zs., Rab, V. (2019)

At the very beginning of his staying in Berlin, on the news of Charles's IV second attempt to return (October 1921) to the Hungarian throne, Hegedüs attempted suicide again but his nurse rescued him.³⁶ He started to get better when he began conducting research. He studied and analyzed the records of sanatorium patients.³⁷ He was interested in the psychic consequences of WWI on the individual and the therapies of mental illnesses. It was only a hobby, but that pursuit made him active.

He was pulled out from his severe depression by his work again: more precisely, work in the fields of literature, journalism, and religion. His daughter, Margaret took him home from Berlin and half a year later, Hegedüs continued his work in all fields except politics.³⁸ For the first time he became the editor in chief of Pesti Hírlap. He also changed his physical environment. He moved from the bustling Pest (Hunyadi square 12) to the calm Gellért Hill in Buda.

He structured his time with a strict work schedule. “*I am lucky to be able to deal with economics and politics every morning and dedicate my afternoons to poetry and literature. I read a lot in different foreign languages, and I also pay vast attention to music. But I hope the audience doesn't realize how much tedious learning and sweat are there behind my writings. Because it is an imperfect writer who can notice that his writing is work, – the real poetic imagination must hide the gloomy reality!*”³⁹ This quote also points out that work was sometimes more task performance than a source of joy.

His way of working was the following: “*I wake up at six o'clock in the morning and watch the sunrise. It has a wonderful effect on me. Then I go into my study, and whatever the subject matter is, I am ready to dictate my script in ten minutes. But the article itself takes the work of long weeks, often months, because I study the matter thoroughly until the flashing idea is dictated.*” I repeat, by the time it comes to dictation, the article is so crystal clear that I don't need to change a letter. On one occasion, I dictated my lost article in ten minutes because the only way I can realistically imagine a topic is to write a summary after carefully studying it.”⁴⁰

At this stage, Hegedüs was also an active member of the boards of some financial and economic organizations. For one decade, he was the managing director of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest and was a board member for three decades. He was the vice-chairman and a board member of Rimamurányi-Salgótarjáni Ironworks Limited Company for three decades and chairman of board of directors at Hydroxygen Limited Company for two decades.

In this period, Hegedüs also became active in a new field of work. Instead of politics, literature and writing became the means to achieve his goals. As a result of his choice, the primary field of his social involvement and fulfillment were also changed.⁴¹

4.4. Late Adulthood 60- (1932–1943)

This is the period of the birth of great literary works. Several thick volumes were published about Széchenyi (1932), Kossuth (1934), Tisza (1937). In these biographies of great Hungarians he applied psychological analysis, which was exceptional at that time. His last major literary study was „Ady and Tisza” in 1940. He received numerous recognitions for his work in History and Literature: honorary and board member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, honorary member of the Historical Society and the Petőfi (Literary) Society.

Hegedüs reassessed his ideas in his scientific works. He also reconsidered his failed financial plan during his time as Minister of Finance. His work in the field of religion was the most decisive in this period. On the one hand, he was the chief caretaker of the Reformed Churches

³⁶ Hegedüs, L. (1929)

³⁷ Agora, Zs., Rab, V. (2019)

³⁸ Zsindely, S. (2007): 34.

³⁹ Rónay, M. (1927)

⁴⁰ Tolnai Világlapja (1928): 17–18.

⁴¹ Levinson, D. J. et al. (1978): 48.

of Újpest and Dorog, and on the other hand he was the presbyter of the Reformed Church in Buda. He gave powerful church speeches in the capital, in the country and abroad.

Hegedüs worked until the last minute of his life. He became apathetic in the last six months.⁴² On his 70th birthday, he attended the official celebrations, but we know from the family members' recollections that the symptoms of cerebral atherosclerosis began to appear on him at that time.⁴³ He embarked on another major work called „Jókai and His Age,” of which he dictated seventeen pages to his brother. His common work with Mihaly Babits since 1940 was also interrupted. Euripides's tragedy „Hekábé” was produced for the Opera House. Work remained a part of his daily life even when he found working difficult. Hegedüs spent the last five months of his life in a sanatorium. First, he got thrombosis, then an embolism, which resulted in his death on January 1, 1943.

5. Conclusions

Three factors seem to be decisive in the development of Hegedüs's oeuvre and career: abilities, family and upbringing, as well as changes in external circumstances, in society, economy and culture.⁴⁴ His skills and family environment were exceptional. Both his father and godfather served as models for him. An essential element of his upbringing was the protestant-rooted work ethics, which led Hegedüs to interpret work as a duty owed to the community.⁴⁵ It is a crucial circumstance that work was not an economic constraint for him (his income came, e.g. from letting out of real estate). The most important motivation for his work was the supposed utility for the „public”.⁴⁶ That's why he chose economics as one of his professions. He developed his skills at work (and not in other fields, e.g., hobbies). Finally, his primary goal was to create value, and to leave behind a legacy, which he considered important to support future generations.⁴⁷

There are some further findings. In Hegedüs' case, the time-structuring role of work went beyond the tight schedule which structured his whole life span. It seems that successful periods in his work can be characterized by strong social embeddedness, and times of failure with isolation. This may be explained by his most important contacts being with his colleagues besides his family. Thus, work was an essential element of his integration into society. In other words, not only social recognition played a significant role in his social embeddedness. Furthermore, most of his knowledge and experience came from his work. Work meant activity for him, which in any case meant medication for his depression.

It is necessary to find further explanations for why his work-related plans aimed at reaching self-transcendence. In other words, besides the social (and familial) expectations, what sort of other motives made Hegedüs want to create something great time after time? Why did Hegedüs constantly want others to benefit from his knowledge? What role did his intrinsic motivation

⁴² Zsindely, S. (2007)

⁴³ Magyar Gyáripar 20. 07. 1942. 1–2.

⁴⁴ „Loránt Hegedüs was born in fortunate circumstances and environment which only fall to a few mortals' lot. One of man's destinies is the social environment in which he saw the light of the day, the other is the totality of abilities, moral and intellectual dispositions he brought with him. He was fortunate to have these two components of his destiny meet.” Pesti Hírlap (1943): 5.

⁴⁵ „His work, which was full of fresh impetus even in the midst of so many physical and mental trials, belonged so much to the picture of Hungarian life that it is almost impossible for us to imagine it without him.” Balla, A. (1943): 5.

⁴⁶ „I sincerely regret to hear about the death of Loránt Hegedüs, who has dedicated his whole life to the enthusiastic work in the field of Hungarian public life. In times of crisis, he worked with the greatest self-sacrifice in managing public finances to establish the order of the national budget. His creative personality was always tireless in the service of the Hungarian economy and culture. I express my intimate condolences over the heavy loss. (By Miklós Horthy, Hungary's Head of State 1920–1944)” Ujság (1943): 4.

⁴⁷ Rab, V. (2021b)

play in this endeavor (or in his work)? Furthermore, in addition to the sense of duty, to what extent was the desire for creation and self-actualization a motivation for his work? Was work a so-called autotelic (self-serving as well as self-rewarding) experience for him, or was it just self-actualization, self-fulfillment, and self-transcendence? The answers to these questions will be the subject of further study.

Bibliography

- Agora, Zs., Rab, V. (2019), *Who is Mentally Ill? Psychiatry and the Individual in Interwar Germany*. In: Borgos A., Erős F., & Gyimesi J. (Eds.), *Psychology and Politics Intersections of Science and Ideology in the History of Psy-Sciences*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 255–270.
- Bálint, Á. (2012), *Télemakhosz bolyongásai: Németh László pszichobiográfiája (1901–1932)* [The Wanderings of Telemachus: The Psychobiography of László Németh (1901–1932).] Pécs, Hungary: Kronosz Kiadó.
- Bálint, Á. (2014), *Pszichobiográfia és irodalom. [Psychobiography and Literature.]* Pécs, Hungary: Kronosz Kiadó.
- Bálint, Á. (2015), *Babitson innen, Osváton túl: Németh László írói autonómiájának forrásvidéke. [Before Babits' influence and beyond Osvát's: The source region of László Németh's literary autonomy]*. Budapest, Hungary: Imágó Budapest, 1, 6–33.
- Bálint, Á. (2019), *Less is More but More is Different: Distinction Between High Resolution and Low Resolution Psychobiography*. In: Mayer, C-H.; Kovary, Z. (Eds.) *New Trends in Psychobiography*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 195–207.
- Kárbin, Á. (2014), *Hegedüs Sándor, a Szell-kormány kereskedeleumi minisztere [Sándor Hegedüs, Minister of Trade of the Szell Government]*. In: Hegedüs Sándor, a százkezű politikus [In: Hegedüs Sándor, the One-Hundred-Handed Politician] 173–238.
- Levinson, D. J. et al. (1978), Levinson, D. J., Darrow, C. N., Klein, E. B., Levinson, M. H., & McKee, B. *The seasons of a man's life*. New York, NY: Ballantine Books.
- McClelland, D. C. (1987), *Human Motivation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nyíkos, L. (2014), *Hegedüs Sándor a parlamentben [Sándor Hegedüs in the Parliament]*. In: Hegedüs Sándor, a százkezű politikus [In: Hegedüs Sándor, the One-Hundred-Handed Politician] Budapest, Argumentum Kiadó. 143–172.
- Pontoretto, J. (2015), *Joseph G. Ponterotto Psychobiography Training in Psychology in North America: Mapping the Field and Charting a Course* August, 2015. Europe's Journal of Psychology 11(3):459–475.
- Rab, V. (2021a), *An Old-and-new Aspect for Interpreting the Course of Life of Loránt Hegedüs as an Economist*. In: Kaposi, Z.; Rab, V. (Ed.) *Economic and Social Changes: Historical Facts, Analyses and Interpretations*. Pécs, Hungary Working Group of Economic and Social History Regional Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Pécs 16–22. doi: 10.15170/SESHST-01-02
- Rab, V. (2021b), *The Fanatic of Meaning-Making. The Psychobiographical Case Study of Loránt Hegedüs* In: Mayer, C-H., Paul, Fouché, J. P.; Niekerk, Van Roef (Eds.) *Psychobiographical Illustrations on Meaning and Identity in Sociocultural Contexts*, Cham, Switzerland, Springer International Publishing.
- Szabó, E. (1982), *A Szabad Lyceum*. In: Népművelés 1982. 11. 01. No. 11. 36–37. Nepmuveles_1982-1587157257__pages592-593.pdf
- Tőkéczki, L. (2014), *Hegedüs Sándor, a hívő református és dunántúli főgondnok [Sándor Hegedüs, a faithful Member of the Reformed Church and Superintendent of Transdanubia]* In: Hegedüs Sándor, a százkezű politikus [In: Hegedüs Sándor, the One-Hundred-Handed Politician] Budapest, Hungary, Argumentum Kiadó. 239–252.
- Ujváry, G. (2014), “*A százkezű ember*” [“*The Man with One Hundred Hands*”]. In: Hegedüs Sándor, a százkezű politikus. [In: Hegedüs Sándor, the One-Hundred-Handed Politician], Budapest, Hungary, Argumentum Kiadó. 55–142.

Contemporary sources (Family Chronicle, Journals, Newspapers and Others)

Hegedüs (1865), *Mire megvénülünk [By the Time We Grow Old]* In English “Debts of Honor” published in 1900.

Hegedüs, L. (1920), *Lesz-e béke? [Will There Be Peace?]*. Budapest: A nemzeti gazdálkodás kis könyvtára 1.

Hegedüs, L.(1929), *A sárga ház látogatói. [Visitors of the Yellow House.]* Új Idők, [New Ages] 1, 260.

Iskolai értesítők (1888), Református főgimnázium, Budapest, [College of the Reformed Church, Reports, Budapest] 57.

Iskolai értesítők (1889), Református főgimnázium, Budapest, [College of the Reformed Church, Reports, Budapest] 58.

Magyar Gyáripar (1942), A Magyar Gyáripar Országos Szövetségének Hivatalos Lapja [Hungarian Manufacturing Industry. Official Journal of the National Association of Hungarian Industrialists] No.7. 20.07.1942.

Nemzetgyűlési Almanach 1920–1922. (1921), [Almanac of the National Assembly 1920–1922] Vidor, Gy. (Eds.), Budapest, 169–171.

Nemzetgyűlési Napló 1920–1922. (1921), [Diary of the National Assembly 1920–1922] Vol. XIII. September 22, 1921 – December 17, 1921. 6–10.

Balla Antal (1943), Hegedüs Loránt meghalt. [Hegedüs Loránt passed away.] In: Pesti Hírlap 03.01.1943. 3. PestiHirlap_1943_01__pages15-16.pdf

Pesti Hírlap (1943), Pesti Hírlap 05.01.1943. 5. PestiHirlap_1943_01__pages33-33.pdf

Pesti Napló (1895), Sub Auspiciis Regis. Budapest, 12.10.1895.

Rónay, M. (1927), Interview with Loránt Hegedüs. Literatúra No. 11, 553. Literatura 2. (1927) | Arcanum Digitális Tudománytár

Tolnai Világlapja (1928), *Hegedüs Loránt. Karrierek [Hegedüs Loránt. Careers]*. In: Tolnai Világlapja 1928/3. TolnaiVilaglapja_1928_03__pages472-473.pdf

Ujság (1943) 05.01.1943. 4.

Zsindely, S. (2007), *Hegedüs Loránt élete és munkássága.* [The life and activity of Loránt Hegedüs] Budapest 2007. (Manuscript). In Zsindely, S. Családi Krónika. [Family Chronicle] 2. Volume, Budapest 2007.

András Máthé

The Economy of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status Between the World Wars

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine how the 20th century's political changes affected the Roman Catholic Church structurally, and its specific institution, the Roman Catholic Status by the agrarian reforms which were part of the modernization process and nation-building in Greater Romania; and more importantly in Transylvania, the area of the four Roman Catholic dioceses of Nagyárad, Gyulaféhérvár, Temesvár and Szatmár, and what alternatives were created for economical surviving.

Applied methods. Literature review including the history of World War I and the consequences of the upcoming treaties of Versailles. We involved sources from church literature, agrarian estates records and data from researches of the Status archives from Transylvania. The research framework is the history of the Roman Catholic Status. We introduced four ecclesiastical counties whose economically changes influenced the administration of several institutions and funds belonging to the Status. We made a structural analysis examining the new economic system of the Roman Catholic Status situated in the middle of the modernization development of Greater Romania.

Outcomes. Due to the annexation of Transylvania to Romania, the Roman Catholic Church went from a privileged position to a marginal position, since the majority of the Romanian population was Orthodox Christian. Many problems of the process of modernization and nation-building in Greater Romania were felt by all sections of the population, but it was the ethnic minorities and their institutions - especially the churches - which were to be integrated into the new nation-state that were most affected. The four Roman Catholic dioceses Gyulaféhérvár (Alba Iulia), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Temesvár (Timișoara) and Szatmár (Satu Mare)) expropriated 277,513 acres of a total of 290,570 acres of land, which represented 98% of the land holdings. The agrarian reform of 1919-1920 brought major changes in the management of the Status funds and the estates belonging to them.

Keywords: Transylvania, church, agrarian, ecclesiastical, estates, losses.

The period between the world wars was a trying time for the minority churches in Transylvania. The development of these church institutions was structurally altered by the two great socio-political demands of the inter-war period: the unfolding developmental process of modernization and the power considering the nation-building.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a fundamental challenge in the modernization development of Greater Romania was the solution of the agrarian question, which had a wide-ranging impact on the whole socio-economic sphere. Both the economic development of the country and the rising living standards of the peasantry depended on this solution. The agrarian reforms promised as early as 1917 were adopted and implemented between 1918 and 1921. However, their provisions were applied in different ways in the various historical provinces, in an attempt to adapt them to their socio-economic conditions and levels of development.

In this way, legislation was applied much more radically in Transylvania and Bessarabia than in Moldavia, Wallachia and Bukovina. The primary reason for this was that in the case of the first two provinces, the spirit of the revolution at the end of the war was stronger in 1917-1918, and there was also a strong correlation between land ownership and ethnic differences.

The primary aim of these laws was to distribute land to the peasantry and this was explained by social rather than economic motives. At the same time as private land was expropriated, the same was done with the land of the different companies and private banks, towns and villages, and also with the private lands of the churches.

The many problems of the modernization process and nation-building in Greater Romania were felt by all sections of the population, but it was the national minorities and their institutions, especially the churches, which had to be integrated into the new nation-state, that were most affected.

For the Hungarian minority churches in Transylvania, the adjustment to a new system struggling with a new complex social and political reality was very difficult. The difficulty of the situation is also reflected in the fact that all social groups expected the leaders of these churches to understand and explore the situation and, in general, to define the future development of the Hungarian minority in Romania at political, public, cultural and social levels.

Due to the annexation of Transylvania to Romania, the Roman Catholic Church went from a privileged position to a minority position, since the majority of the Romanian population was Orthodox Christian. The new state power also tried to draw the borders of the dioceses according to the new state boundaries that had already been established, which meant a direct dismemberment in the case of the Roman Catholic Church. In the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Romanian state, taking the oath by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania, Gusztáv Károly Majláth, before the Romanian King Ferdinand I on 19 March 1921 was a historic moment. This was obviously a necessary act, as the Church was forced to integrate into the new state framework and would have found it difficult to reorganize and survive economically without the approval of the Romanian government. The Hungarian churches had many political struggles against the Romanian state, regarding both internal politics and foreign policy, at the League of Nations. In the case of Hungarians in Transylvania, the churches were the main critics of Romanian school and agricultural policies. Through their bishops they tried to take over the role of the former Hungarian state, especially in school matters. Gusztáv Károly Majláth, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Transylvania, notes in connection with the land reform that ,despite the expropriation of a large part of the lands of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status, 118 parishes and 77 filiates remained without the land officially defined by law'.¹

In the process of structural transformation of the Romanian state, the Catholic Church also had to adapt to the new political situation in order to maintain and develop its specific institutions. During the period of its activity, the main points of contention were the controversies surrounding the legal personality of the Roman Catholic State. The primary task was to clarify property rights, to recognize the ownership of the property of the Status and the ways in which it was to be administered and used.

The economic framework and the conditions for the operation of the Status were determined by two fundamental issues. The first was the extent to which the centuries-old autonomy of the Transylvanian Catholics could be preserved without substantial changes, and the second was the extent to which the estates donated by the patrons could be used legally for the maintenance of cultural, educational and other religious institutions.

According to a summary published in the „Erdélyi Magyar Évkönyv” (Transylvanian Hungarian Yearbook) in 1941, during the land reforms in Northern Transylvania alone, a total of 136,140 cadastral acres² were appropriated from non-Romanian churches, and only 5,582

¹ Roman Catholic Bishop Károly Majláth Gusztáv, Senate speech of 2 November 1924, in: *Glasul Minoritatilor*, II, 1924, no. 10-12, October-December, p.2.

² One Cadastral acre equals 0.575464 hectares or 5754.64152861 square meters. In this study acre means Cadastral acres.

cadastral acres from Romanian churches. Accordingly, the non-Romanian registered a loss of 96%, the Romanian churches a loss of 4%. The situation in Southern Transylvania was similar, as the objectives were the same. From the multitude of data on the damage suffered by individual parishes, it can be seen that with the land reform, the planners of this reform took away 90% of the property of the Hungarian churches and allocated most of the expropriated land to Romanian parishes.³

The following table shows the amount of land lost by the minority Hungarian churches during the land reform:⁴

Table 1: **The losses of lands of the Roman Catholic Episcopates from Transylvania**

MINORITY HUNGARIAN CHURCHES	LOSSES	
	CADASTRAL ACRES	%
Roman Catholic Episcopate of Varad (Oradea)	229.151	97.39
Roman Catholic Episcopate of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)	37.656	85.56
Roman Catholic Episcopate of Temesvár (Timișoara)	10.270	95.58
Roman Catholic Episcopate of Szatmár (Satu Mare)	568	76.55
Roman Catholic Church (total)	277.645	95.50
Reformed Episcopate of Transylvania	24.563	41.98
Reformed Episcopate of Várad (Oradea)	660	18.09
Unitarian Church	11.389	63.57
Hungarian Evangelical Parishes	74	7.10
Protestant Churches (total)	36.686	45.23

The Transylvanian land reform was decided in Paragraph 3, Article 5 of the Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) resolutions, and by this measure the state wanted to enforce its intentions of social equalization and economic development. This was also the purpose of Decree no. 3911/1919 of the Governing Body of 10 September 1919, later amended by the Averescu Government on 9 July 1920. However, the expropriation of church property was based on a bill of 23 July 1921 by the Minister of Agriculture, Constantin Garoflid.⁵

According to Article 6, point 4 of the Land Reform Law implemented in Transylvania, the arable land of each parish was exempt from expropriation up to 40 acres. In addition to the 40 acres, the law exempted 16 acres of land from expropriation for parishes with a school, and 10 acres for parishes with more than 300 inhabitants, making a total of 66 acres. By this provision, the Romanian legislator himself determined the minimum amount of land that a parish must have in order to cover its church and school expenses. Another provision of the law and its implementing order also provided that where parishes did not have the above mentioned amount of land, they should be supplemented with the expropriated land up to the amount prescribed by law. However, the implementation of the law revealed that the above mentioned provisions of this law were only applicable to Romanian churches for their own benefits, and not to Hungarian churches.⁶

³ Bíró, S. (2002): 330.

⁴ Venczel, J. (1942): 133.

⁵ Ibidem: 30.

⁶ Bíró, S. (2002): 330.

The strict provisions of the land law brought radical changes in the economic structure of minority churches, as the consequences of the land reform had a double impact on churches and their specific institutions. In addition to the expropriation of a large part of the church's urban real estates and agricultural lands, the financial support of some church members was also lost. Previously, many church members with land had financed the church schools and other church institutions, and their donations had supplemented the salaries of the employees of these institutions, but the reform also meant that they lost a large part of their property and could no longer support the church from their income.

The four Roman Catholic dioceses (Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Temesvár (Timișoara) and Szatmár (Satu Mare)) expropriated 277,513 acres of a total of 290,570 acres of land, which represented 98% of the land holdings.⁷

The expropriation of the land of the Catholic Status began on 13 May 1922. The first property to be expropriated was that of Alsóbajom (Boian), followed by the Radnót (Iernuț) manor and other forest covered districts. The Diocese of Gyulafehervár (Alba Iulia) lost almost all of its properties.⁸

75% of the land was appropriated from the counties of Bihar (Bihor), Csík (Ciuc) and Kolozs (Cluj), as the largest ecclesiastical owner in Bihar (Bihor) was the diocese of Várad (Oradea). In Csík (Ciuc) almost all Roman Catholic parishes had estates, and in Kolozs (Cluj) there were three large estates of the Roman Catholic Status, all of which were meant for educational purposes.⁹

Some documents of the League of Nations give an insight into some of the problems of religious minorities in Romania. Eric Colban, a Norwegian diplomat, Chief of the Administrative Department of the League of Nations, Commissioner for Minority Affairs, prepared a series of reports on his last visit to Transylvania, 23-28 October 1926. In them he devoted much attention to the consequences of the land reform for the church institutions. During his visit to the Roman Catholic Bishop Imre Bjelik, he was able to identify some of the difficulties in maintaining schools, which stemmed from the excessive expropriation of church property.¹⁰ In the diocese of Várad (Oradea), in the regions bordering Hungary, the answer to the questions addressed to the population is: "The villagers were given land for building houses and farm buildings, which were the property of the Episcopate of Várad (Oradea) before the land reform."¹¹

Most of the Hungarian ecclesiastical estates belonged to various funds, which the church merely administered. Most of the estates of the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status also belonged to various funds, such as the estate of Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur), which was owned by the Educational Fund. The manors of Váralmás (Almașu) and Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) belonged to the Scholarship Fund, while the Radnót (Iernuț) and Alsóbajom (Boian) manors were in 1/3-1/3 part owned by the Scholarship Fund and the Religious Fund.¹²

The Roman Catholic parishes in Transylvania had only 4,179 cadastral acres of land before the land reform. They were still entitled to 12,595 acres of land up to the amount of land officially allowed by law. Only three parishes benefited from a total of 21 acres. There were also

⁷ Marton, J. (1993): 154.

⁸ Ibidem, 155.

⁹ In the above mentioned areas, the Roman Catholic Church lost 114,881 acres of land, the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church lost 1,649 acres, the Armenian Catholics 352 acres, and the Ruthenian Catholics 4.3 acres. See: Venczel, J. (1993): 94.

¹⁰ Iancu, Gh. (2002): 285.

¹¹ Ibidem, 288.

¹² Móricz, M. (1932): 97.

many cases in which a number of additional parcels of land from the statutory areas of some parishes were also appropriated.¹³

Income from the estates of the various funds provided for the running of church institutions and denominational schools, as well as the maintenance of church buildings. As a result of the political and legal changes of 1918, the only Status estate to escape the ravages of the revolutions unscathed was Radnót (Iernut). The National Guards managed to stop the onslaught of looters during the upheaval, but what was saved from them later fell victim to natural disasters. The floods of the spring and summer of 1919 completely destroyed the crops and destroyed the workers' houses and the mill. The devastation made it difficult to feed the animals, so a major financial investment from the Status budget was needed. The floods destroyed the brickworks on the banks of the Maros (Mureş) river, which also belonged to the manor. Most of the pigs sold from the estate died as a result of the epidemic, and the buyers made claims to the estate's administration office.¹⁴ In the same year, the expropriation of the Radnót (Iernut) estate began. First 150 acres of pasture were distributed among the population, then 60 acres in Maroslekence (Lechința). Then a 50-acre clover parcel was expropriated. The law allowed 1300 acres of land to be retained by the Status out of 4360 acres of land. In the Alsóbajom (Boian) manor, the law left 150 acres of the 1450 acres of land in the ownership of the Status. While half of the hayfields in Radnót (Iernut) were appropriated, in Alsóbajom (Boian) all the hayfields were completely taken away.¹⁵

All these losses have upset the order in the administration of the institutions of the Status. The huge losses also recorded in the case of the other estates resulted in a stagnation or total lack of funding for the institutions and various activities of the Catholic Church.

In the fall of 1918, as a result of the revolution, the Alsóbajom (Boian) estate was completely destroyed. On 5 November, looters set the castle on fire and the mob scattered any remaining valuables. Surviving documents show that livestock, agricultural machinery and crops were stolen, causing damage to the Status's institution of around 3 million Krones.¹⁶ Order was later restored and production restarted, at great cost. Theft continued to be a daily problem and manpower was hard to find.

60 acres of forest were cut down and taken from the Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur) estate, and 1200 cubic meters of firewood were stolen from the Kisbácsi (Baciú) forest. The Calvary Church in Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur) was vandalized by unknown perpetrators, who also vandalized other buildings belonging to the estate. The Kardos mill and the Horák house suffered similar damage. The Váralmás (Almașu) estate was similarly vandalized.¹⁷

The agrarian reform left the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania with 43,890 cadastral acres of land. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Gyulafehervár (Alba Iulia) was left with 100 acres of ploughland out of 2,556 and 2,109 acres of forest out of 29,196 acres as a result of the reform laws of the Minister of Agriculture, Constantin Garoflid. The chapter was left with 23 acres of the 818 acres of land and 603 acres of the 3,363 acres of forest. The 821 acres of land and forest were completely expropriated from the clergy. The Status Fund was initially left with 579 acres of land out of 11,717 acres, and even this was reduced to 380 acres when the expropriations were completed. Only 2,670 acres of forest land remained out of 14,820 acres.¹⁸

¹³ Bíró, S. (2002): 331.

¹⁴ ASRCT. Report of the Governing Body of the Roman Catholic Status to the Assembly of the Status, 29 September 1920, page 26.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 31.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 28.

¹⁷ Ibidem, 30.

¹⁸ Marton, J. (2008): 35.

In the case of many Roman Catholic parishes in Transylvania, data on expropriation are missing. What is certain is that there were some parishes which ceased to exist due to the lack of financial resources.

At the end of the 19th century, the assets of the funds of the Status consisted largely of various stocks, cash and the manor of Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur). The instability of the stocks led the Status management to the decision to buy up real estate, which in the long run was a secure investment. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status, together with the old estate of Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur), owned 15,000 acres of forest and 12,000 acres of land.¹⁹ The income resulting from acquired properties has increased year on year. The income has been used to ensure the proper functioning of the Roman Catholic denominational schools and other institutions run by the Status.

The issues related to the school and other material issues of the Roman Catholic Episcopal Diocese of Transylvania were administered by the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status. The main decision-making body of the Status was the Status Assembly, and its administrative and executive body was the Governing Body. The General Ordinary Assembly of the Status was convened once a year. In the event of extremely important events, the Governing Body could also convene the Status Assembly. The members of the Status Assembly consisted in 1/3 part of the clergy and in 2/3 part of the laity, who had to belong to the Episcopal Diocese of Transylvania and be Romanian citizens.²⁰

The competence of the Status Assembly extended to all school matters, the administration of funds and all church-related matters that were not specifically part of the bishop's duties. In the Transylvanian Catholic diocese, it determined and administered the school system for all Roman Catholic elementary schools and grammar schools. It determined the posts, the conditions for the promotion of secondary school teachers, and paid for them from the Educational Fund. It also provided for the establishment of vocational schools according to needs and possibilities. It has supported boarding schools from the Scholarship Fund. The Status Assembly has supervised and controlled the proper and rational administration of the funds and endowments, and has laid down firm principles for the control and administration of church, school, and endowment property. To this end, it made proposals to the Governing Body. The Governing Body implemented the decisions taken by the Status Assembly, administered the schools and the property of the Status, provided for the school staff and all the material needs of the schools.²¹

The Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status administered several funds, such as the Educational Fund, the Scholarship Fund, the Religious Fund, the Fund of the Roman Catholic Elementary Schools, the Teresa Orphanage Fund, the Employees' Pension Fund, the Insurance Fund and the Fund for the Education of the Denominational Schools. Each Fund had its own accounting records and its own budget to help control and monitor expenditure.

In several cases, Transylvanian noble families, or just very wealthy families, left part of their property to the church or became patrons of a church institution. It was often the donations of wealthy church members that enabled a denominational school to be run, or the salaries of employees of a church institution to be paid, or even the maintenance of a priest in a village. There were a number of foundations, funds in the administration of the Roman Catholic Status, founded by Catholic nobles, with the fund bearing their name and their precise purpose. In the administration records of the Status, there are entire registers with the names of the founders,

¹⁹ Ibidem, 82.

²⁰ DANIC. Ministry of Religion and Culture, file 171/ (1924-1932) Status, Accord, (From the decisions of the Status Assembly, 20 November 1930, Cluj-Napoca, pp. 251-253.

²¹ Ibidem, 253-255.

and next to the names the purpose of the donation is indicated, most often to support a gifted student attending a religious school who has financial difficulties.

The agrarian reform of 1919-1920 brought major changes in the management of the Status funds and the estates belonging to them. On one hand, they suffered enormous losses due to expropriations, and on the other hand, the devastation caused by the upheavals resulted a great deal of damage when the population of the surrounding villages looted and burned the buildings on the estates. After the situation had calmed down, the Roman Catholic Church, through the Status, re-established order, started cultivation on the remaining land and tried to free the land from forced rent.

Due to the increase in real estate prices, in the 1920s, the Governing Body of the Status auctioned off some outer areas, lands, but also inner lands from the assets of the Religious, Educational and Scholarship Funds of the Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur) manor. The English Park in Kardos (Cordoş) - because it had become difficult to maintain due to the stumps of felled trees - was parceled up and sold as a building site for 10,000 lei. In Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur), a 154-square-feet land was sold for 1,500 lei.²² In the same area, 1 acre and 114 square feet land were sold for 17,000 lei. An area of 274 square feet used for hemp cultivation was sold for 2,800 lei. A four-acre field land was sold for 25,000 lei and a 24-square-feet land in Kálvária Street was sold to the former tenant for 1,300 lei. In Bogártelke (Băgara), an area of 1 hectare and 635 square feet was sold for 6,000 lei, and a mowing area of 1,165 square feet was sold for 4,000 lei. In Kisbács (Baciú), a 400 square-feet mower was sold for 750 lei and a 3 hectare, 607 square-feet plot was sold for 10,135 lei.²³

The income from all these sold properties were deposited in the Educational Fund. In addition to the income, there is also a list of expenditure, which shows that the Status has signed a one-year contract with a water sewerage company for maintenance for the sum of 3,600 lei per year. For the maintenance of buildings alone, 18,890 lei was spent. The total value of the properties rented by the Roman Catholic Church in Kolozsvár (Cluj) was estimated at 13,829,180 lei. At the same time, there is a 1921 statistics on the income from agriculture of the estate in Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur), which shows that the annual income of the Educational Fund was 125,000 lei.

The loss of income suffered by the Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur) manor as a result of the land reform prompted the Status management to look for new alternatives to make up the shortfall. The loss of property had a negative impact on the functioning of some ecclesiastical institutions, which the Status maintained through various funds. The mill and the farm buildings were not expropriated but, in the absence of the land taken, they had to find other uses to ensure continuous income generation for the funds. The management of the estate was considering converting the buildings into a factory. With a small investment, they envisaged using hydropower to generate electricity that could provide electricity for one or more villages. A proposal was made to the Governing Body of the Status to approve the setting up of a rope factory and a weaving factory processing hemp in the event of a major expropriation. They also envisaged the setting up of a hydroelectric fruit canning factory or a chicken farm.²⁴

Similar situations prevailed at the manor of Alsóbajom (Boian). The expropriation of the land resulted in a change in the course of production. In addition to 22 acres of vineyards, they now farmed a total of 51 acres of land. Of these, 20 acres were devoted to wheat, 10 to beech

²² This is an old unit of measurement used in Romania to measure the size of lands, which differed in size from other areas. Thus, in Transylvania, a square-feet of land was 3.59 square meters, in the province of Wallachia, 3.87 square meters, and in Moldavia 4.97 square meters.

²³ ASRCT. Report of the Governing Body of the Roman Catholic Status to the Status Assembly on the Estates, 10 August 1922, page 82.

²⁴ Ibidem, 88.

and oats and 25 to maize. The livestock consisted of 17 cows, 4 buffaloes, 11 horses and 199 sheep. The income from agriculture was 69,801 lei and 82 bani, of which all the funds had its own share. 25,000 lei was deposited in the current account.²⁵

Such economic documents, reports on the management of the Status funds, can be found for each year. However, there is a wide variation between them. This was due to the constant acquisition and sale of new properties. In a number of cases, it was possible to recover properties that had been taken on forced lease for the benefit of the Status Funds. The church was forced to sell several properties, as it was unable to maintain them in the new situation.

Statistical accounts show that the amounts of income from economic activities within an estate have varied from year to year. In the mid-1920s, it was observed that the nominal income of some estates could even triple, but this was not the result of economic growth but inflation. The post-war period was characterized by a steady rise of inflation. Thus, the volume of money supply increased from 1452 million lei at the end of 1916 to 17,917 million lei at the end of 1923.²⁶ This represented a 12-fold increase compared to 1916 and was mainly due to the fact that the state called on the National Bank of Romania to issue large amounts of paper money to balance the budget deficit, especially in 1920-1921. According to official data from the Ministry of Industry and Trade, trade price indices increased nationwide in 1923. Compared with the figures in 1914, the increase was 2586 %, i.e. a 26-fold increase. Another reason for the financial chaos in Romania and the rise in inflation was that in the first two years after the war, in addition to the leu issued by the National Bank of Romania, other currencies were in circulation, such as the Austro-Hungarian Krones and the rubles, each of which had a different exchange rate. The inflationary increase in monetary turnover was followed by a rise in prices and a fall in the exchange rate of the leu at national and international level.²⁷

From the correspondence between the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania and the Romanian state authorities, a number of petitions have survived in which church people or the bishop himself request financial assistance for the repair of church buildings or for the payment of teachers in religious schools. In a document dated March 1924, Imre Bjelik, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church in Nagyvárad (Oradea), appealed to the Minister of Culture for financial aid. This letter revealed that the Roman Catholic Church in Nagyvárad (Oradea), due to its patronage obligation, allotted for the parish priests, cantors and vestrymen a total of 62,820 lei and 69 bani per year, 82,80 hectoliters of wheat, 212,90 hectoliters of rye, 128,40 hectoliters of oats, 14,80 hectoliters of barley, 6685 liters of wine, 3626 cubic meters of firewood, 67 cubic meters of wood for building and 28 fattening pigs worth 1,800,000 lei. In addition, he was also obliged to maintain 58 churches, schools, parish buildings and the associated farm buildings.²⁸

Under Article 90 of the land reform, after the expropriation of forests and land suitable for agricultural use, these patronage obligations were transferred to the state. However, the state failed to fulfil these obligations towards the church, and this created serious structural disturbances in the functioning of church institutions.

In a document dated 14 January 1925, Bishop Gusztáv Károly Majláth of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) appeals to Alexandru Lapedatu, Minister of Culture, for financial aid for the Catholic Theology. In his letter, the Bishop explains that he is once again forced to ask for financial support for the seminary, as the 45 theologians and staff need 900,000 lei per year

²⁵ Ibidem, 89.

²⁶ Related to statistics of the Ministry of Industry and Trade from 1925.

²⁷ Compared with the French franc (the Western European currency unit that depreciated the least after the World War), 100 Romanian lei were worth 11.05 francs in 1919, but only 2.30 francs in 1922. The depreciation of the leu was best reflected in the rise in prices at national level.

²⁸ DANIC. Archives of the Department of Administration and Culture, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Culture, file 166/1924, page 51.

to support them, of which the own income is only 200,000 lei. This leaves a deficit of 700,000 lei, which the state would be obliged to pay. He also notes here that the Catholic seminary had sufficient land to cover the costs of this institution, but lost this resource as a result of the agricultural law. It is clear that if the state does not return the land and if it does not intend to abolish this diocesan institution, it will be obliged to pay the difference of 700 000 lei.²⁹

A large part of the church's real estate was made up of donations left to the church by individuals in the absence of heirs, and of estates renounced by Transylvanian noble families in favor of the church. This is evidenced by a number of written wills by which movable and immovable property was transferred to the Church, certified by a notary.

Such donation letters and wills were also significant because they provided the church with unforeseen financial resources. One such donation was the one now known as the Stanca Hospital in Kolozsvár (Cluj). The management or sale of these assets could provide the basic conditions for the operation of church institutions when, in difficult times, state grants were delayed or permanently withheld.

In most cases, the agrarian reform deprived the churches of the agricultural land that served to maintain the denominational schools. And the onset of the global economic crisis destroyed private foundations. The operating conditions of church institutions were further worsened by some paragraphs of the enacted cult law, which abolished private patronage. This meant that all the difficulties had to be borne by the parishes themselves. Even though taxes were very high. By the end of the 1930s, properties that were exempt from expropriation were strictly taxed according to their value.

At the end of the 1920s, there was a proliferation of documents from various churches requesting financial assistance. The main reasons for this were the national and international financial crisis, the fall in grain prices and the disappearance of various markets. The economic situation in Romania did not allow these requests to be honored and, as a result, the churches could only rely on their own resources. Romania not only had to meet the criteria for a modern state (bureaucracy, army, justice), but also had to consolidate the conditions for its future development (education system, infrastructure, economic support). Despite the fact that Romania was able to finance about a quarter of its internal needs from the profits of its oil industry, in 1936 it had the largest external public debt in South-East Europe.

From 1928 onwards, it became increasingly difficult for Romania to meet world challenges, both economically and politically. The Great Depression caused a general shock at economic, political and social levels. It tested the leadership of the political parties and the entire state apparatus in general.³⁰

In the midst of economic crisis, the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status also underwent an internal structural crisis, as the institution had to change its structural foundations according to the decisions of the Rome Accord, finalized on 30 May 1932. The institution, known as "Status Romano-Catholicus Transylvaniensis", was transformed into an organ of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Gyulafehervár (Alba Iulia), in accordance with the first article of the Accord, and was named the Roman Catholic Diocesan Council of Gyulafehervár (Alba Iulia). Article X of the Accord emphasized that the signing of this agreement coincided with the signing of the new institution's organizational and operational statute. According to this article, the membership of the Catholic Diocesan Council was reduced and the still existing Status Assembly was dissolved on the basis of the same article.³¹

The reorganization of the institution of the Status and the reduction of its membership temporarily created a situation of confusion within the institution, which also affected the

²⁹ Ibidem: DANIC. file 182/1925, page 6.

³⁰ Berend, T. I. - Ránki, Gy. (1974): 309.

³¹ Monitorul Oficial, no. 180, 1932, VIII, p.3.

management of the various Funds' estates. The financial reports were only partially completed, audits and minutes were in most cases lacking, the internal bureaucracy and the sphere of activity of the various departments were reduced, and the Catholic Church incurred huge losses as a result of the difficult management of property and assets.

Starting in the 1930s, more and more real estate rental laws appear, that cause financial damage to the Status's sources of income. Under the new Landlord and Tenant Act of 1932, from 1 May, the Status was subject to a 30% reduction in the rent of each shop or tenement, which was already sold at well below market value. In the 1930s, the Status owned a number of properties that could not be used. In order not to increase their number, a decision was taken by the Assembly to impose a reduction in wages, especially for old tenants and those loyal to the Church. However, the wage cut imposed by the state was not accompanied by a reduction in property taxes, despite the law stating that in the event of a 30 % wage cut, the tax paid on the property would also be reduced in proportion. On the other hand, the Status had to reckon with an additional tax on real estate, so that the amount paid on real estate rose from 161,319 lei in 1931 to 240,830 lei in 1932.³²

All in all, these more than two decades were also a search for the socio-economic adaptation of the minority churches and their integration into the new state framework, when they were assigned a secondary position, in contrast to the Greek Eastern (Orthodox) Church, recognized as a state religion by the Romanian state, and to the Greek Catholic Church, which had its privileged position legitimized.

Bibliography

- Ivan, A. L. (2006): Stat, majoritate si minoritate nationala in Romania, (1919-1933). Cazul maghiarilor si germanilor din Transilvania. Eikon, Kolozsvár
- Berend, T. – Ránki, Gy. (1974): Economic Development in East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries. New York
- Bíró, S. (2002): Kisebbségen és többségen. Románok és magyarok 1867-1940. Pro print Kiadó, Csíkszereda.
- Gyárfás, E. (1932): Gyárfás Elemér beszéde és N. Iorga miniszterelnök válasza. In: *Glasul Minoritatilor*, 1932.
- Iancu, Gh. (2002): Problema minoritatilor etnice din Romania in documente ale Societatii Natiunilor (1923-1932). Argonaut Kiadó, Kolozsvár
- Majláth, G. (1924): Szenátusi beszéd. In: *Glasul Minoritatilor*, II, 1924. No. 10-12.
- Marton, J. (1993): Az Erdélyi /Gyulafehérvári/ Egyházmegye története. Glória Kiadó. Kolozsvár
- Marton, J. (2008): Az Erdélyi Katolicizmus 90 éve (1900-1990). Presa Universitară Clujeană Kiadó, Kolozsvár
- Móricz, M. (1932): Az erdélyi föld sorsa. Az 1921 évi román földreform. Erdélyi Férfiak Egyesülete Kiadó, Budapest
- Sandru, D. (1975): Reforma agrara din 1921 din Romania. Republicii Socialiste din Romania. Bukarest
- Venczel, J. (1942): Az erdélyi román földbirtokreform. Minerva Kiadó, Kolozsvár
- Archival sources
- DANIC = Directia Arhivelor Nationale Istorice Centrale. (A Közigazgatási és Kulturális Ügyosztály Levéltára). Vallási és Kulturális Minisztérium, dos. 171/ (1924-1932) Status, Accord. Státus Gyűlés határozataiból, 1930. november 20.). Kolozsvár

³² ASRCT. Report of the Governing Body of the Roman Catholic Status to the Status Assembly on the estates of Kolozsmonostor (Mănăstur), 17 November 1932, page 113.

Monitorul Oficial, nr. 180, 1932, VIII.

ASRCT = Arhivele Statusului Romano Catolic din Transilvania. (Az Erdélyi Római Katolikus Státus Levéltára). A Római Katolikus Státus Igazgató Tanácsának jelentése a Státus Gyűlés számára a birtokokról, 1920 szeptember 29.

ASRCT = Arhivele Statusului Romano Catolic din Transilvania (Erdélyi Római Katolikus Státus Levéltára). A Római Katolikus Státus Igazgató Tanácsának jelentése a Státus Gyűlés számára a kolozsmonostori birtokokról, 1932. november 17.

Judit Borsy

Situation économique des orphelins du domaine du fonds public de Versend dans la première partie du 19^{ème} siècle

Abstract

The purpose of the study. The fundamental question is what factors influenced the living conditions of the 515 orphans left in the Versend estate between 1815 and 1848. To what extent impacted the inherited wealth, the age of the orphaned child, the number of siblings, and the role of guardianship and lordship shaping the fate of orphans.

Applied methods. The orphan census and orphan documents of the Versend estate formed the basis of the research. With the help of data referring to their financial conditions, it was possible to compare the types of heritage and the handling of it. On the one hand, we examined the percentage distribution of all assets, and on the other hand, we performed calculations by filtering out different groups. The conclusions drawn from the figures were confirmed by examining individual examples. In the course of the research, in addition to our previous processing of the orphans of the Pécsvárad public foundation estate, we also reviewed the works related to the orphans in France.

Outcomes. Most of the orphans in Versend were very poor, and the loss of their parents made their situation much worse financially. The little more affluent only had the opportunity to learn, which mostly meant some kind of craftsmanship. Marriage also allowed orphans displaced from the family farm to get land, so orphans were married relatively early. Early deaths were affected by the scarcity of wealth, the number of siblings, the age of becoming an orphan. The fate of the orphans was basically determined by their financial situation, but its further development was influenced by the person of the guardian, their residence and circumstances, and even the solicitude of the orphan's guardian.

Keywords: Orphan, orphanage, Versend, manor, public foundation

L'importance de la famille et de son rôle protecteur est bien évident en examinant le sort des orphelins. Dans la première partie du 19^{ème} siècle les pères et également les mères étaient menacés par la mort précoce. Les femmes ont abandonné beaucoup de fois leurs enfants très jeunes à cause de nombreuses accouchements. Les hommes se sont mariés à l'âge mûr, et c'est pourquoi ils ne pouvaient pas toujours éléver leurs enfants.

Il ne faut pas expliquer à quel point les enfants ont souffert de l'absence de leurs parents, qu'ils ont essuyé une perte importante, mais il vaut la peine d'examiner les nombreux facteurs qui ont influencé leur situation économique.

Les parents qui sont restés seuls, dans la plupart des cas n'étaient pas capables d'éduquer leurs enfants, surtout du point de vue financier. On était obligé de se remarier beaucoup de fois par nécessité matérielle. L'enfant ayant perdu son père, sa mère se trouvait dans la dépendance de son beau-père ou belle-mère.

Il arrivait, que les enfants nés de plusieurs mariages vivaient tous ensemble. Il n'est pas curieux si la veuve, la belle-mère des enfants du mariage premier ou second de son mari décédé, s'est remariée pour s'évader de cette situation.¹

Dans ces familles „patchwork” il y avait beaucoup de problèmes si on n'avait fait ni un testament ni un contrat de mariage. On le voit dans l'exemple de Georges Klein, meunier de

¹ On le voit dans l'exemple de la veuve de Jovan Knesovits qui a écrit dans sa plainte: „J'ai été forcée de me marier puisque mes beaux-fils ne m'avaient pas respectée.” MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-102. Knezovits.

Kéménd, père de deux filles qui avait acheté un moulin en 1803. Après sa mort, en 1810 sa veuve a épousé Jean Klósz. Il était aussi meunier de Kéménd et il a vendu son propre moulin pour pouvoir rénover le moulin vétuste de Georges Klein. Quand sa femme, la veuve de Georges Klein a été morte elle aussi, il s'est remarié à son tour avec Christine Loschan, et deux fils sont nés de leur mariage. Après la mort de Jean Klósz tous les orphelins voulaient acquérir le moulin, les filles puisque c'était leur père qui l'avait acheté et les garçons puisque c'était leur père qui l'avait rénové.²

La situation était encore plus compliquée où un veuf et une veuve se sont mariés ayant tous les deux des enfants nés d'un mariage précédent. La veuve de Nicolas Schleich avait deux enfants, mais elle soignait même les deux enfants nés du premier mariage de son mari décédé. Elle s'est remariée avec Martin Glück qui était aussi veuf et qui avait déjà, lui aussi, deux enfants nés de son premier mariage. Quatre enfants sont nés de leur mariage et quand les parents étaient morts, les dix héritiers ne savaient plus qui devait à qui et combien.³

En Hongrie dans la première partie du 19^{ème} siècle c'était le devoir du domaine de surveiller et d'administrer les biens des orphelins.⁴ En 1810 le conseil de lieutenance qui a dirigé les domaines du fonds public,⁵ a élaboré les instructions de l'administration de l'affaire des orphelins. D'après les instructions le domaine devait mettre en sécurité les biens des serfs, il devait surveiller le soignement des orphelins et décider en questions disputées.⁶

Dans la plupart des cas, l'héritage s'est divisé essentiellement en biens immeubles et en biens meubles, l'argent comptant ne s'y trouvait presque jamais. Les biens immeubles pouvaient être des vignes, des moulins, mais le plus souvent c'étaient des fonds de terre.⁷ En principe le serge n'était pas le possesseur du fonds de terre, mais en réalité ils pouvaient les vendre, ils pouvaient les changer entre les uns et les autres et ils pouvaient aussi en disposer par testament. Le seul critère en ait été de faire ratifier les contrats par le praefectus⁸, le chef du domaine seigneurial.

Vendre ou ne pas vendre les immeubles des orphelins c'était une question difficile, et c'était les chefs du domaine qui devaient en décider. Il y avait quatre solutions principales: 1. Vendre l'immeuble aux enchères 2. le donner à louage (tipiquement les moulins, les vignes) 3. le tuteur (le beau-père ou la belle-mère) qui alimentait l'enfant s'en servait 4. un des frères l'a gardé et il a payé la portion de l'héritage de ses frères et de ses soeurs.

La plupart des biens immeubles, 56,7% étaient vendus aux enchères.⁹ Dans le 16,3% des cas c'étaient les veuves, dans le 5,8% des cas c'étaient les tuteurs qui les ont gardés, et dans le 21,2% des cas les biens immeubles sont restés dans la possession d'un des orphelins. Le provisor¹⁰ s'occupait de la vente des immeubles, mais les représentants de la municipalité (le juge et les

² MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-160. Klein, 161. Klósz. XI.605.i. Q 91/1821.

³ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-35. Schleich. 50. Glück.

⁴ Le tuteur des orphelins des paysans était le seigneur du domaine. Mezey, B. (2003): 114.

⁵ Le fonds public a été issu des biens des ordres religieux catholiques ayant abolis à la fin du 18^{ème} siècle. Le conseil de lieutenance a organisé l'administration de ces domaines. C'était en 1794 qu'on a partagé ces domaines d'après leur situation géographique en cinq districts, un desquels était celui de Pécsvárad. On a administré dans ce district sept domaines dont trois (celui de Pécsvárad, celui de Bozsok et celui de Versend) avaient fait partie de l'abbaye de Pécsvárad auparavant. Borsy, J. (2015): 183.

⁶ Borsy, J. (2018): 187-188.

⁷ En Hongrie c'était en 1767 que Marie Thérèse a réglé les relations entre le domaine seigneurial et les serges. Elle a précisé les prestations appartenues aux fonds de terre. Un terrain de serge s'est composé de terre arable (32 acres dans le comitat de Baranya) du jardin et du pré. Mais il y avait peu de paysans qui avait un „terrain entier”, il y avait plutôt des terrains „demis”, „quarts” etc. Les paysans qui n'avaient qu'un huitième de terrain s'appelait „zsellér” (en latin: *inquilinus*) en Hongrie.

⁸ Praefectus: mot latin. Il était le chef du district du fonds public. Il était en relation du conseil de lieutenance et aussi des provisors des domaines. Borsy, J. (2007): 164-165.

⁹ Dans le domaine de Bozsok 40% des vignes des orphelins n'étaient pas vendus en 1813. Borsy, J. (2021): 58-59.

¹⁰ Provisor: mot latin. Il était le chef, l'intendant des domaines.

assesseurs) étaient aussi présents aux enchères. Après avoir trouvé l'acheteur qui avait promis le plus, le traité de la vente devait être ratifié par le praefectus. Les ventes des enchères étaient accessibles à tous, on les a rendus public par des circulaires, en France par des affiches: „*La vente des biens des mineurs doit être faite publiquement en présence du subrogé-tuteur, aux enchères qui seront reçues par un membre du tribunal de premier instance, ou par un notaire à ce commis, et à la suite de trois affiches apposées par trois dimanches consécutifs aux lieux accoutumés dans le canton.*”¹¹

Les biens meubles ont été aussi vendus aux enchères. Il s'est produit que la veuve, ou l'un ou l'une des orphelins a présenté sa requête pour pouvoir garder quelque chose des biens meubles. C'étaient tipiquement le linge de maison, le linge de table, les vêtements (jupes, chemises, foulards etc.). Si on ne pouvait pas le prouver suffisamment, on devait les acheter aux enchères, si on avait de la chance à la mise à prix ou à prix modéré. En France c'était le tuteur qui devait s'occuper de vendre les biens des mineurs „...*le tuteur est obligé de mettre son attention à vendre dans le mois, à partir de la clôture de l'inventaire, les meubles périssables, et les vendre...*”¹²

Les membres de la famille et les créateurs de la personne décédée étaient tous présents aux enchères, le succès desquelles était surtout leur intérêt. Dans les villages du domaine de Versend le peu des artisans et le manque des marchandises ont efforcé les habitants d'acheter même les articles usagés. La somme (venue du prix de la vente et l'argent comptant) a été mise dans la caisse pupillaire. Entre 1815 et 1840 on a gardé dans la caisse pupillaire du domaine du fonds public de Versend 225 biens (la plupart desquels ont été des capitaux) de 515 orphelins.¹³ (Tableau 1)

Tableau 1: Nombre des capitaux et celui des orphelins dans les villages du domaine de Versend (1815-1840)

Nom du commun	Nombre des orphelins	Nombre des biens
Versend	72	35
Kéménd	38	18
Szederkény	15	5
Monyoród	14	7
Maráza	39	19
Liptód	103	48
Kisnyárád	20	7
Babarc	107	46
Szajk	107	40
Somme totale	515	225

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvaszámadási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 10-41. Árvaszámadások 1814-1848.

Le conseil de lieutenance a ordonné de donner à l'intérêt l'argent des orphelains pour le fructifier. D'après l'explication de Dequiron: „*Les capitaux des pupilles ne doivent pas rester oisifs entre les mains des tuteurs; la raison et la justice veulent qu'à l'exemple d'un bon père de famille ils les fassent fructifier.*”¹⁴

¹¹ Desquiron, A.T. (1810): 198.

¹² Desquiron, A.T. (1810): 181.

¹³ Le bien des orphelins (en latin: massa orphanorum, en hongrois: árva tömeg) signifiaient tout l'héritage, donc l'ensemble des biens immeubles (si on ne l'avait pas vendus), l'argent et même les lettres de crédit ou de dettes. Dans la caisse pupillaire on a gardé les capitaux des orphelins qui étaient enregistrés par les parents décédés même s'il y avait plusieurs héritiers qui se sont partagé l'héritage.

¹⁴ Desquiron, A.T. (1810): 186.

Les intérêts servaient fondamentalement à agrandir le capital des orphelins pour qu'ils puissent le toucher en atteignant leur majorité. Il est intéressant que 10,1% des orphelins majeurs ont laissé leur capital dans la caisse pupillaire probablement pour le faire fructifier plus longtemps.

Cette époque-là, en Hongrie on a atteint la majorité à l'âge de 24 ans, ou bien à l'état marié.¹⁵ En même temps en France l'âge de la majorité signifiait 21 ans, et on a strictement distingué la majorité de l'émancipation: „*Le principal effet de l'emancipation est de mettre fin à la tutelle et rendre le mineur capable d'administrer ses biens. [...] l'emancipation n'est pas une pleine majorité. Le mineur émancipé pourra donc passer des baux dont la durée n'excédera pas neuf ans; il pourra recevoir ses revenus, en donner décharge, et faire tous les actes qui sont de pure administration, sans être restituable contre ces actes dans tous les cas où le majeur ne le serait pas lui-même; mais il ne pourra point affecter le fonds qui constitue son patrimoine. Il ne pourra intenter une action immobilière, ni défendre, même recevoir et donner décharge d'un capital mobilier sans l'assistance de son curateur qui au dernier cas surveillera l'emploi du capital reçu.*”¹⁶

En Hongrie cette distinction n'existait pas, l'orphelin qui s'était marié pouvait recevoir son héritage. Quand il s'agissait d'une orpheline, elle l'a touché en compagnie de son mari qui devait lui aussi signer pour acquit.

Avant la majorité on ne pouvait toucher que les intérêts pour des dépenses irrégulières. Par exemple Jean Handler apprendi tailleur de Babarc a demandé les intérêts de son capital pour pouvoir acheter les matériaux nécessaires pour son ouvrage de maître.¹⁷ Autre exemple quand Catherine Stein orpheline de 17 ans avait besoin de l'argent pour se préparer à son mariage. Dans ces cas il fallait toujours demander la permission du praefectus du district.¹⁸

Les intérêts pouvaient servir aussi à l'éducation des orphelins. Il arrivait beaucoup de fois que le tuteur a demandé régulièrement de l'argent pour l'alimentation de l'orphelin. C'était le tribunal seigneurial¹⁹ qui avait le droit de donner la permission et en général on pouvait recevoir une somme fixée jusqu'à l'âge de 12 ans de l'orphelin. Dans ces cas bien entendu, le capital de l'orphelin ne s'est point élevé.²⁰

Il est évident donc, que la personne du tuteur était très important même du point de vue de la situation matérielle de l'orphelin. La question, la plus importante était s'il avait dépensé les intérêts du capital de l'orphelin ou non. L'orphelin ayant été sous la tutelle de celui qui n'avait pas touché les intérêts pour la nourriture, pour les vêtements, atteignant sa majorité a reçu une somme plus significante que l'enfant soigné par celui qui avait dépensé tous les intérêts du capital.

D'après la distinction de Zsoldos, expliquée dans son oeuvre, le tuteur surveille la personne, le curateur les biens.²¹ Le domaine était donc le curateur, mais le tuteur de l'orphelin n'était pas toujours son soigneur réel, le tuteur et le soigneur de l'orphelin pouvait être des personnes différentes. Si par exemple la mère était en vie elle a soigné son enfant, mais le tuteur était toujours un homme, un oncle, le beau-père, un parent etc. C'est à cause de cela que la proportion des mères parmi les tuteurs est si petite. (Tableau 2)

¹⁵ Zsoldos, I. (1842): 45.

¹⁶ Desquiron, A.T. (1810): 256-257.

¹⁷ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-148. Handler.

¹⁸ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-137. Stein.

¹⁹ Sedit dominalis en latin, úriszék en hongrois. Le tribunal du domaine où on a réglé les affaires des paysans, des serfs.

²⁰ Borsy, J. (2019): 351.

²¹ Zsoldos, I. (1842): 45.

Tableau 2: La personne du tuteur

Tuteur	Nombre	Pour cent
Père ou mère	13	2,5
Grands-parents	4	0,8
Frère ainé	48	9,3
Beau-frère (mari de la soeur)	16	3,1
Cousin	3	0,5
Oncle	41	8,0
Parrain	113	22,0
Beau-père (mari de la mère)	74	14,4
Étranger (notaire, curé, instituteur)	53	10,3
Orphelin majeur ou marié	52	10,1
Manque d'information	98	19,0
Somme totale	515	100,0

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvaszámadási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 100. Árvák iratai.

En examinant les tuteurs des orphelains du domaine de Versend on voit que le „parent choisi” le parrain jouait souvent un rôle important dans la vie de l'orphelin à ce temps-là, 22% des tuteurs étaient des parrains. Il arrivait souvent que le frère ainé ou la soeur ainée étant déjà mariée s'est chargé de son frère cadet ou de sa soeur cadette. 12,4% des tuteurs étaient le frère ou la soeur pour mieux dire le mari de celle ci. Le beau-père était le tuteur encore plus souvent, 14,4% des cas, ce qui prouve les remariages fréquents des veuves.

La personne du tuteur a influencé même le domicile de l'orphelin. C'était plus que la moitié des orphelins qui étaient soignés par un tuteur ayant un domicile lointain. Il n'était pas facile de trouver quelqu'un dans le même village qui pouvait se charger d'un orphelin, mais ce qui était presque impossible c'était de trouver un tuteur qui voulait se charger de plusieurs orphelins. L'orphelin en dehors de la perte de son père et de sa mère, il a perdu même son domicile d'origine et qui était encore pire, il devait se séparer ses frères et ses soeurs comme c'était souvent le cas. En 1830 les trois enfants Mikli d'origine Szajk restés sans parents à l'âge de 3, 5 et 6 ans, étaient soignés par leur grand-père et ils habitaient chez lui à Versend. Après sa mort on a séparé le cadet de deux ainés et leurs domiciles et leurs tuteurs se sont changés quatre fois dans leur enfance.²²

Dans le domaine de Versend c'était un peu plus que le tiers des orphelins qui sont restés à leur domicile d'origine. 105 orphelins sont restés dans un des villages du domaine de Versend, 117 orphelins n'ont pas quitté le comitat de Baranya, et il y avait 26 orphelins qui ont déménagé dans un autre comitat (Tolna, Verőce, Moson, Fejér, Temes, Veszprém), 13 sont devenus soldat, 56 sont décédés. (Tableau 3)

²² MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-166. Mikli.

Tableau 3: Domiciles des orphelins et des orphelines après la mort de leurs parents

Domicile	Orphelin	Pour cent	Orpheline	Pour cent	Tous les orphelins	Pour cent
Reste à son domicile d'origine	107	40,5	91	36,2	198	38,4
Reste dans le domaine de Versend	45	17,1	60	23,9	105	20,4
Habite dans un village du comitat Baranya	51	19,3	66	26,3	117	22,7
Habite dans un autre comitat	16	6,1	10	4,0	26	5,1
Soldat	13	4,9	-	-	13	2,5
Décédé	32	12,1	24	9,6	56	10,9
Somme totale	264	100,0	251	100,0	515	100,0

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvászámadási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 100. Árvák iratai.

En mettant les filles en comparaison des garçons on voit qu'il y avait moins de filles qui n'ont pas quitté leur domicile d'origine, mais il y a plus de garçons qui ont déménagé à un lieu plus lointain.

Bien que la grandeur des capitaux des orphelins gardés dans la caisse pupillaire ne reflète pas toujours leur situation matérielle réelle, il peut être quand même intéressant à examiner le changements des nombres et des sommes de ces capitaux. (Tableau 4)

Tableau 4: Comparaison de la grandeur et le nombre des capitaux en 1815 et en 1840 (en forint²³)

grandeur des biens	nombre des capitaux en 1815	%	nombre des capitaux en 1840	%	somme des capitaux en 1815 en forint	%	somme des capitaux en 1840 en forint	%
0-100	33	34,7	19	27,5	1547	5,1	981	1,8
101-200	19	20,0	13	18,8	2525	8,2	1945	3,7
201-300	16	16,9	7	10,2	4290	14,0	1753	3,3
301-500	10	10,5	9	13,0	3789	12,4	3257	6,1
501-1000	11	11,6	7	10,2	7238	23,7	4856	9,1
1001-1500	2	2,1	6	8,7	2197	7,2	7059	13,3
plus de 1501	4	4,2	8	11,6	8979	29,4	33347	62,7
Somme totale	95	100	69	100	30 565	100	53198	100

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvászámadási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 100. Árvák iratai.

En mettant la grandeur des capitaux de l'année 1815 en comparaison avec celle de l'année 1840 on voit bien que le nombre des petites fortunes se sont réduites presqu'à moitié pendant les 25 ans. En 1815 le nombre des capitaux moins de 300 forints était 71,6% du nombre total des capitaux, tandis qu'en 1840 ce n'était que 56,5%. Le nombre des capitaux plus de mille forints en 1815 était 6,3% du nombre total et en 1840 c'était 20,3%. En même temps la proportion de la somme des capitaux moins de 300 forints s'est diminuée de 27,3% à 8,8%. Par contre la proportion de la somme des capitaux plus de mille forints a augmenté de 36,6% à 76%.

²³ Forint, florin en latin florenus, devise de la Hongrie de 1750 à 1892.

Pendant les 25 ans le nombre des capitaux s'est diminué à 72,6%, tandis que la somme des capitaux s'est élevé à 172,0%. Il est facile de voir que les tout petits capitaux n'étaient plus gardés dans la caisse pupillaire, et que la somme des capitaux a augmenté beaucoup.

On voit la même chose si on regarde tous les 225 capitaux qu'on a gardés dans la caisse pupillaire de Versend entre 1815 et 1847. Parmi les capitaux des orphelins il y avait 46 qui n'atteignaient pas 100 forints et 103 qui étaient au-dessous de 500 forints. Il n'y avait que 11 capitaux au-dessus de 2000 forints. (Tableau 5)

Tableau 5: La grandeur et le nombre de 225 capitaux entre 1815 et 1847

la grandeur des capitaux	nombre des capitaux	%
manque de l'argent	9	4,0
1-100	46	20,4
101-500	103	45,8
501-1000	33	14,7
1001-1500	16	7,1
1501-2000	7	3,1
au-dessus de 2000	11	4,9
Somme totale	225	100

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvaszámadási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 100. Árvák iratai.

En examinant la grandeur des capitaux la question la plus importante: combien d'orphelins se sont partagé l'héritage. Dans le tiers des cas l'héritage appartenait à un seul orphelin, dans la moitié des cas l'héritage appartenait à deux ou à trois orphelins et dans les cas qui restent (16,4 pour cents) l'héritage a été partagé entre quatre ou plus de quatre orphelins. D'un autre point de vue ce n'est que 15,5% des orphelins qui a hérité seul, la moitié des orphelins avaient un ou deux frères et soeurs, et le tiers des orphelins en avaient plus de trois. (Tableau 6)

Tableau 6: Le nombre des orphelins et des capitaux de la caisse pupillaire

	1 orphelin	2 orphelins	3 orphelins	4 orphelins	5 orphelins	6 orphelins	7 orphelins	Somme totale
nombre des biens	80	61	47	20	11	5	1	225
%	35,6	27,1	20,9	8,9	4,9	2,2	0,4	100
nombre des orphelins	80	122	141	80	55	30	7	515
pour cent	15,5	23,7	27,4	15,5	10,7	5,8	1,4	100

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvaszámadási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 100. Árvák iratai.

Il est évident que les petits capitaux gardés dans la caisse pupillaire n'ont pu donné que peu d'intérêts, et comme ça il n'était assez ni pour l'éducation de l'orphelin ni pour agrandir sa fortune. Mais dans les cas où l'orphelin avait très peu d'argent ou il n'en avait pas du tout, quelques fois il était le possesseur d'un biens immeuble, d'un vignoble, d'un moulin ou d'un fonds de terre.

Le traitement de ces biens immeubles était différent. Les terrains étaient cultivés le plus souvent par la belle-mère, par le beau-frère (le mari de la soeur ainée), ou par le tuteur. Les moulins et les vignes étaient beaucoup de fois en location, le prix de laquelle servait à l'éducation de l'enfant. Parfois quelqu'un s'est chargé de cultiver le vignoble en échange de la récolte. Il est vrai que dans ces cas l'orphelin n'a pas reçu d'intérêts régulièrement, à l'aide duquel on aurait pu

résoudre ses problèmes financiers mais si c'était l'orphelin qui était resté le possesseur du bien immeuble, atteignant la majorité, il pouvait gagner de quoi vivre. Hélas, il est arrivé aussi que le locataire n'a pas voulu redonner à l'orphelin majeur le biens, c'étaient les cas où le tribunal seigneurial a pris une décision.

La grande partie des parents décédés des orphelins du domaine de Versend étaient des cultivateurs ayant des fonds de terre, la grandeur desquels étaient très différente. Parmi les 225 pères il n'y avait que sept meuniers, cinq employés du domaine (forestier, chasseur, tonnelier, haidouk), un aubergiste, et deux artisans qui vivaient probablement à un niveau un peu plus élevé.

En examinant le sort des orphelins on voit qu'il n'y avait que peu qui ait pu continuer des études. Parmi les 264 garçons il n'y avait que 43 qui savaient sûrement souscrire leur nom, parmi les 251 filles il n'y en avait que trois. Les filles n'ont pas fait des études même si elles avaient une fortune considérable. Madelaine Helcher, qui avait le plus grand capital parmi les orphelins du domaine de Versend, s'est mariée à l'âge de 14 ans. Elle a pu toucher son héritage de 6429 forints augmenté par les intérêts à 8900 forints.²⁴ Madelaine Klein qui était aussi fortunée ayant un capital de 5836 forints, n'ont suivi que des cours de broderie à Pécsvárad. Elle a épousé un meunier fortuné.²⁵

Bien qu'on n'ait pas d'informations de ceux qui étaient encore trop jeunes en 1847 pour pouvoir choisir un métier, il vaut la peine d'examiner la relation entre les professions choisies par les garçons et les capitaux gardés dans la caisse pupillaire. (Tableau 7)

Tableau 7: Professions des 264 orphelins

Professions des orphelins	le nombre des orphelins	%	somme du capital	en moyenne
Maître d'école	3	1,1	5542	1847
Aubergiste	1	0,4	1727	1727
Meunier	5	1,9	6072	1215
Artisan	34	12,9	15 566	458
Cultivateur	11	4,2	2998	272
Décédé	56	21,2	11319	202
Valet	5	1,9	711	143
„Zsellér”	1	0,4	140	140
Soldat	17	6,4	1902	112
Manque d'information	131	49,6	-	-
Somme totale	264	100	45 977	345,7

Sources: MNL BaML XI.605.h-O 1-5. Árvászámádási főkönyvek 1814-1840. 100. Árvák iratai.

Ceux qui avaient un capital au dessous de 200 forints sont devenus beaucoup de fois des soldats, des serviteurs. Parmi les 86 orphelins qui avaient les plus petits capitaux il y avait 6 qui sont devenus soldats, et deux qui ont réussi de devenir à un propriétaire terrien en se mariant.

Apprendre quelque métier n'était pas facile surtout du point de vue financier. Les capitaux de ceux qui sont devenus des artisans étaient en moyenne 458 forints, mais on trouve cinq sommes au-dessus de mille forints, dont le plus grande est 2696 forints. Presque la moitié des métiers choisis avait le rapport de la préparation des vêtements: tailleur, cordonnier, tisserand, pelletier, chapelier, tisseur de bas.

²⁴ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-190. Helcher.

²⁵ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-160. Klein.

Les orphelins qui sont devenus meuniers avaient les capitaux les plus grands, comme on voit dans l'exemple de Valentin Hellebrand. Il est devenu orphelin à l'âge de 6 ans. Il avait eu un frère ainé qui était mort à l'âge de 9 ans, comme ça Valentin est resté le seul héritier d'un capital de 4751 forints. Son oncle était le tuteur, qui n'avait touché que 20 forints par an pour l'éducation de son neveu. Il a acheté des manuels ABC, tableau à calculer etc. À l'âge de vingt ans il était déjà meunier, et il a touché son capital qui avait augmenté avec les intérêts à 6386 forints, 134% de son héritage original.²⁶

Devenir à un maître d'école était presqu'un choix de luxe. Il fallait acheter des manuels, des vêtements et parfois des instruments de musique. Georges Lutz avait un capital de 3700 forints dans la caisse pupillaire. Son tuteur a touché 300 forints par an à titre de l'éducation de l'orphelin. Il a dépensé beaucoup, il a acheté même un violon et un piano pour l'orphelin. Il tenait nécessaire que l'orphelin puisse jouer de l'instrument de musique même le soir et le matin dans sa chambre. Georges Lutz est devenu instituteur, mais son capital restait 3700 forints, puisque les intérêts étaient tous dépensés pendant les années.²⁷

Pour pouvoir toucher le capital les orphelins devaient le demander du praefectus. Le domaine n'a pas donné volontiers le capital à un orphelin solitaire. Même si on a déjà atteint la majorité, on a accentué son état marié. Par exemple quand Thérèse Travers a demandé son capital de 500 forints on lui a répondu qu'il valait mieux de garder son argent dans la caisse jusqu'à ce qu'elle ne se marie pas.²⁸ Il n'y a qu'une exemple exceptionnelle où une fille à l'âge de 20 ans ait reçu son capital. Thérèse Strumpf domiciliée à Vienne, avait une profession et comme ça elle a reçu la permission de toucher son argent bien qu'elle n'ait pas été mariée.²⁹

Quelques orphelins ont pu acquérir le fonds de terre de la famille. C'était une bonne solution pour celui qui avait pu payer la part successorale à ses frères et à ses soeurs et comme ça il est resté le seul possesseur de l'héritage. Il arrivait bien fois que le frère ainé s'est chargé de la tuterelle et le soignement de ses petits frères, comme c'était le cas de Jean Raith de Szajk. Les parents ont été morts en 1821, et le fils ainé avait acquis le fonds familial tandis que ses frères cadets n'en avaient rien reçu. Il est vraie qu'il devait élevé ses deux frères et trois soeurs pendant des années.³⁰ L'un de ses frères, Jacques Raith avait de la chance, en 1830 il est devenu le possesseur d'un fonds de terre assez grand par son mariage avec Elisabeth Müller.³¹

Le mariage signifiait une nouvelle famille pour les filles mais même pour les garçons. En dehors du point de vue sentimental il y avait même le point de vue matériel. Les pères n'ayant pas de fils ont fait souvent un contrat de mariage avec leur gendre en lui donnant tout son biens, le fonds de terre, les vignes, la maison. Par ce contrat de mariage l'orphelin est devenu immédiatement le possesseur du bien.

Jean Schleicher de Kéménd a épousé Elisabeth Stürzenberger de Szajk en 1830, d'après leur contrat de mariage son beau-père lui a donné sa propriété foncière, son vignoble et le pressoir avec tous ses accessoires.³²

Il y avait 288 orphelins qui se sont mariés, 41 étaient déjà marié quand leurs parents étaient morts. L'âge moyen des filles au moment du mariage était 20 ans et 6 mois, celui des garçons était 22 ans 8 mois. Mais il est intéressant que ceux qui se sont mariés dans les premiers trois ans après la mort de leurs parents étaient en moyenne plus jeunes, les filles avaient 18 ans 6 mois les garçons avaient 20 ans 10 mois. Il semble que ceux qui étaient devenus orphelins à l'âge nubile

²⁶ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-170. Hellebrand.

²⁷ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-126. Lutz.

²⁸ MNL BaML XI.605.a.30O/113. 1847. máj 18. 30.

²⁹ MNL BaML XI.605.a.30O/70, 78. 1847. április 9. 15.

³⁰ MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-38. Raith.

³¹ MNL BaML XI. 605.a.57F/126.

³² MNL BaML XI.605. h.O100-119. Schleicher.

ont fait tous leurs efforts pour se marier le plus tôt, et trouver comme ça une nouvelle famille qui leur offrait la sécurité sentimentale, et matérielle.

En examinant les cas mortels il y avait 56 orphelins (10,9%) qui étaient morts très jeunes. L'âge des orphelins décédés était tout différent, mais c'était à l'âge de 12 à 15 ans que la plupart de ces enfants ont perdu leurs parents. Peut être que les enfants très petits ont été entretenus soigneusement, les jeunes plus agés pouvaient déjà se soigner eux- mêmes, mais les enfants qui avaient plus de douze ans n'ont pas reçu un traitement convenable.

Les enfants décédés avaient de petites fortunes, 202 forints en moyenne. Il est évident que ces petites sommes n'avaient pas d'intérêts signifiants, mais en plus le domaine n'ont pas permis les toucher pour l'éducation des enfants âgés plus de 12 ans, puisqu'ils pouvaient déjà travailler. Ils étaient donc obligés de travailler le plus souvent comme valet, domestique. Parmi les 56 orphelins il n'y avait que 3 qui n'avaient pas de frères ou soeurs. On peut supposer que les enfants qui s'étaient habitués à une famille de nombreux enfants, en perdant leurs parents, en se séparant de leurs frères ou soeurs étaient devenus encore plus vulnérables que ceux qui n'avaient eu jamais de frères ou soeur.

Le sort des orphelins du domaine de Versend a dépendu de plusieurs facteurs. Il est presque évident que le bien hérité a défini leur état de fortune, mais le domaine a joué aussi un rôle important. Jean Kiss était le proviseur de Versend de 1808 à 1835. Il était un homme ponctuel qui avait surveillé les biens des orphelins. En examinant 33 procès verbaux des ventes aux enchères entre 1814 et 1830 à Versend on voit que le prix de vente a surpassé la mise à prix par 38,6% en moyenne, ce qui a augmenté le capital des orphelins. Donner à l'intérêt l'argent c'était le devoir du proviseur. Dans le domaine de Versend on a prêté presque toujours les 90-95% de l'argent des orphelins. Il était important encore la personne du tuteur qui a influencé le domicile, et la profession choisie des orphelins. Mais en regardant le sort des 515 orphelins de Versend, on peut dire que les orphelins avaient assez peu de possibilités d'atteindre le niveau de vie, la situation de fortune de leurs parents.

Bibliographie

- Borsy, J. (2007), *A Pécsváradi közalapítványi kerület tiszttiszelői, alkalmazottai a 19. század első felében*, in: Nagy Imre Gábor (éd.), Baranyai Történelmi Közlemények 2. Pécs: BML, 161-221.
- Borsy, J. (2015), *A pécsváradi közalapítványi uradalom gazdálkodásának sajátosságai az 1830-as években*, in: Szirácsik Éva (éd.), Régi nagybirtokok, új kutatások. Dominium I. Budapest: Unicus Műhely, 183-201.
- Borsy, J. (2018), *Gondoskodás az árvákról a pécsváradi közalapítványi kerület baranyai uradalmaiban a 19. század első negyedében*, in: Szirácsik Éva (éd.), A földesurak szerepe. Dominium IV. Budapest: Unicus Műhely, 186-210.
- Borsy, J. (2019), *A pécsváradi közalapítványi uradalmak árvaügyi iratainak kutatási lehetőségei és nehézségei*. in: Lengvári István – Pilkhoffer Mónika – Vonyó József (éd.), Az ember helye – a hely embere. Budapest–Pécs, 344-358.
- Borsy, J.: (2021), *Der Weinbau der Leibeigenen in den Herrschaften des Pécsvárader Stiftungsdistrikts in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. in: Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab, (éd.) Economic and Social Changes: Historical Facts: Analyses and Interpretations. Working Pécs, 53-60.
- Desquiron, A.T. (1810), *Traité de la minorité, de la tutelle et de l'émancipation*, Paris: D.Colas, Imprimeur-Libraire.
- Mezey, B. (2003), *Magyar jogtörténet*, Budapest.
- Zsoldos, I. (1842), *Szolgabírói hivatal. Közrendtartási rész*. Pápa.

Sources

MNL BaML = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára

XI. 605. Pécsváradi köزالapítványi kerület levéltára

XI. 605. a. Főtiszti iratok

XI. 605. h. Versendi uradalom iratai

Imre Gábor Nagy

Le rôle des pâturages communaux dans l'agriculture de Pécs à l'époque du dualisme

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To show the role of pastoral animal husbandry in dualism in a large Hungarian city where the majority of the population lived from industry, trade, mining and transport. How did the city assembly approach the maintenance of the pasture that made up part of the land.

Applied methods. We examined the archives of the Baranya County Archives of the Hungarian National Archives, the archives of the city assembly and the city council, the accounting office, the economic supervision, the city regulations and cadastral maps, documents and maps, and we reviewed the local press. Literature and statistical data were compared with the opinions of contemporaries.

Outcomes. Research has convincingly demonstrated that pasturage was essential to the lifestyles of the poorer, more self-exploiting suburban residents in particular, and even in the 1910s, most cattle were driven out to Megyeri and Szigeti suburban pastures. In our period, however, the area of pastures decreased significantly due to the conversion of pastures into arable land and meadows, the expansion of the city, and the needs of the military (training ground, shooting range).

Keywords: Pécs, city, dualism, pasturage, cattle

Les pâturages communaux étaient une question importante du point de vue économique et même social pendant les siècles à Pécs, puisque c'étaient surtout les habitants moins fortunés qui y ont pâture leurs bêtes. Même les contemporains pensaient que l'élevage bovin et l'engraissement des porcs comptaient surtout aux classes inférieures.¹ Les gens pauvres possédaient en générale un fonds de terre, un vignoble, un pré, et ils élevaient quelques vaches, engrassaient quelques porcs, cependant ils travaillaient ou bien dans une usine, ou bien comme ouvrier journalier etc. Ils ont fait paître leurs bêtes du printemps à l'automne à l'intérêt de l'élevage moins coûteux. Par contre la ville de Pécs aurait voulu tirer un plus grand profit des pâturages. Les bouchers, les marchands de viande auraient préféré que les éleveurs aient acheté de la viande, de la graisse, du lait chez eux au lieu de vivre en autarcie.

En 1845 c'était 788 acres² (6,5%) que le pâturage a occupé du territoire de 12 128 acres de Pécs,³ et en 1854 on voit la même proportion, 762 acres du pâturage par rapport du 11 694 acres de la ville. La plus grande partie du pâturage de la ville a servi au pâturage communal. Au début de cet époque il y avait trois pâturages communaux: celui de Marhatér appelé «Marhaállás» (qui se trouvait au sud de la place Búza, autrement foire aux bestiaux, au dessous de la route Rákóczi), celui de Megyer et celui du faubourg Szigeti. Les habitants du faubourg Budai utilisaient le pâturage de Megyer. La superficie du pâturage de Marhatér était 65 acres, celle de Megyer était 313 acres et celle du faubourg Szigeti était 303 acres.⁴ (Tableau 1)

¹ Kaposi, Z. (2006): 40-41.

² acre en hongrois: katasztrális hold. Un acre vaut 57,55 ares, 0,5755 hectares.

³ Haas, M. (1845): 296-297.

⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2013): 157-158.

Tableau 1: Pâturages de la ville en 1854 (en acres et en toises carrées⁵)

Nom du pâturage	Numéro du plan	Acres	Toises carrées
Vesztőhely	II. b	6	810
Vesztőhely	II. c	4	865
Kismélyvölgy	III. p	16	715
Rókus	VII. a	25	1590
Kálvária	IX. a	3	350
Kálvária	IX. b	-	1250
Makár	XVI. b	23	155
Pâturage de la ville de faubourg Szigeti	XIX.	303	285
Megyer	XXI. a	204	115
Megyer	XXI. f	18	660
Megyer	XXI. i	91	140
Téglaház	XXVIII. n	-	605
Marhaállás	XXX. a	65	220
Somme totale du territoire des pâturages		762	1360
Territoire de la ville de Pécs		11.694	1190

Source: MNL BaML BmK 244.

Les causes principales de la diminution du territoire des pâturages sont les suivantes: 1. le défrichage des pâturages en les transformants à terre labourée 2. l'extension du territoire de la ville 3. l'augmentation des préentions militaires 4. la baisse du nombre du bétail. À titre d'exemple entre 1854 et 1895 le territoire intérieur de la ville a été agrandi environ de 27% au détriment des territoires agricoles.⁶ Dans les années de 1890 la proportion des pâturages est diminuée de 6,5% à 4,8%. En 1895 les pâturages étaient de la contenance de 583 acres, et elle ne s'est plus changée notablement, on la tenait toujours pour 550 à 600 acres.⁷ C'était à peu près les deux tiers de pâturages, 368 acres du 583 acres qui étaient dans la possession de la ville. (Tableau 2)

Tableau 2: L'étendue des terrains de Pécs selon les espèces de la culture du sol en 1895

Espèces de la culture du sol	L'étendue du territoire (acres)	Pourcentage	En possession de la ville (en acres)	Pourcentage
labour	2660	21,7	149	1,2
jardin	290	2,4	13	0,1
pré	1558	12,7	40	0,3
vigne	2230	18,2	3	0,0
pâturage	583	4,8	368	3,0
forêt	4281	35,0	4252	34,7
roselière	2	0,0	-	-
sol non productif	641	5,2	342	2,8
somme totale	12.245	100,0	5167	42,1

Sources: Mezőgazdasági statisztika (1897): 117-118. Gazdacímtár (1897): 74-75.

⁵ toise carrée en hongrois: négyszögöl. Une toise carrée vaut 3,6 mètres carrés.

⁶ Kaposi, Z. (2013): 159. Kaposi, Z. (2018): 100.

⁷ Kaposi, Z. (2006): 40. Kaposi, Z. (2013): 163. Kaposi, Z. (2018): 103.

Les éleveurs devaient payer un droit de pacage⁸. Les contemporains le nommaient souvent l'impôt du pâturage puisqu'on l'a levé avec les impôts locaux à la fois. C'était une somme qui était définie selon le numéro et l'espèce du bétail pâture. Le paragraphe 8 de l'article IX de l'ordonnance de l'année 1840 sur la police rurale a défendu l'usage du pâturage privé, ayant peur qu'on puisse causer du dommage sur les labours. En 1874 le ministère de l'Intérieur a réitéré cette défense, en refusant la demande de plusieurs habitants de la ville. C'est à cause de cela que le conseil municipal⁹ de Pécs n'a plus jamais donné telle permission.¹⁰ Par contre on a puni sévèrement le pâturage privé, par exemple en 1885 la préfecture de police a recouvré 52 forints et 80 kreuzer à titre amende.¹¹

Le chemin de fer entre Pécs et Barcs a été construit en 1868, et on avait dû céder une grande partie du pâturage de Marhatér. C'est pourquoi les éleveurs ont demandé le conseil municipal de leur donner de l'adjonction du pâturage communal.¹² En 1870, quand on avait établi la fabrique de gaz, on a construit un nouvel abreuvoir au lieu de celui qui avait été anéanti.¹³ Mais peu après, l'extension du territoire de la ville avait mis fin au pâturage de Marhatér, on n'y a pâtré plus que les porcs. En 1881 par exemple 400 porcs des éleveurs du centre ville et du faubourg Budai y étaient pâturés.¹⁴

En 1874 le conseil municipal avait défendu le pâturage des moutons à Pécs. À partir de cela on ne pouvait paître les moutons ni sur les pâturages de la montagne Mecsek, ni sur les champs privés, ni dans la ville.¹⁵ Les éleveurs ovins demandaient plusieurs fois l'annulation de cette défense, mais le conseil municipal ne l'a pas permise même provisoirement, bien que les fonctionnaires principaux de la ville¹⁶ l'aient appuyée.¹⁷ En 1884 Joseph Petrovics et ses compagnons, bouchers de Pécs, ont demandé en vain de pouvoir paître leurs moutons exceptionnellement sur le pâturage loué par eux-mêmes. Le conseil municipal s'est tenue à sa disposition en disant, que la capacité des pâturages était à peine suffisante pour les boeufs, et en plus sur les pâturages où les moutons pâtraient les boeufs n'ont pu plus le faire.¹⁸ Les bouchers, Étienne Petrovics et ses compagnons ont répété en vain leur demande en 1894.¹⁹ La défense de pâtrer les brebis a mis fin de l'oviculture de Pécs. Selon les mots de Timot Ágh, l'oviculture jadis fameuse a complètement disparu de Pécs.²⁰

C'était en 1885 qu'on a mis en vigueur le premier décret de nettoiement et de santé publique de la ville de Pécs, les dispositions duquel ont été réitérées presque sans aucune modification dans les règlements de 1893 et de 1901. L'élevage porcin a été défendu dans le centre ville, et aussi la conduite et le pâturage des chevaux et des boeufs. Les règlements concernants de la centre ville ont été étendus aux rues voisines (dans le faubourg Budai: rues Fő, Sörház, Felsőmalom, dans le faubourg Szigeti: la rue Siklósi, la route Siklósi, et à partir de 1893 la rue Indóház). On n'a permis que la stabulation des chevaux et des boeufs, dont la cause était qu'à cette époque-là il n'y avait que des véhicules hippomobiles pour la circulation et pour le transport.²¹

⁸ Droit de pacage en hongrois: legelőbér. Droit de mener paître des bestiaux sur certains fonds.

⁹ Conseil municipal en hongrois: törvényhatósági bizottság, „dont les attributions ne recouvrent pas celles des conseils municipaux français”. Sauvageot, A. (1942): 1204.

¹⁰ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 194/1879. (okt. 27.) Pécs Város Tan. ir. 9592, 10203/1879.

¹¹ MNL BaML Pécs Város Tan. ir. 13282/1885.

¹² Pécsi Lapok, 01. 09. 1867.

¹³ Rayman, J. (2008): 71.

¹⁴ MNL BaML Pécs Város Tan. ir. 5336/1881.

¹⁵ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 99/1874. (márc. 23.), 366/1874. (szept. 17.)

¹⁶ En hongrois: városi tanács. Jusqu'à 1929 l'ensemble des fonctionnaires principaux a réglé les affaires.

¹⁷ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 197/1875. (nov. 4.); Pécs Város Tan. ir. 4653/1875.

¹⁸ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 124/1884. (szept. 30.)

¹⁹ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 21/1894. (febr. 12.)

²⁰ Ágh, T. (1894): 199.

²¹ MNL BaML Pécs város szabályrendeleteinek levéltári gyűjteménye 59. sz.

La ville a eu un revenu de 1600 à 1700 forints du droit de pacage par an qui n'était pas assez pour maintenir les pâturages pour payer leurs impôts, pour entretenir les sept taureaux de la ville. Cependant d'après l'opinion des fonctionnaires principaux la location du terrain aurait produit un revenu de plusieurs milles forints. La restriction du pâturage avait causé que le revenu du droit de pacage s'était diminué de 200 forints par an, c'est pourquoi le conseil municipal a dû l'élever en 1885.²² C'était une disposition exceptionnelle puisque le conseil municipal avait toujours fait des efforts de ne pas pousser les éleveurs à la dépenses. (Tableau 3)

Tableau 3: Droits de pacage par pièces selon l'espèce des bêtes (en couronnes)²³

Bêtes	Avant 1885	1885	1895	1909
boeuf	4,00	5,00	-	-
cheval	4,00	5,00	4,00	12
vache	4,00	5,00	9,00	12
génisse	1,76	2,00	7,00	8
brebis	-		-	2
porc	0,48	0,50	1,00	2
chèvre	0,48	0,50	1,00	2
porcelet a l'âge de deux à six mois	-	-	-	1
accouplement des vaches	1,76	2,00	4,00	gratuit

Sources: MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 102/1885. (júl. 27.), 124/1895. (aug. 19.), 230/1909. (szept. 29.)

En effectuant l'article XII de l'an 1894 concernant l'agriculture et la police rurale à l'assemblée du conseil municipal du 29 avril 1895 un vif débat s'est produit concernant l'affaire des pâturages communaux de Megyer et du faubourg Szigeti. Les pâturages communaux, estimés à 282 acres étaient déficitaires ayant un revenu de 1904,25 forints à côté de la dépense de 3908 forints. La commission de l'économie a conseillé l'augmentation modérée du droit de pacage tandis que les fonctionnaires principaux voulaient l'élever considérablement, et liquider le pâturage porcin. Au cours du débat Béla Muttnyánszky, conseiller municipal, a proposé même de parcelliser tout le pâturage et de le donner à bail. Jean Aidinger, maire de Pécs s'est déclaré d'être aussi bien le maire des gens pauvres que celui des riches, et que la liquidation de ce droit de cent ans aurait causé la ruine de nombreux éleveurs pauvres. Joseph Pap, conseiller municipal a ajouté que les gens moins fortunés faubouriens gagnaient leur vie en pratiquant l'élevage bovin. L'hebdomadaire „Pécsi figyelő” a cité l'intervention de Charles Záray, conseiller municipal, secrétaire de la Chambre de commerce et d'industrie. D'après lui ce n'était pas le temps où on aurait dû prendre de telles dispositions. La perte du pâturage de centre ville n'avait frappé que les Messieurs les Chanoines. Mais dépouiller les gens pauvres faubouriens cet avantage sans importance c'était certainement l'intention de la Crèmerie de Pécs. Il aurait été assez grave d'accepter l'augmentation de la somme du droit de pacage, mais il aurait été injuste de frapper les plus pauvres. Enfin c'était le vote de Kálmán Kardos, »föispán»²⁴ qui a tranché le débat, puisque le nombre des votes pour et contre était le même, 26.²⁵ C'est pourquoi à la proposition des fonctionnaires principaux, le conseil municipal avait élevé remarquablement le droit de pacage mais quelques mois plus tard à la demande des éleveurs bovins du faubourg se plaignant à la filoxère, on l'a pourtant modéré.²⁶ C'était alors, en 1895 qu'on a liquidé le pâturage porcin du faubourg Budai ce qui a

²² MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 102/1885. (júl. 27.)

²³ C'était en 1900 que la couronne est devenue à la monnaie officielle. Un forint valait deux couronnes.

²⁴ Fonctionnaire supérieur placé à la tête du comitat hongrois, „par ses attributions il diffère sensiblement du préfet français” Sauvageot, A. (1942): 371.

²⁵ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 66/1895. (ápr. 29.) Pécsi Figyelő, 30. 04. 1895.

²⁶ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 124/1895. (aug. 19.)

joué certainement un rôle important dans la restriction du pâturage porcin. À partir de cela les éleveurs faubouriens Budai ne pouvaient paître leurs cochons qu'au pâturage porcin du faubourg Szigeti, ce fait les a désavantagés beaucoup.²⁷

Légiférer le règlement du pâturage était un devoir ayant prescrit par l'article XII de la loi de 1894, et par l'article X. de l'année 1913 concernant les pâturages communaux indivisés. Selon le règlement du pâturage de l'année 1897 ce n'étaient que les pâtres embauchés par la ville qui pouvaient faire paître les bêtes en troupeau sur les pâturages de la ville. Les chevaux, les porcs, les bovinés et les autres bêtes étaient surveillés par un pâtre commun (un gardien de chevaux, un porcher, un bouvier) et ils les pâtraient en troupeaux (de bêtes à cornes, de porcs, de moutons).²⁸

La ville a pris à son service deux pâtres et deux porchers qui ont fait paître sur le pâturage de Megyer et sur celui du faubourg Szigeti. À partir de 1895 il n'y avait qu'un seul porcher à côté de deux pâtres. Le troupeau de vaches du faubourg Budai se réunissaient tous les jours sur la place Búza d'où le pâtre le menait et le remenait sur le sentier du troupeau au pâturage de Megyer.²⁹

Hélas, on n'a que des données incomplètes concernant le nombres des bêtes pâturées. Timót Ágh dans son oeuvre a mentionné un millier de vaches et de porcs menés au pâturage communal en 1894. Cependant au milieu des années de 1890 ce nombre s'est réduit remarquablement, au début de 20^{ème} siècle celui des boeufs fluctuait entre 400 et 450, celui des porcs entre 200 et 300. Il était interdit de mener les animaux mâles au pâturage à cause de la défense de la race, mais jusqu'à 1909 il fallait payer pour l'accouplement des bêtes pâturées. (Tableau 4)

Tableau 4: **Cconscription du bétail pâturé entre 1863 et 1911³⁰**

Année	1863	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1894	1896	1901	1902	1904	1907	1911
cheval	419	52	71	93	97	103	41	19	9	-	-	-	-
boeuf de trait	104	12	12	82	104	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
vache	596	503	468	470	472	430	985	301	317	324	348	341	247
génisse	119	48	84	122	78	93	....	114	70	80	127	119	104
boeuf paissant périodiquement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	318
porc	1010	880	873	843	610	781	1015	183	217*	247*	316*	250*	245
mouton	714	360	377	467	523	954	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
chèvre	23	42	69	44	25	20	22	5	...	...	...	...	33
taureau	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
accouplement des vaches	...	503	...	....	...	...	...	164	72	100	75	126	...

Sources: MNL BaML Pécs város polg. jel. 1863. 11. ; MNL BaML Pécs Város Tan. ir. 5105/1869, 7098/1871, 7311/1872. 10417/1873. ; Ágh, T, (1894): 199. ; MNL BaML Pécs Város Szám ir. 1897-1912. évi költségyvetés

...= manque de données

* porcs et chèvres ensemble

²⁷ Le pâturage porcin du faubourg Budai se trouvait sur la place ancienne Búza, au sud de la route Rákóczi, se situant entre la cimetière du faubourg Budai et les casernes Littke et Frigyes de la rue Légszeszgyár occupant une territoire de plusieurs milles toises carrées, au milieu de laquelle il y avait une mare énorme, avec un puits à balancier et un large abreuvoir. Pécsi Napló, 08. 08. 1929.

²⁸ MNL BaML MNL Pécs város szabályrendeleteinek levéltári gyűjteménye 34. sz. Pécs város kgy. jkv. 163/1897. (okt. 26.)

²⁹ Pécsi Napló, 08. 08. 1929.

³⁰ En 1896 par rapport de l'an précédent le nombre des boeufs pâturés a diminué de 59, celui des porcs de 635 dont la cause était la fièvre aphteuse et la peste porcine. En 1905 on a fait paître prétendument 736 bovidés au pâturage communal. Pécsi Napló, 07. 04. 1916.

Dans les années 1910 il y avait plus de boeufs pâturez des éleveurs du faubourg Budai que ceux du faubourg Szigeti. (Tableau 5)

Tableau 5: Nombre des bovinés menés aux pâturages de Megyer et du faubourg Szigeti

	1912	1913	1914	1915
bovinés menés au pâturage de Megyer (pièces)	216	235	210	140
bovinés menés au pâturage du faubourg Szigeti (pièces)	191	171	168	135
somme totale (pièces)	407	406	378	275

Sources: MNL BaML Pécs Város tan. ir. C-3667/1940. (7226/1916).

En préparant le budget de 1899 la commission de l'économie avec celle de financière ont été en séance où on a proposé la liquidation du pâturage. On le tenait vétuste par rapport de la stabulation, le nombre des boeufs avait diminué, et surtout on voulait tirer plus de profit du pâturage de 280 acres de la ville.³¹ Les fonctionnaires principaux ont été chargés par le conseil municipal d'examiner cette affaire.³²

À l'assemblée du conseil municipal de 1901 on se consultaient du budget de l'année prochaine, étant donné le petit revenu du droit de pacage Jean Aidinger, l'ancien maire de Pécs, conseiller municipal a proposé la parcellisation des pâturages communaux de Megyer et du faubourg Szigeti. En formant des parcelles de 10 à 20 acres, les éleveurs moins fortunés auraient pu les louer, et en constituant des fermes ils feraient fleurir l'élevage bovin. Les conseillers municipaux contredisants, Ignác Czirják, Georges Krisztián, Antoine Horváth ont souligné que l'accomplissement de cette idée était impossible puisque les petits propriétaires n'ayant pas de moyens ne pourraient pas réaliser un tel projet.

D'après le métrage de Jean Rauch, l'ingénieur en chef de la ville, en 1901 l'étendue du pâturage de la ville était 310 acres, le champ de foire du faubourg de Szigeti, le champ d'exercices du faubourg de Budai³³ y compris, et même le territoire de sylviculture (pépinière) cédé au Trésor public qui a rapporté 30 à 40 forints par acres. C'était 200 acres qui restaient, et qu'on s'est servi du pâturage.³⁴ D'après l'hebdomadaire Pécsi Figyelő même le commission chargé de l'exploitation des pâturages n'était pas d'accord de les donner à bail puisque leur locateur aurait demandé probablement un droit de pacage plus élevé qui serait désavantageux pour l'élevage bovin.³⁵

Le champ d'exercices du faubourg Szigeti a été agrandi en ajoutant une cinquantaine d'acres du territoire du pâturage du faubourg Szigeti.³⁶ Comme prix de la location du champ d'exercices de 130 acres 584 toises carrées, la ville a reçu du 1 janvier 1900 au 14 octobre 1924, 60 couronnes par acres et par an dont la somme totale était 8135,85 couronnes.³⁷ Le territoire du pâturage étant diminué, à la proposition de Georges Krisztián, conseiller municipal, on l'a accru par des terrains divers. Le conseil municipal y a ajouté un terrain à louer de 3,5 acres situé au dessous du chemin de fer, un pré nommé „Fenyő” de 7 acres au sud du pâturage, et le potager de 3 acres loué par le 8^e régiment hussards.³⁸

³¹ MNL BaML Pécs Város Szám ir. 1899. évi költségvetés. Pécsi Napló, 11. 11. 1898.

³² MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 241/1898. (nov. 28.)

³³ Le champ de manoeuvre du faubourg Budai se situait sur la partie occidentale de l'ancien Búzatér au sud de la route Rákóczi, c'était ici où on a entraîné les soldats du 69^e plus tard 52^e régiment d'infanterie austro-hongrois, et du 19^e honved régiment d'infanterie. Pécsi Napló, 08. 08. 1929.

³⁴ Pécsi Napló, 22. 10. 1901. MNL BaML Pécs kgy. jkv. 193/1901. (okt. 21.)

³⁵ Pécsi Közlöny, 04. 06. 1905..

³⁶ Pécsi Napló, 23. 08. 1899.

³⁷ MNL BaML Pécs Város Szám ir. 1908. évi költségvetés.

³⁸ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 28/1900. (febr. 12-13.) Pécsi Napló, 13. 02. 1900.

Le débat sur l'utilisation du pâturage a conduit à prendre l'ordonnance municipale de 1909 sur le pâturage. Le droit de pacage, n'ayant pas changé depuis 1895 a été augmenté remarquablement, mais l'accouplement des bêtes pâturées est devenu gratuit. Le territoire du pâturage communal de Megyer et du faubourg Szigeti a été défini en 209 acres et 471 toises carrées, divisé en neuf parcelles. (Tableau 6)

Tableau 6: **Le territoire du pâturage communal en 1909**

Numéro	Numéro du terrain	Territoire	Usage	
		acre	toise carrée	
I	7682	7	198	pâturage bovin du faubourg Szigeti
II	7683/1	96	535	pâturage bovin du faubourg Szigeti
III	7684/1	3	186	pâturage bovin du faubourg Szigeti
IV	7959	78	487	pâturage bovin de Megyer (du faubourg Budai)
V	7683/2	8	225	pâturage porcin et caprin
VI	7683/2	1	200	pâturage porcin et caprin
VII	7683/3	3	128	pâturage porcin et caprin
VIII	7683/2	3	712	
IX	7683/2	8	800	pâturage pour les oies
somme totale		209	471	

Sources: MNL BamL Pécs Város kgy. jkv. 230/1909. (szept. 29.)

La contenance du pâturage bovin de Megyer, utilisé par le faubourg Budai (numéro IV) était de 78 acres et 487 toises carrées, le pâturage bovin du faubourg Szigeti (numéros de I à III) était de 106 acres et 919 toises carrées. Selon le levé de plan on a désigné un terrain de 15 acres et 1265 toises carrées (numéros de V à VIII) pour le pâturage porcin et caprin à la disposition de tous les deux faubourgs. Le terrain de 8 acres et 800 toises carrées (numéro IX) est devenu le pâturage pour les oies, mais plus tard, pendant la première guerre mondiale il a servi à construire des baraquements militaires.³⁹ Les habitants du faubourg Budai donc n'a eu point de pâturage porcin et caprin. Le chèvre était la vache des pauvres gens partout, d'après les mots de Timót Ágh le chèvre substituait la vache chez les classes inférieures mais il y en avait très peu.⁴⁰

En mars de l'année 1916 Ignác Károly, inspecteur adjoint de l'économie a proposé de liquider le pâturage communal du faubourg Szigeti et d'y continuer une culture plus efficace. Il aurait été suffisant d'employer l'un des deux pâtres. En 1915, d'après son rapport au lieu de 400 boeufs on n'en avait mené au pâturage que 275, et à la fin de l'année ce n'était que 180 pièces. (Tableau 5) Mais à la proposition des fonctionnaires principaux le conseil municipal a ajourné la décision.⁴¹

En 1918 la service de comptabilité avait proposé la liquidation totale des pâturages communaux. Le conseil municipal faisant une concession a conseillé à garder le pâturage de Megyer et à augmenter le droit de pacage par 100%, de 24 couronnes à 48 couronnes. À la suite d'un vif débat et l'intervention d'Andor Nendtvich, maire de la ville, on a gardé tous les deux pâturages et en plus, on a décidé la rénovation de celui de Megyer en trois ans, pour pouvoir liquider plus tard le pâturage du faubourg Szigeti. Mais ce plan ne s'est jamais réalisé.⁴²

³⁹ MNL BaML Pécs Város kgy. jkv. 230/1909. (szept. 29.) Pécs Város tan. ir. C-3667/1940.

⁴⁰ Ágh, T. (1894): 199.

⁴¹ MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 32/1916. (ápr. 6.) Városi közgyűlés. Pécsi Napló, 1916. ápr. 7., 2-4.

⁴² MNL BaML Pécs város kgy. jkv. 167/1918. (okt. 22.) Pécsi Napló, 23. 10. 1918.

Aucun résultat n'est provenu des débats passionnés puisque parmi les conseillers municipaux compétents le nombre de ceux qui étaient pour les éleveurs et ceux qui étaient pour l'exploitation des pâturages était le même, on a donc continué de s'en servir de tous les deux. D'après les données statistiques de l'année 1910 concernant les bêtes, c'était 441 bovinés, plus que la moitié des 585 vaches et des 201 génisses qu'on a menées au pâturage communal. C'était 260 pièces (6%) parmi les 4304 porcs, et 45 pièces (67%) parmi les 67 chèvres qui y pâturent.⁴³ Le pâturage était donc tout à fait nécessaire pour les gens faubouriens.

D'après les données statistiques de l'année 1917 c'était le tiers, 164 acres 1050 toises carrées du pâturage communal de Megyer et celui du faubourg Szigeti jadis ayant 540 acres, qui étaient utilisés comme pâturage. Le territoire du pâturage de Megyer n'a pas changé remarquablement depuis 1909, il était 78 acres 400 toises carrées. Cependant le pâturage du faubourg Szigeti s'est restreint à 79 acres 850 toises carrées, le pâturage porcin du faubourg Szigeti 6 acres 1400 toises carrées. (Tableau 7)

Tableau 7: Le changement du territoire du pâturage communal

	Pâturage de Megyer	Pâturage bovin du faubourg Szigeti	Pâturage porcin et caprin du faubourg Szigeti	Pâturage pour les oies du faubourg Szigeti	Somme totale du pâturage communal
Années de 1890	...	...	...	-	280 acres à peu près
1909	78 acres 487 toises carrées	106 acres 919 toises carrées	15 acres 1265 toises carrées	8 acres 800 toises carrées	209 acres 471 toises carrées
1917	78 acres 400 toises carrées	79 acres 850 toises carrées	6 acres 1400 toises carrées	-	164 acres 1050 toises carrées

Sources: MNL BamL Pécs Város kgy. jkv. 230/1909. (szept. 29.) Pécs Város tan. ir. C-3667/1940. (2724/1917).

Le deuxième tiers, qui était le plus grand ayant 194 acres (35,8%) a été occupé par le militaire. Le champ d'exercice du faubourg Szigeti était de 110 acres (20%) mais il y avait sur le pâturage d'autrefois même un dépôt de charbon, un tir, une école d'équitation. Les soldats cultivaient des potagers à l'intérêt de se fournir de l'alimentation à cause des circonstances de guerre, et on y a bâti des baraquements militaire, l'ambulance de campagne dont la cause était le voisinage du chemin de fer.

Une partie du troisième tiers du pâturage qui s'est composée de 61 acres 390 toises carrées (11,4%) était cultivée par la ville, comme labour, pré, luzernière, pépinière. L'autre partie qui s'est composée de 102 acres 1305 toises carrées (19%) a été donnée à bail. Le seul terrain en location considérable était un labour de 80 acres au barrage de Keszü, qu'on avait distrait du pâturage de Megyer. Le saule du Parquet a servi à la fabrication des paniers par les prisonniers dans les prisons. Il y avait encore un terrain de 18 acres (3,3%) non productif consistant en fosse, en route et en chemin de fer.⁴⁴ (Tableau 8)

⁴³ Pécsi Napló, 20. 11. 1910.

⁴⁴ MNL BaML Pécs Város tan. ir. C-3667/1940. (2724/1917)

Tableau 8: Le territoire du pâturage d'autrefois de la ville de Pécs, janvier 1917

Nom	Territoire		Pourcentage
	acres	toises carrées	
pâturage porcin du faubourg Szigeti	6	1400	1,3
pâturage bovin du faubourg Szigeti	79	850	14,7
pâturage bovin de Megyer	78	400	14,5
somme totale du territoire utilisé uniquement au pâturage	164	1050	30,5
champ de manoeuvre du faubourg Szigeti sur le pâturage du faubourg Szigeti	110	-	20,4
dépôt de foin militaire	7	800	1,4
école d'équitation du 8 ^e honved régiment d'infanterie	12	800	2,3
dépôt de munitions	-	525	0,0
ancien verger planté de mûriers	-	1050	0,1
champs à faucher	2	600	0,4
baraquements	30	500	5,6
ambulance de campagne, service de convalescence	7	500	1,4
potagers	10	1200	2,0
école de tir des honveds sur le pâturage de Megyer	11	1268	2,2
somme totale du territoire utilisé par le militaire	193	843	35,8
pépinière	3	-	0,6
ancien cimetière du faubourg Szigeti	9	200	1,7
parcelles de la luzernière	4	800	0,8
terreau	3	400	0,6
étable du taureau	3	140	0,6
parcelles à faucher 450 toises carrées et grésière	15	150	2,8
parcelles à labourer	23	300	4,3
somme totale du territoire cultivé par la ville	61	390	11,4
pépinière du Trésor public	6	200	1,1
saules du Parquet	2	-	0,4
fosse septique en location	9	700	1,7
champs à faucher pour l'engraissement des porcs	-	875	0,1
parcelles à labourer en location	5	730	1,0
labour de Megyer en location	79	400	14,7
territoire étant en location et en usage	102	1305	19,0
routes, fosses, chemin de fer	17	1212	3,3
somme totale	540	-	100,0

Sources: MNL BaML Pécs Város tan. ir. C-3667/1940. (2724/1917)

Le désavantage du pâturage communal mentionné par les contemporains était le manque des arbres qui auraient donné de l'ombrage. Comme Timót Ágh a écrit dans son oeuvre de 1894, c'était un des meilleurs pâturages plains, la contenance duquel était de 535 acres, mais il faudrait au moins qu'un cinquième ou qu'un dixième aient été boisé, pour que les bêtes aient été défendues pendant l'été chaleureux et pour qu'elles aient trouvé un refuge même contre les

ondées.⁴⁵ Le problème a été résolu en 1913 quand on a planté 200 arbres auprès des abreuves du pâturage de Megyer.⁴⁶

Il est vrai que le territoire des pâturages communaux s'est diminué remarquablement, mais on a gardé tous les deux pâturages, le pâturage du faubourg Szigeti et celui de Megyer, dont la cause était que l'élevage a appartenu à la mode de vie des habitants faubouriens. Les fonctionnaires principaux ont examiné de temps en temps les moyens avec lesquels on aurait pu mieux profiter les territoires des pâturages, mais on a fini d'accepter la nécessité du pâturage dans l'élevage du bétail.

Bibliographie

- Ágh, T. (1894), *Emléklapok Pécs szab. kir. város múltjából és jelenéből*, Pécs: Taizs József Nyomda, Pécs, 1894.
- Haas, M. (1845), *Baranya*. Pécs: 1845.
- Kaposi, Z. (2006), *Pécs gazdasági fejlődése 1867-2000*. Pécs: Pécs-Baranyai Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara
- Kaposi, Z. (2013), *Pécs földbirtokszerkezetének változásai (1780-1914)*, in: Pécs város topográfiaja a kezdetektől a 20. század elejéig. Fedeles, Tamás (éd.). (Pécsi Mozaik 3.) Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó.
- Kaposi, Z. (2018), *Pécs agrárrendszer a dualizmus korszakában*, in: Közép-Európai Közlemények, 2018. 2. 98-110.
- Rayman, J. (2008), *A pécsi légszeszgyár és a légszeszvilágítás története 1920-ig*. Pécsi Szemle, 2008. tél. 61-78.
- Sauvageot, A. (1942), *Magyar és francia nagy szótár*. Budapest: Dante Könyvkiadó.

Sources

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára = MNL BaML

MNL BaML IV. 1402. a. Pécs Város Törvényhatósági Bizottsága közgyűlési jegyzőkönyvei = Pécs város kgy. jkv.

MNL BaML IV. 1406. Pécs Város Tanácsának iratai = Pécs Város Tan. ir.

MNL BaML IV. 1407.1. Pécs város polgármesterének iratai. Polgármesteri jelentések = Pécs város polg. jel.

MNL BaML IV. 1412. Pécs Város Számvevő Hivatalának iratai = Pécs Város Számv. ir.

MNL BaML IV. 1418. Pécs város szabályrendeleteinek levéltári gyűjteménye.

MNL BaML IV. 1425. Pécs Város Gazdasági Hivatalának (gazdasági felügyelőjének) iratai.

MNL BaML XV. 3. c. Baranya megye térképeinek gyűjteménye. Kataszteri térképek. = BmK

Manuels statistiques

Gazdacímtár (1897), *A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája. 2. Gazdacímtár*. Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal.

Mezőgazdasági statisztika (1897), *A magyar korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája 1*. Budapest: Országos Magyar Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal.

⁴⁵ Ágh, T. (1894): 197-198.

⁴⁶ MNL BaML IV. 1425. Pécs Város Gazdasági Hivatalának (gazdasági felügyelőjének) iratai. 1913 sz. n.

Réka Horeczki

Operational Structure of the Hungarian Royal Agricultural Schools - the Example of Somogyszentimre

Abstract

The purpose of the study. Exploration of a major milestone in the development of small towns. Presenting the role of education through the example of the agricultural vocational school in Somogyszentimre, a settlement attached to Kadarkút.

Applied methods. The analysis of literature ranges from a review of education policy to factors driving the development of small towns. The study heavily relies on archival research instrumental in shedding light on the everyday life of the educational institution, and the identification of factors demonstrating a unique and innovative approach. The biographies of individuals affiliated to the institution have provided an equally valuable contribution.

Outcomes. The dominance of agriculture has permeated the socio-economic history of small towns in Somogy county in all spheres of existence. Small town economies and societies were greatly enriched by their commercial and industrial functions (industrial plants), the right to hold fairs, and educational institutions connected to agriculture. The educational institution by virtue of its students, teaching staff, owners and patrons was a major trigger of development in small towns. Agricultural vocational schools besides providing theoretical training also familiarised students with novel and innovative practical approaches. This type of approach was embraced by small town farmers, generating an innovative, development-oriented vision that still characterises the majority of small towns in Somogy county today.

Keywords: agricultural, small town, education, innovation, development

1. Milestones in the development of small towns

Throughout history, cities have played a prominent role in the European settlement network. Urban development, urban inequalities and urban history are highly researched issues in contemporary social sciences. The role of cities in social reproduction, the dissemination of high culture and economic growth is a unique manifestation of the allocation of political power. Urban development in Central and Eastern Europe represents a unique development trajectory within Europe¹. A dominance of metropolises (mainly capitals) and a quasi-absence of counterweight cities are distinctive features of the region's settlement network. Large cities and metropolitan areas are overrepresented in research agendas due to the abundant availability and richness of data. Nevertheless, the analysis of small towns may fill a significant research gap in contemporary urban literature. Our ability to classify distinct development trajectories and phenomena into unique categories indicates a well-discernable process worth analyzing, identical city-shaping forces appear to prevail in the case of larger and smaller cities alike. Disparities manifest themselves rather in the bifurcations of the development path.

Small towns make up a significant proportion of the Hungarian population: concentrating, in overall, one-third of the urban population; in my view, their unique development path accounts for their successes and failures. The image of small towns carries a positive connotation when identified as the centre of the countryside, associated with rural romanticism and cultural identity², and a negative one when treated as backward, peripheral, inferior. The category of

¹ Enyedi Gy. (1998)

² Burdack J. (2013)

small towns is not fully coterminous with population size, due to its threefold interpretation as a settlement size-, a functional- and settlement hierarchical category.

I have identified three main factors underlying the existence of over 70,000 small towns (under 10,000 inhabitants) in Europe in the contemporary era. Firstly, endogeneous constraints stemming from historical factors (former rural status); secondly, a failure to comply with external requirements: many cities have been downgraded to this category due to depopulation/emigration/depletion of functions; thirdly, external influences: the global urbanisation boom in the 20th century, the successive waves of urbanisation after 1990 and 2000, respectively. Seven development factors were identified in the course of the analysis of small towns of the South Transdanubian region³. These milestones have contributed to the urbanisation of settlements and to maintaining the pace of their development, and would include the settlements' public administrative role, the path-dependence of their economic structure, constraints of natural and economic geography, institutions for training human capital and the societal changes required for maintaining the demographic potential: i.e. education and embourgeoisement. The focus of the present study is on education, more specifically, the role of Hungarian Royal Agricultural Schools as lower vocational schools, which played a particularly prominent role in the life of small towns.

2. The importance of agrar-education

In the history of education dating back to over a thousand years the institutionalisation of agricultural vocational training is a relatively late phenomenon. There is no evidence of historical linkages such as those between guild-based apprenticeship and commercial training based in towns and cities.⁴ In the field of agriculture the peasantry was responsible for the transmission of knowledge that was passed from father to son. Prior to the 17th century the acquisition of the practices of agricultural production remained the privilege of the family and the local communities. This type of intergenerational knowledge transfer operated uninterruptedly and in parallel to institutionalised frameworks. The institutionalisation of vocational education was intended to promote on one hand, the implantation of innovations into practice and the acquisition of the basics of modern farming, and on the other hand, the wider transmission of the experience-based knowledge of successive generations. Agricultural vocational training in Hungary occupied its rightful status only in the decades following the German Reunification, becoming henceforth, owing to state intervention, the intellectual backbone of a key national economic sector within institutionalised frameworks. Its integration into the domestic system of education was not unproblematic, due to its failure to meet the imposed requirements even as an autonomous discipline. There were serious hiatuses in basic theoretical education (mathematics, soil science and biology were omitted from the curriculum, the frameworks of chemistry courses were too narrow), and the curricular position of practical training was inadequate⁵. Post-1867, agricultural vocational education was transferred to state responsibility, which resulted in a qualitative upgrading of education. With the adoption of the People's Education Act (Art. XXXVIII of 1868), public education achieved a significant progress by making basic agricultural education compulsory in all of its institutions. Outside the curriculum and training, the biggest deficiencies were the absence of qualified teaching staff with adequate skills in farming. The introduction of a three-tier system of agricultural education was proposed in the 1860s by Pál Sporzon⁶: the creation of practical agricultural schools as an integral part of primary education;

³ Horeczki R. (2020)

⁴ Surányi B. (2018)

⁵ Wallenhausen Gy. (1996)

⁶ Sporzon P.–Kodolányi A. (1867)

the establishment of so-called economic schools in secondary education as an attempt of merging theory and practice. In the vision of Sporzon an economic academy would provide the basis for higher, theoretical and scientific education, as the country's unique institution representing the superior scientific and institutional frameworks of agricultural training. The agricultural school presented hereby was originally conceived as a lower school, i.e. an institution specialised in practical training, transformed into a secondary school later on.

3. The Hungarian Royal Agricultural School of Somogyszentrímepuszta

Kadarkút occupies a central position in Somogy county situated at a 25 km distance from the county seat and bordered by three towns (Kaposvár, Szigetvár, Nagyatád). The landscape is a typical Transdanubian hilly area with a highly fragmented surface. Kadarkút has a dual classification as a micro-regional unit where the Zselic with its predominantly loess and clay soils meet the sand-covered territory of Inner-Somogy⁷. Somogyszentríme steppe is located in the northern part of Kadarkút, in the vicinity of the road leading to Kaposvár (Figure 1). It was a populated area even in the 16th century, inhabited by 20 families. The land is suitable for agricultural cultivation and infrastructure is well-developed. The personality of landowners and the presence of suitable conditions provided the background for the establishment of an agricultural vocational school. In the decade of the foundation of the school the landowners of Kadarkút (Table 1.) were mainly large landowners and the bene possessionati (wealthy medium landowners). Antal Somssich and Imre Majtényi owned the most important manors, covering over a thousand acres of land.⁸

The Minister of Agriculture Pál Széchenyi, Count of Somogy county invoked the need for the establishment of agricultural schools. In line with Sporzon's ideas, the schools would provide training for estate stewards and private farmers, arming their students with both theoretical and practical knowledge. Large landowners in Somogy county joined the initiative by setting up a foundation to support the idea. The foundation operated for 6 years with an annual budget of 150 forints that catered for the needs and training of 30 pupils. The venue was provided by a large landowner, Emil Márffy on the Somogyszentríme steppe near Kadarkút, which enabled the opening of the school in 1886.

The landowners that created the foundation and thus the educational institution were⁹ Count Pál Festetics, Count Imre Hunyady, Count László Jankovich, Counts Dénes Széchenyi, Ferenc Széchenyi, Imre Széchenyi, Pál Széchenyi, László Széchenyi, Count János Zichy, Gyula Jankovich, József Inkey, Béla Kund, Béla Márffy, Emil Márffy, Sir Antal Freistädler, Vilmos Freistädler, the Mernye Holy Teaching Order, Satzger Keresztély, Otto and Rezső Biedermann, Pál Somssich, Count József Somssich, the Nagyatád Farmers' Circle, the Somogy County Economic Association, Mihály and Sándor Véssey, Adolf Hirsch and

Figure 1. Borders of Kadarkút



Source: own editing by MNL SML XV. 2.

⁷ Reiszig E. (1914)

⁸ Kaposi Z. (2019)

⁹ MNL SML V. 261. 1-4.

Manó Meller; each entitled to a single vote based on their contributions. The contribution of Prince Miklós Esterházy, Count Tasziló Festetics and Bishop Zsigmond Kovács of Veszprém to the foundation's annual budget entitled them to two votes.

Table 1. Landowners of Kadarkút, first half of the 19th century

Name of the Landowners	Land area of the estate
Antal Somssich	1978 acres
Imre Majtényi	1080 acres
György Jankovich	425 acres
Kristófné Sárközy	377 acres
Sándor Spissich	365 acres
József Márffy	212 acres
István Spissich	212 acres
Lajosné Sárközy	189 acres
Jánosné Nagy	164 acres
Julianna Novák	94 acres

Source: own editing by MNL SML V. 261.

The founders' rights included recommending, approving or opposing the admission of students. The larger landowners clearly saw this as a positive development given the shortage of suitably qualified and experienced estate managers at the time. The names of the founding landowners are quite impressive, representing almost all of the major landowners of the county and the surrounding areas. The descendants of the Márffy and Jankovich families still live and work in the villages of Hencse and Hedrehely in the proximity of Kadarkút.

After six years, the number of founding benefactors had fallen to a third¹⁰. It appears that the rest of the landowners were longer in demand of professional training with all their candidates having completed the two-year training course¹¹. The remaining patrons who continued to fund the scholarships were big farmers owning estates in the immediate catchment area of the school (50 km radius). The Diocese of Veszprém and the Somogy County Economic Association also remained among the patrons. In addition to grants, it was also possible to apply for self-financed and state funded places. The number of state-funded places was 10-12 for each agricultural school. During the first ten years of its operation the Somogyszentháromság agricultural school had 135 graduates. The school put a great stress on the provision of both theoretical and practical training courses. The first headmaster, János Karáll spent only two years in Szentháromság and resigned from the leadership of the institution after a conflict with one of the founders. The second headmaster, Géza Hauer headed the institution for 12 years. His directorship saw the completion of construction works, and the institution shifted to full operation. The orchard, nursery and vineyards were also planted under his leadership. He also introduced innovations in education, lobbying for the organisation of evening courses for local small farmers and the compensating the shortage of grant sponsored places with state scholarships, henceforth, prospective students had recourse to three sources of funding: private, public or grants from the foundation.

¹⁰ The patrons: Count Imre Hunyadi, Count Dénes Széchényi, Count Pál Széchényi, Count Imre Széchényi, the Bishop of Veszprém Baron Károly Hornig, Gyula Jankovich, Emil Márffy, Manó Meller and their descendants, the members of the Holy Order, and the Somogy County Economic Association.

¹¹ MNL SML V. 261.

The mandate of the next director, Imre Lukácsy, also terminated after 2 years during which he had assumed too many commitments, aiming to realise too much in too short a period of time, but unable to do so due to financial and other constraints, which ultimately led to his dismissal. Dezső Bognár served as headmaster for 14 years until his death, engaged in the construction of student residences and the renovation of staff housing, despite the considerable financial difficulties impeding his work. The number of founding patrons had steadily declined over the years, just as the number of self-financing pupils. The institution experienced persistent financial difficulties due to the loss of foundation aid, which could only be compensated by state subsidies and revenues from the larger livestock farms (pig and cow farms).

4. Innovations in daily life

The students performed farming activities under the constant supervision of their teachers. They ploughed, sowed seeds by hand and with seed drills, and worked with manually operated and animal-powered equipment just like ordinary laborers. Gardening work was performed under the supervision of the gardener: tree planting and care, sowing, etc. In the stables, animals were regularly looked after: they were fed and other activities were also performed. At the beginning of each assignment, students received instructions on the given tasks and working methods, and with due attention paid to preventing work overload or damaging their health. The agricultural school's activities included horse breeding, cattle, pig and poultry breeding, and beekeeping.

Agricultural vocational education strived to keep apace with the restructuring of the domestic agricultural sector and the qualitative upgrading of production. Varietal conversion in livestock farming, including cattle, has significantly contributed to the development of dairy farms. This has raised demand for professional training in dairy farming. Prior to 1890, the only opportunity for students to master the skills of dairy farming was offered by agricultural schools.

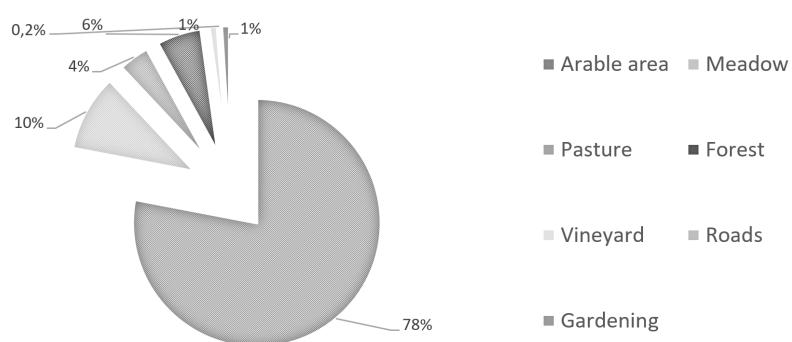
The activities of the school's teaching staff were not limited to developing the professional skills of students alone, they also organised regular training courses for small farmers. They visited the surrounding villages and gave lectures on pre-fixed days. The lectures were mostly devoted to creating the necessary conditions for ploughing and sowing, crop and livestock production. In the places where the lectures were given, they soon realised that people were not only in need of useful advice but tangible support as well. Thus, the school expanded its activities, baptised as of 1924 Somogyszenthimre Agricultural Vocational School for Economic Control Officers. By the 50th anniversary of the school's foundation, the number of graduates had reached 1500 and the number of vocational subjects had tripled. Courses were also organised on a permanent basis to provide further professional training for folk teachers.

This spirit of innovation was also reflected in the operation of the holding as well as the spatial outlay of buildings. The school's premises encompassed over 572 acres of land comprising medium-compact sandy loam soil ideal for cultivation. A multi-stage crop rotation method was applied that also responded to the needs of livestock production and familiarised prospective farmers with all types of crops (fodder, leguminous and other plants). Farmers also received instruction on sowing yarn and industrial crops, the basics of the cultivation of tobacco, hemp and sorghum, a tradition surviving to our days. Only a few tobacco dryers are still in operation in Csököl. The territorial structure of the holding underwent substantial changes during the 50 years of its operation. The study farm was traversed by the Kaposvár-Barcs railway line, enabling the rapid transportation of produce to the county seat. By the year of its cessation, it had acquired an ornamental garden, a huge forest park, a fish pond and impressive livestock. The cattle farm generated important revenues for the school. The pig herd consisted of mangalica swine, 2,000 of which were delivered to Kaposvár annually. The fish stock was sold in the nearby

markets, while eggs from poultry farming were sold in the county seat. The school's test farm was recognized as exemplary across the county.

The dairy farm for raising cattle from Bonyhád served dual utilisation purposes. Originally there were around 20 cows and their reproduction, but their number steadily increased. The horses were used for daily work, and students were assigned the care of nearly 20 stallions and mares. In the autumn of 1890, the school purchased Cigaya dairy sheep, which yielded higher revenues than the Merino breed (from the sale of not only its wool but also its meat and milk and being less fodder consuming). The average annual number of sheep was over 200. Pig farming was launched in the spring of 1891 with the purchase of Yorkshire swine known for gaining weight more rapidly. The purchase of swine allowed for the utilisation of the by-product (whey) from the dairy farm as an excellent feed-material. Poultry farming was also a vital component that included raising Langshan hens (over 1 000), Emden geese (nearly 50) and ducks (nearly 300). The innovative approach preceding its epoch was manifest in the number and types of livestock animals and laid down the foundations of modern and profitable farming. Infrastructural facilities

Figure 2. Area of the holding



Source: own editing by MNL SML V. 261.

were also permeated by the spirit of innovation: water for the automatic water supply system was obtained from the underground drainage pipe of the humid area of the nursery, which supplied the cheese factory and the dairy farm with excellent water. The cheese factory processed milk provided not only by the school's holding but the nearby farmers as well.

In 1935, after 50 years of operation, the school's lease contract expired and was not renewed by the then owner, Elemér Márffy who took over the running of the flourishing holding himself. However, he did not reap the benefits of the developing estate for long, as in 1945 it was parcelled up and distributed among the farm servants¹². On 17 March 1945, a government decree was issued on the abolition of large estates and the allocation of land among the peasantry. The abolition of the large estate system was believed to trigger the democratic transformation of the country, the establishment of the system of productive smallholdings and private landowners registered in the Land Register¹³.

5. Summary

The 19th century development of Kadarkút already demonstrates the presence of specific traits underlying its centrality in later years. The Hungarian settlement benefiting from favorable economic and natural geographical assets, situated at the western foot of the Zselic along the Kaposvár - Barcs local railway line already had its own district administration, post office, telegraph office and railway station by the end of the 19th century. Over time it developed into an administrative and educational centre and the village acquired the function of a road transport hub. The foundations of progressive education were laid down by the Royal Agricultural School of Szentimre established in the northern part of the village, which operated for fifty years.

¹² Répáy L. – Puskás B. (2005)

¹³ Szakács S. (1998)

Bibliography

- Burdack J. (2013): Lokal basierte Kleinstadtentwicklung im östlichen Europa: Potenziale, Probleme und Praktiken – eine Einführung. Forum IFL. Heft 19. Leibniz Institut für Länderkunde. pp. 5-13.
- Enyedi Gy. (1998): Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest
- Horeczki R. (2020): Kisvárosi fejlődési utak. A dél-dunántúli kisvárosok helye és szerepe a térség hosszú távú gazdasági és társadalmi változásiban. PTE Regionális Politika és Gazdaságtan Doktori Iskola, disszertáció
- Kaposi Zoltán (2019): Uradalmak, földbirtokosok és birtokforgalom a Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században. Mezőgazdaságtörténeti Tanulmányok 14. Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum és Könyvtár, Budapest
- Reiszig Ede (2014): Somogy vármegye községei. In: Csánki Dezső (Ed.): Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Somogy vármegye. Budapest.
- Répay Lajos – Puskás Béla (2005): Kadarkút, Községtörténeti tanulmányok. Pethő Nyomda Bt., Kaposvár
- Sporzon Pál – Kodolányi Antal (1867): Jelentés a gazdasági szakképzés állásáról 1867-ben. Available: <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Petrik-magyar-konyveszet-17121920-2/18601875-1053F/sporzon-pal-es-kodolanyi-antal-jelentes-a-gazd-szakkepzes-allasarol-1867-ben-l-kodolanyi-antal-es-s-p-1270D/>
- Surányi Béla (2018): A magyar mezőgazdasági szakoktatás története 1945-ig, különös tekintettel a debreceni agrár-felsőoktatásra. Gerundium: egyetemtörténeti közlemények 9/1. pp. 81-115.
- Szakács Sándor (1998): A földreformtól a kollektivizálásig 1945-1956. A magyar agrártársadalom a jobbágyság felszabadításától napjainkig tanulmánykötet. Budapest: Napvilág kiadó pp. 289-343
- Szentimrei Magyar Királyi Földmíves Iskola utódszervezetének honlapja:
http://www.daszk.hu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=70&catid=94&Itemid=184
2010. március 1. 20:46
- Walleshausen Gyula (1996): Mezőgazdasági szakoktatásunk fejlődése. Available: <https://szaklapok.nive.hu/index.php/szaklapok/article/download/163/156/>

Archival

- MNL Somogy Megyei Levéltár V. Megyei Városok és Községek, 261./1-4. Kadarkút nagyközség iratai (1878-1950) 1-4.; /5. Kadarkút urbéri rendezési és tagozási iratai 1798-1860 1-12.; V. Megyei Városok és Községek, 261. Kiegészítés Kadarkút történetéhez
- MNL Somogy Megyei Levéltár V. Megyei Városok és Községek, Adatok Kadarkút község történetéhez, Mészáros László plébános 1974.
- MNL Somogy Megyei Levéltár XXIV. A közigazgatás területi szakszervei, 201. Tagosítási, földrendezési iratok 1949-1969, 7. doboz
- MNL Somogy Megyei Levéltár XV. Gyűjtemények, 2. Térképgyűjtemény, (úrbéri térképek, kataszteri térképek)

István Lengvári

The Social Composition of Medical Students at the Erzsébet University Between 1930 and 1945

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine the social composition of medical students of the Erzsébet University of Pécs (ETE) between 1930 and 1945 based on statistics about religion, place of birth and father/guardian occupation. To present the external processes affecting the admission of students based on the minutes of the university governing body. To present some typical individual careers of students of the examined period.

Applied methods. Statistical analysis of student enrolment and diploma books. Analysis of major processes using the minutes of the medical faculty and university council meetings and literature. Presenting and categorising careers using all available archival and library data.

Outcomes. Compared to the previous decade and a half, the number of medical students at ETE decreased for demographic and political reasons. The religious composition of the students changed due to measures restricting Jewish students' university admission, and disenfranchising them. The careers examined also demonstrate how affected students tried to circumvent these measures.

Keywords: social history, mobility, Pécs, university, numerus clausus, medical students, careers

The situation of the university in Pécs during the period examined

In the second part of our study, we continue the presentation of the period between the two world wars by examining the medical students of the 15-year period between 1930 and 1945. By 1930, the university and, within it, the medical faculty, had become a key player in the life of the city of Pécs, and so did the clinics operating as the largest health care provider in the city and the region. By the 1930s, the faculty had become an increasingly important factor in Hungarian scientific life as well, and doctors graduating from Pécs appeared in clinics and settlements in the region. At the same time, however, plans to close the university emerged several times, which were avoided with significant lobbying and support from the city. The relocation of the Faculty of Humanities to Szeged in 1940 was a heavy loss for the university in Pécs as a whole. By the end of the decade examined, students graduating from Pécs had already appeared in institutes and clinics, and despite the economic difficulties, the number of units at the Faculty of Medicine had also increased.¹

During the period examined, universities could not escape the effects of the Great Depression in Hungary and the consequences of World War II. With regards to the enrolment numbers, the anti-Jewish legislation Act XV of 1938, Act IV of 1939 and Act XV of 1941 further reduced the proportion of Jews in higher education.²

Our study is a continuation of our previous work³ presenting the first decade or so of the faculty's student body, where the reader will also find a description of the archival sources used.⁴

¹ A more detailed overview is unnecessary due to a number of prior works on the subject listed here: Lengvári, I. (2021a): 72. Note 1.

² For all anti-Jewish legislation see Karsai, L. (2005).

³ Lengvári, I. (2021a).

⁴ Pécsi Tudományegyetem (Pécs University, hereinafter PTE) Egyetemi Levéltár (University Archive, hereinafter EL), VIII.105.d. Erzsébet Tudományegyetem (Erzsébet University, hereinafter ETE), Orvostudományi Kar (Medical Faculty, hereinafter OtK), Iratkozás lapok, diplomakönyvek. (Enrolment forms, diploma books).

In our current study, we examine students who acquired medical degrees from 1930/1931 to the end of the 1944/1945 academic year and includes only graduates of medical degrees, i.e., those who have not completed their studies or who have only completed a few semesters at the faculty are excluded, similar to our first paper.

Number of students, ratio of men to women

From the beginnings in Pozsony to the 1944/1945 academic year, there were 2,267 graduates, of whom 419 were women. The distribution by academic year is shown in the following table:

Table 1: Number of students based on diplomas awarded

Academic year	Number of students, total	Women	%
1918-19	14	2	14.3
1919-20	4	0	0
1920-21	12	0	0
1921-22	75	14	18.7
1922-23	104	13	12.5
1923-24	169	34	20.1
1924-25	122	32	26.2
1925-26	120	24	20.0
1926-27	209	68	32.5
1927-28	148	49	33.1
1928-29	111	22	19.8
1929-30	109	25	22.9
1930-31	68	12	17.6
1931-32	80	9	11.3
1932-33	60	5	8.3
1933-34	55	6	10.9
1934-35	71	8	11.27
1935-36	89	9	10.1
1936-37	57	7	12.3
1937-38	74	10	13.5
1938-39	88	10	11.4
1939-40	72	10	13.9
1940-41	52	10	19.2
1941-42	52	8	15.4
1942-43	55	6	10.9
1943-44	48	7	14.6
1944-45	149	19	12.8
Total	2,267	419	18.5

The reason for the noticeable decline by the end of the 1920s (which occurred not only at the medical faculties) was that the government was trying to reduce the number of admissible students. The number of students receiving a degree remained low throughout the period in

question, falling to around 50 in some years. The reason for the outstanding number in the last year of the examined period is that diplomas were issued early where possible in view of the WW II state of emergency.

Religious composition

Based on the data taken from the diploma books and the enrolment forms, the religious distribution in the examined period shows the following figures (data of the previous period are shown in parentheses):

Table 2: Religious distribution of medical graduates from the 1930/1931 to the end of the 1944/1945 academic year

Religion	Number of students	%
Roman Catholic	(222) 566	(18.56) 52.88
Greek Orthodox	(4) 15	(0.33) 1.40
Greek Catholic	(0) 3	(0) 0.28
Lutheran	(26) 72	(2.17) 6.72
Calvinist	(58) 110	(4.85) 10.27
Unitarian	(3) 2	(0.25) 0.19
Israelite	(775) 204	(64.80) 19.05
N/A	(108) 99	(9.03) 9.24
Total	(1196) 1071	(100) 100

It is clear from the table that the number of Jewish graduates shows a significant decline, and as such only represent 20% of the total number of graduates. The continuous decline can be attributed to *numerus clausus* at first and later to the anti-Jewish laws. Representatives of the other major denominations, however, show two to three times the increase compared to the previous decade.

Distribution by place of birth

In the period examined, the distribution of 1,071 graduates by place of birth can be considered even, but the number of students from South Transdanubia is increasing. Based on the 1067 completed data, Baranya County contributed 136 (12.75%), Somogy 73 (6.87%) and Tolna 68 (6.37%) people based on place of birth. The county seat Pécs contributed 69 graduates, which is a significant increase compared to the previous period. Among the counties of Transdanubia, Vas is represented by 50 (4.69%), Zala 43 (4.03%), and Veszprém by 20 (1.87%) students: increasing numbers can be observed here as well compared to the previous period. Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County also stands out due to its size, although its percentage is decreasing: 66 (6.19%) graduates came from here, not counting Budapest. (It is worth noting that Újpest was not part of the capital yet). Most students came from Budapest (147 people, 13.78%, a significant decrease from 25.83% in the previous period). The place of residence of the parent caregiver at the time of enrolment is also available in the enrolment forms, but this was completed for only a subset of students, 845 (100%). Based on this, we know of 104 students (12.31%) whose father/guardian lived in Budapest during their university studies. (This percentage was 38.81% in the previous decade.) Between 1920 and 1930, Budapest made up 15-16% of Hungary's population, so the previous over-representation of students from Budapest ceased. Returning to the birth data series, the religious distribution of the 147 graduates from Budapest is as follows (data from the previous period are shown in parentheses):

Table 3: Religious distribution of medical graduates born in Budapest from the 1930/1931 to the end of the 1944/1945 academic year

Religion	Number of students	%
Roman Catholic	(43) 61	(13.92) 41.50
Lutheran	(6) 12	(1.94) 8.16
Calvinist	(12) 10	(3.88) 6.80
Israelite	(227) 45	(73.46) 30.61
Greek Orthodox	(0) 1	(0) 0.68
Greek Catholic	(0) 1	(0) 0.68
N/A	(21) 13	(6.80) 8.84
Total	(309) 147	(100) 100

In the 1920s, Jewish students tried to gain admission or transfer to rural institutions from Budapest universities, because the Budapest institutions adhered more strictly to the provisions of *numerus clausus*. By the end of the 1920s, however, the universities in Budapest (not only the medical faculties) taught almost half of the Jewish student body, while the proportion of Christian students in the countryside (as seen in among the medical students of the Pécs medical faculty) increased.⁵

Social background

Unfortunately, the occupation of the father (guardian) was not provided in all cases, and this field can only be found in the enrolment forms. The data of a total of 940 students are available, representing 87.77% of the students examined. As in almost all periods and types of schools, we can state that the completion of this field is the most irregular, the most inaccurate – as the data were recorded on the basis of what information the students provided either orally, or in writing in the forms. The sometimes arbitrary categorisation by researchers, for example, obscures the problem that there can be huge differences in income and wealth behind an occupational classification. Our classification below is primarily based on the occupational structure:⁶

Table 4: Occupation of father/guardian Budapest from 1930/1931 to the end of the 1944/1945 academic year (only taking into account the completed data sets)

Father/guardian's occupation	Number of students	%
Self-employed, landlord, landowner	(58) 54	(6.44) 5.74
Public and private official	(200) 251	(22.20) 26.70
Professional	(195) 269	(21.64) 28.2
Trader, large business owner	(247) 109	(27.41) 11.60
Craftsman, small business owner	(114) 36	(12.65) 3.83
Clerk, assistant, employee	(60) 85	(6.66) 9.04
Smallholder, agricultural labourer, factory worker	(24) 36	(2.66) 3.83
Pensioner, refugee	(3) 9	(0.33) 0.96
Total (completed data sets)	(901) 940	(100) 100

⁵ Karady, V. (2012): 127–129.

⁶ Tóth, Z. (1987): 67–87.

In the course of the categorization, data from all completed fields were recorded. Where the father/guardian retired during the student's studies, we also categorized them according to their former occupation, leaving us with only two "retired" entries without further information. In the first category (self-employed, landlord, landowner), we included all data that clearly indicated the occupation. Among private and public officials, we have included all officials, whether they were employed at banks, mines, public administration or the Hungarian State Railway Company. Regardless of their occupation, we included doctors, teachers and those with a degree in law (judges, prosecutors, lawyers) as professionals. Teachers who also acted as school headmasters were added to this category, but also a doctor who worked as a chief medical officer. While the classification of the craftsman – small business owner – smallholder category was clear, in the trader – large business owner category we could not take into account the different financial statuses covered by the term "trader." Further research could determine the size of the business only on an individual basis (if data is available). The clerk – assistant – employee field includes all occupations performed without a higher education qualification, as an employee (including salesmen, for example, in addition to the named ones). We also classified the small number of data registered as smallholders in the category of smallholder – agricultural labourer.

The results obtained show practically the same ratios in some categories (in addition to the change in religious composition). There is a difference in the trader – large business owner and the craftsman – small entrepreneur – smallholder group. The decrease in the former is largely due to the decrease in the number of students whose fathers were Jewish large business owners and traders and the reorganization of the Budapest – countryside distribution discussed above. The decrease in the ratio of the craftsman – small entrepreneur – smallholder stratum can be explained primarily by the Great Depression and that families found it increasingly difficult to finance the studies of university student children.

There was a slight increase in the number of officials, large business owners and traders, and students with an intellectual family background, further reinforcing the process of these groups providing a new supply of doctors. This is mainly due to the fact that, in addition to the reproduction of the profession through generations, few people have been able to pay for the cost of training (tuition, housing in another city, travel, etc.).

Issues of student enrolment before the Medical Faculty and University Council during the period studied

Due to the characteristics of medical training, the number of students to be admitted was determined centrally at the time (and in later periods as well), taking into account the circumstances of the given faculty, mainly the number of places available for practical training. In the early 1930s, the Medical Faculty in Pécs requested 60 students to be admitted⁷. This was influenced, increasingly so from the 1930s, by other efforts, which we present with an overview of the cases and reports before the councils of the medical faculty and the university.

The first major controversy was sparked by an unexpected player, the medical faculty in Budapest. In January 1932, it turned to the rural medical faculties with a seemingly innocent inquiry about how the first-year enrolment numbers had been calculated based on *numerus clausus* in recent years, and whether there had been a deviation from the plans⁸. After these figures were sent out, a newspaper article informed not only the public but also the other

⁷ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK Kari ülési jegyzőkönyvek (Records of Faculty Council, hereinafter KT-jkv), 1929.6.21. agenda item #10.; 1930.6.3. agenda item #11.; 1931.6.8. agenda item #15.

⁸ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1932.1.15. agenda item #26.

medical faculties that professor Balázs Kenyeres⁹ had prepared a memorandum,¹⁰ which was published by the newspaper *Magyarság* on 28 January 1932.¹¹ According to the article, the compilation of the data series was started at the request of the Hungarian National Medical Association, as over-training was seen as the primary reason for the livelihood difficulties of doctors. Within this, as the exaggerated subtitle of the newspaper article shows, the main aim was to reduce the proportion of Jewish students. The exaggerations of the memorandum and the article caused a heated response in Pécs as well. The council of the medical faculty dealt with the matter on 29 January, the day after the article was published.¹² According to professor Mihály Pekár, destructive tendencies can be observed in the article of the *Magyarság* newspaper, which published false data. For the first semester of the academic year 1931/1932, Pekár disclosed exact figures of Jewish students enrolled: Budapest (11.43% of the total number of students), Pécs (22.29%), Szeged (22.70%), Debrecen (24.03%). Regarding the proportion of graduated Jewish doctors, their ratio is the same at the three rural universities (Pécs, Szeged, Debrecen): they equally make up about 20% of the student body. He proposed a correction to be published in the newspaper and suggested that the Budapest medical faculty should be asked to send the memorandum to the medical faculty in Pécs. Professor Béla Entz added that this is another proof of the hostile behaviour of the Budapest medical faculty.

Surprisingly, the report was not completed until a few months after the outrage; it was sent “*to the sister faculties and to all the factors which, without knowing the facts or deliberately misrepresenting them, attribute it to our Faculty that there is an overproduction of medical diplomas, and that in the absence of clear guidance, the law is interpreted in a different way or in a way that is not in line with its spirit, and thus the faculty has issued medical diplomas to those who were not eligible according the correct interpretation of the law.*”¹³ This may not have had much of an effect on subsequent events, as the letter of the Hungarian National Medical Association was presented at the same meeting, asking the Ministry of Religion and Public Education to keep the number of newly enrolled medical students under 300 nationwide.¹⁴

Even more visible to the public, from December 1933, several student associations at a number of universities in the country launched an enrolment strike. A general assembly was held in Pécs on 15 December 1933, at which it was announced that in protest they would not register for the second semester of the 1933/1934 academic year. The demands included the execution of *numerus clausus* and action against Jewish students in general. The university council discussed the events on 31 January,¹⁵ reporting that following an inter-university meeting held at the Ministry of Religion and Public Education on 4 January, measures had been taken to dissolve the Pécs committee that had organised the strike, which was acknowledged by the committee chairman János Kraszkó, a medical student. In January 1934, several organisations gradually withdrew from the initiative, and the small number of radical students “*who were willing to go to*

⁹ MoÉL 205.

¹⁰ Semmelweis Egyetem Központi Levéltára (Semmelweis University Central Archives). 1.a 58. Budapesti Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Orvostudományi Karának ülései (Budapesti Royal Hungarian Péter Pázmány University, Records of Medical Faculty) 1932.01.26., agenda item #45.

¹¹ The title reads: “The striking statement of the University of Budapest against medical over-training. They want to drastically reduce the number of students who can be admitted to medical schools. Six hundred and seventy doctors from the countryside moved to Budapest, of whom six hundred and sixty-three are Jews.” *Magyarság* 1932.01.28. 8.

¹² PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1932.1.29. agenda item #16.

¹³ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1932.6.7. agenda item #29.

¹⁴ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1932.6.7. agenda item #31.

¹⁵ PTE EL VIII.1.a. ETE, A Pécsi Egyetem Tanácsának ülésjegyzőkönyvei (Records of University Council, hereinafter ET-jkv) 1934.01.31. agenda item #14.

*extreme measures and thus endangered the great interests of the state*¹⁶ failed to achieve their goal, especially after the university extended the enrolment period.¹⁷

In March 1937, the University Council,¹⁸ then in May 1937 the Medical Faculty Council¹⁹ discussed a petition from several youth associations, requesting a guarantee that no more Jewish students would be admitted to the university until their number dropped below 5.1%, that the foreign diplomas of Jewish students would not be neutralised, and that baptized Jews should also be treated as Jews. The response of the university council was twofold: the council asked faculties to adhere to the *numerus clausus* numbers that at that point no longer existed by law, to not neutralise foreign diplomas, and to consider the request that baptized Jews be considered Jews. At the same time, the admission limit of 5.1% was rejected. The dean of the Faculty of Humanities, József Halasy-Nagy, made important additional points regarding his faculty: “[...] *no one can name a single youth who has been deprived of the opportunity to study at this faculty [...] under the existing rules, the presence of Jewish students, the tuition fees they pay, enables 15 Christian students to benefit from a half-tuition discount.*” He also notes that as long as a large proportion of Christian students do not exercise their right to enrol in Pécs because they have been enrolled elsewhere, all admitted Jewish students will enrol.²⁰ Contrary to the practice of the 1920s, here we can already see stances contrary to the raw interests of the faculty and the university (i.e., maximizing the number of students). In addition, several processes have led to a decrease in the number of students, with Hungary being the last in Europe in terms of the proportion of students participating in higher education. It was under these circumstances that the number of students were administratively limited, due the high number of unemployed graduates. The birth deficit of the war period also reached the higher education at that time, and the secondary education requirements for admission to higher education gradually decreased.²¹ In terms of the enrolment of Jewish students, the above cited anti-Jew laws restricted their access to universities, with the Second Jewish Law of 1939, Art. IV. limiting their proportion to 6% (relative to all students in the faculty).

Careers of students graduated from the Pécs medical faculty

In addition to outlining the statistical data, we would like to introduce the doctors graduating in Pécs by presenting some of their careers. Of course, we need to keep in mind that we have more or at all considerable resources about the more successful careers. Our sources were mainly (in addition to university records) data repositories, contact lists, obituaries, and commendations, which were also quite incidental and by no means representative. First we present students from a county, the second group shows students starting their education in universities abroad. The third group consists of female students, while the last showcases multigenerational medical families.

1.

Based on our previous research,²² we first present doctors that can be connected to a single area, Somogy County. Following his graduation in 1937, Ferenc Wirth, a doctor of internal medicine, returned to Somogy County and had a significant career. He worked at the Kaposvár Hospital

¹⁶ PTE EL VIII.1.a. ETE, ET-jkv 1934.01.31. agenda item #14.

¹⁷ A detailed description of the events can be found Raposa, V. K. (2020).

¹⁸ PTE EL VIII.1.a. ETE, ET-jk 1937.3.1. agenda item #5.

¹⁹ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OTK KT-jkv 1937.5.21. agenda item #17.

²⁰ PTE EL VIII.1.a. ETE, ET-jk 1937.3.1. agenda item #5.

²¹ These processes are examined by Ujváry, G. (2010).

²² Lengvári, I. (2015).

from 1951, and was the chief physician of the 1st Department of Internal Medicine, and from 1952 to 1954 he also served as medical director of the Hospital.²³

György Révész, born in Kaposvár, received his medical degree in 1940, worked in several institutions in Budapest until 1951, then became a professional military doctor; he was the head of the Otorhinolaryngology Department of the Central Military Hospital, and from 1955 of the Officers' Hospital. From 1967 he was a professor and director of the Semmelweis University's Otorhinolaryngology Clinic, and from 1975 he was the director of the National Institute of Otorhinolaryngology.²⁴

A member of a family of doctors, Sándor Barla Szabó came to the faculty from the secondary school in Csurgó, and after graduating he served in the military during the World War. He specialized in rheumatology, and from 1954 he worked in Harkány as a chief physician and then as a director. The reconstruction and expansion of the hospital is associated with his name, and he also carried out significant scientific work.²⁵

A pair of brothers from Somogy also obtained a medical degree here: Gyula Takátsy graduated from the faculty in 1938 and was an intern at the Institute of Anatomy and then the Institute of Public Health, then he worked at the National Institute of Public Health from 1945 until his retirement. He carried out important research on typhoid fever and then influenza.²⁶ His older brother by two years, Tibor Takátsy, was born in 1912, and after graduating, he worked at the Gynaecology Clinic in Pécs, then he was a departmental chief physician in Tatabánya from 1946 and then from 1953 in Szombathely. He also carried out significant work as a painter, medal designer and textbook writer.²⁷

We have reports about Gyula Ficzkó, a medical student experimenting with "avant-garde short stories and novel"²⁸ from his student years, and Sándor Tatay also mentioned him in his novel.²⁹ He left behind his literary companions such as Sándor Weöres, Nándor Várkonyi, Sándor Tatay and other literary scholars in 1942, when he graduated and became a family doctor in Letenye. He actively participated in politics, and in 1945 the local press already reported about his arrest, internment, and trial before the People's Court.³⁰

We have much less or only a single piece of data for some students. In the case of some recent graduates, the minutes of the council meetings of the medical faculty report that they started working at a clinic as an unpaid intern. Thus, at the Paediatric Clinic, Ernő Mózsa³¹ and Lehel Szijártó,³² Jenő Pleszky³³ at the Obstetrics, and Lenke Sára³⁴ at the Internal Medicine Clinic. Zoltán Práger, who was a doctor in Kaposvár after graduating in 1936, was a victim of the Holocaust.³⁵ Imre Práger (unrelated to Zoltán) finished six semesters abroad (in Prague) which he credited towards his studies in Pécs, with the support of the faculty.³⁶ He graduated in

²³ Kopa, J. (ed) (2008): *passim*.

²⁴ MOeL 306

²⁵ <https://baranyaaidigitar.hu/neves-szemely/2297>

²⁶ MOeL 380.; Ongrádi, J. et al. (2010): 113–121.

²⁷ Vértes, L. (2005): 15–17.

²⁸ Takáts, Gy. (1984): 94.

²⁹ Tatay, S. (1983): 330–337.

³⁰ Zala 1945.8.22. 2.

³¹ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1936.3.27., agenda item #35. – In 1939, due to his appointment as chief physician of the Faculty of Military Medicine, he resigned from his unpaid internship. PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1939.9.22., agenda item #22.

³² PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1945.02.23., agenda item #7.

³³ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1936.09.25., agenda item #35.

³⁴ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1939.11.17., agenda item #16.

³⁵ <http://db.yadvashem.org/names/nameDetails.html?itemId=7534157&language=en>

³⁶ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1933.11.17., agenda item #27.

1936 and the only further data we have of him is about his death in 1987.³⁷ There are some who pursued a career abroad, such as Kálmán Dezső Merényi, who was born in 1920 and graduated in 1944, and worked as a pathologist in the United States, in the state of North Carolina, according to a roster from 1982.³⁸

2.

In the analysis of the higher education conditions of the period and in the case of contemporary criticisms of the university, it is often brought up that it was possible to circumvent the restrictive measures against Jews by naturalising studies started abroad. In the decade and a half we examined, we found 24 graduates who finished their studies started abroad at the medical faculty in Pécs. In most cases, after a shorter or longer stay abroad, students spent at least four but usually more semesters in Pécs before graduating. 13 of the 24 cases are Jewish students who had credited semesters completed at universities in the Czech Republic, Austria, Italy and Germany towards their studies. Such an example is Margit Rares from Sopron, who successfully applied for admission to the University of Tübingen in the autumn of 1924, after graduating from secondary school, noting in her biography that she could not study in Hungary as a Jew because of the *numerus clausus* law.³⁹ In a letter written about Pécs in February 1926, she asked the University of Tübingen to certify some of her courses, otherwise her two semesters would not be recognised here.⁴⁰ After some breaks in her studies, she graduated in 1935, and in 1940 she worked as a dentist in Sopron.⁴¹ We have no knowledge of his future fate.

3.

Several female medical graduates from the period found jobs not only in the field of healing but also in research.⁴² Klára Kovács (1912–1982) obtained her medical degree at the medical faculty in Pécs in 1936, and in 1941 she became a paediatrician. She was deported to Germany in 1944, between 1945 and 1948 she worked as a paediatrician for the National Aid, then she became a family and occupational physician. From 1951 she was an associate professor at the Institute for the Further Training of Physicians, and in 1968 she also obtained the title of candidate. Her career, which began before the war, was interrupted by deportation, and after the war, her career unfolded similar to that of her male colleagues, including a career in research.⁴³ She was not the only one to suffer such a break in her career. Lídia Keppich, who graduated in 1927, became an ophthalmologist, and she and her husband (Emil Oláh), who chose the same specialisation, were deported from Gyula, where she completed her secondary education⁴⁴ and where she returned to after graduating from university. After being doctors at the Kitlitzleben

³⁷ <http://www.geni.com/people/dr-Pr%C3%A1ger-Imre/600000002421639269>

³⁸ *Roster of registered physicians in the State of North Carolina. March 1, 1982.* Issued by Board of Medical Examiners of the State of North Carolina. Raleigh (1982): 191. <https://archive.org/stream/rosterofregister1982nort#page/190/mode/2up/search/merenyi>

³⁹ Universitätsarchiv Tübingen. Signatur: 258/14611. – I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Márta Fata for releasing the documents to me and to Adrienn Wéber for translation from German.

⁴⁰ Universitätsarchiv Tübingen. Signatur: 258/14611.

⁴¹ Az Országos Orvosi Kamara hivatalos névjegyzéke. III. évfolyam. Budapest, (1940): 178.

⁴² Lengvári, I. (2008).

⁴³ MOéL 217.

⁴⁴ https://web.archive.org/web/20091012105159/http://www.kjkg.sulinet.hu/honlap/evkonyv_adattar_szazev.htm

camp (their patients even included an SS officer),⁴⁵ they both returned to Gyula. Her husband worked as a chief physician in Gyula until 1964,⁴⁶ we have no further data on his wife.

Erzsébet Kálmán (Mrs. Viktor Faber, 1916–1965) was born in Pécs and obtained her medical degree in 1940 at the Faculty of Medicine in Pécs. Between 1940 and 1944 she worked as a radiologist at the State Hospital in Kolozsvár, then between 1944 and 1947 she was a paediatrician. Between 1947 and 1948 she worked at the Paediatric Clinic in Pécs, then in 1949–1950 she was a paediatrician at the State Hospital. From 1951, she worked in the field of radiation biology and X-ray diagnostics, from 1956 she was the head of the scientific department at the National F. Joliot-Curie Institute of Radiobiology, and in 1961 she received the title of candidate of medicine.⁴⁷

Reneé Oberson (Mrs. László Fonó, 1908–1975) passed the paediatrician (then the radiologist) qualification exam after graduating in 1938. Between 1938 and 1940, she worked at the State Children's Shelter and then at other hospitals. She worked in Budapest at the Second Paediatric Clinic, where from 1942 she was an assistant professor then senior lecturer, from 1956 she became a candidate and associate professor, finally she obtained a doctorate in medicine in 1972. She was a renowned paediatric cardiologist in Europe, one of the first to perform heart surgeries on children in Hungary.⁴⁸

Careers so far show the common perception that female doctors have worked primarily as paediatricians, radiologists and ophthalmologists. In addition, dentistry has joined these specialisations. Júlia Szanathy returned to Gödöllő to work as a dentist after her internship, continued to work there until 1982, and died in 2003 at the age of 96.⁴⁹ She also comes from an important family in terms of schooling strategy: her sister, Aniella, was the first Hungarian female lawyer.⁵⁰ She recalls that in the 1930s, 4 out of 18 recruited interns were women. She also continued to work as after having a family. The fact that he bought Adél Brüll's (Endre Ady's Léda) salon furniture set for 800 pengős in the late 1930s is a good indication of a secure livelihood.⁵¹

To showcase the scientific advancement of local women, we present the career of Margit Mittag, who became an unpaid intern at the Institute of Anatomy in 1926,⁵² an assistant professor at the Clinic of Internal Medicine in 1946,⁵³ at which time she is mentioned in the sources under her married name, as the wife of the outstanding scientist Szilárd Donhoffer. They published several joint articles, then she carried out independent research dealing with clinical dietetics; she also wrote a popular series of books on the subject. Their two daughters also chose a medical career.⁵⁴

4.

Carmen Camillo (born in 1922), the daughter of a professor at the university in Pécs, Reuter Camillo,⁵⁵ followed in his father's footsteps and became a neurologist. After graduating in 1945, she worked as an unpaid intern at the Neurological Clinic, from which post she resigned in

⁴⁵ Excerpts from the conversation of László Kemény, György Márai and Gyula Erdmann (1986) <https://web.archive.org/web/20070705022236/http://www.bekes-archiv.hu/forras/jewish/convers.html>

⁴⁶ https://web.archive.org/web/20090404043004/http://gyulai_info.extra.hu/elet/adattar/gyki.htm

⁴⁷ MOeL 201.

⁴⁸ MOeL 101-102.

⁴⁹ Gödöllői Szolgálat X:41, 2001.11.8. 10; XIII:1, 2004.1. 15. 7.

⁵⁰ Lengvári, I. (2021b).

⁵¹ G. Merva, M. (2002).

⁵² PTE EL VIII.105.b. ETE OtK Department of Anatomy 465/1925-26.

⁵³ PTE EL VIII.105.b. ETE OtK Department of Anatomy 354/1945-46.

⁵⁴ Szelényi, Z. (2002).

⁵⁵ PEA I: 163.

October 1947.⁵⁶ After working in Budapest for a while, she was the chief neurologist of the sanatorium in Sopron until her retirement.⁵⁷

László, the son of another renowned professor in Pécs, the radiologist László Rhorer, obtained his medical degree in 1935, and then went on to work with László Verebélÿ at the Department of Surgery of the Pázmány Péter University in Budapest. He studied under the name of László Rhorer Külliöi at several Western European clinics, then he worked as a front-line doctor during World War II. He was an assistant professor at the 2nd Clinic of Surgery in Budapest from 1947, then from 1957 to 1977 he was the chief physician at the 1st Surgery of the Hungarian State Railways Hospital in Budapest. He was recognised by posterity as one of the best physicians in all disciplines, working with outstanding surgical and scientific excellence.⁵⁸

Lajos (1908–1984) and Dezső (1912–1997) Kollár, the children of István Kollár who worked in Pécs as a dentist, also followed their father's profession.⁵⁹ Lajos graduated in 1932 and began working at the university's Clinic of Surgery.⁶⁰ He played an important role in setting up and equipping the Dental Clinic.⁶¹ He was dismissed in 1946, and until his death he was the chief dentist of the Hungarian State Railways Hospital.⁶² After his graduation in 1937, Dezső worked at the Clinic of Surgery, then between 1947 and 1982 at the Paediatric Clinic as the head of the Department of Otorhinolaryngology. He was a renowned textbook author who performed about 40,000 surgeries during his career.⁶³

These are only some examples – it is essential to examine further individual careers of graduates to understand the social mobility of the graduates of the Medical Faculty.

Sourcebooks

- MOéL (2004), Kapronczay, Károly: Magyar Orvoséletrajzi Lexikon. Budapest
PEA I. (2015), Lengvári, István (Ed.): Pécsi Egyetemi Almanach I. 1367–1950. Pécs
PEA II. (2017), Polyák Petra (Ed.): Pécsi Egyetemi Almanach II. 1951–1999. Pécs

References

- Dezső, K. (2019), A pécsi Stomatológia Intézet műszerei. <https://tgyoblog.wordpress.com/2019/04/04/a-pecsi-stomatologia-intezet-muszerei/>
- G. Merva, M. (2002), A gödöllői Léda villa titkai. *Holmi* 14:8. 1037–1043.
- Huszár, Gy. (1984), A vizsgázott fogászok munkássága az 1910-es években, in: Antall József (Ed.): *Orvostörténeti közlemények* 105–106. Budapest, 131–137.
- Karady, V. (2012), The restructuring of the academic market place in Hungary. In: Karady, Victor – Nagy, Péter Tibor (Ed.): *The numerus clausus in Hungary. Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe*. Budapest, 2012. 112–135.
- Karsai, L. (2005), A magyarországi zsidótörvények és -rendeletek, 1920–1944. In: Molnár Judit (Ed.): *A holokauszt Magyarországon európai perspektívában*. Budapest, 140–163.
- Kopa, J. (Ed.), *A Kaposi Mór Oktató Kórház 160 éve*. Kaposvár 2008.
- Kulka, F. (1987), In Memoriam Dr. Külliöi Rohrer László. *Orvosi Hetilap* 128: 52. 2753.

⁵⁶ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1947.10.24., agenda item #17.

⁵⁷ Kisalföld, 1963. június 21. 3.; Kisalfold, 2018. december 18. 17.

⁵⁸ Kulka, F. (1987).

⁵⁹ The multigenerational dentist families were already noticed by Huszár, Gy. (1984): 35.

⁶⁰ PTE EL VIII.105.a. ETE, OtK KT-jkv 1938.3.18. agenda item #27.; 1940.01.19. agenda item #8.

⁶¹ Dezső, K. (2019).

⁶² <http://virtualis.sk-szeged.hu/kiallitas/orvoslas-ekf/fogaszat/kollar.html>

⁶³ PEA II:65.

- Lengvári, I. (2008), A pécsi Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem Orvostudományi Karának női hallgatói (1919–1945). In: *Parasztok és polgárok. Tanulmányok Tóth Zoltán 65. születésnapjára*. Czoch, Gábor – Horváth, Gergely Krisztián – Pozsgai, Péter (Ed.) Budapest, 2008. 402–403.
- Lengvári, I. (2015), Somogyi hallgatók a pécsi Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem Orvostudományi Karán, 1919–1945. In: Mayer, László – Tilcsik, György (Ed.): *Szorosadtól Rijekáig. Tanulmányok Bősz Sándor emlékére*. Budapest, 227–228.
- Lengvári, I. (2021a), The Social Composition of Medical Students at the Erzsébet University in the 1920s. In: Kaposi, Zoltán – Rab, Virág: *Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia I*. Pécs, 72–79.
- Lengvári, I. (2021b), Szanathy Aniella, az első jogi doktornő Magyarországon. In: Lengvári, István (Ed.): *Az Év Levélára 2020. A 2021. április 13-án tartott konferencia előadásai*. Pécs, 53–65.
- Ongrádi, J. et al. (2010), Takátsy Gyula élelművéről. Harminc éve halt meg a virológus. *Egészségtudomány* 65: 4. 113–121.
- Raposa, V. K. (2020), A pécsi bajtársiak antiszemita beiratkozási sztrájkja az 1933/34-es tanévben. *Per Aspera Ad Astra* 7:1. 71–99.
- Szelényi, Z. (2002), Hárrom negyedszázad Donhoffer professzor szakmai életében. A tudós diagnoszta, a körélettan pécsi megalapítója, és a bölcs, önzetlen tanácsadó. *Orvoskari Hírmondó* 2002:10. 7–11.
- Takáts, Gy. (1984), *Helyét kereső nemzedék. Költők levelei 1934–1949*. Budapest
- Tatay, S. (1983), Lődörgések kora. In: Tatay, Sándor: *Hét szűk évtized. (Tatay Sándor művei)*. Budapest 145–383.
- Tóth, Z. (1987), Társadalmi státus és foglalkozás az osztrák és magyar társadalomstatisztikában. *Statisztikai Szemle* 65. 67–87.
- Ujváry, G. (2010), Az egyetemi felvételi rendszer változásai a 20. században. In: (Ed.): *A felsőoktatási felvétel szabályozásai a két világháború közötti Magyarországon*. Budapest, 9–23.
- Vértes, L. (2005), Takátsy Tibor szülész-nőgyógyászról. *Orvoskari Hírmondó* 2005:9. 15–17.

Imre Halász

Changes in the Financial System of Vas County at the Beginning of the 20th Century

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To showcase the growth of the region's savings banks network during the period of Hungary's capitalist development between the turn of the century and the World War I.

Applied methods. Primarily data published in the financial almanac 'Magyar Compass' and newspaper articles of the time were sourced for the purposes of the study. Of financial indicators, balance sheet total and aggregate cash turnover figures were used. The study presents the accessible data of all the savings banks in operation at the time.

Outcomes. By the end of 1912, various types of financial services had already been available in 28 Vas County settlements with 53 savings banks operating in the county. Their number was augmented by five branches and two affiliates. The savings banks furthermore established 17 disbursement points. This network of financial institutions was complemented by the Austro-Hungarian Bank (Osztrák-Magyar Bank, OMB) and two discount houses operating in Szombathely. The market district of Szombathely covered the whole county. While several larger microregional money markets were created, significant amounts were repatriated by Hungarians emigrating to America. Amidst all these changes, two banks' bankruptcies made it known nationwide that the development of the local financial network was not without its failures.

Keywords: savings banks, Vas County, Szombathely, bank insolvencies, lines of business, Austro-Hungarian Bank

Until the turn of the century, within a little over two decades between 1878-1899, in the increasingly capitalist Vas County a nearly two-and-a-half-fold rise was seen in the number of financial institutions, a nearly eleven-fold growth in amount of initial capital, a 6.3-fold increase in the balance sheet total figures and a sharp rise in the aggregate cash turnover. Regional market centres got formed around the initial district seats. Similarly micro-regional money markets were created and transactions between the savings banks were picking up – the extent of which is unfortunately not corroborated by data. In 1897, 38 savings and 35 credit banks were actively offering their financial services to their customers.¹

1. The savings banks of the beginning of the century

At the beginning of the 20th century, a remarkable overview of the county's economy was provided by Gyula Éhen, a former mayor of Szombathely, which also covered financial institutions. In his study Éhen highlighted the fact that the circulation of goods had been increasing day by day in the former decades and that the ever modernised agriculture as the leading branch coupled with industrial location had provoked the development of debt instruments. Several financial institutions were formed, including the branches and disbursement points of savings banks. After the turn of the century, the business of Vas County financial institutions increased manyfold. The local economy was further bolstered by the establishment of a branch in Szombathely by the Austro-Hungarian Bank as one of their 33 branches, which meant that loan applications

¹ Halász, I. (2021): 61-71.

were directly reviewed in Szombathely so applicants could get the loans they had applied for in a much simpler way and in a shorter time than before. This branch had already realised the largest turnover among financial institutions in Vas County by 1905, so we can call it the engine for lending activities.

A high number of traders were among the customers of the Szombathely branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, who were granted loans at 3.5% interest rates. The branch had significant Lombard lending activities too.² Businesses (also) visited the branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank since the locally founded savings banks, depending on their various lines of business, typically offered loans at double that rate, at 5-6%. Éhen mentioned 707 trading companies over a half of which, 456 traders running their businesses at the county seat. The branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank did not accept deposits; its total turnover amounted to 93,024,000 Krones in 1904,³ towering over the locally founded financial institutions. Of the other savings banks, operating as companies limited by shares, the outstanding total turnover of the Agricultural Savings and Credit Bank of 63,130,025 Krones was only two-thirds of that of the local branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank and the former also handled deposits of 684,305 Krones. These two financial institutions were primarily active in investment and business financing operations.

The Austro-Hungarian Bank gradually expanded its network in the following decade; by 1912, it had been present in three Vas County settlements. Its branch in Szombathely started its operation as one of its 42 Hungarian branches in 1900⁴ already netting a turnover of 294,426,000 Krones in 1912.⁵ The credit review board of the Szombathely branch was predominantly made up of banking professionals, therefore Béla Borsics, the president of the Savings Bank of Szombathely, Gothard Sándor Herényi, the president of the Agricultural Savings and Credit Bank, Alajos Reiszig, the president of the General Savings Bank of Szombathely, Zsigmond Ungár, a board member of the Savings Bank of Szombathely Tradesmen as well as Lajos Kaiser, Gábor Legáth, Ede Müller, Sándor Pohl, István Sághy, Count sárvári és felsővidéki Rezső Széchenyi, Károly Weiner, Izsó Wolf were among the members of this expert panel.⁶

The branch operated two affiliates where no credit review board was in place and draft discounting services were offered by the savings bank under agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Bank: it was the Economic Credit Bank of Kemenesalja in Celldömölk and the Savings Bank of Szentgotthárd in Szentgotthárd.⁷

2. Bank insolvencies

The upward trend was overshadowed by two bank insolvencies that earned nation-wide notice and caused the demise of three Vas County and one metropolitan savings banks due to personal entanglements.

One involved the City Savings Bank of Szombathely and the highly reputable People's Bank of Vas-Zala, later called First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala, that had demonstrated intensive bank development from its beginnings and the other concerned the Savings Bank of Kiscell. The latter was caused by such a large scale of embezzlement which was even discussed by the conference for reforming savings banks held in Miskolc in 1899. The conference in Miskolc closely investigated the close relationships between financial institutions, industrial and commercial undertakings and excessive lending in order to identify the causes of insolvencies.

² Éhen, Gy. (1905): 856.

³ Magyar Compass 1905/06. I. (1905): 9. 1904. évi mérleg.

⁴ Magyar Compass 1900/01. I. (1907): 526.

⁵ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 39.

⁶ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 29.

⁷ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 30-31.

Besides similar instances in Arad, Máramaroszsiget, Érsekújvár and Újvidék, that of the Savings Bank of Kiscell was discussed in detail, all the more so, since the latter two cases had caused nationwide outcry. The collapse of the Savings Bank of Újvidék was caused by a particularly high amount of loan granted to the Steam Mill of Újvidék, whose assets had been lost by the general director at the stock exchange and which company consequently caused the savings bank to go bust too. Still, the Savings Bank of Kiscell, established in 1869, folded up as a result of persistent mismanagement: Lajos Rosenberg general director in collusion with accountant Károly Ritt had caused damage of about one million Krones to the financial institution over more than two decades.⁸

The Rosenberg family and relatives had been playing a determining role in the vicinity of Celldömölk and later in the whole county for several decades. The originally haberdasher and general dealer Rosenberg family of Kiscell and the related Pick family were closely related to the developers of the Hungarian West Railways and had shortly become exclusive suppliers to the railways construction works. Initially, for about two decades, they transported gravel at preferential rates, later conducted business in all kinds of goods even became involved in logging and the construction industry, and they eventually supplied everything from sleepers and rails to engines and cars while delivering gravel for national and county projects too.

By the time Rosenberg Jr. became the general director of the Savings Bank of Kiscell [today Celldömölk], the family had already grown into a determining player of economic and social life. Although there had been prior indications, and several people had even reported their findings demanding an investigation, nothing happened. After the scandal had broken out, the press made it clear that the Rosenberg family had been enjoying such vast respect and influence in the county that any fraud had been considered inconceivable. Still nothing happened when one of the depositors loudly demanded an explanation from the general director on the street claiming that the balance sheets had been doctored and finished this impromptu challenge by telling the director to feel free to report him for slander because in that case an investigation would finally be launched. Rosenberg stomached the affront and – nothing happened again. When the news of the arrest reached the settlement, depositors rightly worried about their savings besieged the savings bank where they were obviously not given any money just words of comfort that the directors' assets would cover the losses caused by the embezzlement.

Perceiving the signs of an imminent scandal, Rosenberg, his brother-in-law and some board members mortgaged any of their assets imaginable so that eventually no seizable assets remained and when the prosecutor's office finally motioned for the board members' assets to be attached, there was hardly any asset left to secure the deposits. The investigation quickly revealed that the accounts had been falsified and worthless bills of exchange had been placed in the savings bank. Ritt shortly made a confession admitting that they had been involved in such practices for approximately two and a half decades. Rosenberg and his brother-in-law Henrik Pick routinely took up large loans forgoing proper loan review procedures and covered up the embezzlement by falsifying the books of the savings bank. A significant part of the money was given to the accountant too.⁹ The investigating magistrate, among other things, presented an entry made on 13 February 1883 to the board members inquiring about their failure to notice the disbursements of 20,000 and 10,000 Krones without a loan review and approval or the deposit of a bill of exchange, to which the board members replied admitting their lack of related expertise. Today it is no longer possible to judge whether they really lacked expertise or it was simply their defence. People who were wise enough to rescue their money could hardly be accused of lacking expertise.¹⁰

⁸ Jirkovsky, S. (1942): 439-440.

⁹ A kis-cellai panama. Alkotmány, 1899. február 11.

¹⁰ Alkotmány, 1899. február 12. 4-5.

After extensive investigations, the trial was started on 24 January 1902 at the Regional Court of Szombathely in the absence of the main culprit Lajos Rosenberg who promptly escaped and fled to the United States of America having been released from custody. Therefore chief accountant Ritt, accomplice Pick and further eleven members of the board of directors and of the supervisory board respectively were charged. At the end of a most rigorous hearing, the court sentenced Ritt to three years' imprisonment in a maximum security prison and banned from holding an office for six years, while the others were fined 100 Krones each. By then Rosenberg had already become a trader in majolica and porcelain ware in America¹¹, so in his absence the proceedings were stayed against him until his arrest.¹²

Following prolonged negotiations, the financial problems could finally be settled by the four-fifth of the customers of the savings bank in Kiszell accepting the 60% settlement offered by the Agricultural Savings and Credit Bank of Szombathely.¹³ Although with significant losses, they recovered what could be recovered.

Shortly after the bankruptcy of the savings bank in Kiszell, further winding up procedures were seen caused by another subtle fraud to cleanse the financial market of Vas County.

The founder and first general director of the region's first modern financial institution, of the First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala, the highly reputed Ferenc Udvary born in 1840, who served as an MP for the Party of Independence and '48 for Körmend between 1887 and 1892, passed away at the age of 64 on 3 March 1904. He was replaced by his son, born in 1868, an excellent athlete but less excellent politician and bank manager at the helms of the savings bank in Körmend. Udvary Jr., a slave to cycling gaining popularity at the time, was mostly well-renowned with his younger brother for his ride from Körmend to the Paris World Fair in 1899 when they also visited Lajos Kossuth in Turin on their way home.¹⁴ Succeeding his father, the young man, a graduate from the Commercial Academy of Graz, directed the City Savings Bank of Szombathely besides the one in Körmend and even founded the People's Central Savings Bank in Budapest in 1904. Consequently, he managed to bankrupt three savings banks at the same time, and finally all three of them went into final dissolution as well as the one thousand golden Forint foundation of Udvary Sr., whose funds were handled by its own bank at the time, the First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala, and consequently the effect of the domino principle went beyond the scope of financial institutions. As evidenced by press reports, escaping liability, the savings bank would not even hear about the dissolution of the foundation, and the *vice comes*, in charge of ensuring legitimacy, handed over the case for investigation to the county prosecutor officer.¹⁵

The first domino was the liquidity difficulties seen by the City Savings Bank of Szombathely. The crisis of the savings bank in Szombathely was indicated by not paying dividends for three years starting from 1901, although in 1904 they still managed to pay out 12 Krones by share.¹⁶ Still, operational difficulties were evident and – despite general anticipation – no solution was found. Udvary, running as a candidate of the Catholic People's Party and even elected MP for the Zirc district, established a savings bank in the capital city so that he could avoid failure by that bank's assets.

The City Savings Bank of Szombathely started to experience business difficulties in 1901, when the general director fell out with one of the board members, Károly Schmalz land owner from Styria, who wished to withdraw his deposit amounting to one and a half million Krones

¹¹ Kis-Czell és vidéke 1902. február 9. 3.

¹² A kis-cellai takarékpénztár. Alkotmány, 1902. január 25. 11.

¹³ Pesti Napló 1899. augusztus 10.

¹⁴ Udvary, F. (1891).

¹⁵ Az Újság, 1907. április 23. 20. és Somogyi Hírlap, 1907. április 24. 3.

¹⁶ Magyar Compass 1905/06. I. (1905): 830.

and offered all his shares for sale having resigned his board membership. Schmalz was unable to recover his money and forthwith petitioned for bankruptcy proceedings to be started against the savings bank in which he was joined by three other depositors, all from Graz.¹⁷

The investigations revealed a series of malpractices in no time while several more board members resigned saying that they did not identify with the savings bank's ethos.

Although the legal counsel for the savings bank had already proposed to petition for voluntary bankruptcy, Udvary would not hear of it, and rather chose to restore his tarnished reputation with the help of the savings bank established in the capital city. He invited wealthy representatives of his party and high priests to fund the bank, but when the subscriptions to the new bank's shares fell short of the expected amount, he himself invested large amounts taken out of the savings bank in Szombathely to purchase shares. He made this sum of money available by taking out a large loan against the one-million Krone estate of his brother-in-law, Béla Barthodeiszky in Beled, and deposited this amount with the savings bank in Szombathely. From then on, he managed the assets of the savings bank without any control; he entered into countless agreements claiming that the Barthodeiszky family would meet the arising obligations in the savings bank's stead. Therefore, along with the financial institutions, his wife's family was also forced to say farewell to their fortune: deposits of five hundred thousand Krones, cash of three hundred thousand Krones, his wife's dowry of one hundred and forty thousand Krones all disappeared; he also bankrupted his two brothers-in-law, who were board members of the savings bank in Szombathely. We may also count the notary public of Szombathely among his victims who committed suicide when facing financial ruins upon the downfall of the savings bank in Szombathely.

Later he took up a two-hundred-thousand Krone loan from Miklós Szemere, who, seeing his money getting lost, demanded the amount back. To gain time, Udvary handed over bonds to Szemere signed by two members of the boards of the financial institutions in Körmend and in Szombathely, respectively. The bankruptcy proceedings finally started in January 1907.¹⁸ The financial institutions went into liquidation and his wife's family also fell on hard times.¹⁹

Then Udvary disappeared. First, he lived in Bucharest under an assumed name but when he was revealed, he fled first to Constantinople, then to Smyrna (today: Izmir, Turkey), where he was eventually arrested on 20 March 1912.²⁰ Exploiting the muddled Turkish domestic political scene of the time, he was not extradited; Udvary vanished for good.

As a result of personnel and capital entanglements the First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala, having been struggling with difficulties for about a decade, fell on hard times as well. The reason for the financial difficulties was the excessive bank branch network expansion. By 1906 it had already had four branches: in Németújvár, Szombathely, Zalaegerszeg and Kis-Czell. Then these branches were transformed into independent financial institutions in the form of companies limited by shares. Eventually, the bank's business operations covered more than twenty settlements. Through the acquisition of shares, the bank became part owner of the Savings Bank of Kemenesalja (1899), the City Savings Bank of Szombathely and of the Savings Bank of Zala County (1893) while participating in the foundation of the National Land Credit Institution for Small Landowners with 12,400 Krones and entering into an agreement with it on mediating mortgage bonds. It furthermore invested a significant amount of money in founding the Printing Works of Körmend. The new general director, due to the above-described machinations of the young Udvary, was unable to avoid liquidation.²¹

¹⁷ A szombathelyi városi takarékpénztár csődje. *Pesti Hírlap*, 1901. július 25. 10-11.

¹⁸ Magyar Compass 1907/08. I. (1907): 982.

¹⁹ Udvary Ferenc bankjai. *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1906. december 29. 5-6.

²⁰ Elfogták Udvary Ferencet. *Budapesti Hírlap*, 1912. március 21. 10.

²¹ Magyar Compass 1907/08. I. (1907): 587-588. Felszámolás alatt.

3. Vas County savings banks at the beginning of the 20th century

According to Éhen's study, in 1904, the 39 financial institutions, including the branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, realised a turnover of 316,854,408 Krones in one year, of which the total value of deposits in the 38 financial institutions amounted to 52,089,620 Krones, indicative of people propensity to save up. The mayor, intent on economic and city development, described this fact as regrettable, since in his view, by using even this passive capital for city development further significant amounts of capital could have been funnelled into the economy. Although he was right as far as economic development is concerned, a significant part of this amount was the savings of natural persons, and therefore these amounts were (partly) primarily meant to assure the financial stability of the depositors – predominantly of deposit book holders.²²

This picture is complemented by the incomes repatriated by emigrants. A significant part of such repatriated amounts was typically used to free estates from encumbrances in Pinkavölgy and the Szentgotthárd district. This was done in higher than average numbers in this region. Additionally, by then, the savings banks had already handled repatriated deposits in excess of one million Krones. It is primarily markedly represented in the balance sheet of the Savings Bank of Pinkafő Township, where the annual total turnover amounted to 2,748,126 Krones with deposits of 2,147,212 Krones. But the ratio was similar at the Savings Bank of Pinkafő too, where against a 1,568,745 Krone annual turnover they handled deposits of 1,438,942 Krones. The situation may have been similar in Nagy-Német-Szentmihály (today: Grosspetersdorf) and Felsőőr; the former handled deposits of 1,155,127 against an annual turnover of 2,380,578, while the same figures at the Savings Bank of Felsőőr were 2,588,497 Krones against 6,825,734 Krones and we can see similar proportions albeit with lower amounts at the Savings Bank of the Felsőőr District, the other financial institution operating in the settlement. Éhen described these amounts as barren money and expressed his hope that returning emigrants would also invest these amounts in businesses.²³

In the county 15 financial institutions and four bank branches got created during the less than one and a half decades between the turn of the century and World War I. This was the highest level of bank branch network expansion. The next level meant the creation of branches a number of which later evolved into independent savings banks with the founder holding a significant part of their shares. Following this pattern, the District People's Bank transformed into an independent joint stock company in Vassvár from the branch of the Savings Bank of Szentgotthárd in 1908 became involved in founding Járási Téglaagyár rt., later called Első Vassvári Téglaagyár.²⁴

Creating branches was a conventional method of bank branch network expansion. Over time, the branches were transformed into individual companies limited by shares with the founders holding different proportions of shares. Such branches were established in Körmend in Celldömölk by the First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala, in Jánosháza by the Savings Bank of Kemenesalja, in Kisunyom, Csehimindszent and Gyepüfüzes by the Savings Bank of Pinkavölgy, in Kőszeg by the Savings Bank of Szombathely and in Pusztaszentmihály and Strém by the Savings Bank of Németújvár.

It was of lesser significance for the savings banks to set up disbursement points or branches at a certain distance from their seats to accept deposits, grant small amount loans and cash coupons but not to offer full-scale financial services. The Savings Bank of Gyanafalva had a branch in Pusztaszentmihály and operated a disbursement point in Radafalva, the Credit Bank of Pinkafő Township did so in Alhó, the Savings Bank of Szentgotthárd in Felsőrönök, Kőszegszerdahely, Királyfalu, Némethidegkút, Rábakeresztúr, Vasdobra, Vasszentmihály, Vassvár and – the only

²² Éhen, Gy. (1905): 857.

²³ Éhen, Gy. (1905): 856. A takarékpénztárak adatainak forrása: Magyar Compass 1905.

²⁴ The company went under liquidation in 1935. Központi Értesítő, 1935. augusztus 8. 568.

acquisition reaching beyond the county limits – in Zalalövő, while the General Savings Bank of Szentgotthárd had a disbursement point in Radnafalva, Körtvélyes and Felsőszölnök and the Savings Bank of Hegyhát in Hosszúpereszteg.

The third method was affiliation; we are aware of four such cases in Vas County. In case of affiliated financial institutions, upon the share issue of an active savings bank, a certain part of the shares were purchased by more capital intensive savings banks thereby acquiring ownership. Such acquisition took place in 1910, when the Savings Bank of Szombathely acquired 400 shares of the nominal value of 100 Krones each in the Savings Bank of Hegyhát based in Vasvár.²⁵ The president of the Savings Bank of Szombathely also became a board member, so the investment of the financial institution in Szombathely was directly controlled by him. A similar acquisition was transacted by the Savings Bank of Kemenesalja based in Celldömölk and the Savings Bank of Muraszombat.²⁶ The ever closer relationship with the Savings Bank of Muraszombat started when the financial institution based in Szombathely established the Savings Bank of Muravidék in 1911 with the initial capital of 400 thousand Krones that did not prove viable and merged with the Savings Bank of Muraszombat on 21 July 1912. The financial institutions of Szombathely and Muraszombat formed a community of interest.²⁷

The story of the Savings Bank of Kemenesalja is worth a mention, since it was originally a branch of the liquidated Körmend-based First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala that was later transformed into a company limited by shares and got affiliated by the Savings Bank of Szombathely.²⁸ By doing so, they saved the savings bank, and the most capital intensive financial institution of the county did not only provide protection but also control.

The range of financial services was further expanded by the various savings banks entering into agreements with Budapest-based banks, which collaboration saved their customers the trouble of having to visit the seats of the respective savings banks to cash their coupons. This highlights the fact that a growing number of shareholders were Budapest residents.

Several financial institutions were members of the National Association of Financial Institutions (POE) founded in 1903, their association for interest representation, which is deemed to be the predecessor of the current Hungarian Banking Association.²⁹ This interest representation organisation had 13 members in Vas County.

Certain insurance companies built up their network by entering into primary agency agreements with capital intensive savings banks. The Economic Credit Bank of Kemenesalja acted as primary agent for the First Hungarian General Insurance Company in Celldömölk, the Savings Bank of Szombathely was primary agent for the First Hungarian General Insurance Company in Vas County, and the West-Hungarian Economic Savings Bank was that of the Hungária General Insurance Company. Furthermore, the Vas County inspectorate of the General Insurance Company of Triest (Generali) was the Central Savings Bank of the County and its primary agent was the Savings Bank of Pinkavölgy in Monyorókerék. In total, four insurance institutions operated agencies in the county.

A further peculiarity is the presence of private banks on the money market. Magyar Compass mentioned two Szombathely-based private discount houses and bill discounting operations, one was the bill discounting and exchange business of the Grünwald brothers, where Ignác Feleki acted as its operator, and the company of Gusztáv Weisz.³⁰

²⁵ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 1521.

²⁶ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 1370.

²⁷ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 960., 963.

²⁸ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 493.

²⁹ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 298-299.

³⁰ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 2029.

4. On lines of business

We can only enumerate the lines of business here. Even the smallest branches accepted deposits, handled bills and granted loans. The full portfolio was, however, only accessible in the savings banks with the largest markets. As for the placement of foreign capital, mortgage loans, savings deposits (predominantly in savings banks, there are high amounts in deposit books), certificates of deposit (extremely few), current account transactions, (mostly but not entirely in savings banks with higher cash turnovers) are the lines of business offered. The lines of business of active transactions include loans, bill portfolios, advancement against securities (except for private shares), pledges (unperishable goods, bullion and various valuables), overdraft facilities, mortgage loans (most frequent), loans (mortgage bond loans, mortgage credits), and promissory notes (almost entirely in credit banks, rarely in savings banks), property transactions and bonded warehousing; this latter is mostly available at institutions with an agricultural profile. Such a business – not elsewhere indicated – was transacted by the Celldömölk-based Economic Credit Bank, which had been involved in lending breeding heifers since 1903 with the intermediation of the Economic Association of Vas funded by the 80,000 Krone support of the Ministry of Agriculture.³¹

5. Vas County financial institutions in 1913

We can prepare the last accurate statement before WWI using balance sheet data as of 31 December 1912. Since the limitation on space does allow for a longer analysis to be given, we can only publish the main summary data here as follows,

Settlement [name used after 1920] number of population	Name of finan- cial institution (foundation year and planned term of operation)	Balance sheet total [of which govern- ment securities]			total tur- nover	Comments
		1911	1912	1912		
		Krones				
Alhó [Markt Allhau, A.]	Alhói Takarékpénztár (1913-1963)	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.		
Csehimind- szent	The branch of the Savings Bank of Pinkavölgy	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.		
Celdömölk (Kiscell) 5000	Kemenesaljai Takarékpénztár. (1890-1950) Evolved from the defunct branch of the First Savings Bank of Vas-Zala	1,613,171	1,841,689 [1,689]	23,914,670	é: Szombathelyi Takarékpénztár	

³¹ Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913): 494.

	Kemenesajai Közgazdasági Hitelbank (1893-1943)	3,670,273	3,306,790 [100 000]	56,000,000	POE, OMB m. r: Szentgáli Takarékpénztár, bf: Első Magyar Általános Biztosító, m: Kemenesaljai Önsegélyző Szövetkezet
Felsőőr [Oberwart, A] 3410	Felsőőri Takarékpénztár (1872-1962)	5,038,137	5,381,845	8,974,138	
	Felsőőri Járási Takarékpénztár (1894-1924)	968,836	1,031,808	2,752,772	
	Felsőőri Általános Takarékpénztár (1894-1924)	2,008,410 [288,000]	2,251,081 [281,800]	4,555,711	
Felsőlendva [Gornja Lendava, SI]	Felsőlendvai Takarékpénztár (1912-)	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
Gyanafalva [Jennersdorf, A] 2166	Gyanafalvai Takarékpénztár (1891-1921)	3,249,481	3,639,638	4,887,130	fp: Puszta-szentmihály, fh: Radafalva
Jánosháza 3457	Jánosházai Takarékpénztár (1872-)	1,828,748 [54,300]	1,630,372 [50,640]	5,601,258	
	Jánosháza-vidéki Takarékpénztár (1896-1926) a: Kemenesaljai Takarékpénztár	2,108,558	2,088,068	n. a.	
Kisunyom	Sorokmelléki Takarékpénztár (1911-1961) a: Pinkavölgyi Takarékpénztár	56,671	116,785	n. a.	
Kőrmend 5334	Kőrmendi Takarékpénztár (1871-1996)	4,890,464 (1910) [158,375] (1911)	5,073,273 (1911) [147,787] (1912)	21,279,179	POE
	Kőrmendi Általános Takarékpénztár (1895-1945)	580,888	598,688	4,816,997	KHK POE
	Központi Takarékpénztár (1910-1940)	722,705 [45,350]	968,970 [42,225]	14,982,220	

Kőszeg 7076	Kőszegi Takarékpénztár (1844-1927)	12,077,178 [379,466]	12,292,313 [360,570]	16,082,988	
	Kőszegi Általános Takarékpénztár (1876-)	3,667,443	3,683,648 [85,170]	10,947,438	
	Szombathelyi Takarékpénztár kőszegi fiókja (1910-)	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
Monyorókerék [Eberau, A] 881	Pinkavölgyi Takarékpénztár (1898-1948)	2,254,575	2,473,911	51,269,855	POE fh: Kisunyom, Csehimindszent, Gyepüfűzes, r: Sorokmelléki Takarékpénztár, bf: Generali megyei főügynöksége
Muraszombat [Murska Sobota, SI) 2134	Muraszombati Takarékpénztár (1873-) merged with the Savings Bank of Muravidék on 21 July 1912	3,834,970	5,263,562 [5,000]	19,496,668	é: Szombathelyi Takarékpénztár, r: Felsőlendvai Takarékpénztár, weekly deposit insurance in cooperation with Universal
	Délvasmegyei Takarékpénztár (1884-1950)	1,744,827	1,875,628	22,193,996	POE
	Muraszombati Mezőgazdasági Bank (1898-1928)	2,548,641	3,031,687 [42,225]	26,716,312	r: Szarvaslavidéki, Péterhegyvidéki, Vashidegkuti Takarékpénztárak
	Muravidéki Takarékpénztár (1911-) a: The Savings Bank of Szombathely merged into the Savings Bank of Muraszombat in 1912				
Nagyszentmihály [Grosspetersdorf, A] 2190	Nagyszentmihályi Takarékpénztár (1872-1932)	2,862,823 [136,500]	2,849,247 [131,625]	n.a.	
Németújvár [Güssing, A] 2008	Németújvári Takarékpénztár (1872-)	2,186,074 [27,150]	2,499,563 [25,335]	24,960,403	f: Pusztaszentmihály, Strém
	Németújvári Járási Takarékpénztár (1901-)	167,125	173,144	262,720	

	Németújvári Takarék- és Hitelpénztár (1894-1924) a: Rába-Lapincs-völgyi Takarékpénztár	1,015,239	1,009,705	1,009,705	POE
Őriszentpéter 1105	Őrségi Takarékpénztár (1892-1922)	1,234,463	1,349,827	11,690,312	
Péterhegy [Felső-Petrócz, Gornji Petrovci, SI]	Péterhegyvidéki Takarékpénztár (1907-1957) a: Muraszombati Mezőgazdasági Bank	301,165	315,296	1,087,000	
Pinkafő [Pinkafend, A] 2845	Pinkafői Takarékpénztár (1870-) Pinkafői Községi Hitelpénztár (1872-)	2,628,953 4,598,104 [95,344]	2,775,619 4,928,194	10,934,552 n. a.	fh: Alhó
Pusztaszentmihály [Sankt Michael im Burgenland, A] 1062	Gyanafalvai Takarékpénztár fiókpénztára Németújvári Takarékpénztár fiókja	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
Rohonc [Rechnitz, A] 3913	Rohonci Takarékpénztár (1873-) Rohonci Általános Takarékpénztár és Önsegélyző Egylet részvénytársaság (1910-1960)	1,574,544 [16,000] 111,008	1,656,765 [16,000] 162,738	4,732,653, 1,157,634,	
Sárvár 2491	Sárvári Első Takarékpénztár (1868-1899) Sárvár Vidéki Takarékpénztár (1876-1906)	5,018,405 [409,818] 1,775,820	5,752,960 [374,664] 1,920,432	77,807,340 10,499,905	
Strém [Strem, A]	Németújvári Takarékpénztár fiókja	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
Szarvaslak [Rogasovci, SI]	Szarvaslavidéki Takarékpénztár (1907-1957) a: Muraszombati Mezőgazdasági Bank	224,371	217,490	n. a.	
Szentelek [Stegersbach, A] 2958	Szenteleki Takarékpénztár (1891-1911)	1,472,351 [26,064]	1,518,971 [24,321]	9,021,701	sz: Németújvári Járási Takarékpénztár

Szentgotthárd 2084	Szentgotthárdi Takarékpénztár (1871-1901)	9,073,733 [99,500]	9,949,947 [93,335]	120,000,000	POE fh: Felsőrönök, Kőszegszerda- hely, Királyfalva, Némethidegkút, Rábakeresztúr, Vasdobra, Vasszentmihály, Vasvár, Zalalövő. Founded: Járási Népbank Vasvár, Zalalövői Népbank, sz: at the institution, Járási Népbank Vasvár, Zalalövői Népbank, Budapesten: Magyar Általános Hitelbank
	Rába-Lapincs-völgyi Takarékpénztár (1882-1942)	815,764	767,976	1,553,009	r: Németújvári Takarék- és Hitelpénztár
	Szentgotthárdi Áltá- lános Takarékpénztár (1892-)	5,375,130	4,761,747	n. a.	fh: Radnafalva, Körtvélyes, Felsőszölnök
	Ipar- és Gazdasági Népbank (1912-1962)	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
Szombathely 32000	Austro-Hungarian Bank Szombathelyi Fiókintézete	n. a.	n. a.	294,426,000	OMB m: Celldömölk és Szentgotthárd
	Szombathelyi Takarékpénztár (1867-feloszlásig)	23,000,671	23,214,548	618,106,369	POE f: Kőszeg, é: Pesti Hazai Első Takarék- pénztár, bf: Első Magyar Általános Biztosító megyei főügynöksége, af: Kemenesaljái Takarékpénztár Celldömölk, Hegyháti Takarék- pénztár Vasvár, Muraszombati Takarékpénztár

Szombathelyi Általános Takarék-pénztár (1873-1953)	8,921,665	9,282,324	52,972,884	POE
Vasmegyei Takarék-pénztár (1885-1925)	7,182,923 [579,238]	6,293,437 [537,701]	171,158,288	POE
Mezőgazdasági Takarék- és Hitelbank (1897-1947)	6,938,362 [529,869]	7,397,120 [461,488]	299,473,358,	POE é: Magyar Általános Hitelbank, sz: at the institution, Budapesten: Magyar Általános Hitelbank
Szombathelyi Iparosok Takarékpénztára (1905-1955)	1,621,760 [10,400]	1,718,702 [15,021]	43,285,795	m: penny-association, divided into societies
Nyugatmagyarországi Gazdasági Takarékpénztár (1907-)	1,514,361	1,287,577	28,556,403	POE bf: Hungária Általános Biztosító é: Belvárosi Takarékpénztár l: községi hitel-szövetkezet
Vármegyei Központi Takarékpénztár (1911-1961)	1,133,577	1,453,141 [8,808]	31,873,515	POE bf: Trieszti Általános Biztosítótársaság (Generali) Vas megyei felügyelősége
Szombathelyi Egyház-megyei Takarékpénztár (1912-2002)	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
The pawnshop of Szombathely city	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	
Városszalónak [Schlaining, A] 1242	Városszalónaki Takarékpénztár (1882-1914)	1,525,076	1,494,884 [376,481]	2,762,532

Vasvár 3172	Hegyháti Takarék-pénztár (1873-)	1,695,529	1,632,106	19,478,787	POE af: Szombathelyi Takarékpénztár, f: Hosszúpereszteg
	Vasvári Takarékpénztár (1897-1927)	1,617,165	1,917,294	29,821,359	
	Járási Népbank (1908-1938) a: Szentgotthárdi Takarékpénztár fiókpénztárból	1,750,284	1,870,353	31,917,333	r: Járási Téglagyár rt. (Later: Első Vasvári Téglagyár)
Vép 2166	Vép és Vidéke Takarékpénztár (1896)	670,886	737,411	n. a	
Vashidegkút [Cankova, SI] 522	Vashidegkút-vidéki Takarékpénztár (1911-1961) a: Muraszombati Mezőgazdasági Bank	58 989	84,886	n. a	
Private banks in Szombathely	Ignác Feleki	n. a	n. a	n. a	The bill discounting and exchange business of the Grünwald brothers.
	Gusztáv Weisz	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	

Source: Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913).

Legend:

POE: member of the National Association of Financial Institutions

OMB m: an affiliate of the Austro-Hungarian Bank

a: founded by

af: affiliated to

bf: primary agency of an insurance company

é: in collaboration with

fh: disbursement point

fp: branch

l: established

m: operated

n.a.: n. a.

r: involved in

sz: cashing coupons

5. The balance of the decade

As of 31 December 1912, financial services were available in 28 settlements of the county in some form or other. 53 savings banks were in operation; 16 more than in 1899.³² This is a remarkable increase. The bank branch network was augmented by five branches and two affiliates and the savings banks also established a further 17 disbursement points. The network of the savings banks was further expanded by the operations of the Austro-Hungarian Bank and the two private

³² Conf. Halász, I. (2021): 67-68.

discount houses operating in Szombathely. Savings banks were involved in creating further financial institutions eight times and provided their customers with five more coupon cashing opportunities in various financial institutions other than their own – also in the capital city.

The centre of the county money market was the county seat where eight companies limited by shares and two private financial institutions offered their services to their customers, and the city also had a pawnshop which counts among financial institutions by law. The market district of Szombathely covered the whole county and several larger microregional money markets were created with centres in Celldömölk, Kőszeg, Körmend, Muraszombat, Németújvár, Szentgotthárd and Vasvár. Magyar Compass documented a total annual turnover of 2,846,687,058 Krones (1912) of which 294,426,000 Krones were realised by the Szombathely branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, also includes the turnover figures of their two affiliates. Nine savings banks did not report annual turnover figures. Of this, excluding the figures of the Austro-Hungarian Bank branch, the turnover of the financial institutes operating in Szombathely amounted to 1,248,426,612 Krones – approximately half the county figure – with the data of the freshly founded Diocesan Savings Bank of Szombathely unknown.

Vas County and the city of Szombathely saw robust expansion in the last one and a half decades of the ‘*Belle Époque*’.

Bibliography

- Bácskai Tamás (Ed.), *A Magyar Nemzeti Bank története I.* Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó
- Botos J. (1994), A magyarországi pénzintézetek együttműködésének formái és keretei. Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó
- Botos J. (2002), A magyarországi jelzálog-hitelezés másfél évszázada. Budapest: Szaktudás Kiadó Ház
- Éhen, Gy. (1905), *Vas vármegye közgazdasági leírása. III.* Közgazdasági Szemle 34. 853–863.
- Halász, I. (2021), *The Network of Financial Institutions and Capital Accumulation. Vas County in the Second Half of the 19th Century.* in: Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab. (ed), Economic and Social Changes: Historical Facts, Analyses and Interpretations. Pécs. Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia I. 61–71
- <https://pea.lib.pte.hu/bitstream/handle/pea/23767/kaposi-rab-economic-and-social-changes-wgeshrchasp-pecs-2021.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y> (Letöltve: 2021. december 1.)
- Jirkovsky S. (1942), *Takarékpénztáraink és a miskolczi 1899-es értekezlet.* Közgazdasági Szemle, 85. 439–440.
- Kaposi, Z. (2002), *Magyarország gazdaságtörténete.* Budapest–Pécs: Dialóg Campus Kiadó
- Tomka, B. (2000): *A magyarországi pénzintézetek rövid története 1836–1947.* Budapest: Aula
- Udvary, F. (1891), Körmentdtől–Párisig kerékpáron és vissza Turinnak. 2. ed. Körmend
- Varga Gy. (1896), *A magyar hitelügy és hitelintézetek története.* Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda–Részvény-Társaság

Sourcebooks

Központi Értesítő, 1935. augusztus 8.

Magyar Compass (1900): Mihók-féle Magyar Compass 1900/01. I. rész: Pénz- és hitelintézetek. Galánthai Nagy Sándor (Ed.) Budapest

Magyar Compass (1905): Mihók-féle Magyar Compass 1905/06. I. rész: Pénz- és hitelintézetek. Galánthai Nagy Sándor (ed) Budapest

Magyar Compass (1907): Mihók-féle Magyar Compass 1907/08. I. rész: Pénz- és hitelintézetek. Galánthai Nagy Sándor (ed) Budapest

Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. (1913), Nagy Magyar Compass 1913/14. I. rész: Pénz- és hitelintézetek. Galánthai Nagy Sándor (Ed.). Budapest

The Austrian Lloyd's Marine Trade in Fiume (1871–1913)

Abstract

The purpose of the study. In my paper I would like to introduce the history of an important trading company, the Austrian Lloyd, in terms of its connection to Hungary between 1871 and 1913 with a particular focus on Port of Fiume. This company connected Fiume (and Hungary) with the eastern ports of the Adriatic Sea, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea (Levante) until 1891 with the beneficial support of the Hungarian Government; and later by the company's own interests.

Applied methods. In the paper I analyse the agreements made in the governmental contracts and why the contracts were terminated in 1891. I'm also having a look at the turnover of ships and goods the company had in Fiume's life between 1889 and 1913. Besides presenting the company's life and operations I also would like to classify it in terms of turnover among other marine trading steam ship companies receiving government support. For references I've been using and working with relevant bibliographies, laws, statistical publications and scripts from the Državni Arhiv u Rijeci (National Archives of Rijeka).

Outcomes. I expect the research results to reveal details of an important slice of the Hungarian export which is not very much processed as yet.

Keywords: Fiume, Lloyd, marine trade, maritime history.

1. Introduction

In the 1870's and 80's, after the compromise between Austria and Hungary, and Hungary and Croatia respectively, Hungary needed to implement fast and efficient structural reforms including modernization of its transport infrastructure. As an instrument of such, Port of Fiume – belonging to Hungary since 1776 and re-acquired in 1868 – was a priority in the plans. Any economic government in Hungary intended to pursue domestic interests on land and sea against rival Austrian companies and group of investors, who possessed both over railways (South Railway) and marine trade of the Monarchy via Port of Trieste (Austrian Lloyd)¹. Starting from 1891–98, this opposition and lobbying activity allowed Hungarian and Croatian companies to transfer domestic goods overseas and import raw materials and other colonial goods via railways and harbours in Hungarian ownership, hence making the country's needs independent from mainland import.² Sources describing the economy of the era deem the story complete. However, with present article I would like to expand the existing knowledge related to Lloyd, therefore first I would like to introduce the history of Lloyd in a period of receiving support from the Hungarian government (between 1871–1891), and then to reveal details of the period between 1891–1913 not processed yet, in which I'm presenting trade statistics and market share of the Lloyd company in Port of Fiume horizontally among other marine trading companies. Professional literature, laws and descriptive statistics of the past 100–200 years should be my sources to reach the goals above.

¹ Kaposi, Z. (2007): 67–72.

² Between 1874 and 1914 Hungarian government support was granted to Adria Hungarian Royal Sea Navigation Company Ltd., Hungarian Levant Steamship Company Limited, Hungarian-Croatian Sea Navigation Company Ltd. and Austrian Lloyd discussed in this article. Hungarian Shipping Company Orient Limited, a Hungarian-Croatian Free Shipping Company Ltd., Photogen Transport Company Ltd., Pajkurich & Co. Ltd., Sigismondo Copaitich & Co. Ltd., Indeficienter Sea Navigation Company Ltd. and Atlantica Sea Navigation Company Ltd. operated under free shipping (market) conditions (Gonda, B. 1906).

2. Company history

Austrian Lloyd was founded in 1832 by a group of merchants from Trieste led by Károly Bruck on the existing pattern of British Lloyd³. Being the first such company in the region it was generally created to carry out duties of postal traffic, therefore it started to operate lines in the Adriatic Sea to the Dalmatian coast, Venice, Constantinople and to ports of Levante (eastern ports of the Mediterranean Sea). In 1855, due to losses incurred because of French and English rival companies appearing in the region, it went into a contractual relationship with the Austrian government and made regular schedules as a return of a government support determined each year in advance. Thus, Lloyd became a large and reliable nautical company of Levante, which besides postal traffic also managed commercial traffic of significant size among ports.

After the Compromise, the company was renamed to "Austrian-Hungarian Lloyd" steamship company. After the opening of Suez Canal (1869) British-Indian and eastern ports – previously within "economic" distance for sailing-ships only via Cape of Good Hope – became eventually accessible. In 1870, the company already operated lines on regular schedules to ports of Bombay, Singapore and Calcutta. As a consequence of the beginning of the construction work of Port of Fiume, the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise (1867) and the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise (1868), an agreement was reached with the Hungarian government in terms of postal and commercial traffic. The contract signed on 18th November 1870 enacted in 1872 by law (Act XXVI of 1872) clearly determined duties of the company and the extent of support to cover related costs with an effect until end of December 1877. The Act clearly fixed a yearly support of 1,700,000 Forint for the company, payment of which was shared between the Austrian and Hungarian budget based on their capacities, and the contract indicated the ports, which the company was obliged to connect with Fiume and Trieste (this is demonstrated by Table 1 below)⁴.

To avoid difference between Trieste and Fiume port in terms of shipping within Lloyd, according to the Act the company had to apply the same fares for both ports related to incoming/outgoing postal and commercial goods. In these years however, as a consequence of opening the Suez Canal, intense competition started among European steamship companies continually increasing their efficiency. As lines to the Far East operated by Lloyd were less supported by Austrian and Hungarian budget than rival companies by their maintainers (e.g. the Peninsular company by the British government), and because of several commercial ships with French, German, Italian, Turkish, Greek ensign appearing in the Mediterranean Sea, Austrian-Hungarian Lloyd needed to borrow 3,000,000 Forint to stay in the competition⁵.

³ Becher, E. – Kenessey, K. (1892).

⁴ In the study hereinafter, I will refer to financial data in the currency of the era, namely Forint and Crown. According to the Act XIX of 1892, 42 Forint equals 100 Crown. At the time of introduction of the Crown (Act XVII of 1892), 1 kg fine gold was worth 3,280 Crown.

⁵ Zsigmond, G. (2009): 133.

Table 1: The Austrian-Hungarian Lloyd routes from 1878 to 1888 (1878: XXVII.)

Number	Shipping line	The number of routes per year	The length of the routes yearly (nautical mile)	The sum of the nautical miles	The sum of the support (silver forint)
<i>A) 10 knot speed; 4 silver forint support per nautical miles</i>					
1	Triest-(Fiume)-Korfu-Alexandria and back, rapid	52	2 402	124 904	499 616
2	Triest-Korfu-Syra-Constantinople and back, rapid	52	2 356	122 512	490 048
3	Constantinople-Vama and back, rapid	91	290	26 390	105 560
<i>B) 8 knot speed; 1,15 silver forint support per nautical miles</i>					
4	Fiume-Lussin piccolo and back	52	124	6 448	7 415,2
5	Triest-Pola-Dalmatia-Albania-Prevesa and back	52	1 468	76 336	87 786,4
6	Triest-Pola-Dalmatia-Albania-Durazzo and back	52	921	47 892	55 075,8
7	Triest-Pola-Dalmatia-Cattaro and back	52	797	41 444	47 660,6
8	Triest-Fiume and back	104	272	28 288	32 531,2
9	Fiume-Segna and back	52	56	2 912	3 348,8
10	Fiume-Segna-Zara and back	52	210	10 920	12 558
11	Fiume-Lussin-Zara and back	52	248	12 896	14 830,4
12	Fiume-Veglia-Zara and back	26	198	5 148	5 920,2
13	Fiume-Lussin grande and back	26	118	3 068	3 528,2
14	Triest-Ancona-Korfu-Syra-Smyrna and back	52	2 164	112 528	129 407,2
15	Syra-Pireus and back	104	156	16 224	18 657,6
16	Constantinople-Burgas-Galati and back	40	700	28 000	32 200
17	Constantinople-Trapezunt and back	26	980	25 480	29 302
18	Constantinople-Salonici-Volo and back	26	940	24 440	28 106
19	Constantinople-Smyrna-Rhodus-Cyprus-Beirut-Jaffa-Portsaid-Alexandria-Smyrna-Constantinople	26	2 154	56 004	64 404,6
20	Constantinople-Smyrna-Alexandria-Portsaid-Jaffa-Beirut-Cyprus-Rhodus-Smyrna-Constantinople	26	2 154	56 004	64 404,6

In the years of 1877-78, the issue of contract-renewal with Lloyd came under fire in the Hungarian Parliament. In these years the construction work of direct railway line between Budapest and Fiume was completed due to efforts to modernize transportation, but it was still owned by Austrian investors, i.e Southern Railway company interested in Trieste, which – using a competitive tariff regime – managed to attract Hungarian commercial traffic from Fiume. This Austrian interest was perceivable also in Lloyd, as the share of total length of routes (in nautical miles) via Fiume (23.5%) lagged way behind the share of Trieste routes (76.5%) of Lloyd. Additionally, the company was rather interested to export Austrian industrial goods to eastern regions as opposed to Hungarian market intentions, namely to make agricultural products available in western markets⁶. Others also urged for a western market penetration, the introduction of German protective tariffs by Bismarck; as Gonda explains “[...] the change in German tariff and railway policy forced the Hungarian state to make the export of the country independent from foreign countries by sea”, i.e export should be directed towards English, Italian and French harbours⁷. The Hungarian state did not have sufficient sources for these investments, however, because at the time it already secured a yearly support of 533,800 Forint for Lloyd. These trends eventually led to the foundation of (the name used posteriorly) Adria Hungarian Royal Sea Navigation Company Ltd., and therefore – with a new contract enacted by law (Act XXVII of 1878) – it intended to provide less support (1,300,000 Forint) for Lloyd (Table 2)⁸.

⁶ According to the contract total nautical miles per year reached 827 838 miles, 194 584 miles of which were accounted for Fiume and 633 254 miles for Trieste.

⁷ Gonda, B. (1906): 88–89.

⁸ Pelles, M. (2016a).

Table 2: The Austrian-Hungarian Lloyd routes from 1878 to 1888 (1878: XXVII.)

Number	Shipping line	The number of routes per year	The length of the routes yearly (nautical mile)	The sum of the nautical miles	The sum of the support (silver forint)
A) 10 knot speed; 4 silver forint support per nautical miles					
1	Constantinople-Váma and back	104	290	30 160	120 640
B) 9 knot speed; 1,8 silver forint support per nautical miles					
2	Triest-Fiume-Korfu-Alexandria and back	52	2 402	124 904	224 827,2
3	Triest-Korfu-Syra-Constantinople and back	52	2 356	122 512	220 521,6
B) 8 knot speed; 1,15 silver forint support per nautical miles					
4	Triest-Pola-Dalmátia-Durazzo and back	52	1 037	53 924	62 012,6
5	Triest-Pola-Dalmátia-Albania-Prevesa and back	52	1 488	77 376	88 982,4
6	Triest-Pola-Cattaro and back	52	825	42 900	49 335
7	Fiume-Lussin piccolo-Zara-Cattaro and back	26	705	18 330	21 079,5
	Fiume-Lussin piccolo-Zara-Cattaro-Albania-				
8	Patras and back	26	1 369	35 594	40 933,1
9	Triest-Fiume and back	52	272	14 144	16 265,6
10	Fiume-Triest and back	52	272	14 144	16 265,6
11	Fiume-Segna-Zara and back	52	252	13 104	15 069,6
12	Fiume-Zara-Ancona and back	26	293	7 618	8 760,7
13	Triest-Fiume-Korfu-Syra-Smyrna and back	52	2 280	118 560	136 344
	Triest-Patras-Pyreus-Volo-Galonich-				
14	Constantinople and back	26	3 306	85 956	98 849,4
15	Constantinople-Küstendje-Galati and back	40	858	34 320	39 468
16	Constantinople-Trapezum and back	12	1 074	12 888	14 821,2
	Constantinople-Smyrna-Cyprus-Beirut-Port-Said-				
17	Alexandria and back	26	2 704	70 304	80 849,6
18	Alexandria-Port-Said and back	26	320	8 320	9 568
19	Pyreus-Syra and back	104	156	16 224	18 657,6
20	Syra-Candia and back	52	319	16 588	19 076,2

Change in the contract can be spotted in terms of financial control of Lloyd. As a return for high government support the company was obliged to operate transparently for citizens. Furthermore, only Hungarian and Austrian citizens were allowed to be members of the board of directors, fines to be charged for delays were regulated and dividends for shareholders were maximized at yearly 4%. It was further obliged to publish the monthly gross revenues in official newspapers in Vienna, Budapest and Trieste until the 15th day of each month, and it had to deploy main agencies to Vienna and Fiume, and last but not least its total debt of 1,340,000 Forint accumulated in the previous years had to be repaid within 10 years. In case of this contract, if we check again the total nautical miles recorded, an increase for Fiume (37.7%) versus Trieste (62.3%) can be experienced⁹. The contract period lasted for ten years, it expired in 1888.

Besides the new route schedule (Table 3) the Act XXI of 1888 did not include any relevant changes, apart from the fact that Lloyd was obliged to fulfil its coal demand with domestic raw material because of the price increase of the English coal. More importantly, the new Act excluded coastal traffic in Adriatic Sea from supported routes. The reason for this is that parallel with internal capital accumulation the Hungarian state found additional sources to support a company serving national interests regarding this activity as well, this became (the name used posteriorly) the Hungarian-Croatian Sea Navigation Company Ltd¹⁰. This fallout from the routes is more demonstrative if we check again the total nautical miles of the routes recorded via Fiume and Trieste. The share of routes via Fiume amounted to 11.8%, while those via Trieste only amounted to 88.2% from the company's total length of routes supported by the contract¹¹.

⁹ According to the contract total nautical miles per year reached 917 870 miles, 346 398 miles of which were accounted for Fiume and 571 472 miles for Trieste.

¹⁰ Pelles, M. (2016b).

¹¹ According to the contract, total nautical miles per year reached 946,000 miles, 111,680 miles of which accounted for Fiume and 834,320 miles for Trieste.

Table 3: The Austrian-Hungarian Lloyd routes from 1888 to 1891 (1888: XXI.)

Number	Shipping line	The number of routes per year	The length of the routes yearly (nautical mile)	The sum of the nautical miles	The sum of the support (silver forint)
<i>A) 11,5 knot speed; 2,6 silver forint support per nautical miles</i>					
1	Triest-Alexandria and back	52	2 402	124 904	324 750,4
<i>B) 10 knot speed; 1,65 silver forint support per nautical miles</i>					
2	Fiume-Alexandria and back	12	2 330	27 960	46 134
3	Triest-Cattaro and back	52	756	39 312	64 864,8
4	Fiume-Cattaro and back	52	584	30 368	50 107,2
5	Triest-Korfu-Piräus-Constantinople and back	52	2 386	124 072	204 718,8
6	Pireus-Smyrna and back	52	418	21 736	35 864,4
<i>C) 8 knot speed; 1,05 silver forint support per nautical miles</i>					
7	Triest-Spalato-Metkovich and back	52	543	28 236	29 647,8
8	Triest-Pola-Durazzo-Korfu and back	52	1 262	65 624	68 905,2
9	Triest-Pola-Dalmatia-Korfu-Preveza and back	52	1 464	76 128	79 934,4
10	Fiume-Triest and back	52	254	13 208	13 868,4
11	Fiume-Cattaro and back	52	772	40 144	42 151,2
12	Spalato-Metkovich and back	52	156	8 112	8 517,6
13	Triest-Fiume-Korfu-Patras-Pireus-Syra-Salonichi-Constantinople and back	26	3 690	95 940	100 737
14	Triest-Fiume-Korfu-Candia-Smyrna and back Constantinople-Smyrna-Cyprus-Beirut-Alexandria and back	52	2 605	135 460	142 233
15	Constantinople-Küstenje-Braila and back	26	2 674	69 524	73 000,2
16	Constantinople-Trapezunt-Batum and back	40	758	30 320	31 836
17	Constantinople-Trapezunt-Batum and back	12	1 246	14 952	15 699,6

The Act XXIX of 1891 brought changes in the relationship between the state and Austrian-Hungarian Lloyd, in which the termination of the agreement on 12th May 1891 was enacted. The agreement pronounced that the contract signed on 19th March 1888 is repealed by 31st December 1891. There were several antecedents for terminating the contract both in economic and political regard. First, fares of Lloyd continually increased due to more intense competition with other rival companies, and uneconomic ship acquisitions¹². Second, rapidly increasing traffic and success of the created Hungarian (and Croatian) marine trading companies required more and more financial support; but politics created difficulties for Lloyds as well, as “State intervention into company matters several times prevented the issuance of shares in a favourable moment, because any (supporting) decision from the government was delayed occasionally by several months”¹³.

An agreement was reached between the Hungarian and the Austrian government on 18th February 1891¹⁴, in terms of the traffic reflecting the ongoing importance of Port of Fiume and the connection with British-Indian and other ports in Far East linked altogether by Lloyd. Pursuant to the agreement waters were split between the Hungarian Adria Ltd. and (renamed as before) Austrian Lloyd according to trade directions. Adria Ltd. possessed over western traffic, while Lloyd operated in the East. To Brazil (where only Adria Ltd. had sent steamships until then), from this time onwards the companies had yearly 6-6 routes on a rotation. The agreement expired on 30th June 1898.

By 1898 the Hungarian government already possessed over the necessary funds to take the eastern shipping into domestic hands. In 1894, the foundation of the Hungarian River and Sea Navigation Company Ltd. (Act XXXVI of 1894) partly served this purpose, which clearly wanted to reach the Black Sea through ports at Lower-Danube, thus securing the connection

¹² Gonda, B. (1906): 96.

¹³ Zsigmond, G. (2009): 139.

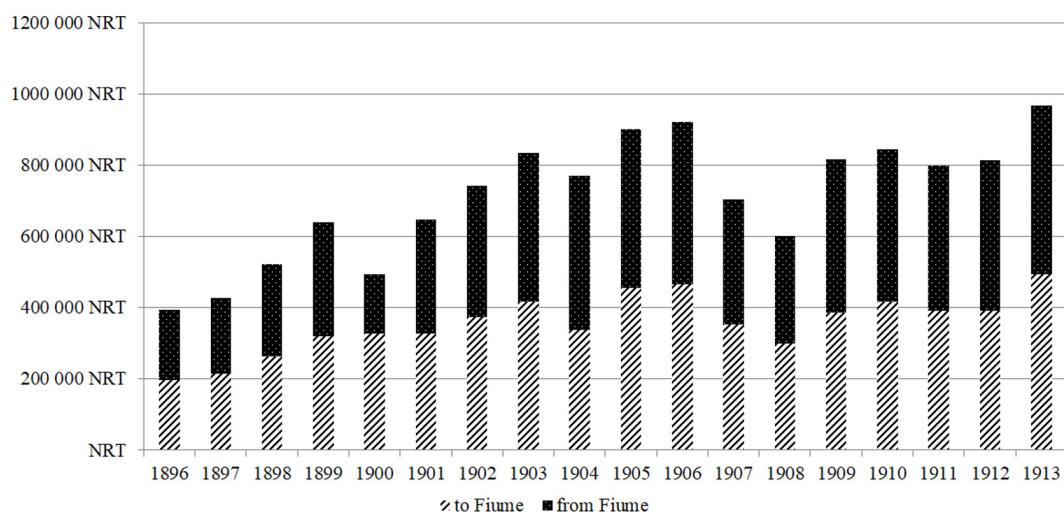
¹⁴ State Archives of Rijeka. Maritime Government (DAR-46). Presidential documents. 5-1904-IV-8.

between Regensburg and Galati¹⁵. With the establishment of Hungarian Levant Steamship Company Ltd. (Act IX of 1898), the Hungarian state was able to reach eastern harbours from Galati through a domestic company. On 1st July 1898 a new agreement was reached between two large marine steamship companies of Austria-Hungary, according to which they re-divided their “territories”, as Zsuzsa Frisnyák explains: “Traffic zone of Austrian Lloyd company: East Afrika, India, China, Japan. Zone of Adria Sea Navigation Ltd.: Italy, Malta, Spain, France, England, Northwest Africa excluding Egypt, North America. Routes of Lloyd all had to include Fiume, western routes of Adria had to include Trieste”¹⁶. This agreement was in place until the Great War (summer 1914). After the war the company was reorganized under Italian ensign with the name “Lloyd Triestino”, and several companies currently operating deem it as a legal predecessor, e.g. “Italia Marittima SpA” or “Österreichischer Lloyd”.

3. Shipping and trade statistics of the company in Fiume

The Austrian-Hungarian, or rather Austrian Lloyd later on played a significant role in ship traffic of Fiume. In harbours, according to the contract the company was entitled to get the same allowances as warships. In Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks we can only find data available from 1896 related to ship traffic (number of ships and net load in tonnes) of Lloyd in Fiume, both in terms of arriving and departing steamships (demonstrated in Figure 1)¹⁷. Column chart in the figure shows number of steamships both arriving to and departing from Fiume. In terms of arriving ships, neighbour and long-range traffic were roughly balanced between 1896-1901, but in the period between 1902-1913 only 1-1 steamship arrived from neighbour ports in years 1908 and 1909, respectively. The reason why neighbour traffic disappeared from 1902 can be explained by the operation of Hungarian-Croatian Sea Navigation Company Ltd., which took the whole neighbour traffic of the coast over from Lloyd, which, being crowded out from Adriatic Sea (as western part of which also being in hands of Hungarian marine shipping through Hungarian-Croatian Ltd. and Adria Ltd.), managed to focus entirely on ports of Levante and Far East.

Figure 1: The Austrian Lloyd routes of Fiume from 1896 to 1913 (MSÉ 1896–1913)



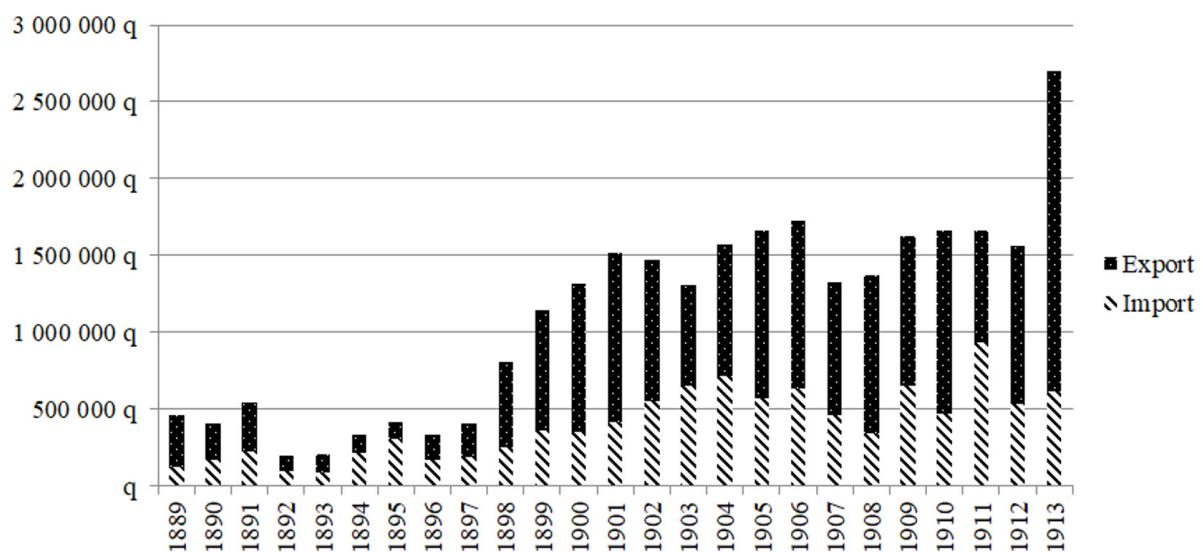
¹⁵ Bartos, D. – Bornemissza, F. (1942): 108.

¹⁶ Frisnyák, Zs. (2001): 123.

¹⁷ In the statistics both directions are split into two subcategories: long-range traffic means ports outside the Monarchy, while neighbour ports are further split into two parts: Hungarian and Austrian ports. All ports located then in the territory of Croatia were deemed Hungarian as part of the “Hungarian empire”, and clearly, all ports of Trieste, the Austrian Seaside and Dalmatia were Austrian.

Regarding commercial traffic of Lloyd in Fiume data are available for the period between 1889–1913 (Figure 2) in Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks or in statistical volumes specifically issued for this purpose describing ship and commercial traffic of Fiume in more details. The figure pretty much illustrates the dynamics of commercial traffic of Lloyd in Fiume already discussed historically. It can be stated that total traffic of the company in Fiume dropped suddenly after the contracted period (1891–92) from 542,223 metric centners to 192,690 metric centners, from 1893, however, data show that growth returned. What is more – after the final division of commercial regions which put the rivalry between Adria Ltd. and Lloyd to an end –, for the year 1899 Lloyd already managed to double the traffic of 1891 (1,147,628 q). Looking at the 1900's years, apart from 1903 and 1907 the growth remained, for the last year of peace (1913) traffic was doubled again, primarily with the raise of export compared to the value of 1912. Export volume was 1,026,924 metric centners in 1912, and it reached 2,084,714 in 1913. This increase could be originated to the Balkan Wars, as sugar export meant to be transferred to Levante was directed to Fiume this year (thus making the largest share of total export volumes of Lloyd with the amount of 1,524,145 q)¹⁸. Furthermore, looking at the diagram it can be observed that Lloyd operated mainly as export supplier in the commercial trading of Fiume, with an import surplus only in a few years, in the period of 1890's after contract termination, being years of supporting growth and stabilizing the traffic, or years of large export drops in 1903 and 1911.

Figure 2: The company's cumulate goods turnover in Fiume between 1889 and 1913 (MSÉ 1889–1913)



If we look through the goods transferred in largest volumes by Lloyd, we cannot find surprising data. Anything about commercial trading of Lloyd can be reported is true for overall marine trading for Fiume, which is featured by import of raw materials and colonial goods, and by export of processed goods produced by domestic industry and in Fiume. Thus, the most relevant import goods of Lloyd in Port of Fiume in the last ten years before the war included: raw tobacco; corn; oily seeds; brown rice; raw jute; raw leather; wine; raw cotton. Most important export goods were: powdered and granulated sugar; refined sugar; husked rice; paraffin; stave; sleeper and other wood products; paper material and wares; iron and steel products. Consequently, the Austrian Lloyd from Trieste managed to remain a very important company in terms of traffic in Fiume even after the termination of the Hungarian contract of state supported routes.

¹⁸ Fried, I. (2001): 108; Scott, E. (1977); Trading volumes of Fiume (1913): 72–73.

4. Conclusions

To be able classify the company on traffic in Fiume among other state supported companies, I also analysed the total traffic of the port itself. Based on above, state supported companies had an average share of 85% in terms of steamships arriving in Fiume (Adria Ltd. 4%; Hungarian-Croatian Ltd. 78%; Austrian Lloyd 3%; Hungarian Eastern Ltd. 0.01%) between 1893–1913, with a decreasing trend parallel with the growth of new independent domestic entrants and companies from abroad¹⁹. Measured by transport capacity (net register tonnage) their share was 69% (Adria Ltd. 20%; Hungarian-Croatian Ltd. 30%; Austrian Lloyd 19%; Hungarian Southern Ltd. 0,05%) in terms of steamships arriving at the port. It is clearly visible from that, which statistical data confirm, that Lloyd was generally interested in long-range traffic as it was recorded in these years with only a few number of steamships but with large transport capacities among all steamships that arrived at Fiume. Port of Fiume generally functioned as an export harbour between 1867 and 1913, i.e with an 40.4% import share and 59.6% export share of the commercial traffic in metric centner (yearly 8,168,605 centners on average).²⁰ Between 1893 and 1913 state supported companies made up an average of 30.3% of total import volumes of Fiume (from which Adria Ltd., Lloyd, Hungarian-Croatian Ltd. and Hungarian Southern Ltd. represented 13.2%, 8%, 8.6% and 0.5%, respectively). In terms of total export volumes within the corresponding period they made up 61% on average (from which Adria Ltd., Lloyd, Hungarian-Croatian Ltd. and Hungarian Southern Ltd. represented 35.8%, 9.9%, 15.2% and 0.1%, respectively). In terms of total trading volumes of Port of Fiume, the companies made up an average of 47.6% as well, from which it is standing out that Lloyd itself – with an average of 9% share – managed to stay an important participant in the life of the port, bearing in mind that in the contracts of the 1870's it almost represented the whole commercial trading in Fiume.

It can be stated that, as time passed, the history of Austrian Lloyd in the 19th century and until the Great War is strongly linked to the history of both the Austrian Trieste and the Hungarian Fiume. It is worthwhile to conduct thorough research and process this topic more carefully, as it can reveal more secrets not only regarding the history and evolution of the Hungarian system of transportation, but it provides additional information to reconsider the history of the Hungarian commercialism and economy more carefully, especially in terms of the Hungarian commercial trading in the area of the Black Sea, Levante and Fiume.

References

- Bartos, D.–Bornemissza, F.(1942): *Magyarország és a tengerhajózás*. Budapest. A Kikötő – Tengerhajózás kiadása
- Becher, E. – Kenessey K. (1892): *A tengerészeti kifejlődése s a hajózás Trieszten és Isztriában*. In: Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képekbén. VIII. kötet. Az Osztrák tengermellék és Dalmácia. Budapest: A Magyar Királyi Államnyomda kiadása. 305–326.
- Denk, Á. et al. (Batthyány T., Kemény Ö., Ossoinack L., Solymásy E.) (1896): *A magyar tengerészeti*. In: Borovszky S. – Sziklay J. (eds.): Magyarország Vármegyei és Városai. Fiume és a magyar-horvát tengerpart. Budapest: Apollo Irodalmi és Nyomdai Rt. kiadása. 191–218.
- Ezer év törvényei: <http://www.1000ev.hu>

¹⁹ It should be noted, that Lloyd still took advantage of Austrian government support even after 1891 and from 1898 it was also allowed to get a yearly sum of 60 000 Crown through the Hungarian Eastern Ltd.

²⁰ Total import volume of Port of Fiume between 1867 and 1913 amounted to 156,362,361 centners with a value of 3,473,909,000 Crown, while the export totalled 227,562,082 centners with a value of 4,836,273,000 Crown (MSÉ 1913).

- Fest, A. (1933): *L'Ungheria e il mare con speciale riguardo a Fiume*. In: Berzeviczy A. (eds.): Corvina, rivista di scienze, lettere ed arti della Societa ungherese-italiana Mattia Corvino. Budapest: Societa ungherese-italiana Mattia Corvino. 45–88.
- Fiume forgalma (1906–1915): *Fiume hajó- és áruforgalma 1906–1915*. Edited and published by Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda-részvénnytársaság
- Fried, I. (2001): *Emlékek városa Fiume*. Budapest: Ponte alapítvány
- Frisnyák, Zs. (2001): *A magyarországi közlekedés krónikája 1750–2000*. Budapest: História – MTA Történettudományi Intézete.
- Gonda, B. (1906): *A tengerészeti és a fiumei kikötő*. Budapest: Pátria irod. vállalat és nyomdai részvénnytársaság nyomdája.
- Kaposi, Z. (2007): Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700–2000. Passau: Schenk Verlag
- MSÉ (1885–1918): Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyvek. Budapest: Az Athenaeum R. Társulat Könyvnyomdája
- Pelles, M. (2015): A Magyar Keleti Tengerhajózási Részvénnytársaság története és forgalma 1898–1913 között. In: Dr. Szabó István (Ed.): IV. Interdisziplináris Doktorandusz Konferenciakötet. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Doktorandusz Önkormányzat. 405–414.
- Pelles, M. (2016a): Az Adria Magyar Királyi Tengerhajózási Rt. szerepe Fiume hajó- és áruforgalmában (1874–1914). Közgazdasági Szemle, LXIII. évf. 2016. február 188–208.
- Pelles, M. (2016b): A magyar-horvát tengeri gőzhajózási Rt forgalma Fiuméban 1893–1913 között. In: Gulyás L. (eds.): Köztes-Európa Társadalomtudományi folyóirat. No. 17. Fiume rovat 5–16.
- Scott, E. (1977): The Terms and Patterns of Hungarian Foreign Trade 1882–1913. In: The Journal of Economic History, 1977. vol. 37. 2. 329–359.
- Zsigmond, G. (2009): Az osztrák-magyar Lloyd története. Aetas. Történettudományi folyóirat. 24. évf. 2009. 1. sz. Szeged: AETAS Könyv- és Lapkiadó Egyesület. 126–143.

Komitat Somogy im Spiegel der Angaben der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebszählung vom Jahre 1935.

Abstract

Purpose of the study. The study aims to present the most important findings of the analysis of the 1935 agricultural census in Somogy county, referring to the local solutions to the economic crisis. The situation in Somogy was unique since the county's weight, dominated by large estates, increased in the Hungarian agricultural policy as the result of the Treaty of Trianon. Moreover, as leaders of national advocacy organizations, local agricultural leaders became key shapers of agricultural policy in these decades. Thus, an important question is to what extent the census' data examined reflected the dominant role of these large landowners.

Applied method. The study analyses statistical data and uses the method of historical comparison. Specifically, the 1935 Somogy County census data were analyzed and compared with the census data of 1895. The results thus obtained were compared with Somogy related conclusions of Kiss Albert's work.

Outcomes. One of the main objectives of the agricultural census carried out at the same time as the surveys of other countries was to test the impact of land reform that had recently been completed. On the other hand, the census was at some level part of the crisis management mechanism of the time, where intensification was the only way out of the agricultural crisis. Although this county was mainly dominated by large estates in the country, this is true even if we know from the analysis that by 1935 the proportion of large estates had decreased compared to the data of the 1895 survey. However, this decrease was not so much due to land reform, but rather to parcels and the increasing number of small leases. Somogy was in the middle in terms of intensification of agriculture, based on the national ranking. Although the division of labour and cooperation between large and small enterprises was becoming more and more common here, at that time, contrary to economic considerations, it was not yet possible completely get rid off the endeavour of self-sufficiency on farms.

Keywords: agricultural census, economic crisis, land reform, intensification, small rent

1. Einführung

In dieser Studie ging ich – im Zusammenhang mit meiner kurz vorher geschehenen Verteidigung der Doktorarbeit – nicht auf die wichtigsten Ergebnisse des Agrarzensus vom Jahre 1935 im Komitat Somogy ein. Aber warum sollte sich ein Volkswirt oder ein Historiker für dieses Thema interessieren? Nur deshalb, weil diese Konskription gewissermaßen einen Grund zur Behandlung der Wirtschaftskrise von 1929 geleistet hat. Geradeso, wie vorher auch der Zensus von 1895 die Zustände der Landwirtschaft nach der Getreidenkrise gezeigt hat. Also Die Aufnahme passte sich in irgendwelcher Weise in den Mechanismus der damaligen Krisenbekämpfung ein.

Die Agrarstatistikerin Frau Sándor Laczka schrieb in einer ihrer Studien vom Jahre 2000, dass der Zensus eigentlich aufgedeckt hat, wie rückständig die ungarische Agrarwirtschaft im internationalen Kontext derzeit gewesen ist. Die Erhebung aus dem Jahre 1935 war die Erste, welche den Zusammenhang mit den Erhebungen anderer Länder betrachtet und sich so in ihrer Abwicklung unterschied. Das ganze Projekt wurde von der Vorgängerorganisation

der FAO, des Internatinonalen Landwirtschaftsinstituts von Rom koordiniert. Es ist wichtig hervorzuheben, dass die Angaben damals in fünf Bänden veröffentlicht worden sind.¹

Was die Somogyer Ergebnisse betrifft, bin ich offensichtlich nicht der Erste, der diese analysiert hat. Vor mir haben es schon andere Heimatsforscher getan, wie József Kanyar in den Achtzigerjahren², István Király in den Neunzigerjahren, oder schon eher.³ Was kann ich dieser Sache hinzufügen? In meiner Dissertation erforschte ich grundsätzlich den Fragenkreis der Groß- und Kleinbetriebe. Aus diesem Blickwinkel betrachte ich auch das gegebene Segment.

2. Die Umstände der landwirtschaftlichen Betriebszählung

Vor allem betrachten wir das politische und fachliche Umfeld, in welchem der Zensus von 1935 abgewickelt wurde. Zuerst muss hier mit der Krisenbehandlung angefangen werden. Diese Maßnahmen werden mit dem Namen von Gyula Gömbös verknüpft, können jedoch eher dem Finanzminister Béla Imrédy zugeschrieben werden, der zugleich die Funktionen eines wirtschaftlichen Spitzenminister ausübte. Innerhalb dieses Maßnahmenbündels bildete die Lösung der Schuldenfrage der Landwirte einen wichtigen Teil. Imrédy erkannte, dass diese Schulden den normalen Kreditverhältnissen entzogen und in besonderer Weise behandelt werden mussten. Im Oktober 1933 tritt der Ministerialerlass mit der Nummer 14000/1933. in Kraft, der den Landwirtenschutz einführte. Diese Anordnung hat nach der Meinung des Pressenchefs István Antal den größten Erfolg der Gömbös-Regierung bedeutet und hat im großen Maße zu deren Stabilisierung beigetragen.⁴ Im Übrigen hat man mit dem Zensus von 1935 danach gestrebt die sogenannten „geschützten Güter“ aufzumessen und zugleich auch die Felder zu registrieren, die mit der – im Jahre 1928 abgeschlossenen – Bodenreform zugeteilt worden waren. (Bei den Ersteren bedeutete der „Schutz“, dass die Gläubiger gegen sie zwei Jahre lang keine Vollstreckung beantragen durften.)

Was den statistischen Apparat betrifft: das Statistische Zentralamt (KSH) wurde im Jahre 1921 neugegründet. Zwar wurde im März 1933 ein Plan über die Konskription der Liegenschaften und landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe vor dem Parlament unterbreitet, aber es konnte damals wegen der schlechten finanziellen Lage des Landes keine Gesetzeskraft erlangen. Zuletzt trafen die Maßnahmen des Ministerialerlasses mit der Nummer 1111/1935., der mit der Abwicklung das KSH beauftragte und den 28. Februar als „ideellen Zeitpunkt“ bestimmte.⁵ Aber nicht nur politische, sondern auch fachliche Argumente haben die Aufnahme unterstützt. Gyula Konkoly-Thege – der in diesen Zeiten als der bedeutendste Agrarstatistiker betrachtet werden kann und ab 1936 den Posten des Präsidenten von dem KSH innehatte – rechtfertigte die unaufschiebbare Notwendigkeit des Zensus in einem Artikel vom Februar 1935 von „Statisztikai Szemle“ mit den folgenden Ursachen: 1. Seit der Bodenreform tappten wir im Dunkeln bezüglich der Zahl, Ausstattung und des Zustandes der Betriebe. 2. Die Ansiedlung machte die Frage auch aktuell. 3. Die Intensität muss gesteigert werden, aber dazu braucht man einen Stützpunkt. Konkoly-Thege schliesst seine Beweisführung mit der Folgerung, dass die Schwere der Vermarktungslage nur so beurteilt werden kann, wenn unsere Ergebnisse zu internationalen Angaben gemessen werden, was ebenfalls korrekte Indexe voraussetzt.⁶

Der Vergleich ist hier auch wichtig! Vor dem Zensus von 1935 gab es zuletzt im Jahre 1895 eine ähnliche Aufnahme, was nach vierzig Jahren bedeutet! In der heutigen Statistik, in der alle 10 Jahre ein Agrarzensus organisiert wird, sind konsistentere Gleichstellungen möglich. Frau

¹ Laczka, S. (2000): 283.

² Kanyar, J. (1980): 101-125.

³ Király, I. (1994): 281-298.

⁴ Sipos, P. (2001): 13-14.

⁵ Konkoly-Thege, Gy. (1935): 102.

⁶ Konkoly-Thege, Gy. (1935): 103.

Lacka hat zwar den Zensus von 1895 nach der Abwicklung und Bearbeitung als ein Meisterwerk beurteilt, aber die Angaben haben ihre informierenden Aspekte bis zu den Dreißigerjahren verloren.⁷ Trotzdem baute diese Gleichsetzung in der späteren Geschichtsschreibung auf eine ganze Reihe der Werke auf, obwohl in vielen Fällen mit methodologischen Unterschieden zu rechnen ist. Der Vergleich mit dem Zustand der vorherigen vierzig Jahre scheint noch im Falle der Anzahl der Agrarbetriebe und der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen (LNF) das Relevanteste zu sein.⁸ Während ein solcher Vergleich im Fall der Landtechnik und Arbeitskraft schon zu bezweifeln ist. Obwohl es einigermaßen doch belegt werden kann, wenn wir uns auf die jährlich wiederkehrenden Datensammlungen der Agrarstatistik stützen, dessen Reorganisation inzwischen stufenweise in Gang gesetzt worden ist.⁹

3. Somogy, das von Großgrundbesitzen beherrschte Komitat

Warum ist dieses, zwischen Balaton und Drau liegende, südtransdanubische Komitat so interessant? Fangen wir zuerst mit sozialhistorischen Aspekten an! Es muss vorweggenommen werden, dass sich die damaligen Komitatsgrenzen von den heutigen teilweise unterschieden: während die Umgebung von Szigetvár hierher gehörte, fiel Siófok außerhalb jener. Der Gebietsbestand ist hier – gegenüber Baranya – durch das Friedensdiktat nicht geschrumpft. Nach den Angaben der Volkszählung aus dem Jahre 1930 betrug die Population in Somogy – auf beinahe 6700 km² – 385 635 Personen. Innerhalb dessen war der Anteil der landwirtschaftlichen Böckerung 69,1%, dies überschritt auf nationaler Ebene den registrierten Durchschnitt von 51,5%.¹⁰

Hinsichtlich des Komitats wird oft hervorgehoben, dass es – neben Fejér – die Landschaft ist, die am meisten von Großgrundbesitzern dominiert war, welches Attribut Trianon noch mehr vergrößert hat. Währenddessen ist der Agrarierflügel von Somogy – der vorher hinter Komitat Pest, Siebenbürgen und Westungarn in die zweite Linie gedrückt war – infolge des Friedensdiktats in den Vordergrund gerückt. Die erhöhte Bedeutung dieser Gruppe wurde auch dadurch bewiesen, dass sich viele hiesige Prominente landesweit an die Spitzen der Agrarinteressenverbände geschoben hatten. So kam zum Beispiel Graf Miksa Hoyos in den Vorsitz der Landwirtschaftskammer für Ungarn, Graf László Somssich in den Landwirtschaftsverein für Ungarn (OMGE). Letztere war ausgesprochen die Lobby des Großgrundbesitzes. Die im Jahre 1930 neugegründete oppositionelle Kleinhirtenpartei (FKGP) wählte mit Gaszton Gaál auch einen Somogyer Großgrundbesitzer zu ihrem Anführer.

Wie weit spiegeln die Angaben des Zensus den Charakter des Großgrundbesitzes wieder? Derzeit machte der Anteil der Großbetriebe über 1000 Joch im Komitat 38,5% aus. Größere Werte als diese wurden in den Komitaten Fejér und Komárom-Esztergom mit 41,3%, bzw. 38,9% registriert. Die Minderung des Großgrundbesitzes kann auch in Somogy festgestellt werden, da diese Kategorie noch im Jahre 1895 einen Anteil von 58,9% betrug.¹¹

⁷ Laczka, S. (2000): 282.

⁸ Aber hier ist es auch ein Problem, dass während die öffentlichen Weiden, Wälder und sonstigen Flächen aus der Betriebsstatistik vom Jahre 1895 ausblieben, wurden sie von der Aufnahme vom Jahre 1935 enthalten.

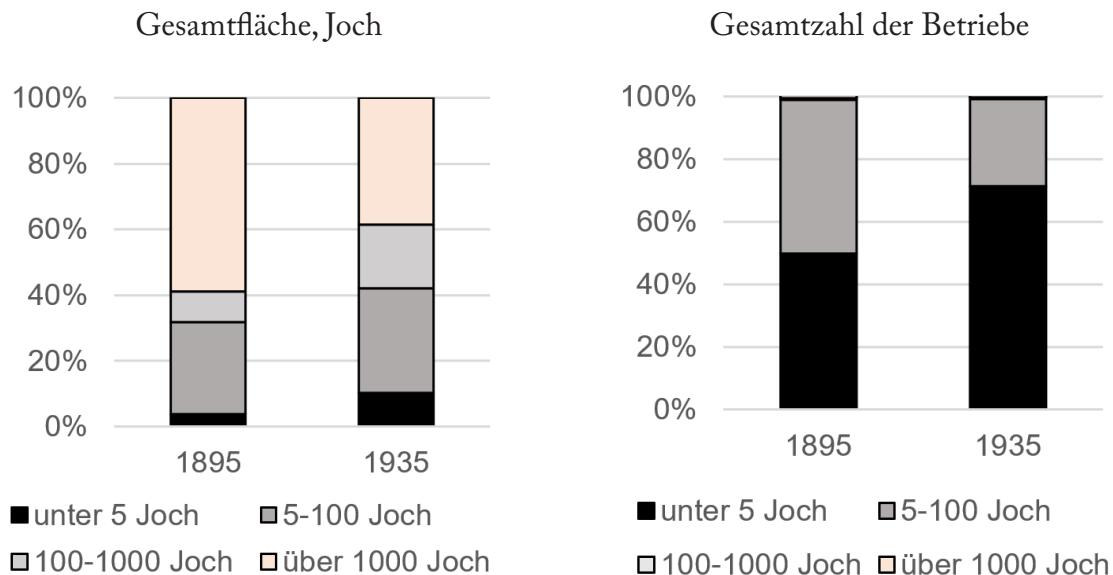
⁹ Konkoly-Thege, Gy. (1935): 102.

¹⁰ Népszámlálás (1930. II.): 46*.

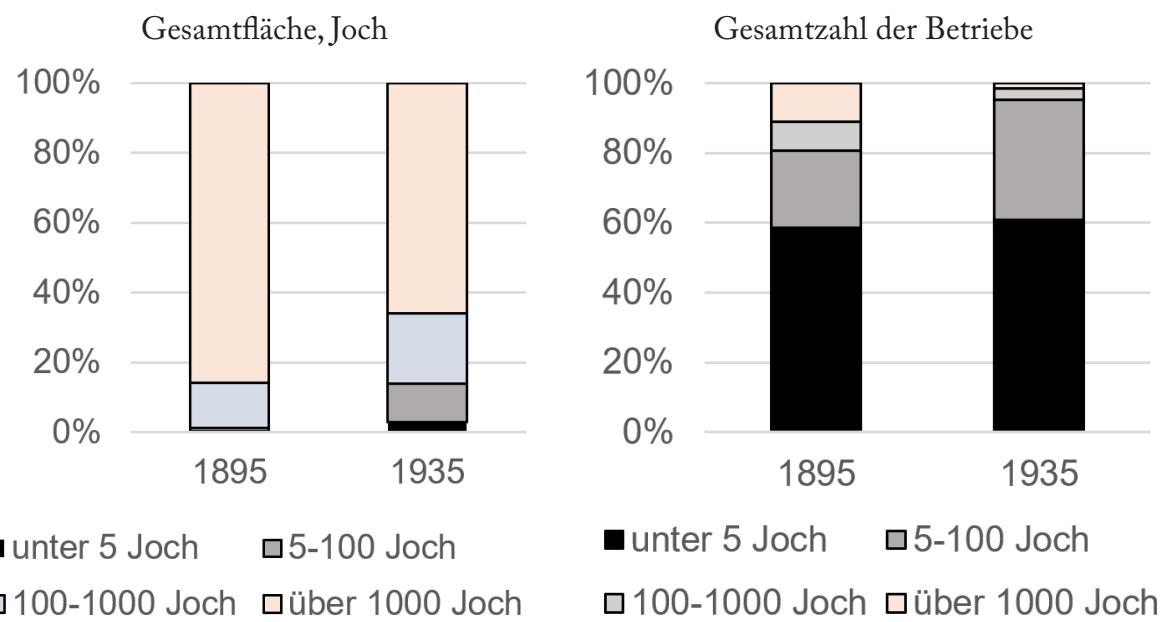
¹¹ Földbirtok (1935. I.): 12*-13*.; Gazdaságok (1895): 25.

Abbildungen 1-2. Grundbesitzstruktur von Somogy im Jahre 1935

a.) Verteilung der Betriebe, %



b.) Verteilung der Pachtungen, %



Quelle: Forrás: Földbirtok (1935. I.): 44-67.

Aber der Rückgang der Großgrundbesitze kann grundlegend nicht auf die Auswirkungen der Bodenreform von 1920 zurückgeführt werden – die nur 6,1% der Fläche berührte, was dem nationalen Durchschnitt unterlegen war, – sondern auf die Parzellierungen, d. h. Markthandlungen. Zwischen 1895 und 1935 hat das Gewicht aller kleinen Kategorien – unter dem Großgrundbesitz – zugenommen. Der größte Anstieg war in den Zwergbetrieben unter 5 Joch zu registrieren. Diese beteiligten sich im Jahr 1935 am Gebiet des Komitats mit 10,3%, während die Kleinbetriebe zwischen 5 und 100 Joch ein Drittel und die Mittelbetriebe zwischen 100 und 1000 Joch ein weiteres Fünftel von jenem eingenommen haben.¹²

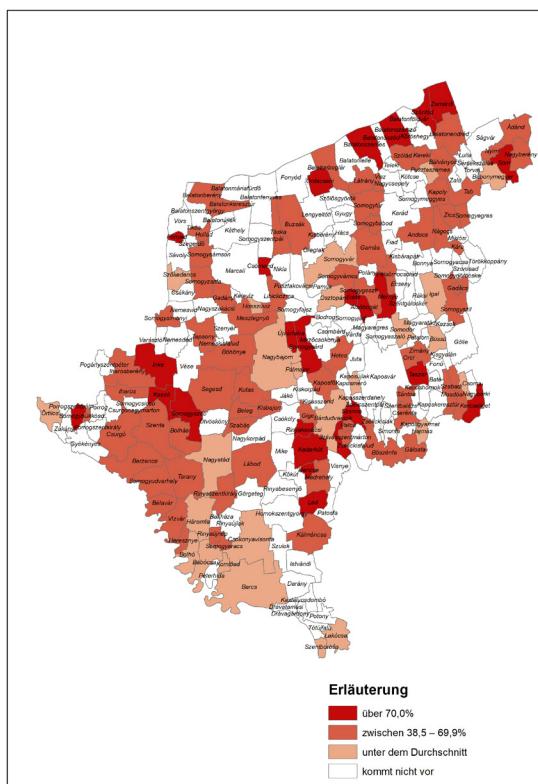
¹² Földbirtok (1935. I.): 12*-13*.; Gazdaságok (1895): 25.

Worum es wenig gehandelt ist, ist es das Vordringen der Kleinpachtungen. Im Wesentlichen wollte man damit die eingeschränkte Bodenreform kompensieren. Während sich 85,9% der verpachteten Fläche von 1895 in den Händen von Großpächtern konzentriert hat, hat sich dieser Anteil bis 1935 auf 65,9% verringert. Man muss sagen, dass sich das Gewicht kleinerer Kategorien hier auch erhöht hat. Dieses Vordringen war in der Kategorie zwischen 5 und 100 Joch das Sichtbarste. Aber den meisten Pächtern – ungefähr 61% – gehörte weiterhin weniger als 5 Joch.¹³

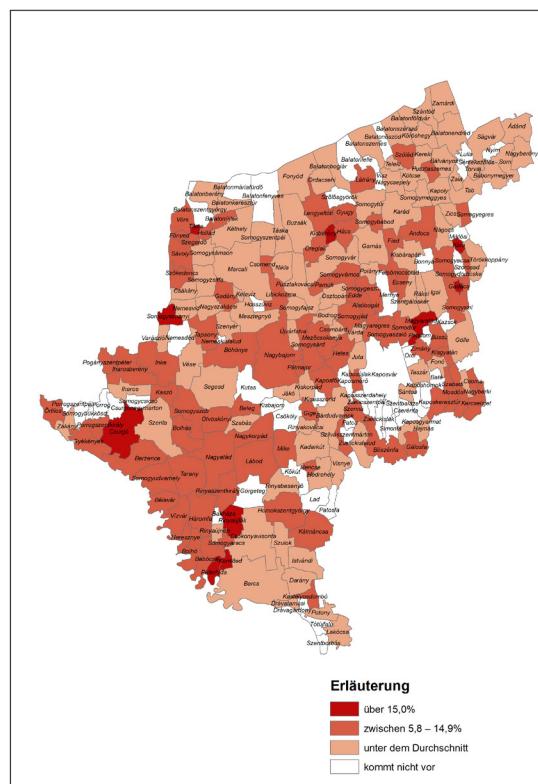
Neben den Kleinpachtungen ist hier das Maß der Bodenreform und – in der Gömbös-Ära – der Anteil der „geschützten Güter“ von Interesse. Um es zu schildern, fertigte ich solche thematische Karten an, in welchen ich die Streuung dieser Kategorien in Ortschaften des Komitats verfolgen konnte.

Karten 1-4. Die ortschaftlichen Aspekte der Bodenpolitik in Somogy

a.) Großgrundbesitze über 1000 Joch



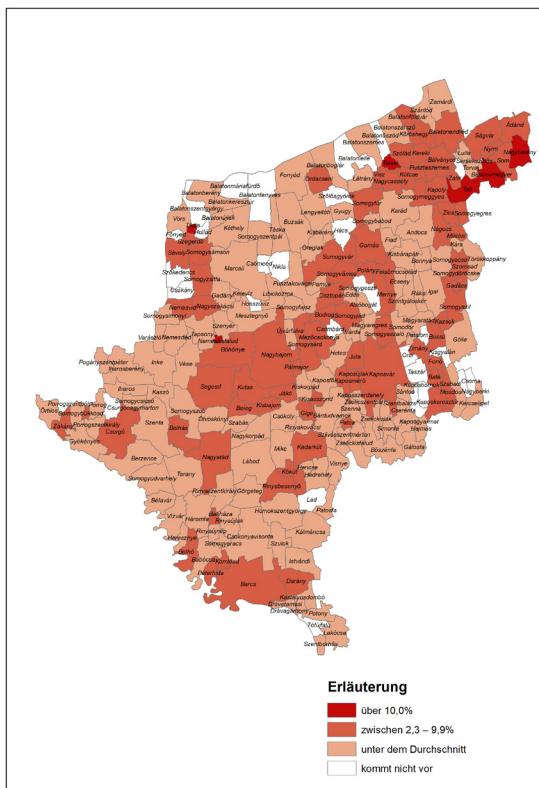
b.) Bodenreformfelder



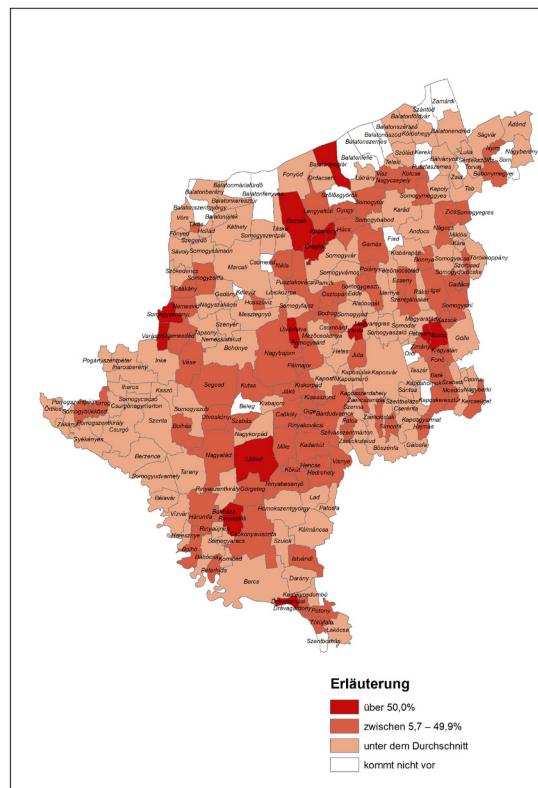
¹³ Ders.

**Karten 1-4. Die ortschaftlichen Aspekte der Bodenpolitik in Somogy
(Fortsetzung)**

c.) Kleinpachtungen unter 100 Joch



d.) „Geschützte Güter“



Quelle: Földbirtok (1935. I.): 44-67.

Aber es ist notwendig mit den Großgrundbesitten über 1000 Joch anzufangen! Der gebietliche Anteil dieser Kategorie war in den Siedlungen der Umgebung von Csurgó, Nagyatád, Lengyeltóti und Marcali das Größte. Hier nahmen die Großgrundbesitze mehr, als 70% der Fläche ein. Es ist kein Zufall, dass es sich um diejenigen Kreise handelte, in denen man in der Bodenreform am weitesten vorkam, dessen Maß an vielen Orten hoch über 15% lag. Mit den Kleinpachtungen konnte man vor allem in den Kreisen von Tab und Igal rechnen, wo viele Kirchengüter vorhanden waren. Die Kleinpachtungen unter 100 Joch dehnten sich hier vielerorts auf mehr als 10% der Fläche aus. Die meisten „geschützten Güter“ waren bei Kaposvár und Szigetvár zu finden, nicht selten mit einem gebietlichen Anteil von mehr als 50%.¹⁴

4. Krisenbekämpfung, „Mehrproduktion“, Minderung des Getreideübergewichtes

Mit der Agrarkomponente der Wirtschaftskrise hat es auf internationaler Ebene schon im Jahre 1928 angefangen, was in 1933 zu Ende kam. Dem gegenüber kamen die ersten Anzeichen der industriellen Krise im Jahre 1930 zum Vorschein und die Absatzschwierigkeiten lösten sich erst in 1937.¹⁵ Der Starökonom dieser Epoche Mátyás Matolcsy schrieb auch, dass sich der Zustand der landwirtschaftlichen Bevölkerung zwischen 1929 und 1933 verschlechterte. Während er sich im Zeitraum zwischen 1934 und 1938 stufenweise verbessert hat.¹⁶ Also ging es im Jahre

¹⁴ Földbirtok (1935. I.): 44-67.

¹⁵ Borsányi, Gy. (1986): 13.

¹⁶ Matolcsy, Gy. (1944): 29-53.

1935 in Ungarn mit der Agrarkrise schon abwärts. Mit der Intensität – die mit dem Ausweg der Krise identisch war – beschäftigte sich ein Sonderband des Zensus von 1935. Was ist darunter zu verstehen? Vor allem Landtechnik – darunter Vierrad-, und Kettenschlepper –, Viehbestände, organische und künstliche Düngung und nicht zuletzt Obst- und Gemüsenplantagen. Obwohl Somogy hinsichtlich der meisten spezifischen – gebietseinheitlichen – Indexe den nationalen Durchschnitt überstieg, lag es im allgemeinen doch unter den transdanubischen Werten.

Tafel 1. Die wichtigen Indexe der Intensität in den Komitaten, 1935

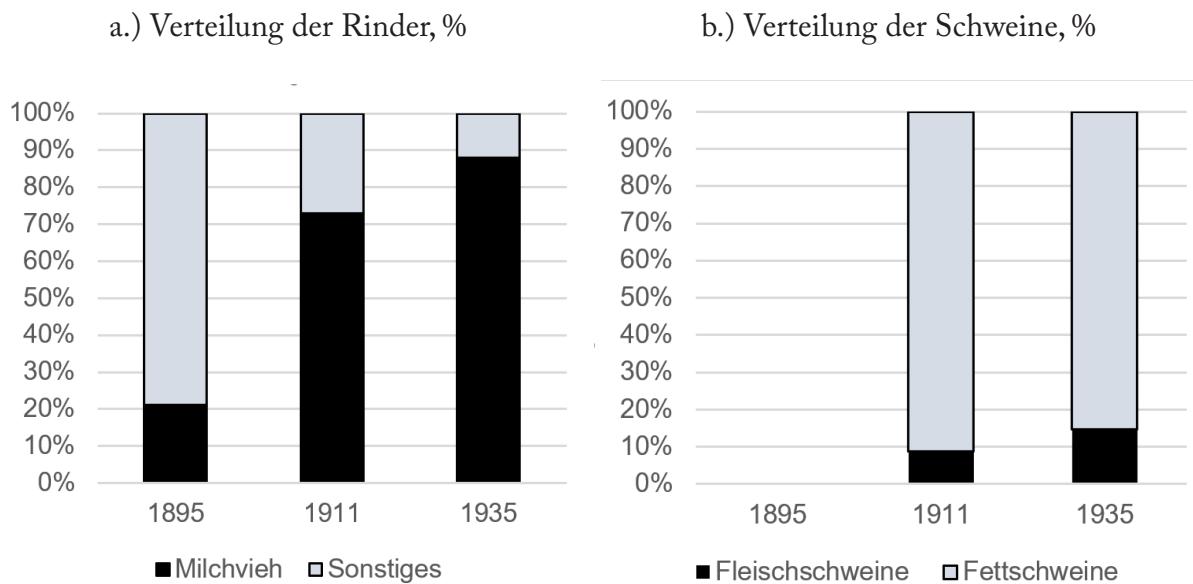
Komitaten/Regionen	Auf					
	100 Joch			10 000 Joch		
	LNF entfallen					
	Rindvieh	Pferde	Schweine	Obstbäume	Traktoren	gedüngte Fläche, Joch
Stücke						
Baranya	18	9	49	295	4	1 700
Fejér	15	6	46	294	7	2 532
Győr, Moson és Pozsony	20	6	40	213	7	2 638
Komárom és Esztergom	14	7	35	242	5	2 417
Somogy	17	8	43	254	6	1 835
Sopron	29	7	39	250	7	2 185
Tolna	17	8	50	238	6	2 096
Vas	28	4	32	283	5	2 084
Veszprém	19	5	36	165	6	1 911
Zala	23	5	33	318	3	1 448
Transdanubien	19	7	41	259	6	2 019
Tiefebene	11	7	34	269	5	1 659
Norden	15	6	25	250	6	1 603
Insgesamt	15	7	36	263	5	1 785

Quelle: Földbirtok (1935. I.): 66-103.; Üzem adatok (1935. II.): 142-161.

Diese Hinweise wurden von Albert Kiss, dem damaligen jungen technischen Hochschulprofessor in einer – ebenfalls auf die Angaben der Konskription von 1935 basierende – Studie analysiert. Nach diesen Zahlen erhöhte sich die Maschinendichte zwischen den zwei Zensus im Komitat in den meisten Kategorien und innerhalb der Viehbestände kam der Rassenwechsel zu Ende, der die Nutztiere – also Milchkühe, Fleischschweine, kaltblütige Pferde – in den Vordergrund stellte. Während die Plantagen auch ein größeres Gewicht im Vergleich zu den früheren Zeiten vertraten, wo sich der Schwerpunkt gegen die Apfelproduktion verschoben hat.¹⁷ Am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts war in diesem Wirtschaftszweig – dank der Tätigkeit von Graf Imre Széchenyi – das Weinberg von Süd-Balaton noch das Bedeutendste.

¹⁷ Kiss, A. (1944): 46-106.

Abbildung 3. Rassenwechsel in den Viehbeständen von Somogy



Quelle: Kiss, A. (1944): 48-57.

Aber die Intensität an sich war zu wenig, dazu mussten noch die Elemente der volkswirtschaftlichen Planmäßigkeit beitragen. Es benötigte die Abgrenzung der Tätigkeiten zwischen den Groß- und Kleinbetrieben, deren Wurzeln bis zur Zeit der Bodenreform zurückgehen, als es die größte Anforderung die Sicherung des gesellschaftlichen Friedens bedeutete. Zoltán Koós, der in Landproblem maßgebende Bankier – später Generaldirektor der Ungarischen Bodenkreditanstalt – in einer damaligen Studie ging davon aus, dass die verschiedenen Produktionszweige verschiedenen Betriebstypen entsprechen.¹⁸ Der Großbetrieb sollte in jenen Zweigen vorteilhaft sein, wo große Investitionen und sorgfältige Bodenbearbeitung erforderlich sind, wie zum Beispiel bei den Industriepflanzen. In der Viehzucht rückten die Vorteile der großen Organisationen dort in den Vordergrund, wo die veterinären Vorschriften einzuhalten waren und die richtige Fütterung und die gebildete Arbeitskraft eine große Rolle spielten, dessen typisches Feld die Mästung ist. Dem gegenüber ging der Kleinbetrieb dem Großgrundbesitz in den arbeitsintensiven Zweigen, wie zum Beispiel in der Obst- und Gemüseproduktion über. In der Viehzucht kommt dieser Typ dort in Frage, wo sich die obige Ansichten weniger durchsetzen. Solche Zweige sind die Milch- und Eierproduktion und die Geflügelzucht. In den Dreißigerjahren machte die Wirtschaftskrise das Anpassen an die Bedingungen noch wichtiger. Es wurde die Arbeitsverteilung und die Kooperation zwischen den Groß- und Kleinbetrieben vielmehr nötig.

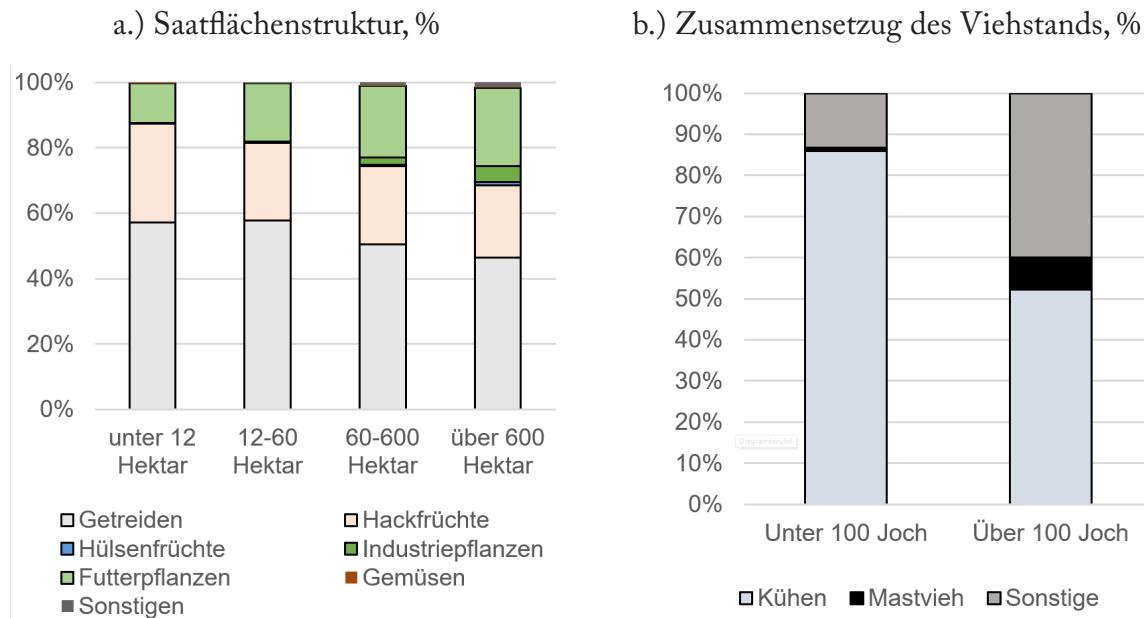
Es ist fraglich, wieviel davon in Somogy bis zum Frühling 1935 realisiert wurde? Man kann nur soviel sagen, dass das soziale Verantwortungsgefühl der Großgrundbesitzer zu dieser Zeit wesentlich zugenommen hat. Immer mehr Besitzer nahmen die Bewirtschaftung in die eigenen Hände, nicht nur auf den kirchlichen, sondern auch auf den weltlichen Gütern. Zoltán Kaposi, der die damaligen Somogyer Großgrundbesitze in vielen seinen Monographien aufarbeitete, hebt in dieser Hinsicht die Biedermanns von Szentegát hervor.¹⁹ Aber es gehört zu dieser Reihe auch das Gut von László Somssich in Kaposújlak.²⁰ Diese Mustergüter waren die Vorkämpfer jener Koordinierung, die die Verbesserung der Wirtschaftsmethoden im Kreis der Kleinbetriebe erzielte.

¹⁸ Koós, Z. (1921): 368-388.

¹⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2019): 101-122.

²⁰ Scherer, P. (1939): 398-402.

Abbildung 4. Komplementarität zwischen Groß- und Kleinbetriebe in Somogy, 1935



Quelle: Történeti Statisztikai Kötetek (1934–1945): 63.; Kiss, A. (1944): 52-71.

Aber wie schaute es in dem Komitat aus? Nehmen wir zum Beispiel die Unterschiede der Saatflächenstruktur! Wenn wir von den kleinen gegen die großen Einheiten vorangehen, sehen wir, dass sich der Anteil der Getreide und Hackfrüchte (Mais, Kartoffel) immer mehr verminderte. Während sich die Proportion der Futter-, und Industriepflanzen, Hülsenfrüchte und Gemüse stufenweise erhöhte. Die Richtung der Rinderhaltung unterschied sich auch in den Groß- und Kleinbetrieben, obwohl die Ergänzungstendenzen zwischen den zwei Kreisen auch nachgewiesen werden können. Die Zusammensetzung der beiden Viehstände wurde von Albert Kiss geprüft, der die Angaben zu den Ergebnissen der Tierzählung von 1895 verglichen hat. Nach diesen Aufnahmen war der Anteil der Kühe in beiden Zeitpunkten in den Betrieben unter 100 Joch besonders hoch. Während die Betriebe über 100 Joch über einen stattlichen Mastviehbestand verfügten. Bis 1935 hat sich das Verhältnis der Kühe in den beiden Gruppen erhöht, jener der Mastrinder bei den großen verringert, bei den kleinen gesteigert.²¹ Am Ende der Dreißigerjahre hat József Nádújfalvy, der soziale Berater vom Komitat in Somogy die beispielgebende Rolle des Großgrundbesitzes im Feld der Viehzucht für wichtig gehalten.²²

5. Zusammenfassung

Der Agrarzensus von 1935 war der Erste, der im Zusammenhang eines internationalen Kontexts abgewickelt wurde. Diese Aufnahme deutete gleichzeitig auf die rückständigen Verhältnisse der damaligen ungarischen Landwirtschaft hin. Somogy nahm hier eine Mittelposition in der nationalen Rangliste ein. Die Angaben und die Analyse von Albert Kiss bewiesen, dass das Streben nach der Selbstversorgung derzeit – gegenüber den ökonomischen Überlegungen – noch nicht ganz ausgeschaltet werden konnte.

Infolge der Krise rückten die Intensivierung und die Kooperation der Groß- und Kleinbetriebe auch hier in den Vordergrund. Dazu wurden die geeigneten Rahmen vor allem von den – fachliche Beförderung und zugleich eine Interessenvertretung bietenden – Kammern versichert. Die Aufstellung dieser Organe auf territorialem Grund wurde schon von

²¹ Kiss, A. (1944): 57-71.

²² Nádújfalvy, J. (1939): 85-92.

der Urkleinwirtenpartei, der Nagyatádi-Partei in ihrem Program von Szentgál im Jahre 1909 gefordert. Dieser Wunsch wurde nach dem ersten Weltkrieg wahr, als die Landwirtschaftskammer für Untertransdanubien im Jahre 1920 gegründet wurde. Dieses Organ hatte seinen Sitz in Kaposvár, dessen räumlicher Geltungsbereich – neben Baranya, Somogy, Tolna – sich auch auf Zala ausdehnte.²³ Wie es sich aus der damaligen Lokalpresse herausstellte, hat die Kammer an der Krisenbekämpfung aktiv mitgewirkt und – rückbestätigend die zentralen Fragen des Zensus – den Aufschwung der Geflügel-, und Schweinezucht, bzw. des Plantagenanbaues angeregt. In diesem Zusammenhang schrieb man von einem in Kaposvár zu errichtenden Schlachthof. Aber der Erretter wurde überraschenderweise nicht in dem deutschen Markt gesehen, sondern es wurde eher den englischen Importeuren und Investoren zugetraut.²⁴

Schließlich das Thema mit den Augen des Historiker zu betrachten: der Vergleich zu den Angaben der vorherigen vierzig Jahre muss aus sozialhistorischen Ansichten auch überlegt werden. Péter Gunst schrieb, dass sich die Agrargesellschaft bis zu den Dreißigerjahren im Vergleich zu dem Dualismus in bedeutendem Ausmaß umgewandelt hat. Während gewisse landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiterschichten zu existieren aufhörten, oder sich in Anzahl verminderten, wurde insgesamt eine abwärts haltende Nivellierung beobachtet.²⁵

Bibliographie

- Borsányi, Gy. (1986): *Válságévek krónikája, 1929–1933: az 1929–1933-as gazdasági válság hatása Magyarországon*. Budapest
- Gergely, J. Hrsg. (2004): *Antal István sajtófönök emlékiratai. Gömbös Gyula hatalomra kerülése és kormányzása 1932–1936*. Budapest
- Gunst, P. (1998): *A magyar agrártársadalom 1919–1945 között*, in: Gunst Péter, *A magyar agrártársadalom a jobbágyfelszabadítástól napjaink*. Budapest
- Kaposi, Z. (2013): *Anagybirtok, mint bűnbak. Az uradalmak és az agrárszegénység kapcsolata Magyarországon*. in: Gyarmati György–Lengvári István–Pók Attila–Vonyó József: *Bűnbak minden időben*. Pécs–Budapest
- Kaposi, Z. (2001): *A magyarországi nagybirtok-rendszer változásai (1700–1945)*, Somogy megye múltjából. Levéltári évkönyv 32. (2001) 95–120. Kaposvár
- Kaposi, Z. (2019): *Uradalmak, földbirtokosok, birtokforgalom a Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században*. Budapest
- Kaposi, Z. (2000): *Uradalmi gazdaság és társadalom a 18–19. században: A vrászlói társadalom átalakulásának folyamata*. Budapest–Pécs
- Kaposi, Z. (2019): *Bécstől Szentegátig. A Biedermann család uradalmai a Dél-Dunántúlon (1849–1914)*, Közép-Európai Közlemények 44. (2019) 1. 101–122.
- Kanyar, J. (1980): *Somogy megye agrártársadalma az első földreformtól a szocialista mezőgazdaságig (1920–1949)*. Budapest
- Király, I. (1975): *A második világháborút követő iparpolitikai törekvések és annak történeti előzményei Somogyban*, Somogy megye múltjából. Levéltári évkönyv 6. (1975) 193–222.
- Király, I. (1994): *A mezőgazdaság technikai fejlődése a két világháború között Magyarországon*. Somogy megye múltjából. Levéltári évkönyv 25. (1994) 281–298. Kaposvár
- Király, I. Sz. (2013): *A magyar mezőgazdaság gépesítésének múltja: a kezdetektől 1989-ig*. Kaposvár
- Király, I. (2004): *A Dél-Dunántúl mezőgazdasága és állattenyésztése 1848–1944*. Kaposvár
- Király, I. (1963): *A szarvasmarhatenyésztés átalakulása Somogy megyében 1848–1944*, Agrártörténeti Szemle 5. (1963.) 1–2. 177–210.
- Kiss, A. (1944): *Mezőgazdaságunk fejlődése 1895–1935. Statisztikai tanulmány*. Budapest

²³ Laut des Gesetzes XVIII. von 1920 über die landwirtschaftlichen Interessenvertretung.

²⁴ Die Nummern von „Somogyi Ujság“ aus den Jahren 1930–1936.

²⁵ Gunst, P. (1998): 233–248.

- Konkoly-Thege, Gy. (1935): *A földbirtokok és üzemek statisztikai összeírása*. Statisztikai Szemle 13. (1935) 5. 101-108.
- Koós, Z. (1921): *A földbirtokreform*. Közgazdasági Szemle 63. (1921) 1-4. 368-388.
- Laczka, S. (2000): *Mezőgazdasági összeírások Magyarországon 1895–2000*. Statisztikai Szemle 78. (2000) 4. 282-289.
- Matolcsy, M. (1944): *Az életszínvonal alakulása Magyarországon, 1924–1944*. Budapest. 29-53.
- Milotay, I. (1930): *Az ismeretlen Magyarország*. Budapest
- Nádújfalvy, J. (1939): *Somogymegye szociális és gazdasági helyzetképe: A népesség, terület és életviszonyok módszeres vizsgálata*. Kaposvár
- Scherer, P. (1939): *A nagybirtok*. Budapest
- Sipos, P. (2001): *Imrédy Béla. (Politikai életrajz.)* Budapest
- Thassy, J. (1996): *Veszélyes vidék*. Budapest

Quellen und angegebene Statistiken

- Népszámlálás (1930. II.): *Az 1930. évi népszámlálás. 2. r. Foglalkozási adatok községek és külterületi lakott helyek szerint, továbbá az ipari és kereskedelmi nagyvállalatok*. Budapest. KSH, 1934
- Agrárcenzus (1895): *A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája. 1. r. A magyar statisztika fejlődése az 1895. évi VIII. törvénycikk alapján végrehajtott összeírás főbb eredményei községenkint*. Budapest. KSH, 1897
- Mezőgazdasági termelés (1895): *A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája. 2. r. Mezőgazdasági termelés 1895. és 1896. évben*. Budapest. KSH, 1897
- Gazdaságok (1895): *A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája. 3. r. A gazdaságok megoszlása jelleg és nagyság szerint*. Budapest. KSH, 1900
- Végeredmények (1895): *A Magyar Korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája. 4. r. Végeredmények: 17 grafikai térképpel*. Budapest. KSH, 1900
- Földbirtok (1935. I.): *Magyarország földbirtokviszonyai az 1935. évben. I. Törvényhatóságok és községek (városok) szerint*. Budapest. KSH, 1936
- Földbirtok (1935. II.): *Magyarország földbirtokviszonyai az 1935. évben. II. Birtoknagyságcsoportok szerint*. Budapest. KSH, 1937
- Állatok, gépek, gyümölcsfák (1935): *Magyarország állatállománya, gazdasági gépfelszerelése és gyümölcsfaállománya az 1935. évben. Törvényhatóságok és községek (városok) szerint*. Budapest. KSH, 1937
- Üzemi adatok (1935. I.): *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának főbb üzemi adatai az 1935. évben. II. Törvényhatóságok és községek (városok) szerint*. Budapest. KSH, 1938
- Üzemi adatok (1935. II.): *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának főbb üzemi adatai az 1935. évben a gazdaságok (üzemek) nagysága szerint*. Budapest. KSH, 1941
- Történeti Statisztikai Kötetek (1934–1945): *Növénytermelés: Megyei adatok, 1934–1945*, Budapest. SKV, 1984

Máté Szabó

Wood Industry in the Region of the Dráva at the Age of Dualism

Abstract

The purpose of the study. In the rapidly industrializing Hungary, the wood industry became an important economic branch in the country by the beginning of the 20th century, which also played a significant role in the country's foreign trade. This industry was extremely important in the area I studied, as the forest cover along the Dráva was above the national average, and the quality of the forest stock also had an international reputation. In the last third of the 19th century, domestic and foreign demand for wood products increased, which was accompanied by an increase in the purchase prices of wood raw materials.

Applied methods. I involved sources from monographies, employment and census records, and my own data from researches of archives. In my study I present the larger wood companies in the region, the results of the plants, the operation and extent of the industry, and their market relations. I also made a structural analysis examining the entrepreneur and its business together.

Outcomes. During this period, the logistical and transportation possibilities of the region improved, as the railway lines – built almost completely until the war – networked the region. In addition to transport on the river, crossing opportunities also increased, so the raw material could reach a processing unit more and more quickly. In the age of dualism, a strong stratum of forest owners and entrepreneurs in the wood industry developed. Major wood industry enterprises were established mainly in the larger estates (Bellye, Dárda, Barcs, Berzence) or through citizenship in the territory of certain large municipalities. Outstanding among these was the Beliscian plant beyond the Dráva, which in two decades had become the largest timber company in Central Europe, employing thousands of people.

Keywords: company, wood industry, forestry, forest, Dráva

1. Introduction

The forest is a source of life for our Earth and the people who live on it, a community and habitat that depends on natural factors and human interventions, including soil microorganisms, terrestrial mosses, fungi, soft and woody plants, and insects, birds and wildlife. In the second half of the 19th century, forestry and the timber industry stood out from the economic system of the Dráva region, which was motivated by the possibility of utilizing rich and high-quality forests. In my study, by “along the Dráva” I mean not only the Hungarian side after the Trianon borders were drawn, but also a significant part of the Slavonian forests in connection with historical Hungary. I do this because the owners of the Hungarian side were often also the owners of the Croatian side (Somssich, Jankovich, Schaumburg-Lippe, Habsburg, Draskovich, etc.), and their farming was not divided into the Hungarian and Croatian sides in the age of dualism.¹

2. Features and opportunities. What did the forest give to society?

What was the Dráva region like in the 19th century? The easiest way to formulate the answer is on the basis of the descriptions of contemporary historical statisticians. György Károly Rumy mentions in his work of 1812 that the Dráva is the largest river in Somogy, which originates in Tyrol and, passing through Carinthia and Styria, separates the three counties of Hungary, Zala, Somogy and Baranya, from Croatia and Slavonia. This river flows through sandy areas

¹ Kaposi Z. (2019); Kaposi Z. (2020)

everywhere on the border of this Somogy county, and thus it rushes at a very high speed, surrounded by shores without strength. This is due in part to its winding flow, in part to the weakness and collapse of its shores, and finally to the flooding of adjacent lands caused by water that has slowed and increased as a result of the bends.² The river was navigable in the direction of its flow.

It was important for traditional societies to have forests of the right size and quality near which they could live, which could meet the needs of communities in a myriad of forms. What the forest gave to man varied greatly from population to population, culture to culture, or by the nature of the forests. Forests have long functioned as a source of food. Think of the myriad forms of hunting; for the role of various edible plants, berries, mushrooms. However, with the improvement of agricultural production techniques and the restriction of hunting rights and free forest living, this function declined dramatically in the 19th century. The building materials that can be extracted from forests continued to be of great importance.³ Wood was a universal raw material until the middle of the 20th century. Its use as a building material was of decisive importance in the case of old filling houses, masonry, beams, slats, roofing materials, planks. In addition, most of people's furniture and other household items are also made of wood. Even the lard-making industry could only come from forests.⁴

Wood as a market product became increasingly important during the agricultural boom that began in the 1780s. The price of wood had risen, which increased the value of forested areas. Forest incomes were very important to manors in the first half of the 19th century. The equipment requirements of agricultural production, the construction of corn borers, barns, paddocks and stables required wood the most. For a very long time, the technical equipment was also made of wood (vane blades, wooden plows, etc.) and also furniture, telegraph poles, bridges, etc. In dam construction, the construction of birch walls also assumed wood. It can be seen from all this that there was a huge need for the forest, the trees. The increase in the price of timber in places where there was a good market was exploited by unplanned deforestation, but in the vast majority of cases no or little thought was given to reforestation.⁵

There were other forms of ancillary use of great importance to forest managers in the area during this period. Such was the case with acorns, which had great economic potential for acorn forests, as pigs "also fatten often on oak or beech acorns".⁶ János Nagyváthy also wrote in his contemporary work that „the Farmer should try to make his acorns grow widely".⁷ According to Alfred Hirsch, the region was one of the largest pig-breeding regions even at the beginning of the 20th century.⁸ The collection of galls in the forests of the area was an equally important source of income, as the "gall is very natural, where there are many oaks, the weather also gives birth to many galls."⁹

By the second half of the 19th century, deforestation accelerated in Hungary, the main reason being the acquisition of the area needed to expand grain production. This, of course, was not new, as forests had been intensively cleared since the time of the Napoleonic economy. As early as the beginning of the 19th century, János Nagyváthy also stated that "in the middle of the last century it was considered that it was common for the Germans to have an ax everywhere in front of the sickle. By which they wanted to say that forests should be written down and turned into arable land.

² Rumy's work is translated: Tóth P. (1988)

³ Magyar E. (1981)

⁴ Kaposi Z. (2007)

⁵ T. Mérey, K. (1963): 139.

⁶ Ditz, H. (1993): 174.

⁷ Nagyváthy, J. (1821): 294.

⁸ Hirsch, A. (1903): 64.

⁹ Csorba, J. (1857): 66-67.

*To corroborate that parable, Eckhart says that none will die because of the eclipse of the tree, but many will die in the scarcity of bread. I dare say that if Eckhart lived now and visited our more populous cities during hard winters, he would find more people suffering from the cold than hungry people: because Hungarians also think like Germans, especially in common estates in general: and in the estates of nearby forests exterminated in many places without mercy.*¹⁰ Typically in the 1870s about 3,000 acres of forest were cleared and set as arable land in the four estates of the Prince Batthyány Faith Commission, including the Nagykanizsa and Ludbreg estates along the Dráva and Mura rivers.¹¹ In the age of large-scale deforestation, the largest price increase was observed for log products of different wood species. At the same time, unprofessional management of forests posed a great threat. The new Forest Act sought to regulate and continuously control these three factors in the management of estates.

3. Changes in transportation options

The railway network, which was built for over half a century, played a major role in the development of the Dráva. The Murakeresztúr-Barcs section was opened in 1868 by the Southern Railway Company, while the Pécs-Barcs section was opened by the Pécs-Barcs Railway Company. The residents of Barcs welcomed the development, and both the local and national press covered the events on the front page. The enthusiasm of the people of Barcs was not typical of those living in other settlements of Somogy county, as the line avoided the central parts of the county, including Kaposvár. The county's second railway line (the first stretched on the southern shore of Lake Balaton via the Southern Railway) was not expected to have a positive impact on the county's economy. The public opinion of the county was afraid of the influx of cheap grain from Bačka and the Great Plain, they were afraid of its market-influencing, price-reducing power. However, the rapid increase in traffic at the port and train station and the development of the city's economy proved the rightness of building the southern railway lines.

The development of the wooden bridge over the Dráva in 1883 contributed to the development of the area. From then until the construction of the railway bridge, the timber was mainly transported to Barcs by carts. Two bridges crossed the Dráva over Barcs during this period. The substructure of both bridges was stone and the superstructure was an iron structure. The length of the road bridge was 319.8 m and that of the railway 271 m.¹² Within the framework of the national bridge construction program, a new 280 m long road bridge was built between 1902-1903 on the stone pillars sunk 20 m deep into the riverbed in the line of the demolished wooden bridge. Traffic was maintained by ferry during construction. The bridge was ceremoniously handed over to the traffic on 3 November, 1903.¹³

The development of local railways was greatly facilitated by the laws that applied to them in the 1880s. The main purpose of these was to encourage an increase in the weight of private investment in railways over public investment. The first HÉV (commuter train) that affected Barcs was the Barcs-Pakrác HÉV, which opened in 1885.¹⁴

The Hungarian section was very short, leading from the railway bridge built on the Dráva to the railway station. The purpose of the line was to connect the areas of Croatia with Barcs. The antecedent of this was the transport of timber from Slavonian oaks to Barcs. The wood delivered to Barcs was processed and transported to the western markets as a semi-finished or finished

¹⁰ Nagyváthy, J. (1821): 261.

¹¹ Kaposi, Z. (2012); Kaposi, Z. (2013)

¹² Hajós Naptár (1900)

¹³ Barcs és Vidéke, 3. 11. 1903.

¹⁴ For the construction of Prince Schaumburg-Lippe, the owner of the Verőce estate opposite Barcs, lent the money to the state. See: Bellye (1883)

product. Prior to the construction of the railway bridge and the railway line, the transportation of this large amount of timber was solved by floating or by ship.

The next HÉV was the line between Barcs and Somogyszob, which was handed over in 1890. One of the main goals of its construction was, among other things, to get the Széchenyi (Géza and Imre) manors of Csokonya, Tarnóca, and Barcs to the railway, thus opening the more distant markets to their crops. The largest owner of the company that built and operated the line was the Széchenyi family. This line helped to ensure that the products produced in the Csokonya-based estates of Széchenyi could be further transported through Barcs to their largest markets.¹⁵

During this period, Barcs became a major transport hub. Additional railway lines of local interest were built. The HÉV line between Kaposvár and Barcs was completed in 1905, which, contrary to the original plans, joined the Pécs–Barcs railway not at Drávapálfalu but at Középrigóc. The next and last built HÉV was the Barcs–Sellye–Siklós line, which was opened in 1912.

Among other things, the Spanovica-Papuki forest industrial railway was built in Pakrác. This newly built railway, which is about 32 km long, connects to the already existing Pakrác–Spanovica industrial railway which was owned by the Slavonian Forest Industry Plc. This railway network, which was more than 50 kilometers long, handled the company's timber products from the forest to the steam sawmill in Pakrác with 5 locomotives and 200 wagons. The newly opened part of the line was owned by the Hungarian-Belgian Metal Industry Factory.¹⁶ The Gutmann plant in Belisce had the largest forest railway network in the region, as 800 railway cars and 9 locomotives transported the harvested timber from the surrounding forests to the plant on a 200 km long industrial railway system.

Thanks to the railway network of the region, both wood raw material and already processed wood material could reach their target markets faster and at lower costs. These railways made it possible to deliver products to seaports to make it more cost-effective to reach more distant markets. Sándor Engel also states in his work published in 1882 that „*it is hoped that the construction of the port of Rijeka and the reasonable pricing policy of the Hungarian State Railways will soon make Rijeka an important market for French donga trade.*” He also mentions that the export of 1879 also took place via Rijeka, which shows that only one-thirtieth of all the production of staves in Austria-Hungary entered the world market via Rijeka.¹⁷

The creation of the technical preconditions for steamship and the need for transport of sufficient size to start economical traffic had been given since the middle of the 19th century. Still, the steamboats were off to a slow start on the river. The main reason for this was the deregulation of the Dráva. The river also changed direction frequently and unexpectedly because of the stumps in its bed. Behind them, alluvium accumulated, creating reef islands that again only changed the direction of the flow. More and more logs were released into the water from the washed-up shores.¹⁸

These problems were overcome by significant regulatory work in the 1880s. In 1856, the first steamship appeared in Barcs, which was owned by the Danube Steamship Company (hereinafter DGT). As early as the 1860s, a regular combined passenger-cargo line was launched. Until 1865, DGT steamers sailed from Osijek to Kakonya. It was a 229 km stretch. The shipments on this route were discontinued by the company in 1865, claiming that this long route was

¹⁵ Haraszta, A. (2005): 50.

¹⁶ Magyar Fakereskedő (1908)

¹⁷ Engel, S. (1882)

¹⁸ Vízügyi és Hajózási Közlöny (1907)

unprofitable for it. Thereafter, DGT carried out only occasional transport between Osijek and Barcs and was only willing to transport in larger batches.¹⁹

5. Wood industry along the Dráva

We can find reliable data on forest cover in Hungary in the work of Albert Bedő at the beginning of the 20th century. The official figures for 1907 based on Bedő's work were as follows:

Table 1. Size and proportion of forests in the country at the beginning of the 20th century (ca.)

a./	- protected forest - forest on quicksand - forest on unconditional forest soil - forest not necessarily on forest soil	603.590 ca. 206.581 ca. 10.473.373 ca. 1.712.549 ca.	4,6 % 1,6 % 80,6 % 13,2 %
b./	- oak forest - other deciduous forest - pine forest	3.556.594 ca. 6.433.521 ca. 3.005.978 ca.	27,3 % 49,6 % 23,1 %
c./	- forest subject to an operational plan obligation - forest not subject to an operational plan obligation	8.173.795 ca. 4.822.298 ca.	62,9 % 37,1 %
	Hungary total:	12.996.093 ca.	100%
	Croatia-Slavonia:	2.659.326 ca.	
	In total:	15.655.419 ca.	

Source: Erdészettörténet (2011): 7.

The forest cover of Hungary in 1907 was 26.1%. Thus 6.2% of Hungary's forests (excluding Croatian-Slavonian countries) were protected forests that had some protective function. Furthermore, 80.6% stood on unconditional forest soil. The oak forest was a little over a quarter, the other deciduous half, the pine a little less than a quarter of the whole area. Slightly two-thirds of plant management was required by law. 15.3% of the forests were state-owned, 20.1% were legislative, municipal 7.3%, trust-owned and 35.1% were privately owned.²⁰ The data show that the influence of the state was significant in the forestry industry.

Within the wood processing industry, classified according to Márta Perényi Kolossváryné, the wood industry in Hungary developed after the unfolding of the capitalist system after 1848, and its main, highest-value-producing sector became timber production. The main feature of this sub-sector was that it was linked to forest holdings by short-term contracts for the extraction of valuable natural wood raw material stocks. The source of raw materials, and industrial capital was closely related to forestry, in some vertical integration.²¹

This "forestry industry" in the hands of a capitalist or group of capitalists then allowed the current market conditions to be significantly used. Consequently, the statistical reporting of timber traders and timber plant owners had been less reliable from the outset, also due to circumstances that can be considered objective. Hungary's manufacturing data were recorded in two years, 1898 and 1906, and the first aspects of the wood industry were edited by József Szterényi – in 1901,²² the second – edited by Aladár Edvi Illés – were published in 1911.²³ The

¹⁹ Erdősi, F. (1971)

²⁰ http://www.emk.nyme.hu/uploads/media/Erd%C3%A9szett%C3%B6rt%C3%A9net_2011.pdf

²¹ Kolossváryné Perényi, M. (1978): 171.

²² Szterényi, J. (1901)

²³ Edvi Illés, A. (1911)

geographical location of the sawmills was indicated by name and it was also stated, albeit in two different ways, what gave the main profile of the plant in question.²⁴

Picture 1. An ad posted by the estate of Bellye for sale



Source: Magyar Fakereskedő (1908): 26.

To exploit the valuable timber stocks, steam saws were rapidly established with the development of railway lines, first in the Highlands and Croatian-Slavonia and then in Transylvania. The development was particularly significant after the crisis of 1871-1873, when foreign capital flowed into the state in an increased manner. As reported by the Minister of Agriculture in the 1890 forestry report submitted to the Parliament, the most important branch of the "forestry industry" became the sawmill industry, which had shown great development since the enactment of the Forest Act. Comparison with the 1880s is illustrated by Albert Bedő's forestry statistics published in 1885 and 1896.²⁵

Due to the forests along the Dráva and the transport possibilities provided by the river, there had always been a significant amount of wood industry capacity in this area. As mentioned earlier, wood was a universal product, meaning that its processing was important to both the estates and the people of the area. Between 1882 and 1913, the traditional forest wood selections were building and instrumentation, donga, sleepers, firewood, and charcoal. The secondary wood industry was poorly developed and highly artisanal in nature. According to the industrial statistics of the time, among the sub-sectors of the wood industry performing secondary processing, the production of parquet and the production of bent furniture stood out the most. After the sawmill industry, the largest production values were provided by the joinery group.²⁶

The economic development of the 19th century, the expansion of the large-scale plants, brought with it an increase in the demand for building materials, so it is no coincidence that the lords sought to establish their own wood-based plants. The initial form of this was plank cutters connected to the mills. This means that if the grain milling capacity of the mill was just not needed and there was a sufficient amount of swollen water in the mill channel, the board was driven with the water. With technical progress, of course, much changed, and in the age of dualism, not only watermills and plank cutters but also steam industry equipment spread. This, in turn, required entrepreneurs. In the age of dualism, several nationally significant wood factories were established in the Dráva region. The timber industry, on the other hand, was not limited to estates at all. By the end of the 19th century, with the help of local and external capital inflows, smaller and larger sawmills were established for the professional processing of wood.

In June 1882, in the very rapidly developing Barcs, the limited partnership Eugén Smith and Co. was registered as a wood merchant and wood saw owner in Barcs. Three years later,

²⁴ Oroszi, S. (2010)

²⁵ Bedő, A. (1896)

²⁶ Kolossváryné Perényi, M. (1978): 187-188.

following the opening of the Dráva Bridge in Barcs, the Paris-based company called Société d'importation de Chêne was established.²⁷

Another enterprise was the Engel Adolf parquet factory in Pécs.²⁸ Engel's wood companies were not only of local importance. At the regional level, it was one of the largest companies engaged in wood industry activities in and around Southern Transdanubia. They had fewer direct employees than the great manufacturers of the era, but the quality of the products produced was outstanding. Nothing proves this better than the fact that the Engel companies performed in prestigious places at several prestigious exhibitions. Perhaps the most significant of these successes was the gold medal at the World's Fair of Paris in 1878, which later made a significant contribution to making the company's name known.²⁹

Although the name of Fabank (i.e. "Wood Bank") Plc. sounds completely unusual today, it is not a spelling mistake: the financial institution that operated more than a hundred years ago really had something to do with wood. The company was founded in 1878 by the French Société d'importation de Chêne. A few years later, the Neuschloss brothers in Budapest bought the disused wood factory from the French and continued wood processing, they also established the first wood factory in Pest. Their company later became involved in railway construction and then in aircraft manufacturing. The profile and operation of Neuschloss's Nasici (today: Nasice, Croatia) Tanning Factory and Steam Saw Plc. (Tannin = tannic acid) was expanding due to military orders. It also had sawmills in Susine-Gjurgjenovac, Satu Mare, Ljeskovica, Barcs and Homoród. There was also a barrel factory. Hazai Bank Plc. was the one who provided funding for a major capital increase in 1903. This bank was also responsible for financing the founding of the company in 1895. The company was known in the mid-1910s as one of the most important wood industry companies of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.³⁰

The Budapest-based Fatermelő Plc., which had a branch in Rijeka, also had significant interests in the region. In terms of its Slavonian interests, it had a steam sawmill and parquet factory in Verőce and a steam sawmill and mechanical barrel factory in Bród. It even had plants in Galicia and Bosnia. It was basically established under the auspices of the Hungarian General Credit Bank, with the aim of extracting and processing the timber stock of the ducal estates of Schaumburg-Lippe. Its share capital was 1,800,000 K in 1916 after several capital increases.³¹ The following figure shows their ad:

The Hungarian-Slavonic Forestry Plc. was established in 1917 with a share capital similar to that of Fatermelő Plc. which, with its headquarters in Budapest, bought the estate and forest lands of Count Iván Draskovich for the purpose of extraction and further processing.³² The next larger company I examined in the region was Fakereskedelmi Plc., who worked only with barrels or cooper. In Berzence, they had a cooper wood warehouse. It was an old company. The founder of the company was Pfeiffer, a cooper maker, from whom Union Bank took over, then merged with the company of Lipót Kern in Budapest and took over the name of Fakereskedelmi Plc. From then on the CEO was Herman Neumann. Although the wood business was heavily influenced by the difficulties of the early 20th century, with the tireless and prudent management of the board of directors, they still dominated the situation.³³

The company was headquartered in Vienna. It also had a branch in Budapest. It had sawmills in Kalnica, Nagytopoly, Vinkovce, Zagreb, Banska Bystrica, Rezsópart and Memphis Tenn,

²⁷ T. Mérey, K. (2007)

²⁸ Engel, A. (2009)

²⁹ Varga, P. (2021): 62.

³⁰ https://www.otpedia.hu/lexikon/helyek/furcsa-bank-penztarterem-nelkul-fabank-rt_2/

³¹ Dr. Galántai Nagy, S. (1917): 416.

³² Dr. Galántai Nagy, S. (1917): 426.

³³ Kádár (1911)

Picture 2. The advertisement of the Fakereskedelmi Plc.



Source: Kádár (1911): 19.

characteristics in each part of the country. The 1906 production survey showed 400 factory sawmills. Of these, 366 operated in Hungary and 34 in Croatian-Slavonia. Compared to 1898, the number of establishments increased by 77% in Hungary and by 25.9% in Croatia. There were 23 plants in Transdanubia and 34 plants in Croatian-Slavonia.³⁶

One of the largest wood processing plants in Central Europe was on the Slavonian side of the Dráva, in Beliscse. (Beliscse was the name at the time, but it also appeared in the sources as Belisce and Belistye.) Henrik Gutmann's most significant and enduring enterprise was a wood processing plant in Beliscse on the Slavonian side of the Dráva, which he founded in 1884. He started it, but after his death in 1890, his sons developed the plant into one with a European reputation. This large-scale capitalist enterprise was also inspired by Gutmann, Act 44 of 1881, which granted a 15-year tax exemption to developers of the manufacturing industry and the introduction of new industries, especially in ethnic areas. The location of the site was excellent: it was established in Verőce county, near the navigable section of the Dráva and near the railway lines.³⁷ The contemporary Pallas Lexicon described the company as follows: "Here is one of the largest industrial plants on the continent, the Gutmann Vilmos and Alfréd company for wood sawing and tanning. The colony in B., which was created on some barren ground in the barren soil 8 years ago, is reminiscent of the most brilliantly successful American plantings. The plantations themselves make

among others, while its share capital was 10,000,000 K in 1916, and it was raised from 5,000,000 K in 1907 to this level. Its shares were also listed on the Budapest and Vienna stock exchanges.³⁴

There was also another wood company in Berzence that I think is important to mention: the Somogy-Berzence Wood and Stick Factory Plc., which is the predecessor of the Wood and Stick Factory Plc. with a headquarters in Budapest. It moved its headquarters to Berzence in 1911. The plant produced raw stick handles, semi-finished and finished walking sticks and umbrella sticks, shoe poles and shoe heels. At that time, 200 workers were working in the plant. Furthermore, this company took over Kreisler's stick factory in Somogyberzence and the stick factory in Pakrác, which in 1908 was sold to the Slavonian Forestry Plc. In 1916, it had a registered capital of 500,000 K. The managing director was Géza Kreisler.³⁵

By the early 20th century, a large number of wood processing plants had been established across the country, though with different profiles and

³⁴ Dr. Galánthai Nagy, S. (1917): 414–415.

³⁵ Dr. Galánthai Nagy, S. (1917): 439.

³⁶ Kolossváryné Perényi, M. (1978): 181.

³⁷ Kerecsényi, E. (1979)

*up the whole city, with a church, a school, a hostel, long lines of workers' residences, a post office and a telegraph office with two large railway stations. The sawmill here is the largest plant in Europe in the oak industry. The loader is on the banks of the Drava, where wood, mostly destined for England, France and Belgium, is loaded onto tugs. The products of the tanning factory are mostly shipped abroad; it is also associated with a barrel factory and a wood chipper. Timber is transported to the site by a 142 km long industrial railway to Slavonia, now from its almost unparalleled primeval forests in Europe, formerly owned by the Majláth family (formerly Prandau).*³⁸

The Gutmann brothers continued to expand the plant almost year after year. It is characteristic of its dimensions that at the turn of the 20th century, it already employed 3,000 workers and operated 180 woodworking machines with a total capacity of 1,600 horsepower and 20 steam boilers. In order to ensure the supply of raw materials for the plant, huge estates were purchased mainly from Baron Prandau of Valpo along the Dráva, so they were finally able to process the trees of their own forests. 49,000 acres of forest were purchased in Vocić and 23,000 acres in Orahovica.³⁹ According to a later figure, the size of their estates had already exceeded 100,000 acres, which also meant that the Gutmann family had taken possession of a vast estate along the Drava, and there was hardly a larger owner than them in the Slavonian territory. Life did not stop during the war in terms of their purchases, as Baron Gutmann's family bought the 4,000-acre forests around Slatina, part of the Schaumburg Lippe ducal estate, which Count Dánkovich had bought from the prince 2 years before.⁴⁰

The size of sawmills is usually judged on the basis of the raw material and quantity processed based on the number and size of frame saws for processing, which are of course closely related to the amount of raw material processed. Taking all the sawmills together, an average of 15,452 m³ of wood fell per site. This average increased to 17,553 m³ for plants in Croatia, while it decreased to 15,175 m³ for plants in Hungary. Taking into account the types of each sawmill, one pine plant processed an average of 16,482 m³ of raw material, namely the Hungarian plants on average 16,578 m³ and the plants outside the Dráva / 7 plants / on average 15,669 m³, i.e. only about 5% less. An average of 5,573 m³ fell on a complete frame saw; the average on the Hungarian sites was 5,495 m³ and on the Croatian-Slavonian ones 8,437 m³. The utilization of the frame saw and work performance in Croatia was significantly better. There were 20 oak processing plants on one side of the Dráva and 15 on the other. In 1898, they processed 610,952 m³ of wood. On average, about 17,456 m³ of wood fell on one site. The average in Hungary was 15,586 m³ and in Croatia 19,949 m³.⁴¹

6. The trade of wood products

The timber trade also developed significantly and transformed during the period under review. By the beginning of the 20th century, there was an increasing view that, in addition to commercial and economic knowledge, commercial professionals in the wood industry should have other industry-specific knowledge. This goal was served, for example, by the fact that the steering committee of the Academy of Commerce in Budapest, together with the National Association of Hungarian Timber Traders and Woodworkers, organized a trade course in timber trade at the Budapest Academy of Commerce in 1903. The aim of the course was to provide the special knowledge required for the timber trade and to introduce students to all aspects of this part of the trade, theoretically and practically.⁴² The course lasted for one school year, i.e. ten months,

³⁸ Pallas (1885): 44.; Kaposi, Z. (2014)

³⁹ Kerecsényi, E. (1979): 157.; Kaposi, Z. (2020)

⁴⁰ A Fakereskedelem (1915)

⁴¹ Kolossváryné Perényi, M. (1978): 181.

⁴² Az Ujság (1904)

and included the following lectures and exercises: forestry, forest law, wood industry technology, wood trade techniques, customs, and various tariffs. In addition, students in the course could, depending on their needs and qualifications, listen to other subjects presented at the academy and participate in internships for academic students. In connection with the forestry lectures, study trips were organized to the main forest areas, in connection with the technological lectures to a larger sawmill, as well as to wood industry factories.⁴³

Examining our main markets, it appears that most of France's oak needs, namely around 3/4 were covered by Hungary, and the rest was imported from Austria, Bosnia, Germany, Russia and the United States.⁴⁴ The most extensive wood industry in France, both in terms of quantity and value, was barrel making and the cooperage industry. Let us also take into account that France was at that time the first among the wine-producing countries in the world, which only in barrels in 1898 was 1,294,373 hl. wine, and let us also take into account the domestic consumption and the demand for barrels for cognac, rum, cherry spirit, then we can form an idea for ourselves about this industry, especially in wine-growing regions, from small farms to large barrel factories. There was also a great need for wood-barreled barrels, to the extent that France had very large-scale sea fishing for herring, cod and other fish, smoked, salted or otherwise prepared, transported in barrels.⁴⁵

Another important market for our wood industry was Germany. Mainly in the wine-growing regions, especially on the Rhine, there were many smaller cooperage plants, which also processed slag in Slavonia, Bosnia, and the Americas in the early 20th century. The larger factories in Leipzig, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Frankenthal and Cassel mainly produced beer kegs, but also wine kegs. In general, American wood was mainly used to make large tubs and barrels, while Slavonian and Bosnian goods were used to make smaller barrels. The former was made mainly into beer kegs, and the latter was made mainly into wine kegs.⁴⁶

The culmination of a spectacular boom in the timber industry was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the Dráva region. This period also marked the beginning of a recessionary period for the industry, resulting from the market and economic environment on the one hand, and large-scale imports of American wood raw materials into Europe at the time. By then, the situation in the hardwood business was no longer so favourable. As far as oak is concerned, the prices paid in the autumn of 1906 formed the zenith and already in the early spring a sluggish trend showed in oak products for construction purposes, especially the frieze. Turnover to barrels also declined and the sharp rise in prices came to an end.⁴⁷

The reason why Slavonian oak was pushed into the background was also its high price. Furthermore, short and narrow sizes also contributed. As I have already mentioned, overseas oak boards were much cheaper than Hungarian and Slavonian ones, and this was compounded by the fact that America was transporting goods of such a size that it was really impressive compared to the smaller sizes in Hungary.⁴⁸ An additional difficulty for producers was what quality prices they achieved for their tree in this uncertain economic situation was in doubt because the market absorption capacity was very limited.⁴⁹

The results and products of the estates of the examined area and the various wood industry companies were presented at several domestic and international exhibitions with great success

⁴³ Iskolai értesítők (1903) (https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Budapest_B2088_B2133_1903/?query=Fakereskedelem&pg=151&layout=s)

⁴⁴ Kolossváryné Perényi, M. (1978): 103.

⁴⁵ Same 138.

⁴⁶ Same 83.

⁴⁷ Magyar Fakereskedő (1908)

⁴⁸ Magyar Fakereskedő (1908)

⁴⁹ A Fakereskedelem (1913)

in the examined period. However, it was important to be able to represent the results at an appropriate level within the country as well. This is why the national exhibition and fair held in Pécs between May and October of 1907 was important, where the country's craftsmen and tradesmen could present their latest products to the general public. The main organizers of the event were Miklós Zsolnay and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pécs. Representatives from various industries held meetings during the exhibition, but there was also a congress of farmers, restaurateurs, winemakers and beekeepers. South Transdanubia's estates and timber companies were involved in a large number of forestry and timber industry topics.⁵⁰

Picture 3. Forestry pavilion at the national exhibition of Pécs in 1907



Source: https://mandadb.hu/cikk/809813/1907_evi_Pecsi_Orszagoss_Kialitas_es_Vasar

One of the most interesting venues of the exhibition in Pécs was the forestry pavilion. The exhibition pavilion, built of raw oak and birch in bark, was located on the side of the main road to the city. It would also be difficult to list the range of exhibitors and products on display. To mention a few, I mention that in addition to the forestry of Count István Széchenyi in Kálmáncs, the forest manager of Count Tasziló Festetics in Csurgó also had their own stands. Also worth mentioning here are Count Iván Draskovich of Sellye and Prince Schaumburg-Lippe, the hunting and forestry products of the manor of Dárda. In addition to the exhibiting estates, there was also a large number of corporate exhibitors in the pavilion. For example, the varied and highly attractive beech products of the Slavonian company Strickler and Tscharner were also presented. The processing covered even the smallest detail, the best evidence of which was the beech carpets with a wide variety of patterns, which were made from small pieces of beech logs and were particularly popular in England. Going further, we could find the veneer and furniture slat products of the "Slavonia" Wood Producer Plc.⁵¹ In contrast there were the products of Guttmann S. H.'s Beliscian oak sawmill and tannin and wood distillery.⁵² The line of exhibitors could go on and on. We can state that all the major players in the wood industry in

⁵⁰ Horváth, CS. (1998)

⁵¹ Dr. Galánthai Nagy, S. (1917): 433.

⁵² Erdészeti Lapok (1907)

the region were represented at this event as exhibitors, presenting the diversity of the products produced and their internationally recognized quality. This will all go into the commercial chapter.

7. Summary

The forest was important to man at all ages, including the period and area I studied, when men of the age had to live and get used to the constant narrowing of forest benefits based on centuries-old traditions. The vast “primeval forests” along the Dráva, which were mainly pedunculate oaks, provided an extraordinary basis for the spread of professional forestry and the strengthening of its position among the estates in this region by the end of the 19th century. In addition, they provided an important basis for the development of a modern wood industry, which is also suitable for the further processing of wood and is also suitable for international markets. It is also undeniable that the Forest Act of 1879 resulted in significant qualitative improvements in the long run in forest stocks and the management of estates. They wanted to curb the mindless deforestation aimed at making instant money, and they sought to raise domestic forest management practice quality to a higher level. That is why a network of forest inspectorates had been set up, which tried to influence farmers subject to the law through continuous inspections, licensing and possible penalties. As a result of the law, a new and positive process began, and by the end of the century, modern forest management of the age had developed in almost all of the estates. In the last decades of the 19th century, thanks to high-quality, high-value forests, a large number of timber companies settled here or were established on local initiative. The recovery of the industry led to a boom in the demand side of wood products in this region. It can be seen from the above that the favourable external processes had a significant impact on local farming, as a result of which the proportion of forests in the Drava region compared to other cultivation branches decreased only in the short term by the beginning of the 20th century. This was mainly in favour of arable land in this region as well. By this time, the peak of the wood industry boom in the life of the region can also be dated, as from the beginning of the century the purchase prices started to decrease greatly. In addition, a significant wave of bankruptcies was observed among timber companies and entrepreneurs. The mood of the professional audience of the age was greatly influenced by this process. Sudden and high levels of mistrust and uncertainty entered the daily lives of market participants with great force. This was mainly due to negative developments and changes in international markets. In addition, oak products imported from the Americas appeared in increasing volumes on European markets, flooding the markets at lower prices and in more processable sizes.

Bibliography

- Bedő, A. (1896): A magyar állam erdőségeinek gazdasági és kereskedelmi leírása. Vol. 1-3. Budapest
- Bellye (1883): *Albrecht főherceg bellyei uradalmának leírása*. Bécs
- Csorba, J. (1857): *Somogy vármegye ismertetése*. Pest
- Ditz, H. (1993): *A magyar mezőgazdaság*. Budapest
- Dr. Galántai Nagy, S. (1912): *Nagy Magyar Compass*. XL. Anniversary Grade 1913/13. Budapest
- Dr. Galántai Nagy, S. (1917): *Nagy Magyar Compass*. XLIV. Grade 1916-17. Financial and Trade Yearbook. II. Part. Budapest
- Edvi Illés, A. (1911): *A magyar korona országainak gyáripara az 1906. évben*. II. Volume. 2. Part. Fém-, fa- és gépipar s ezekkel rokon iparok. Budapest
- Engel, A. (2009): *Életemből*. Pécs

- Engel, S. (1882): *Magyarország Faipara és Fakereskedése. Technikai, Gazdasági és statistikai közlemények fakereskedők, faiparosok, erdészek stb. számára*. Budapest
- Engel, Alexander (1892): *Österreichs Holz-Industrie und Holzhandel*. Wien.
- Erdészettörténet. Dr. h.c. Dr. Márkus László és Dr. A. Sz. Tyihonov előadásainak alapján. Sopron. In: http://www.emk.nyme.hu/uploads/media/Erd%C3%A9szett%C3%B6rt%C3%A9net_2011.pdf
- Erdősi, F. (1978): *A Dél-Dunántúl közlekedési hálózatának kialakulása és szerepe a terület régióvá válásában*. In: Baranya, Somogy, Tolna és Zala megyék regionális tudományos tanácskozása. (Edited by Kanyar, J.) Kaposvár
- Harasztia, A. (2005): *Barcs közlekedése a dualizmus korában, középpontban a vasúti közlekedés*. Szombathely
- Hirsch, A. (1903): *Somogy vármegye gazdasági monographiája*. Budapest: Grill
- Horváth, CS. (1998): *A múzeum helytörténeti gyűjteményében lévő, Pécsen ábrázoló képes levelezőlapok. VI. A Pécsi Országos Kiállítás és Vásár, 1907*. Janus Pannonius Museum Évkönyve 41-42. Pécs
- Kaposi, Z. (2007): *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700-2000*. Passau: Schenk Verlag
- Kaposi, Z. (2012): *Az agrárkonjunktúra hatása a nagykanizsai uradalom erdőgazdálkodására (1850–1914)*. Közép-Európai Közlemények 5. (2012) 2. issue. 178-187.
- Kaposi, Z. (2013): *Egy szlavóniai nagybirtok gazdasági vonatkozásai (18-19. század)*. Közép-Európai Közlemények 6. (2013) 3. issue. 64-76.
- Kaposi, Z. (2019): *Uradalmak, földbirtokosok és birtokforgalom a Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században*. Mezőgazdaságtörténeti Tanulmányok 14. Budapest
- Kaposi, Z. (2020/a): *Forstbewirtschaftung in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Nagykanizsa und Umgebung*. In: Malli, Rüdiger – Moll, Martin – Ruhri, Alois (eds.): *Der Wald als Lebens- und Wirtschaftswachstum im pannonicischen Raum – Forests as living space and economic sphere in the Pannonian region*. Mogersdorf 47. Graz: Das Land Steiermark 80-94.
- Kaposi, Z. (2020/b): *A Dráva menti uradalmak gazdasági változásai a Trianon körül években*. Agrártörténeti Szemle – Historia Rerum Rusticarum. 61. (2020) 1-4. 1-24.
- Kerecsényi, E. (1979): *A nagykanizsai Gutmann-család felemelkedése a nagyburzsoáziába*. In: Közlemények Zala megye közgyűjteményeinek kutatásainak 12. Zalaegerszeg. 147-166.
- Kolossalványné Perényi, M. (1978): A faipar története Magyarországon. Az Országos Erdészeti Egyesület Erdészettörténeti Szakosztálya Közleményei 11-12. Budapest
- Magyar, E. (1981): *Településszerkezet és agrártermelés Somogy megyében a 18. században és a 19. század első felében*. In: Kanyar J. (Ed.): *Somogy megye múltjából*. Levéltári Évkönyv 12. Kaposvár
- Nagyváthy, J. (1821): *Magyar practicus termeszítő*. Pest
- Oroszi, S. (2010): *A fa Erdélyben – A bölcsőtől a koporsóig*. Erdészettörténeti Közlemények LXXXII. Országos Erdészeti Egyesület Erdészettörténeti Szakosztály. Budapest
- Pártos, Sz. (1941): *A magyar gyáripar évkönyve és címtára, 1941*. Budapest
- Szabó, M. (2019): *Az 1879. évi erdőtörvény hatása a Dráva menti uradalmi erdőgazdálkodás és faipar fejlődésére*. Agrártörténeti Szemle – Historia Rerum Rusticarum, 60. (2019) 1-4. issue.
- Szterényi, J. (1901): A magyar korona országainak gyáripara az 1898. évben. Booklets 9-10. Faipar I-II. Budapest
- T.Mérey, K. (2007): *Somogy megye gazdasága és társadalma a dualizmus korában*. In: T.Mérey, K.: *Település – megye – régió*. Pécs: MTA RKK. 119-172.
- T.Mérey, K. (1963): *Az erdőgazdálkodás Somogy megyében (1700–1879)*. Agrártörténeti Szemle – Historia Rerum Rusticarum, 5. (1963) No. 1–2. 133-152.
- Tóth, P. (1988): *Somogy megye leírása 1812-ből*. In: Kanyar J. (Ed.): *Somogy megye múltjából*. Levéltári Évkönyv 18. Kaposvár
- Ujváry, I. (1914): *Mezőgazdaság, állattenyésztés, szőlőművelés, erdészet*. In: Csánki D. (Ed.): *Magyarország vármegyei és városai*. Somogy. Budapest

Varga, P. (2021): *A ceruzakereskedéstől a komlói szénbányászat megteremtéséig. Engel Adolf vállalkozásai az 1840-es évektől az I. világháborúig.* In: Pelles, M. – Jakopánecz, E. – Kaposi, Z. (eds.): Úton a jövőbe. Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Közgazdaságtudományi Kar. Pécs. 56-68.

Contemporary newspapers and magazines:

A Fakereskedeleml, 1913 (3. grade, 3-24. issue) 25-08-1913 / 16. issue 5.
A Fakereskedeleml, 1915 (5. grade, 1-51. issue) 10-06-1915 / 22-23. issue 3.
Az Ujság, 1. July 1904. (2. grade, 181-195. issue) 09-07-1904 / 189. issue 19.
Barcs és Vidéke, 3. 11. 1903.
Erdészeti Lapok (1907): 46. grade 16. booklet.
Hajós Naptár (1900)
Kádár, 1911 (6. grade, 1-12. issue) 31-05-1911 / 5. issue 4.
Magyar Fakereskedő, 1908 (15. grade, 1-24. issue) 01-01-1908 / 1. issue 5.
Magyar Fakereskedő, 1908 (15. grade, 1-24. issue) 15-01-1908 / 2. issue 6.
Magyar Fakereskedő, 1908 (15. grade, 1-24. issue) 15-01-1908 / 2. issue 4.
Vízügyi és Hajózási Közlöny, 1907. 41. issue. 322.

Other internet sources:

https://www.otpedia.hu/lexikon/helyek/furcsa-bank-penztarterem-nelkul-fabank-rt_2/
https://mandadb.hu/cikk/809813/1907_evi_Pecsi_Orszagos_Kiallitas_es_Vasar
<http://www3.arcanum.hu/onap/opt/a110616.htm?v=pdf&q=WRD%3D%28schaumburg>
https://adt.arcanum.com/hu/view/Budapest_B2088_B2133_1903/?query=Fakereskedeleml&pg=151&layout=s

Dániel Luka

Teaching Land Law: Controversy and Land Policy in Hungary from 1948 to 1968

Abstract

Topic of the study. During the harsh Stalinization from 1948 agriculture had to be collectivized while land was not nationalized by decree as the Bolsheviks did in Russia in 1917. The Soviet legal system was a pattern for jurists but the differences made the transition to “socialism” more rugged and controversial. The legal scholars had to interpret a situation which had to develop further to full “socialization”. In order to do that, a “cooperative law” and a “land law” had to be created and taught as part of “agricultural law”.

Research questions and methods. Land law consisted of regulations regarding private farmers and collective agricultural producers (cooperatives, state farms etc.), theoretically in the whole research period. How did the agrarian, cooperative and land policy affect legal theory on land tenure system? What kind of scientific dispute emerged on this matter and how did the attempts of codification of land law affect legal education? Various types of sources were evaluated, for instance protocols of council meetings of the faculty of law of two universities, archival sources, articles and studies from authors who taught land law and took part in its debate and codification.

Results and conclusions. Law was used as a tool to boost transformation, and the lawmakers and jurists faced a paradox situation in which there was a need of codification of land law and to make it independent from other branches of law. On the one hand, jurists argued like Gyula Eörsi and Miklós Világly that civil law had primatus in the legal system and property relations had to be included in that part of legislation during the “transition period”. On the other hand, many jurists, for instance Iván Földes, Imre Seres claimed that cooperative law or/and land law were separated branches of law despite the fact that mass collectivization was not completed until the spring of 1961.

Keywords: Stalinism, collectivization, NEP, land ownership, agricultural law, codification

1. Introduction

The Hungarian countryside went through a radical transformation in the second half of the 20th century. It began with a “land reform” in 1945, when the communist party planned, initiated and implemented among others the redistribution of large agricultural estates. This first land policy measure was considered as a huge step of “democratization” of the rural world. Redistributed land remained in private ownership which was limited by the law. The communist parties carried out land reforms in Central, East and Southeast Europe to gain political advantage. After World War Two, land reform was on the agenda not just in countries in the Soviet power sphere, but also in countries which were occupied or liberated by Western powers, for instance in the Western Occupied Zones of Germany, in Japan and in South Korea. The Bolsheviks did nationalize land and redistributed it in 1917; later in the late 1930s the Soviet leadership pursued the same objectives in the annexed Western territories, however, collectivization followed this measure in a shorter span of time. Some of the authors claimed that the communist land reforms were the first step of Sovietization and even collectivization. Land tenure system was based in Hungary on private ownership and private use of land, the decrees and laws on land reform were the basic regulations regarding agricultural lands, but no one insisted to codify land law between 1944/1945 and 1948.¹

¹ Földes, I. (1976): 20–21.

The changes of international relations and the communist takeover caused turn in economic policy. In Hungary Imre Nagy opposed accelerated industrialization and forced collectivization. The Stalinist version of planned economic system had to be introduced while it was part of preparation for a new world war. The circumstances were very different in the region in economic terms. There was a similar or same trend; the peasantry did resist the “socialist transformation of agriculture”. Tenants and landowners were categorized by the area which they possessed and used. Safety of property rights fluctuated accordingly. The communist regime created a dual legal system and it caused legal uncertainty. Law became tool of forced transformation, while law was also subject of the process. Legal education was no exemption.

2. The Beginning of Collectivization and Changing Land Tenure System

“Laying down the foundations of socialism” and “abolishing the dualism in economy” were the main slogans of the hardliner Stalinist era. The so called dual task in agriculture meant increase of production and parallel mass collectivization. The Stalinist leadership, led by the general secretary Mátyás Rákosi, had incredible visions and set impossible aims.² However, the industrialization and collectivization could not change the fact that economy was “hybrid” and it was shaped by elements of war communism and the Soviet New Economic Policy (NEP) in the 1920s. It was even more complicated by the national differences in the region and the transition from capitalism to “socialism”. The implementation of official policy was deformed by the radical Stalinists in many ways. The “kulaks” should have been restricted culturally, economically, socially and politically, and not being liquidated. During the Stalinist era in Hungary, landowners in each category did not have safe property rights, everyone was vulnerable.

The general secretary Rákosi announced in August 1948 in Kecskemét that the peasants should join cooperatives in the future to develop and flourish.³ In the next year, campaigns were organized to agitate peasants and from the early 1950s the campaigns became more massive. The authorities had permitted more general land consolidations and more landowners were forced to waive land to state. The communist party had a certain aim: “socialize” means of agriculture, including land, thus to abolish private ownership and use of land. There was already a huge contradiction between theory and practice. In December 1948, G. Dimitrov, the Bulgarian communist party leader explained in his speech at the party congress that in the “people’s democracies” nationalization of land is not necessary to collectivize agriculture.⁴ Land was just one part of the whole issue, the legal theorists and jurists had problem to concretize the idea of cooperative law in the people’s democracy as well. In the Soviet Union the legal system included theoretically two branches of law linked to agriculture: kolkhoz law and land law. The question was how these two branches should be brought to life while the transformation was not finished in Hungary?

Most of the concerns were raised by the effects of radical economic policy. The difficulties mounted and a crisis was unfolding by 1952. The signals were received by the government and party apparatus, but they were partially ignored. The revised first five year plan in 1951 could not be fulfilled and the collectivization could not be completed in 1952 or 1953 as Rákosi envisaged in the autumn of 1948. Teaching of agricultural cooperative law and land law began under these circumstances in 1951 at the universities. It was also a necessity and a tool at the same time despite the theoretical disputes and controversies. The root of it was the debate on the relation of economy and law, the Soviet concept of base and superstructure. The debate on “economic law” in the early 1950s raised more questions on the transformation of economy and

² Kaposi, Z. (2001): 161–162.

³ Gyarmati, Gy. (2013): 183.

⁴ The thesis which Dimitrov explained was later referred in the literature as the Dimitrov-thesis/Dimitrov-theory.

law. The transition was accelerated by radical measures, but it did not mean that “capitalist” or “bourgeois” legal system could have been replaced with “socialist legal order” rapidly, especially those legal relations which were partially or entirely connected to civil law.⁵

3. Legal Education and Debate on Land Law

Replacing law with a new law (private law with a “socialist civil law” for instance) was not an easy task for legal scholars who had disagreements on the pace and extent of the process. Which elements should be kept in the short or long run? Private sector prevailed in agriculture and it made civil law for prominent civil law experts (Gyula Eörsi, Miklós Világly) more relevant. They did argue that the Soviet legal system included civil law and that economic law should not be taught at all. The discussions did result the creation of agricultural law which consisted of two major areas of law: agricultural cooperative law and land law.⁶ Neither agricultural law, nor its two components were recognized as independent branches of law, but Departments of Agricultural Law were formed at the faculties of law at the three main universities, at the Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (Eötvös Loránd University, ELTE) in Budapest, at the Pécsi Tudományegyetem (University of Pécs, PTE) in Pécs and at the Szegedi Tudományegyetem (University of Szeged, SZTE) in Szeged.⁷

The Soviet kolkhoz law and land law were taught at the universities from the early 1950s. In Budapest at the ELTE the Department of Agricultural Law was headed in the mid-1950s by Miklós Világly, in the following years by Zsigmond Medve and from the end of the 1950s by Imre Seres. In the 1950s in Pécs Lóránt Rudolf (1950–1958), Tibor Pap (1958–1959), and Iván Földes (1959–1981) were the heads of the department, in Szeged József Perbíró (1951–1957) and László Nagy (1957–1984) in the time period between 1950 and 1968.⁸ An author collective prepared the new material for education at the universities, the syllabus of agricultural law. Textbooks on agricultural cooperative law and land law were drafted separately by various authors, but in the 1960s an author collective prepared again the textbook of both de facto branches of law.⁹

The economic and legal situation was paradox, without complete mass collectivization of agriculture and abolishment of private ownership and use of land it was arguable if there was agricultural cooperative law and land law. At the same time, these “non-existing” branches of law facilitated collectivization, while emphasis was put on land use and legal issues of agricultural cooperatives.¹⁰ The agricultural law had theoretically and practically until mass collectivization a mixed legal content, it was connected to civil law and regulated private and collective farming. Therefore, agricultural cooperative law and land law were not less complicated in legal terms. From an economic point of view, the same features characterized economic theory. The dictatorship of proletariat in the people’s democracies was not the same as the Soviet communist state model. Theoretically, land law embraced all regulations on land ownership and use; all legal relations linked to land, however, this “socialist land law” focused on land use as the Soviet did. It had to prevent further “capitalist exploitation” of workers in the constantly accelerating “class struggle”.

During the radical Stalinist transformation of social-economic conditions the codification of agricultural cooperative law and land law were off the table. Land policy was carried out in an

⁵ Cserne, P. (2004): 50–51. Verebics, J. (2017): 68–72.

⁶ Szabó, I. (1950): 45. *Vita a magyarországi gazdasági jog kérdéséről II.* 1951: 595–597.

⁷ Medve, Zs. (1959a): 34–39. Földes, I. (1976): 9–15. Veres, J. (1976): 61–67. At the Faculty of Law in Pécs and in Szeged it was the Department of Agricultural Law and Labor Law because of shortage of faculty staff.

⁸ Data was gathered from the almanacs of the universities which were published digitally. Lengyel, B. (1956): 147. Lengyel, B. (1958): 171. Polyák, P. (2017): 139, 152–153. Szentirmai, L. – Iványi, Sz. É. – Ráczné, M. K. (1996): 56, 58.

⁹ Földes, I. (1976): 27.

¹⁰ Medve, Zs. (1959a): 35.

extreme way which led to exodus of private farmers from the countryside. Not just “kulaks” but also “working peasants” left arable land uncultivated and waived land. Forced land consolidations made farming more fragile. The political, economic, social and legal framework of transition from capitalism to “socialism” was compared to the Soviet New Economic Policy. There was no real discussion on the transition and NEP and on its application during Stalinization; however, the main political figure who was responsible for economic issues in the party leadership, Ernő Gerő emphasized the ambivalent character of the transition. It was a combination of NEP and Stalinist planned economy in his view. The need of rapid transformation deformed official policies and did not put an end to the controversy. The NEP narrative appeared in legal theory by Gyula Eörsi in mid-1951, when he argued for the necessity of codification of civil law. He claimed that in the transition phase which was similar to the Soviet NEP, legal relations to private property (including land in agriculture) had to be regulated in civil law accordingly. Private farmers produced most of the agricultural products and it was the key of his argument.¹¹ Miklós Világhy echoed the argument some years later in an article which was published during the “new course”.¹²

In mid-1952 the communist leadership, the Politburo decided to slow down collectivization. In the second half of the same year the administration and party organs started to revise the economic situation. Imre Nagy was appointed Deputy Prime Minister in November 1952. In the first half of 1953 corrections were prepared in agrarian policy. The leftist deflection was condemned more sharply in the spring of 1953. The slight shift made probably the questions on agricultural law more important. The first textbook of agricultural law was published in 1952 and in 1953, its second volume in 1954. Both were edited by Iván Földes.¹³ From the mid-1953 the “new course” triggered real and deep controversy on law, and legal scholars and experts started new discussions on legal issues, including land law.¹⁴ At the 9th council meeting of the Faculty of Law at the ELTE on 1st of July, 1953 just some weeks after the Hungarian delegation was criticized in Moscow and after the meeting of the Central Committee at the end of June, three days before the announcement of the “new course” by Imre Nagy, jurists were discussing agricultural law in legal education and the second volume of its textbook.¹⁵ As it was presumably known at that time, in Czechoslovakia an internal and a public discussion had to decide if agricultural cooperative law was a separated branch of law in the legal system or not. The Czechoslovak jurists’ opinion was that it was a branch of law.¹⁶ This matter got more magnitude after the XIX congress of the Soviet communist party in October 1952. Some Hungarian scholars argued that agricultural cooperative law should be taught as a branch of law and not as part of agricultural law. The meeting on 1st of July concluded that this matter should be discussed further by a committee and until its decision, agricultural law should be taught at the Department of Agricultural Law, divided into two main areas: agricultural cooperative law and land law.

During the “new course” and after it, discussions continued on land law more intensively. Land legislation, agrarian policy, economic policy, legal theory and education did have impact on each other and had interaction. First, legal and educational materials did reflect the ideas and viewpoints of legal theorists. Second, jurists were involved in legislation, debates on legal theory

¹¹ Eörsi, Gy. (1951): 238–245.

¹² Verebics, J. (2017): 56.

¹³ Veres, J. (1976): 64.

¹⁴ Ibid. 64–65.

¹⁵ Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Karának ülései, 1952–1953 (HU ELTEL 7.a.51.). Council meeting on 1st of July, 1953. 185–195. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/ELTE_AJTK_KARI_1952-53/?pg=1&layout=s (Date of access: 26.10.2021)

¹⁶ Jablánczy, J. (1953): 499–501.

affected policy makers and legal actions, as well as actual political direction did impact legal policy, legislation and legal education. A significant change was undoubtedly the change of head of the Department of Agricultural Law at the ELTE in late 1959 in this regard, when Imre Seres was appointed to the position. After that, from the 1960s, he was the main or co-editor of many textbooks on agricultural law, agricultural cooperative law and land law. He published two interesting articles in the mid-1950s, one on land property relations in the people's democracies in 1954, and one on land property relations in Hungary in 1955.¹⁷ He argued vehemently after 1956 that cooperatives should be able to acquire agricultural land. As a candidate the title of his dissertation was "The ownership right of land in the agricultural cooperatives".

Most of the articles on the discussion of land law were published in the Journal of Law (*Jogtudományi Közlöny*). From 1953/1954, a very complex legislation started, which included the preparation of a Civil Code. Governmental committees were established to draft laws on various areas of law which were connected to civil law. This process included agricultural cooperative law and land law. The Soviet experiences were taken probably into consideration; in the NEP period civil law and land law were both codified. One of the main differences was that agricultural land was generally in private ownership in Hungary. The Ministry of Justice submitted a proposal on the preparation of a Civil Code and a Penal Code on 6th of November, 1953.¹⁸ At that time, an article was published by Pál Halász, a legal scholar at the University of Pécs, who argued that the agricultural cooperative law should be recognized as a branch of law. Furthermore, every prerequisite was met to form land law as a branch of law. Halász referred to some other scholars who raised doubts on this view in the past.¹⁹ Without exaggeration, the legal controversy contributed to the ongoing codification of land law and legal education. According to the protocols of the council meetings of Faculty of Law at the ELTE, the Land Code had to be drafted parallel with the Civil Code and it should have regulated legal relations to land on a temporary basis.²⁰ No sources indicate that a Cooperative Code had been prepared. The Political Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party made a decision on questions of legislation on 18th of August, 1954; cooperative law should not be codified (there was no "cooperative code" in the Soviet Union either), and the further codification of land law remained doubtful.²¹ Despite the debate, textbooks were published on land law. The jurists were divided on the issue; some of them did want land law to be codified and recognized as a branch of law and taught separately, some of them opposed this idea.

Zsigmond Medve (who was teaching law partially in the 1950s in the Department of Soviet Law at the ELTE), published an article on the tasks of jurisprudence which were linked to the decisions on developing agriculture.²² The Legal Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences organized a discussion on the article in February 1955.²³ Medve argued for the recognition of agricultural cooperative law and land law as separated branches of law. The discussion was probably at that time part of the process of codification of land law. During drafting the Civil Code, property rights and other legal relations were put in the foreground. The theoretical disagreements on that issue reflected ideological and other obstacles in legislation. How to describe the private landownership in the cooperatives? Miklós Világhy and others

¹⁷ Seres, I. (1954). Seres, I. (1955).

¹⁸ Baráth, M. – Gecsényi, L. (2018): 748–751.

¹⁹ Halász, P. (1953): 428–432.

²⁰ Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Karának ülései, 1953–1954 (HU ELTEL 7.a.52.) Council meeting on 30th of January, 1954. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/ELTE_AJTK_KARI_1953-54/?pg=95&layout=s (Date of access: 27.10.2021)

²¹ National Archives of Hungary (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, MNL OL) M-NS 276. f. 53. cs. 190. ő.e. 5. Proposal on some principles of the civil code, land code and penal code.

²² Medve, Zs. (1954): 452–468.

²³ Nagy, L. (1955): 309–314.

“invented” the term “partial private ownership”, but some other jurists disagreed and preferred “restricted private ownership” instead.²⁴ Medve published another article in April 1956 on ownership right of the land which was brought in the cooperatives. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences’ Legal Committee held a discussion on that paper in March 1956.²⁵ According to the participants’ accounts which were published some months later, the scholars focused on the problem of “partial private ownership”. Medve and Seres had concerns to use the term. Meanwhile, the discussion continued on land law. Some of the jurists accepted the view that agricultural cooperative law exists, but denied land law as a branch of law. Eörsi claimed that according to the current legal, economic and social circumstances, none of them should be recognized as a branch of law. Iván Földes argued that land law should develop further to become a branch of law.²⁶

The Civil Code was partially prepared when a discussion was held in Szeged on civil law in legal education, including property rights and land law on 24–25th of April, 1956.²⁷ The participants continued the dispute which included this time the property rights of private households of cooperative members for instance. Seres definitely rejected the idea of “partial private ownership” and declined to call the private households of cooperative members “personal ownership”. 1956 was a decisive year from many perspectives. Khrushchev’s “secret speech” had huge impact on the communist system and Re-Stalinization ultimately failed. The Council of Ministers decision on a new cooperative law on 4th of September, 1956 was announced in the Official Gazette (*Magyar Közlöny*). The Ministry of Justice proposed to completely establish the “democratic legal system” of the people’s democracy. Governmental committees had to be formed on the legal questions of cooperatives and land. The committees began their work delayed by the revolution; nevertheless a general cooperative law, agricultural cooperative law and cooperative land law were drafted in 1957.²⁸ Cooperatives could acquire land almost in all communist dictatorships in the region, but not in Hungary. The ideological framework determined land “socialization” which could be occurred by nationalization. Those people, who insisted to Soviet pattern and declined other solutions, were called for instance by Seres dogmatists.²⁹ “Cooperative land ownership” was not a central issue, however, some legal theorists argued against it, like Zsigmond Medve.³⁰ The discussions probably did not focus on that question, and it was not a main topic in agrarian policy. Despite these assumptions, the importance of land ownership cannot be denied. Seres argued after 1956 more frequently to allow cooperatives to acquire land; his idea was based on international experiences.³¹ He pointed out in May 1958 at the V congress of the Hungarian Jurists’/Lawyers’ Association that land law was a branch of law and it should be codified.³²

Regarding mass collectivization, cooperative land ownership was not the most decisive factor. It did not interest the peasantry so much how legal scholars would describe ownership

²⁴ Földes used the term partial private ownership on land already in an article on cooperative law in 1951 and referred later in the text to Dimitrov’s speech. Földes, I. (1951): 180–181.

²⁵ Sárándi, I. (1956): 434–439. Nagy, L. (1956): 500–505.

²⁶ Eörsi, Gy. (1954): 331. Eörsi, Gy. (1955): 333. Földes, I. (1955): 522, 524.

²⁷ Németi, L. (1956): 557–563. Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi kar ülései, 1955–1956. Council meeting on 24–25.04.1956. https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/SZEGED_SZTE_JogiKT_1955-1956/?pg=201&layout=s (Date of access: 29.10.2021)

²⁸ Pál, J. (1997): 234.

²⁹ Seres, I. (1957): 128. Sárándi, I. (1959): 692. Seres, I. (1963): 74–75. Seres, I. (1967): 151–153.

³⁰ Medve, Zs. (1959b): 215.

³¹ Seres, I. (1957): 126–134. Sárándi, I. (1959): 691–694. Bak, J. (1959): 666–668.

³² Patkós, L. (1958): 293–294. The Hungarian Jurists’/Lawyers’ Association was reorganized in 1949 and it held its first congress in Hévíz. According to historical accounts, the Soviet delegates raised concerns about economic law at the meeting and that triggered more discussions on the matter among Hungarian legal scholars.

forms, but people did want private ownership. When land was taken in collective use, landowners did want keep their property rights, and to get rent or other compensation for the collective use of land. Jurists and agrarian politicians claimed that acquiring land could be a huge financial burden, so cooperatives should not buy land.³³ The Civil Code came into force in 1959 as well as a decree of the presidential council on the agricultural cooperatives.³⁴ Mass collectivization was already in progress at that time. Some elements of former discussions were regulated on a temporarily basis, some permanently, also land was part of legislation to a necessary extent; it was not codified but remained subject of further changes. Because private ownership of land was not abolished, socialization of means of production was not fully finished. Private land use was socialized, and land policy measures aimed to deal with cases linked to private ownership of land and collective land use to a much larger extent than ever before. Around 1959/1960 another significant change occurred; agrarian reformers took over the Ministry of Agriculture. Reforming planning mechanism, state control and supervision, remuneration system and some organizational elements of cooperatives got priority.

The events in 1959 (beginning of mass collectivization, legislation) were partially decisive in the legal controversies. However, as mentioned, legal questions and problems remained unsolved. Many of the jurists accepted that agricultural cooperative law and land law became a separated branch of law in the legal system with the completion of mass collectivization.³⁵ The Legal Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences organized a discussion on 23rd and 29th of May, 1959 on the theses of Vilmos Peschka's work "The Hungarian Peoples' Democracy's Legal System and its Division". Gyula Eörsi and Miklós Világly admitted that land law became a branch of law but it should develop further.³⁶ The changes did affect logically legal education, and from the early 1960s both branches of law were taught separately.³⁷

After 1961, the Ministry of Agriculture assigned legal experts to draft laws as framework regulation for the collectivized agriculture. Imre Seres had to draft a general land code which was partially prepared by the beginning of 1963. Other aspects of land policy and land law were put in focus in the 1960s (securing cooperative land use, keeping land together and land consolidation), while land ownership was naturally part of the legal issues. The published legal materials, articles and sources do not indicate that there was a huge discussion on land law between 1961 and 1966/1967. In 1968, Ferenc Erdei started a "theoretical debate on cooperatives" with his article which was published in Social Review (*Társadalmi Szemle*).³⁸ Land was not the main topic of the debate, but in 1967 a land law was promulgated along with a new law on agricultural cooperatives and next year the new economic mechanism was also launched. The abolishment of private land ownership continued by establishing cooperative land ownership. Despite no published debates were on this issue before 1966/1967, the agrarian reformers could support the idea of this form of ownership because it was acceptable for the peasantry in their eyes. The IX congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in November and December 1966, officially confirmed the new type of land ownership.³⁹ It was a unique way

³³ Nagy, L. (1965): 129–130.

³⁴ Magyar Közlöny, 1959, No. 82, Law No. 4 on the Hungarian Peoples' Democracy Civil Code. 11th of August, 1959. Magyar Közlöny, 1959, No. 12, Decree No. 7 of the Presidential Council of the Peoples' Republic on the agricultural cooperatives and cooperative groups. 25th of March, 1959.

³⁵ Földes, I. (1976): 15.

³⁶ Peschka, V. (1959): 479–480.

³⁷ Medve, Zs. (1959a): 35. In Czechoslovakia land law was taught also within the framework of agricultural law until 1962. Egyetemi Lapok, az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Lapja, 4. évfolyam, 36. sz. 1962. december 15. 5. oldal. A magyar földjog alkalmas értékes tapasztalatok szerzésére.

³⁸ Földes, I. (1976): 28–29.

³⁹ Népszabadság, 24. évfolyam, 281. sz. 1966. november 29. 5. oldal. A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt Központi Bizottságának beszámolója. Kádár János elvtárs előadói beszéde. Népszabadság, 24. évfolyam, 285. sz. 1966.

of socialization or collectivization of private land ownership and Imre Seres could have major part in its legalization and legislation.

4. Land Law as a Branch of Law and its Codification

The codification of land law began in the spring of 1954. Legal theorists, legislators and agrarian politicians envisioned a general land code at that time. A draft was indeed prepared, but it did not end the controversy around the question of land law as a branch of law and on the details of the code.⁴⁰ When the codification stalled in the spring of 1955, debates continued as detailed above. Despite its importance, the public could not learn about this matter more from newspapers or other public sources. The published articles were probably “filtered”, and there were literally just few words about the codification of land law, for instance in 1955.⁴¹ After 1955, until 1957 nothing can be found on this issue, Seres wrote an article in 1957 to convince others to accept cooperative land ownership; he referred to the cooperative land law, which meant the partial codification of land law.⁴² Numerous newspapers did publish articles on the new laws on cooperatives and land in 1957, for instance the *Esti Hírlap*, the *Magyar Ifjúság* and the *Csongrád megyei Hírlap*.⁴³ After 1957, codification of land law had no publicity, just in 1966/1967, but the new law on land which was then prepared was not general codification, rather a partial one as in 1957 with focus on land rights and its legal relations in cooperatives.

The Ministry of Justice prepared the cooperative land law in 1957, a partial land code which can be considered as a unique attempt in the socialist camp. The law would have regulated legal relations to land in the cooperatives. It can be assumed that the then dogmatic leadership of the Ministry of Agriculture rejected the idea of such a law as well as other agrarian politicians who would stimulate reforms in the cooperative sector of agriculture. In addition, there are no first hand sources and information on the opinion of agrarian politicians like Imre Nagy, Ferenc Erdei, Lajos Fehér and Pál Losonczi about the land law debate and codification between 1948 and 1968. The “sudden” announcement of the introduction of cooperative land ownership at the end of 1966 at the party congress could surprise many people who were not in the inner policy making mechanism. In fact, by the beginning of 1966 the Political Committee proposed to analyze the possible ways of its introduction. Then, as it was originally initiated in the 1950s, a law on cooperatives and a law on land were announced at the same time, latter created legal framework of cooperative land ownership, furthermore connected to each other various legal issues on land. Land law was not codified mainly because the communist regime did want more change in land tenure system, and 1967 marked a breakthrough in this regard. On the one hand it was surely doubted by many hardliner communists who did not want to change former ideological framework, on the other hand it meant the continuation of abolishment of private land ownership in a gradual way. The change was naturally interpreted as part of the economic reform.

december 3. 6–7. oldal. Fehér Lajos: Szocialista alapokon fejlődik a magyar falu.

⁴⁰ MNL OL XIX-K-16-a, 42. ő.e. 9640-8/1954. sz. Thematic draft of the general land code, 19th of May, 1954.

⁴¹ Nagy, L. (1955): 311. Földes, I. (1955): 524.

⁴² Seres, I. (1957): 126–134. MNL OL XIX-K-1-y, 1479. ő.e. 153.834/1957. sz. Draft of the cooperative land law, 27th of May, 1957.

⁴³ Esti Hírlap, 1957, 2. évfolyam, 127. sz. 1957. június 2. 1. oldal. Fontos törvényjavaslatokat, rendeleteket jelentett be ma az igazságügyminiszter. Esti Hírlap, 1957, 2. évfolyam, 136. sz. 1957. június 13. 1. oldal. Új szövetkezeti és földjogi törvény készül. Magyar Ifjúság, 1957, 1. évfolyam, 22. sz. 1957. június 1. 1. oldal. Fontos törvényjavaslatokat vitat meg az országgyűlés. Csongrád megyei Hírlap, 1957, 2. évfolyam, 127. sz. 1957. június 2. 1. oldal. Milyen igazságügyi vonatkozású törvényjavaslatok kerülnek az országgyűlés elé? József Pál mentioned in his article in 1997 the law on land from 1957. Pál, J. (1997): 237. There is almost nothing on the land law debate and codification of land law in the literature. Most of the authors did focus on the law on land from 1967 without elaborating its preparation and origin.

The codification was not a secretive process, but many parts of it were kept in secret. It is more interesting that the authors of the textbooks, who were involved in legislation, did not mention many of these parts of codification. It was for instance not widely known that Seres was assigned to draft a general land code in 1962 which was partially prepared.⁴⁴ It is not a coincidence in this context that Seres, who himself took part in drafting the new agricultural cooperative law and the law on land in 1966/1967 (the new agricultural cooperative law was in preparation almost since the end of mass cooperativization), edited the new textbook of land law and it emphasized the need of a general land code.⁴⁵ The agrarian reformers probably tried to push for a general land code in 1968 after the promulgation of the new laws on cooperatives and land.⁴⁶ The Hungarian land law was finally codified de facto generally in 1987, two decades later. The possible debates on land law and the attempts of its codification between 1968 and 1987 are beyond of this article's scope.

5. Summary, Results and Conclusions

The most intensive phase of the Hungarian land law debate was between 1953 and 1959. A new generation of jurists contributed to the controversy which became even more relevant in legal theory. One of the main elements of the debate was the following question: is land law a branch of law and can it be codified without nationalization of land? Putting “socialist land use” or collective land use in the center of legislation was simpler in theory than in practice. Private land ownership was abolished more rapidly by the radical implementation of land policy. Despite the intentions of the communist leadership, law itself could not transform society and economy in a short period of time. Collectivization risked agricultural production. The major change in economic policy was one of the main factors which triggered more discussions on legal theory, the transition phase and the NEP.

Creating new legal system on the Soviet pattern was also challenging in other countries in the Eastern bloc. Jurists faced similar or same problems regarding agricultural cooperative law and land law as legal theorists in Hungary. The party’s agrarian policy and its two main elements, cooperative and land policy, as well as the codification of civil law affected the most the debate on land law. The controversy deepened by Stalinization, De-Stalinization and Re-Stalinization, collectivization and the problem of transition from capitalism to socialism. Many authors referred in the literature to the “Dimitrovian-road” which meant collectivization without the complete abolition of private ownership of land. Other forms of landed property were analyzed and Imre Seres was convinced already in the 1950s that cooperative land ownership would be a perfect form of ownership in the transition. More research should be done to assess international patterns and interactions between the Soviet Union and the peoples’ democracies, and also the countries of the socialist camp.

The communist land reform did not become the basic law on land, but it could have been the basis of land tenure system for a long time. Land legislation made land law a branch of law from 1948/1949 which was shaped in the next two decades by economic policy overall. The process was full of controversies, while the new branches of law were not codified, however, that made

⁴⁴ MNL OL XIX-K-1-b, 579. ő.e. 2442/1963. sz. Memo on the draft of general land code. Secretariat of the Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Administration, 21 February 1963.

⁴⁵ Seres, I. (1969): 29–30.

⁴⁶ They did want probably strengthen the conception of cooperative land ownership that way. Népujság, 18. évfolyam, 216. sz. 1967. szeptember 13. 3. oldal. Kié a 60 négyesből? Somogyi Néplap, 1967, 24. évfolyam, 232. sz. 1967. szeptember 30. 2. oldal. Illés Dezső: A földjoggal összefüggő régi rendeleteket revízió alá kell venni. Egységes földjogi kódexet. Petőfi Népe, 1968, 23. évfolyam, 33. sz. 1968. február 9. 4. oldal. Az új földtörvény és végrehajtása. Kelet-Magyarország, 1968, 25. évfolyam, 142. sz. 1968. június 19. 3. oldal. Háromszáz jogszabály helyett kettő. Some sources indicate that the general land code was in preparation in 1968.

legislation more flexible. During the “new course” strengthening private land ownership was on the agenda, but most of the jurists and politicians considered such measure as a temporary and necessary action which is part of a transition. In case land law would have been codified in 1954, hardliner Stalinists could have argued that it could pose as an obstacle for further collectivization of agriculture. After mass collectivization legal theory and agrarian policy created a peculiar form of abolishing private land ownership.

Bibliography

Books:

- Gyarmati, Gy. (2013): *A Rákosi-korszak. Rendszerváltó fordulatok évtizede Magyarországon, 1945–1956*. Budapest: ÁBTL - Rubicon
- Kaposi, Z. (2001): *A XX. század gazdaságörténete II. 1945–1990*. Budapest – Pécs: Dialóg-Campus
- Lengyel, B. (1956): *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem értesítője 1955/1956*. Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda
- Lengyel, B. (1958): *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem értesítője 1957/1958*. Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda
- Polyák, P. (Ed.) (2017): *Pécsi Egyetemi Almanach II. 1951–1999*. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem
- Seres, I. (Ed.) (1969): *Mezőgazdasági jog I. Földjog*. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó
- Szentirmai, L.– Iványi, Sz. É.– Ráczné, M. K. (Ed.) (1996): *Szegedi egyetemi almanach 1921–1995*. Szeged: Hungaria

Articles:

- Bak, J. (1959): Seres Imre: *A föld tulajdonjoga a magyar mezőgazdasági termelőszövetkezetben*. Közgazdasági Szemle, 6. évfolyam, 6. sz. 666–668.
- Cserne, P. (2004): *Gazdaság és jog viszonya a marxista jogelméletben és a jog gazdasági elemzésében*. Világosság, 4. sz. 49–63.
- Eörsi, Gy. (1951): *Az új gazdasági politika és polgári jogunk*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 6. évfolyam, 5. sz. 238–245.
- Eörsi, Gy. (1954): *A polgári törvénykönyv kodifikációjának néhány kérdése*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 9. évfolyam, 9–10. sz. 334–347.
- Eörsi, Gy. (1955): *A magyar jog fejlődésének elvi kérdései népi demokráciánk első tíz évében*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 10. évfolyam, 6. sz. 321–344.
- Földes, I. (1951): *Termelőszövetkezeti jogunk fejlődése*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 6. évfolyam, 4. sz. 174–184.
- Földes, I. (1955): *A jogtudomány feladatai a Központi Vezetőség júniusi határozatának tükrében*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 10. évfolyam, 9. sz. 521–529.
- Földes, I. (1976): A mezőgazdasági jog kialakulása és fejlődése Magyarországon 1951–1976. In: *25 éves a mezőgazdasági jog oktatása a tudományegyetemeken*. Emlékülés, Szeged, 1976. március 29–30. 8–33.
- Halász, P. (1953): *A mezőgazdasági társasgazdálkodás joga és a földjog kérdése nálunk*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 8. évfolyam, 10–11. sz. 428–432.
- Jablánchy, L. (1953): *Önálló jogágazat-e a termelőszövetkezeti jog?* Jogtudományi Közlöny, 8. évfolyam, 10–11. sz. 499–501.
- Medve, Zs. (1954): *A jogtudomány kérdései a mezőgazdasági termelés fejlesztésével kapcsolatos határozatok tükrében*. Jogtudományi Közlöny, 9. évfolyam, 11–12. sz. 452–468.
- Medve, Zs. (1959a): *A mezőgazdasági jog oktatása egyetemeinken*. Felsőoktatási Szemle, 8. évfolyam, 1. sz. 34–39.

- Medve, Zs. (1959b): *A mezőgazdasági termelőszövetkezet és termelőszövetkezeti csoport jogállásának néhány alapkérdése*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 14. évfolyam, 5. sz. 213–219.
- Nagy, L. (1955): *A mezőgazdasági termelés fejlesztésével kapcsolatos jogi feladatok megvitatása*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 10. évfolyam, 5. sz. 309–314.
- Nagy, L. (1956): *Vita a termelőszövetkezetekbe bevitt földek tulajdoni viszonyairól*. Állam és Igazgatás, 8. évfolyam, 7–8. sz. 500–505.
- Nagy, L. (1965): *A földreform húsz év távlatából*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 20. évfolyam, 4. sz. 125–131.
- Németi, L. (1956): *Polgári jog (tulajdonjog, földjog) jegyzetvita tanulságai*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 11. évfolyam, 9. sz. 557–563.
- Pál, J. (1997): *Kísérlet szövetkezeti törvény alkotására 1956. szeptemberé és 1957. novembere között*. Agrártörténeti Szemle, 39. évfolyam, 1–2. sz. 225–238.
- Patkós, L. (1958): *A Magyar Jogász Szövetség V. Kongresszusa*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 13. évfolyam, 7–8. sz. 290–303.
- Peschka, V. (1959): *Vita a magyar népi demokratikus jogrendszer tagozódásáról*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 14. évfolyam, 9. sz. 472–484.
- Sárándi I. (1956): *Vita a termelőszövetkezetbe bevitt földek tulajdoni viszonyairól*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 11. évfolyam, 7. sz. 434–439.
- Sárándi, I. (1959): *Seres Imre: A föld tulajdonjoga a magyar mezőgazdasági termelőszövetkezetben*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 14. évfolyam, 12. sz. 691–694.
- Seres, I. (1954): *A népi demokráciák termelőszövetkezeti földjeinek tulajdoni viszonyairól*. Társadalmi Szemle 9. évfolyam, 8–9. sz. 187–195.
- Seres, I. (1955): *Népi demokráciának földtulajdoni viszonyairól*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 10. évfolyam, 10. sz. 595–608.
- Seres, I. (1957): *A termelőszövetkezeti földtulajdon*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 12. évfolyam, 4–6. sz. 126–134.
- Seres, I. (1963): *A termelőszövetkezeti tulajdon fejlődésének főbb vonásai a termelőszövetkezetek fejlődésének jelen időszakában*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 18. évfolyam, 2. sz. 67–79.
- Seres, I. (1967): *A termelőszövetkezeti földtulajdon kialakításáról*. Joggudományi Közlöny, 22. évfolyam, 3–4. sz. 147–172.
- Szabó, I. (1950): Népi demokráciánk joga. In: Fogarasi, B.– Molnár, E.– Szabó, I. (Ed.): *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Társadalmi-Történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei*. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest, 1950. 24–47.
- Verebics, J. (2017): *A szovjet polgári jog és hatása az alakulóban lévő magyar civilisztikára, 1948–1951*. Állam- és Joggudomány, 2017, 3. sz. 45–72.
- Veres, J. (1976): A mezőgazdasági jog oktatásának 25 éve. In: *25 éves a mezőgazdasági jog oktatása a tudományegyetemeken*. Emlékülés, Szeged, 1976. március 29–30. 61–90.
- Vita a magyarországi gazdasági jog kérdéséről II.* (1951): Joggudományi Közlöny, 6. évfolyam, 10. sz. 585–598.

Sourcebooks:

Baráth, M. – Gecsényi, L. (Ed.) (2018): *Nagy Imre első kormányának minisztertanácsi jegyzőkönyvei I. kötet. 1953. július 10. – 1954. január 15.* Nagy Imre Alapítvány – Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Budapest.

Internet sources:

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/ELTE_AJTK_KARI_1952-53/?pg=1&layout=s (Date of access: 26.10.2021)

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/ELTE_AJTK_KARI_1953-54/?pg=95&layout=s (Date of access: 27.10.2021)

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/SZEGED_SZTE_JogiKT_1955-1956?pg=201&layout=s (Date of access: 29.10.2021)

Press:

Egyetemi Lapok, Esti Hírlap, Esti Hírlap, Magyar Ifjúság, Csongrád megyei Hírlap, Népszabadság, Népújság, Somogyi Néplap, Petőfi Népe, Kelet-Magyarország

Printed sources:

Magyar Közlöny

Archival sources:

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – (1) Országos Levéltár – M Az 1945 utáni munkáspártok iratai (1945–2004) – Magyar Dolgozók Pártja (1946–1958) – M-KS 276 MDP Központi szervei (1946–1958) – M-KS 276. f. 53. Politikai Bizottság (1948–1956): 190. ő.e.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – (1) Országos Levéltár – XIX. (45086) Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei (VI. osztály) – XIX-K. Mezőgazdaság és Élelmezésügy – XIX-K 16 Állami Földmérési és Térképzési Hivatal – XIX-K-16-a Általános iratok (1952–1967): 42. ő.e.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – (1) Országos Levéltár – XIX. (45086) Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei (VI. osztály) – XIX-K. – Mezőgazdaság és Élelmezésügy – XIX-K 1 Földművelésügyi Minisztérium – XIX-K-1-y Földbirtokpolitikai (Földrendezési) Főosztály (1945–1967): 1479. ő.e.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – (1) Országos Levéltár – XIX. (45086) Az államigazgatás felsőbb szervei (VI. osztály) – XIX-K. Mezőgazdaság és Élelmezésügy – XIX-K 1 Földművelésügyi Minisztérium – XIX-K-1-b Elnöki Főosztály (1945–1967): 579. ő.e.

Tamás Nyári

The Issue of the Utilization of Thermal Resources in Somogy County (1960-1990)

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine how the situation of thermal tourism in Somogy county developed during the period of socialism. The importance of the use of thermal wells for tourism or industrial purposes was considered by the county council and the organizations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP).

Applied methods. Literature review, especially the development of thermal tourism. The overview includes general processing of economic and tourism history. We place great emphasis on the use of archival materials. It is also important to examine the local press and use the collections of legislation.

Outcomes. In Hungary, more and more economic policy measures have been taken since the 1960s to develop tourism. In some rural areas, this was linked to the increased number of oil drillings at the time, as hot water was found in many cases during the test drillings, on which thermal tourism could later be built. Despite the fact that Somogy County was already a prominent tourist destination through Lake Balaton, until the mid-1970s, 22 springs were found during the test drillings where the temperature of the water breaking to the surface exceeded 35 °C. Some of these wells were closed, but the issue of their exploitation could not be circumvented, which caused a number of problems due to a lack of material and human resources. At the same time, the Somogy County Council and county organizations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) took the issue of thermal tourism extremely seriously and developed a concept for their development on two occasions. However, this only applied only to four major spas: Nagyatád, Igal, Csokonyavisonta and Kaposvár. The smaller spas were entrusted to local maintainers.

Keynotes: thermal tourism, council, thermal water, spa

1. Introduction

After the Second World War, the Sovietization of Hungary began with nationalizations in economic terms.¹ Of course, this also affected the spas and thermal baths in the country. In Somogy County, only the spa in Nagyatád existed at that time, which was severely damaged during the World War.² During the first five-year plan period, the Rákosi regime, which focused on major heavy and military investments, did not address the issue of tourism or spa culture.³ There was no concept of treating nationalized spas beyond operating them, and tourism was only worker's holidays.

Progress was made in 1955 with the establishment of the National Tourism Council,⁴ and the following year, the role of tourism was appreciated. As a result of the revolution and the subsequent negative international response, the number of tourists from the west fell again by the second half of the 1950s. The boost in tourism became increasingly urgent as the country's general economic indicators showed a deteriorating trend.⁵ The second five-year plan, which was launched in 1961, once again gave tourism an important role.

¹ Domonkos, E. (2019): 81-82.

² Kanyar, J. (1970): 232-233.

³ Kaposi, Z. (2002): 350-351.; Kaposi, Z. (2007): 116-120.

⁴ Kovács, L.-Takács J. (1966): 77.

⁵ Rehák, G. (2009): 116.

Resolution 3117/1960 on the development of tourism was finally issued.⁶ Among the areas to be developed, they focused mainly on Budapest and the shores of Lake Balaton, but there was also talk of medical tourism. The text stated that the tourism development of spas was only slow and slow, some of the examples listed did not include the Nagyatd spa.

At the same time, the county has thermal springs not only in the territory of Nagyatd, it was already known at the time of the resolution of the Government. There was a spa south from Nagyatd, in Kivadr (which was an independent village), where it was built by Earl Somssich, its ruins still exist today. Back in 1943, during a hydrocarbon exploration, the source of thermal water in Csokonyavisonta was discovered, and in 1947, in Igal. The thermal waters of Babcsa (1955), Buzsk-Csisztapuszta (1956) and Szulok (1958) were also discovered by searching for oil.⁷ The party resolution of 1957 boosted hydrocarbon exploration here as well, and a number of underground resources were discovered. By the mid-1970s, there were 22 thermal wells known in the 15 settlements of the county with temperatures above 35 °C.⁸

Further in my paper, I am looking for the answer to the concepts that were developed in the county party organizations and the county council for the operation and development of the existing spa, as well as for the utilization of the found thermal resources. Were there any plans at the county or local level for the use of thermal waters?

2. Questions about the utilization of thermal resources in Somogy County – balneological or agricultural?

As I mentioned in the introduction, hydrocarbon exploration had been ongoing since the 1940s and intense until the mid-1970s. In the course of these, the mentioned thermal water springs were explored, which in fact meant the springs that could actually be discovered. However, by the same date, approx. 120 wells were drilled that potentially had the potential for use. Of the usable springs with water warmer than 35 °C, six were shut down and 16 were operated.⁹ Their utilization was influenced by several factors:¹⁰

- Unreliable data provision (e.g. inadequate documentation of 120 wells),
- Lack of resources,
- Lack of technical conditions,
- Lack of human resources,
- Lack of concept.

The lack of the latter was mainly complained about when in 1957 a voluminous article entitled Our National Treasure – In the Footsteps of Our Heat Sources... appeared in the columns of the Somogyi Nlap from the pen of Nndor Szegedi. Following the example of Hajdszoboszl, Harkny and Hvz, they wanted to develop the thermal spas in Somogy County so that the water resources could be used for medical purposes as soon as possible. The article analysed the activities of four spas (Babcsa, Csokonyavisonta, Csisztapuszta and Nagyatd), calling on the County Council to make better use of and support existing social initiatives: “*It takes a lot of social unity to use our heat sources for healing. Unfortunately, the state is currently unable to spend more on this. The population, the villages and the cities must find a way to socialize. And the County Council and the competent organizations must find a way to remove the obstacles that prevent the people of the villages from coming together.*”¹¹

⁶ MNL-OL XIX-a-83-b 3117/1960.

⁷ Katona, K. (2015): 111-112.

⁸ Korim, K. (1976): 36.

⁹ Korim, K. (1976): 37.

¹⁰ Lengyel, L. (1976): 37-38.

¹¹ Somogyi Nlap, 15.9.1957.

Although the county organizations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party did not discuss the issue of resources during this period, the plans for the renovation and modernization of the mentioned baths were slowly completed. They also started building new spas in 1961 in Kaposvár,¹² and in 1962 in Igal, where was opened the well that had been plugged right after the discovery.¹³

In 1965, the county council's executive committee first discussed the issue of thermal resources more seriously.¹⁴ Several decisions were made in this regard. The development of the spas of Csokonyavisonta, Igal, Nagyatád and Kaposvár was decided, but the Csisztapuszta spa was not considered expedient. Another important decision was to set up a spa utilization company to organize social support for spas. This is all the more important as, despite the healing effects of the waters, none of the facilities had been given the rank of a spa. The other decision dealt with the agricultural use of thermal waters and ordered an examination of how this could be done.

The use continued to be primarily for tourism. It was also moving slowly. In 1966, it was decided only to winterize Igal and connect Csokonyavisonta.¹⁵

From 1970 onwards, the Csisztapuszta spring came into the council's view again, and plans were made to develop it. At the same time, it was decided to build a spa based on the thermal spring of the neighbouring village of Táska, which has not been done to this day.¹⁶

In 1974, the executive committee of the county council adopted a medium- and long-term concept for the development of the county spas.¹⁷

- Eliminating the infrastructure backwardness,
- Improving or creating (!) hygiene conditions,
- Urgent repairs,
- Renovation, modernization – e.g. Igal development.

At that time, the spas operated in the following places: Kaposvár, Nagyatád, Barcs, Igal, Csokonyavisonta, Nagybajom, Csurgó, Babócsa, Kálmáncsa, Szulok and Csisztapuszta. The annual turnover of hot springs reached 600,000 people. The three largest spas, Csokonyavisonta, Igal and Kaposvár, were placed under corporate management the following year. With this step, the county tried to remedy the difficulties arising from the lack of capital by shifting the task to companies.¹⁸

In 1974, the use of thermal waters in other directions was discussed again. The reorganization of village councils and agricultural cooperatives resulted in more capital-intensive agricultural units. This provided an opportunity to build greenhouses and heated film plant colonies, the heating of which was envisaged with geothermal energy, i.e. thermal springs. The best examples of this were in the village of Tarany and Táska.¹⁹

In 1979, however, the MSZMP County Party Committee's report complained about the lack of such developments: "*In the case of one of the most important tourist elements of the county, the utilization of thermal waters (Igal, Csokonyavisonta, Táska, etc.), the progress is modest overall. Nevertheless, the spas are now visited by 6-700 thousands of guests a year. The vast majority of these come from unorganized tourism. The reception conditions for organized tourism at thermal spas are not yet in place.*"²⁰

¹² Somogyi Néplap, 3.5.1967.

¹³ Somogyi Néplap, 29.12.1964.

¹⁴ Somogyi Néplap, 22.4.1965.

¹⁵ Somogyi Néplap, 13.5.1966.

¹⁶ Somogyi Néplap, 18.9.1970.

¹⁷ Lengyel, L. (1976): 38.

¹⁸ Lengyel, L. (1976): 38-39.

¹⁹ Korim, K. (1976): 37.

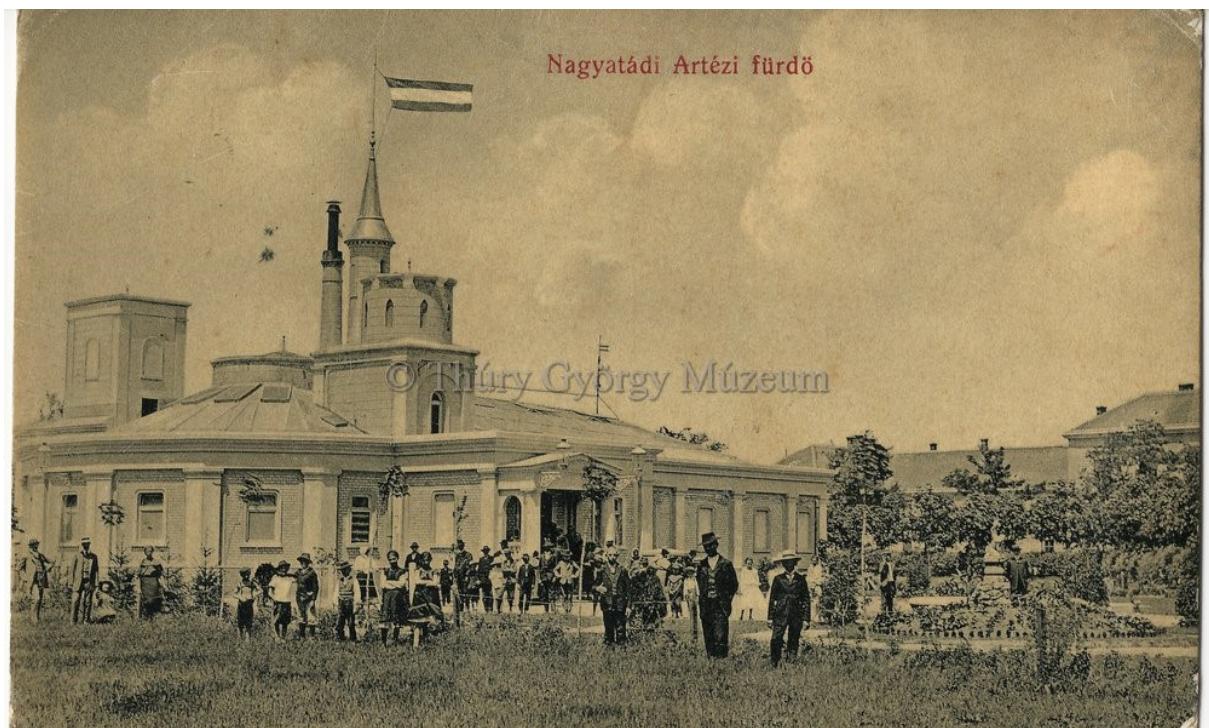
²⁰ HU-MNL-SML XXXV-1-c-139. 8.11.1979.

Following their urging, the 1986 party committee meeting merely reiterated the plans it had mentioned in 1979: “*In order to make better use of the potential of thermal tourism, the focus should be on the implementation of the planned Igal spa hotel complex. The cultivated utilization of the thermal waters of other settlements (Csokonyavisonta, Szulok, Babócsa, Csisztapuszta, etc.) must be encouraged.*”²¹

3. The oldest spa in Somogy: Nagyatád

The Bath of Nagyatád is the oldest facility in the county. Its source was found in 1906,²² the following year opened its spa, which in 1910 received the rank of a spa (150,606/1909. B. M. nr.)²³ and from 1923 it became the property of the village, which announced a tender for its operation later that year.²⁴ After the devastation of World War II, a major renovation took place in the 1950s. In December 1955, the Somogy County Construction Company began the renovation, but by the autumn of the following year they only completed the demolition of the old buildings.²⁵ After another year, after a continuous criticism in the press, the works finally started, after which the renovated spa was opened in March 1958.²⁶

Picture 1: Nagyatádi artesian spa²⁷



Ten years later, the spa was again dealt with at the county level. The county council transferred 850,000 forints for modernization and renovation after the 1965 decision.²⁸ In 1968, a new

²¹ HU-MNL SML XXXV-1-c-181. 29.10.1986.

²² Zákonyi, F. (1983): 237.; Somogyi Hírlap, 26.7.1906.

²³ Belügyi Közlöny, 30.1.1910.

²⁴ Budapesti Közlöny, 28.6.1923.

²⁵ Somogyi Néplap, 15.9.1957.

²⁶ Somogyi Néplap, 23.4.1958.

²⁷ György Thüry Museum - Museum Historical Documentation Library - Postcard Collection. Registration number: TGYM.87.37.16. Internet: https://mandadb.hu/dokumentum/543027/TGYM_87_37_16_e.jpg [2021.11.19.]

²⁸ Somogyi Néplap, 7.1.1967.

wing was added, and mud-packing and massage rooms were opened. The party committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party reported the establishment of a physiotherapy healing department in 1969, and at the same time an application for the declaration of its thermal water as medicinal water was submitted to the Ministry of Health: "*The development of the Nagyatád spa is at the most advanced stage. After the spa has been declared a spa and its thermal water a physiotherapy healing department, a planned physiotherapy department will be launched. [...] The declaration of the thermal water and the bath as a spa is at the Ministry of Health.*"²⁹

The 1974 concept required the development of the spa, but it was not until 1980 that a decision was made to renovate it again. The following year, only the well was repaired and renovated, and only then did the renovation of the spa begin.³⁰ The third major construction of the era was completed in 1987. By this time, the spa had been completely renovated, and a year later it had the coveted spa rank.³¹

4. Igal

Its source was discovered shortly after World War II in 1947 during hydrocarbon exploration.³² Not counting the possibilities, the source was still plugged in at that time.³³ In 1962, the village started building the spa on its own and with social work. The first pools were handed over as soon as this year. By 1964, it had more than 50,000 visitors, so there were few municipal resources for its development.³⁴

The construction of the spa also made it necessary to create local infrastructure. In the first years, it was already visible that the increased tourist traffic required more serious investments. In 1965 the local press wrote: "*They have to deal more and more with the growing tourism. Although the paid guest service is still adequate, they can still accommodate visitors who want to spend several days in Igall, but it will be necessary to create a new opportunity later. The development is urged by the favourable location of the village, the good composition of the water and the fact that the spa is easily accessible from Kaposvár.*"³⁵ However, this was not smooth and had to start from scratch. In the early days, even running a bakery was a topic. The Somogy County Bakery Company did not open a shop in the village for a long time; it was replaced by Tamási's company. However, due to the distance, the business was not economical, so the council contacted the county company again. During the negotiations, the issue of the store's supply was also quarrelled, and the debate was also brought to the attention of the public.³⁶ The network of shops and the spa were built in the seventies, after which the naming and numbering of the streets and the disposal of municipal waste were settled: "*The council also helps: every weekend house owner gets a garbage bag. The bags are emptied regularly with a garbage truck and there is no charge for garbage collection. However, anyone who does not comply with the public cleanliness measure must pay for the violation. The street names and house numbers of the resort will be arranged later this year. In addition to simplifying information, this also allows for the rapid delivery of postal items. The local Áfész expanded its six stores by one last year, with freshly baked scone and pancakes available throughout the season.*"³⁷

²⁹ HU-MNL-SML XXXV-1-b-18. 29.4.1969.

³⁰ Somogyi Néplap, 15.11.1981.

³¹ Somogyi Néplap, 21.6.1988.; Szociális és Egészségügyi Közlöny, 1988/7.

³² Katona, K. (2015): 111.

³³ Katona, K. (2015): 112.

³⁴ Somogyi Néplap, 29.12.1964.

³⁵ Somogyi Néplap, 23.7.1965.

³⁶ Somogyi Néplap, 1.4.1970.

³⁷ Somogyi Néplap, 22.4.1973.

Picture 2: Igal - postcard, thermal spa, 1974.³⁸



In the meantime, the spa was expanded, so by 1979 the Ministry of Health authorized Igal to be declared a resort.³⁹ As both the 1965 and 1974 concepts included a plan to develop it, the plan to set up a holiday cooperative with four resorts under construction was also raised in the early 1980s. The Executive Committee of the Somogy County Council finally decided to establish the cooperative,⁴⁰ so its establishment could begin in 1981 with the establishment of an organizing committee.⁴¹ It was only declared a spa in 2001.⁴²

5. Csokonyavisonta

Csokonyavisonta village was established in 1942 when a decree of the Minister of the Interior (24.396/1942.B.M.nr.)⁴³ ordered the merger of the villages of Erdőcsokonya and Somogyvisonta. Its thermal water source was discovered in 1943, when the Hungarian-American Petroleum Society (MAORT) discovered 75 °C water at a depth of 1,300 metres during oil and gas exploration. The well – apparently in connection with the events of the war – was closed in 1944 and opened only the following year. At that time, there was only a ditch spa, which meant that the water was drained into a drainage ditch where the locals opened the spa. They also discovered the beneficial effects of mud packs, making the spa increasingly popular. In 1946, the first pool was opened.⁴⁴

In 1954, it was decided to develop Csokonyavisonta into a modern spa. At that time, the County Council earmarked 150,000 forints for the construction of a 300-square-metre

³⁸ Hungarian Museum of Commerce and Hospitality (MKVM). Registration number: VF_2013_347_2. Internet: https://mandadb.hu/dokumentum/562730/VF_2013_347_2.jpg [2021.11.19.]

³⁹ Somogyi Néplap, 13.12.1979.

⁴⁰ HU-MNL-SML XXIII-2-a 150/1980. 9.9.1980.

⁴¹ Somogyi Néplap, 21.1.1982.

⁴² Somogyi Hírlap, 11.1.2001.

⁴³ Belügyi Közlöny, 15.3.1942.

⁴⁴ Dombóvári, L. – Kuminetz, Gy. – Mészáros, Á. (2014): 217.

swimming pool, a bathtub and a changing room, as well as landscaping.⁴⁵ The second pool was also built in 1962 and divided into two parts to cool the thermal water.⁴⁶

Picture 3: **Csokonyavisonta spa**⁴⁷



However, the spa operated to maintain a local production cooperative that did not have enough facilities to serve an annual audience of 72,000. All this created a situation where the county council had to intervene. In 1962, a study plan was drawn up for the development of the spa in two phases, the first planned phase of which lasted until 1965 and the second in 1970.⁴⁸ In 1965, a cold-water pool was opened, and after the parcelling of the surrounding land, the construction of the holiday zone began.⁴⁹

As a result of the 1965 Council concept, a 5-year program plan was drawn up for its development in 1969, which was confirmed by the fact that the settlement was given a prominent role in the 1974 concept.⁵⁰

In 1972, the water from the first well was officially declared medicinal water. At that time, a second well was drilled,⁵¹ for by the 1970s the annual number of visitors had risen to over 120,000. The spa was placed under corporate management, which increased the capital strength of the maintainer.⁵² The declaration of medicinal water further increased the attractiveness of the spa, which was accompanied by the development of infrastructure. A changing room and a row of cabins were built, and in 1985 so was an air-conditioned spa. After the change of regime,

⁴⁵ Somogyi Néplap, 12.8.1954.

⁴⁶ Dombóvári, L. – Kuminetz, Gy. – Mészáros, Á. (2014): 217.

⁴⁷ Balaton Museum Postcard Collection. Registration number: 2018.9.4. Internet: https://mandadb.hu/dokumentum/1017598/201894_e.jpg [2021.11.19.]

⁴⁸ Somogyi Néplap, 21.28.1962.

⁴⁹ Dombóvári, L. – Kuminetz, Gy. – Mészáros, Á. (2014): 217.

⁵⁰ Lengyel, L. (1976): 38.

⁵¹ Dombóvári, L. – Kuminetz, Gy. – Mészáros, Á. (2014): 217.

⁵² Lengyel, L. (1976): 38.

the developments continued, so the spa can still be considered one of the most successful resorts outside Lake Balaton.⁵³

6. Kaposvár

Picture 4: Promenade Ferenc Csík 1 Kaposvár in 1969., Thermal bath and indoor swimming pool. The creator of the mural is Hédi Majoros (1967)⁵⁴



Before 1960, Kaposvár had a small beach, which was reportedly visited by 480 people a day. In order to increase capacity, a new five-year plan envisaged the construction of a new one next to the existing beach in 1962 from 18.5 million forints.⁵⁵ Finally, construction began as early as in 1961, but it was very slow and slow. Medicinal thermal water was discovered during the renovation. The water came from a depth of more than 900 metres and was utilized by a compressor. Temperature is 50 °C,⁵⁶ which was cooled to 37 °C and discharged into the pool. The spa was built from a total of 33 million forints and opened its gates on 30 April, 1967.⁵⁷ One of the explanations for the higher investment cost is the decoration of the spa: “*The huge hall of the thermal bath is decorated with a ceramic wall covering the entire wall, the work of Hédi Majorosy. The decoration of the room is also the two gargoyle figures, one fish on the edge of one of the pools, and in the other pool an interesting solution of water spraying from the mouth of a double ram, the work of Ödön Metky. József Simo made the ceramic wall picture of the indoor swimming pool. The building also includes an inner courtyard; here is a life-size statue of a mother with her child, made by the sculptor András Kiss Nagy.*”⁵⁸

⁵³ Dombóvári, L. – Kuminetz, Gy. – Mészáros, Á. (2014): 217-218.

⁵⁴ Fortepan/FŐFOTÓ. Internet: https://fortepan.download/_photo/1600/fortepan_208269.jpg [2021.11.19.]

⁵⁵ HU-MNL-SML XXXV-1-b-5. 17.9.1960.

⁵⁶ Korim, K. (1976): 36.

⁵⁷ Somogyi Néplap, 3.5.1967.

⁵⁸ Somogyi Néplap, 16.4.1967.

However, the operation of the newly handed over bath was not without problems at the beginning. It soon became clear that the condition of the building was constantly deteriorating: “*In ten years, the large – south – glass facade of the swimming pool was destroyed. The iron structure holding the glass was eaten by rust. The improperly placed metlachilates in the pool are loose and fragmented. The exterior tiles suddenly began to crack: it was life-threatening to go near the building.*”⁵⁹ This is why, in 1977, it was decided to demolish part of the building and completely rebuild it.

The plans were completed slowly, eventually closing the facility in 1984, which was renovated over three years. It reopened in the summer of 1987 and has been operating ever since.⁶⁰

7. Smaller spas

It is characteristic of the smaller baths of the county that their construction was due to the activities of the village councils. With the exception of Csisztapuszta, these baths were missing from county-level concepts. The 1965 concept, as mentioned, did not consider it appropriate to develop Csisztapuszta, but five years later plans were made to modernize it.⁶¹ By the eighties, there were finally three outdoor pools and one smaller indoor pool.⁶²

However, Babócsa, whose spa was opened in 1955 but was in need of development in the mid-1960s, did not reach the scope of the county council. The plans were completed in 1964, but the necessary 1.2 million forints could not be raised.⁶³ At 1986 Szulok and Babócsa they tried to persuade a company to maintain their spas.⁶⁴ Szulok did not open a county reserve, either, but ten years after the discovery and plugging of the source, it was opened and operated with the help of compressors at the request of the villagers.⁶⁵

Picture 5: Buzsák - Csisztapuszta 1957.⁶⁶



⁵⁹ Somogyi Néplap, 25.8.1977.

⁶⁰ Somogyi Néplap, 17.6.1987.

⁶¹ Somogyi Néplap, 8.12.1970.

⁶² Zákonyi, F. (1983): 170.

⁶³ Somogyi Néplap, 22.10.1964.

⁶⁴ Somogyi Néplap, 24.7.1986.

⁶⁵ Zákonyi, F. (1983): 300.

⁶⁶ Fortepan/ Berkó Pál. Internet: https://fortepan.download/_photo/1600/fortepan_78719.jpg [2021.11.19.]

Until the change of regime, some smaller, village-managed spas were opened in Kálmáncsa, Nagybajom and Tarany. The history of today's successful spa in Barcs also began at this time.

8. Conclusions

Looking for the answer to the original question, we can conclude that the Somogy County Council took seriously the development of bathing places based on thermal water sources in addition to the beaches of Lake Balaton. Twice, in 1965 and 1974, they developed a concept for their development. Igal, Csokonyavisonta, Nagyatád and Kaposvár played a key role in this. At the same time, the lack of resources and the poor quality of the implementation of the plans were a constant problem. The buildings of the spas usually had to be renovated or modernized every ten years. The secondary role of the issue can be mentioned as the main reason for the lack of resources. We must not forget that Lake Balaton is located in the northern part of the county, which is a major tourist destination nationwide. Development resources were so mostly directed there, also at the county level.

However, it is a fact that after the improvements, most of the spas were in operation and a significant portion of them are still in operation today. Although Nagybajom and Babócsa are closed, there are several baths that did not fall within the scope of the County Council before 1990.

Bibliography

- Dombovári, L. – Kuminetz, Gy. – Mészáros, Á. (2014): *Csokonyavisonta*. Csokonyavisonta. Csokonyavisonta Község Önkormányzata
- Domonkos, E. (2019): *Közép- és Kelet-Európa gazdaságtörténete 1945–1953 között*. Budapest, Aposztróf Kiadó
- Kanyar, J. (1970): *Somogy a felszabadulás hónapjaiban*. Kaposvár. Somogy Megyei Tanács V. B. Művelődésügyi Osztálya
- Kaposi, Z. (2002): *Magyarország gazdaságtörténete 1700–2000*. Budapest-Pécs. Dialóg Campus Kiadó
- Kaposi, Z. (2007): *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700–2000*. Passau, Schenk Verlag
- Katona, K. (2015): *Termálfürdők, mint a szénhidrogén-kutatás „melléktermékei”*. In. Horváth, Sz. – Tóth, M. (Ed.): A Fürdőélet és egészségturizmus a Dunántúlon az ókortól napjainkig című konferencia tanulmánykötete. Kaposvár. Rippl-Rónai Múzeum. 111-120.
- Korim, K. (1976): *A hévízkutatás és hasznosítás helyzete és lehetőségei Somogy megyében*. Hidrológiai Tájékoztató 16. (1976) 1. 33-37.
- Kovács, L. – Takács, J. (1966): *Az idegenforgalom alakulása és fejlődése Magyarországon 1945–1965*. Budapest. Panoráma Kiadó
- Lengyel, L. (1976): *Hozzászólás dr. Korim Kálmán „A hévízkutatás és hasznosítás helyzete és lehetőségei Somogy megyében” című előadásához*. Hidrológiai Tájékoztató 16. (1976) 1. 37-39.
- Rehák, G. (2009): *Fékek és kétségek a turizmus fejlesztését illetően a hatvanas évek elején*. Aetas 24. (2009) 2. 104-117.
- Zákonyi, F. (1983): *A Dunántúl gyógyfürdői és fürdői*. Budapest. Panoráma Kiadó

The Role of Vilmos Tarján in the History of the Newyork Coffeehouse

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine how the Newyork Coffeehouse was run between 1920 and 1936. What were Vilmos Tarján's, the executive board member and main shareholder's, business policies. What profile did he intend for the Coffeehouse? The Coffeehouses were struggling between the two World Wars. What were the Coffeehouse's solutions for the post-World War challenges and the problems of the Great Depression?

Applied methods. To get to know the Newyork Coffeehouse Company Limited, the sources were the documents of the Company Registry. These helped to reconstruct the list of the shareholders. The balance and profit loss accounts were used to examine the profitability of the Coffeehouse. The problems of the Coffeehouses in Budapest between 1920 and 1936 were examined through the articles of professional journals. To understand Vilmos Tarján's aspirations, his own books and articles of the daily newspapers were used.

Outcomes. Vilmos Tarján wanted to turn the Newyork Coffeehouse into a luxurious, high-end Coffeehouse. In order to reach this goal, he renovated the interior, later refurbished and modernized it several times. He established one of the best kitchen in the city and engaged the audience with frequent performances and concerts. With these aspirations he could solve the post-World War problems successfully. However, his skills and role in the associations of the industry were not enough to face the challenges that arose during the Great Depression.

Keywords: Budapest, Newyork Coffeehouse, Coffeehouse Culture, Company Limited, Vilmos Tarján

1. Introduction

The world of the coffeehouses shaped Budapest's cultural life and the lives of its residents at the turn of the nineteenth century. Apart from Dezső Kosztolányi, Ödön Gerő referred to Budapest as the “city of coffeehouses”. According to him, “*whoever wants to paint an image of the capital, paints his cafes,*”¹ he says. The coffeehouses became one of Pest's most important public spaces at the turn of the century. The residents of Pest visited the coffeehouses to get away from the cramped living quarters of poor housing conditions or the bourgeoisie's exemplary, but repressive lodgings.² They gathered information, read newspapers, played games, and had a good time there.³ However, the coffeehouse is not interesting only from a social and cultural perspective, but also from economic aspect, as a business.

The café culture of Budapest was influenced not only by the prestige of the prominent coffeehouses, but also by their sheer number. There are sources about the first coffee-seller in Pest in 1714. “Blázso” (“Balázs the Coffeecooker”) was a traveling coffee-maker at first, later he opened his own coffee house/coffee measurement.⁴ By 1737 we already know about the existence of three coffeehouses.⁵ “*The Civil Coffeehouse Society of Pest*”,⁶ the first professional association of the coffeehouse owners was founded in 1796. Its members merely formed an alliance to protect their own independence and financial interests. Industrial development and education have not

¹ Sánta, G. (1996): 27.

² Sánta, G. (1996): 27.

³ Szentes, É. – Hargittay, E. (1998): 23–31.

⁴ Saly, N. (2001): 12.

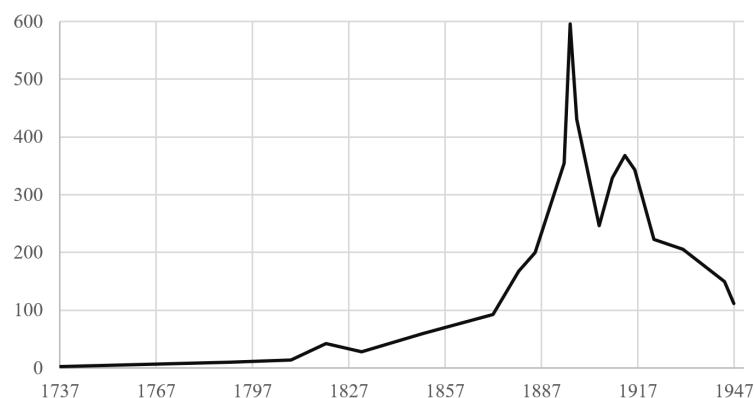
⁵ Szentes, É. – Hargittay, E. (1998): 10.

⁶ Pesti Polgári Kávégőző Társaság

yet been considered to be their duty.⁷ These responsibilities were established by the “Budapest Coffee Association”⁸ in 1793, one year after the Act of Industry was passed.⁹ The number of cafés gradually increased, in 1872 there were 93 coffeehouses in Pest.¹⁰ From 1873, the unification of Buda and Pest, this number increased rapidly, until 1896, this time the boom of the Millennium enabled the operation of 591 coffeehouses.¹¹ However, after the Millenial year due to the deconjuncture, their numbers began to decline.¹² The period from 1873 to the onset of the First World War is considered the culmination of coffeehouse culture.¹³ „There is no corner of the Hungarian capital that does not have a coffee house or a coffee measurement,” states Mihály Pásztor in his novel, “Cifra Nyomorúság”.¹⁴

Restrictions, ticket system, and supply problems typified the years during the First World War. It also had an impact on coffeehouses; they started employing women in place of the male labour force who was sent to the front, they used substitute raw materials, and sold their food and beverages in exchange for food ticket. There have been new sorts of taxes introduced, as well as new closure hours, and there were also difficulties with overhead services.¹⁵ Furthermore, less and less guests visited the coffeehouses, as they had no money, no time, and no mood to spend their time there. Despite this fact, 343 cafes remained open until the final year of the Great War, albeit their numbers continued to fall in the next years. The revolutions that erupted after the war, the epidemic of the Spanish flu and the general economic downturn, made it extremely difficult for the coffeehouses to survive. Just 223 of them persisted in 1922, and there had been two years when 200 coffeehouses remained standing.¹⁶ When it came to advancing the interests of the profession, the Budapest Coffee Association faced a challenging task in an era marked by postwar inflation and austerity, the Great Depression, professional dumping, and eventually growing tourism.¹⁷ We only have one data from the Second World War, which claims that 150 coffeehouses could maintain themselves in 1944, which had to close during the siege of Budapest. By 1947, 116 coffeehouses had opened their doors, but they could not have been existed for a long time. In 1949, due to the socialization, they had to be closed, and the citizens of Budapest were introduced to the not-so-new espressos.¹⁸

The number of Coffeehouses in Budapest



⁷ Gundel, I. – Harmath, J. (1982): 31.

⁸ Budapesti Kávétestület

⁹ Gundel, I. – Harmath, J. (1982): 31.

¹⁰ Zeke, Gy. (2002): 10.

¹¹ Szentes, É. – Hargittay, E. (1998): 12.

¹² Zeke, Gy. (2002): 10.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Sánta, G. (1996): 31.

¹⁵ Gundel, I. – Harmath, J. (1982): 33.

¹⁶ Zeke, Gy. (2002): 10–11.

¹⁷ Gundel, I. – Harmath, J. (1982): 33–34.

¹⁸ Zeke, Gy. (2002): 10–11.

The Newyork Palace was built by the Hungarian headquarters of the Newyork Insurance Company just before the millennium (1894), at the peak of coffeehouse culture.¹⁹ With this building, the American insurance company intended to demonstrate its wealth. Therefore, no financial limit was set at its design/construction.²⁰ Dr. Miksa Arányi, the Hungarian agent of the insurance firm, commissioned Alajos Hauszmann to design the palace,²¹ and he enlisted the help of Flóris Korb and Kálmán Giergl, the designers of the Széchenyi Bath and the Academy of Music.²² They designed the structure in the historicizing eclecticism style²³ and had it decorated by notable artists of the time.²⁴ The Newyork Coffeehouse was opened on the ground floor of this majestic building. The café is separated into the same number of levels as the building itself, which has four stories. They did not spare on the furnishings; the twisted marble columns, ornate railings, and Venetian chandeliers made the interior famous. It is not in vain, that the newspaper articles about the opening were songs of praise for the building.²⁵

The opening ceremony was held on October 23, 1894, only two years after the construction began. Sándor Steuer was the first tenant, although he was unable to enter a profession in New York. Yet, at the time, this was the most important secret of successful and profitable coffeehouses. He gave the lease to the Harsányi brothers in 1900. They hired the experienced Gyula Reisz as a chief waiter, whose name was already known in literary circles. Because of the work of the three of them, Newyork became a literary coffeehouse,²⁶ something that only one coffeehouse in a hundred could achieve.²⁷ In 1913, however, the Harsányi brothers sold the coffeehouse.²⁸ The New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited, Hungary's first Coffeehouse Corporation, was established at that time. If we look at stock fluctuations, we can split the history of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited into three broad periods (1913-1920, 1920-1936, 1937-1949), within which there are various smaller periods.²⁹ The middle phase of the company was researched at, from 1920 to 1936, and also the role of Vilmos Tarján, its most significant shareholder and board member.

2. Research Questions

Vilmos Tarján and his three associates owned the coffeehouses shares from 1920 and 1936. He was also a member of the board of directors³⁰ and was in charge of the company's operations. They took over the coffeehouse despite the challenging economic and social environment after the First World War and the revolutions. They owned the shares until 1936. My main research questions were:

- What was Vilmos Tarján's business policy, how he did wish to alter the business, and what profile he did intend for himself?
- How did he deal with the post-World War challenges, as well as the Great Depression?

¹⁹ Csapó, K. (1996): 177.

²⁰ The Equipment was worth 250 000 Ft.; Budapesti Hírlap: A Newyork-kávéház megnyitása, October 25., 1894; Saly N. (2005): 39.

²¹ Csapó, K. (1996): 178.

²² Pesti Hírlap: A legszebb kávéház, October 25., 1894. 9., Vasárnapi Ujság: Newyork palota és kávéháza, 1894. nr. 46.: 764–765.

²³ Csapó, K. (1996): 178.

²⁴ Gusztáv Mannheimer, Ferenc Eisenhut, Gyula Donáth, Endre Thék

²⁵ Pesti Napló: New-York Budapesten, October 14, 1894. 9.; Pesti Hírlap: A legszebb kávéház, October 25, 1895. 9.

²⁶ Kálmán, J. (1965): 178–179.

²⁷ Saly, N. (2014): 214–215.

²⁸ Budapesti Hírlap: Új gazdák a Newyorkban, September 17, 1913. 9.

²⁹ Czina, S. (2021): 97.

³⁰ BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

3. Vilmos Tarján

Vilmos Tarján was a prominent figure in Budapest's public life in the first part of the twentieth century. He was born under the name of Vilmos Klein in Budapest on March 25, 1881.³¹ His parents were graters of Jewish descent, who went on to run a spice shop. He studied at the "Pesti főréal" from 1890 to 1895, then at the Academy of Commerce, where he graduated in 1898. By this time, his aptitude for journalism had become obvious. He wanted to become a journalist a, but his parents did not let him, as journalism was not a profitable profession in those times.³² Instead of journalism, he pursued a commercial career that would provide him with financial security. He began his career with the Guttmann Brothers, a coal transportation company where he felt like a prisoner in the captivity of the monotonous and uninteresting days. He resigned soon after to work for the Wertheimer and Frankl Company, which specialized in colonial items. For him, the more colourful workplace was far more enjoyable. However, after two years of service, he quit since he was not permitted to serve as a traveling agent.³³

He gave his parents every reason to be concerned after his resignation, as he had been sitting in café seats as an unemployed for months. He would have enjoyed this lifestyle if he had had enough money, but due to a shortage of it, he had to get a new job quickly. He decided to become a journalist. He contacted László Fényes, the editor-in-chief of "Magyarság", a newly created newspaper, who saw his skill and hired him.³⁴ This daily newspaper did not satisfy his ambitions.³⁵ Thus, he went to the "Friss Újság", and from there to the upscale Magyar Hírlap, where his ambition of becoming a "police reporter" finally came true.³⁶ However, he departed the newspaper and the nation in 1910, when the chief of police filed charges against him, claiming that he had blackmailed the owner of the Maison Frida luxury brothel.³⁷ These charges were never proven. He went to Berlin and was working for almost a year as the manager of the Passage Theatre. But he had to return home for a court hearing.³⁸ Later on, he was working as a master of ceremonies in Budapest's nightlife for a while as a conference attendant when his friend Simon Kemény introduced him to Miklós Andor, the owner-editor-in-chief of the recently established newspaper, "*Az Est*".³⁹

Az Est needed an experienced police reporter and Tarján needed a newspaper, thus they were fortunate to cross paths. Tarján reached the pinnacle of his journalistic success over the next ten years. It was then that he wrote his most significant articles, e.g., about the death of Elza the Magnate, he discussed the assassination in Sarajevo for the first time, or the outbreak of the First World War.⁴⁰ Despite his professionalism, he made a crucial mistake. he was talking about politics in an article – a style which he consciously tried to avoid.⁴¹ He wrote a report on the beating of Béla Kun, that the public considered to be too forgiving. Because of the scandal that followed the article, he was fired from the newspaper, *Az Est* in 1920. During his entire life, Vilmos Tarján's main ambition was being a journalist, and until the end of his life referred to himself as a reporter. However, this blunder effectively ended his career.⁴²

³¹ <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/t-ty-780F8/tarjan-vilmos-78181/> Downloaded: 11.04.2021.

³² Búza, P. (2007): 9–11.

³³ Tarján, V. (1937): 13–18.

³⁴ Ibid 19–25.

³⁵ Buza, P. (2007): 17.

³⁶ Tarján, V. (1937): 26.

³⁷ Buza, P. (2007): 20–21.

³⁸ Tarján, V. (1937): 54–63.

³⁹ Buza, P. (2007): 30–33.

⁴⁰ Tarján, V. (1937)

⁴¹ Tarján, V. (1943): 146–147.

⁴² Buza, P. (2007): 41–42.

After a brief stay as a refugee in Vienna, he spent his days in the “Otthon-Kör”, playing cards. He did not think he would need much money as a bachelor; therefore he was not looking for a new career. He did, however, play the cards professionally, winning a little amount of money every day. He looked for a new life when he had already made a profit of half a million korona.⁴³ Tarján encouraged Miklós Magyar, his former peer in school, an influential city politician, to cooperate with him.⁴⁴ They associated with Béla Zoltán, the Chief Treasurer of Weiss Manfréd Acél és Fémművei Rt, (who was the brother-in-law of Miklós Andor, the owner of the Newyork Palace),⁴⁵ and Olga Herskovits, the descendant of a restaurant-owner dynasty.⁴⁶ Tarján and his three partners bought the New York coffeehouse's lease. Being a coffeehouse owner was Tarján's life's second most significant period. For 16 years, the Newyork Coffeehouse was identified by his name as the “Tarján Works”.⁴⁷

4. Sources

The sources of the research are the documents of the Company Registry from the Budapest Archives, i.e. the minutes of the general meetings with all its attachments, the reports of the Executive and Supervisory Boards, the balance and profit and loss accounts, procurations and power of attorneys as well as the list of shareholders. The last one helps to write the list of the owners of the shares and to reconstruct the stock transfers. The almost complete list of the shareholders can be reconstructed. I supplemented the court documents with issues of “Kávésok Lapja” and “Magyar Kávésipar”,⁴⁸ in addition to the articles of the current daily newspapers. I supplemented these with Vilmos Tarján's four books⁴⁹ and a guestbook from the Newyork Coffeehouse.⁵⁰

5. Development of Newyork Café Company Limites between 1920 and 1936

The Haas family sold the Newyork Café Co. Ltd. to Vilmos Tarján and his associates in 1920. The identity of the four major shareholders was almost permanent until 1936. The most important shareholders were Vilmos Tarján, Béla Zoltán, Miklós Magyar, Olga Herskovits, his later wife. Only Miklós Magyar's name disappeared from the shareholder lists in 1934, when the problems of the coffeehouse became significant. There was a share migration in 1921 when five minority shareholders sold their stocks, which were bought by new inventors. Although there were changes among the owners of coffeehouse shares from 1921 to 1934, these changes were not significant. The majority of the coffeehouse shares were owned by the four major shareholders. These data suggest stability. Since 1934, when the coffeehouse had been loss-making for three years, there have been significant changes in the shareholder list.⁵¹

However, the number, nominal value, and currency of the shares all changed significantly. By 1923, the business had 375 shares with a nominal value of 400 korona, but by 1924, the 150,000 korona share capital had been enlarged to 15 million korona. As a result, 37,500 shares with a nominal value of 400 korona were issued, which the existing shareholders acquired. In addition to inflation and other economic difficulties, this share capital increase was also necessary due to

⁴³ Tarján, V. (1937): 159–160.

⁴⁴ Búza, P. (2007): 49.

⁴⁵ Tarján, V. (1937): 161.

⁴⁶ Csapó, K. (1996): 188.

⁴⁷ Szentes, É. – Hargittay, E. (1998): 247.

⁴⁸ The official journals of the A Budapesti Kávésipartársulat, a Budapesti Kávésok és a Budapesti Kávésok Szövetsége

⁴⁹ Tarján, V. (1937), Tarján, V (1940), Tarján, V. (1943); Tarján, V. (2007)

⁵⁰ Saly, N. (2016)

⁵¹ Czina, S. (2021): 101–102.

the planned developments.⁵² The next change was due to the introduction of the pengő in 1926. The new share capital was 50,000 pengős, according to the initial balance sheet. According to the Article XVI. 7.§ in 1920, the nominal value of a share could not be less than 10 pengős, therefore 5,000 shares with a nominal value of 10 pengős were issued. All previous 7.5 shares worth 1 share later.⁵³ The share capital was enlarged again a year later, from 5,000 to 10,000 pengős. This was essential due to the planned reconstruction of the café on the one side,⁵⁴ and the Adria Insurance Company's purchase of the Newyork Palace from the Az Est group, which wished to increase the home rent on the other significantly. The new stocks were bought in equal shares by the four major shareholders.⁵⁵

6. Business Purpose:

Tarján's main goal was to transform the coffeehouse into an exquisite, sophisticated premium coffeehouse that catered to the most affluent customers.⁵⁶ To accomplish so, they first conducted a six-week big clean-up, which included clearing unwelcome regulars who had become acclimated to the coffeehouse throughout World War I and the revolutions.⁵⁷ There was no time or money at the time to completely restore the business. However, a restaurant was created in the "Mélyvíz"⁵⁸ and a bar was turned out of the basement.⁵⁹ Five years later, at a cost of four billion koronas, a major transformation occurred (320,000 pengős). The Marble Hall and the Mahogany Bar were added to the restaurant, which became renowned among the elite as the "Newyork Bar".⁶⁰ Tarján additionally refurbished the equipment, announcing grandeur by purchasing beautiful rugs and luxurious seats.⁶¹ Throughout Tarján's era, he was in charge of the coffeehouse exteriors, ensuring that it maintained its elegant appearance. After undergoing a comprehensive restoration in 1923, the coffeehouse was subject to another complete change in 1933.⁶² The competition among the coffeehouses of Budapest was intensifying. Because of that, Tarján replaced all the equipment to the last tablecloth, to impress the guests with a dazzling display of quality and elegance, and New York still being referred to as the most beautiful coffeehouse in the city.

The transformation of the coffeehouse into a café-restaurant was another major economic strategy. As a result, the conventional café menu was broadened to include hot dish, too. Since the 1910s, the citizens of Pest had been accustomed to being able to complete their entire dinner within the confines of a single coffeehouse. However, if Tarján wanted the Newyork to remain profitable, they had to adjust this necessity. „If you already have a kitchen, let it be a kitchen, even a first-class,” Tarján believed, „I contracted the renowned gastronomy teacher, István Varga, as a chef.”⁶³ The Newyork quickly gained a reputation for its cuisine. For example, the “Bedő Imbisz”⁶⁴ was invented here, in honor of dr. Móricz Bedő. However, they were especially famous for

⁵² BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

⁵³ BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

⁵⁴ Tarján, V. (1937): 161.

⁵⁵ Czina, S. (2021): 102.

⁵⁶ Szentes, É. – Hargittay, E. (1998): 246–247.

⁵⁷ Saly, N. (2008): 42.

⁵⁸ Recessed lower level of the coffeehouse.

⁵⁹ Saly, N. (2008): 42.

⁶⁰ Vadas, F. (1996): 205–206.

⁶¹ Tarján, V. (1937): 161–162.

⁶² Keleti Ujság: Budapest látványossága: az ujjászületett Newyork, September 24, 1933. 6.

⁶³ Tarján, V. (1937): 161.

⁶⁴ A plate of 12 dkg ham, 12 dkg tongue, 2 sardines, 2 hard boiled eggs, 10 dkg saami, 12 dkg Emmental cheese. Bedő ate all of it by himself.

their soups.⁶⁵ They named the Pethes soup in memory of actor Imre Pethes, or it was New Year's Eve when 2,000 servings of soup were served in a single night.⁶⁶ Tarján was encouraged by his success and opened several restaurants⁶⁷ in Budapest that were also profitable, but none of them lasted as long as the Newyork.

In addition to serving food, great emphasis was also placed on entertainment. At first, only music was played by Miklós Brodszky⁶⁸ in the Newyork Bar. He was discovered by Tarján in a pub called "Szenesláda". He quickly came to popularity, with a daily plate income of roughly 300 koronas.⁶⁹ Even during his time in New York, Brodszky began composing, which upset Tarján, who feared losing his star. His anxiety was justified, when a song Brodszky wrote for a guest (Richard Tauber) became a worldwide hit, prompting him to leave the coffeehouse.⁷⁰ Later on, the crowd was entertained with bluett and cabaret performances. The first was the "*Tsudabár*", the parody of "*Csodabár*", which was staged at the Operett Theater at the time.⁷¹ Journalists have already reported on the main rehearsals,⁷² and Tarján discovered new stars and actresses.⁷³ The audience was enthralled by these moments, and there were evenings, when seven princes appeared at the Newyork Bar. However, they stopped playing these pieces, because the investment did not pay off.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the best bands have performed here. Teddy Sinclair,⁷⁵ Saljapin, and other jazz bands⁷⁶ were among the many foreign and Hungarian stars who performed here. From 1934 onwards, these concerts were routinely broadcast on radio throughout the country.⁷⁷

He intended his personal network to play a major part in making the coffeehouse famous. In order to open a high-end coffeehouse, he went to see his friends at the National Casino, who had been promoting the Newyork's cuisine since their first visit as a customer.⁷⁸ A guestbook from the Newyork Coffeehouses heyday has been discovered, with the autographs of 365 international and Hungarian celebrities.⁷⁹ The old bohemian companions, in addition to the aristocracy, also found their place in the coffeehouse. Different people from the different layer of the society could have a good time in the different areas of the coffeehouse in the same time. Aristocrats and bank chairmans gathered in the Marble Room; the wealthier but no longer in the top ten thousand met in the Mélyvíz, while musicians and croupiers enjoyed themselves in the coffeehouse.⁸⁰

⁶⁵ Csapó, K. (1996): 191.

⁶⁶ Magyarország: A legvidámabb szilveszter, January 3, 1928. 6.

⁶⁷ The restaurant of the Margitszigeti Nagyszálló, Felső Vendéglő, Parisien Grillt, Royal Orfeum, Papagáj Mulató, the restaurant of the Lukács Fürdő. (Tarján, V. (1937)

⁶⁸ Miklós Brodszky: composer, conductor, musician, (Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon)

⁶⁹ At the exit, a white plate was set on which the audience left a tip for the performer. This institution did not appeal to Tarján since he was concerned with the opinions of the visitors. It would be a pity if someone did not put the proper amount of money on the plate before he went. (Tarján, V. (1941): 37–38.)

⁷⁰ Tarján, V (1937): 163.

⁷¹ Az Est: Ma estétől kezdve egy színházzal több játszik Budapesten, October 2, 1930. 8.

⁷² Tarján, V. (1937): 163.

⁷³ R., Margit; Mezey, Mária (Tarján, V. (1937): 164–165.)

⁷⁴ Tarján, V. (1937): 163–164.

⁷⁵ Magyarország, April 11, 1928. 11.

⁷⁶ 8 órai ujság: Kilenc vöröshaju görl autabuszon Budapest utcáin..., October 8, 1929. 10.

⁷⁷ Pécsi Napló: A Pécsi Napló rádióműsora, April 11, 1930, 11.

⁷⁸ Csapó, K. (1996): 188.

⁷⁹ Saly, N. (2016): 23–25.

⁸⁰ Tarján, V. (1937): 165.

7. Answers to the Difficulties

Tarján took over the coffeehouse in difficult times,⁸¹ following the First World War and the horrors of the Republic of Councils and Revolutions. A variety of complaints have been made about the economic conditions and prospects in the profession. The luxury tax,⁸² the closing order,⁸³ the lack of commodities,⁸⁴ and the overhead fees were the most significant.

Tarján and his associates took over the coffeehouse in 1920 at a loss of 100,000 koronas, but by December of that year, they had already paid a luxury tax of 150,000 koronas, indicating that they had made a considerable profit. They announced an 85,000 korona profit at the general meeting in December 1921. They were also able to pay dividends for the first time in the joint stock company's history (9,000 korona).⁸⁵

During Tarján's leadership, the coffeehouse was subjected to a luxury tax. He paid the tax on his own until 1928,⁸⁶ when he joined the newly founded "*Budapest Coffeehouse Luxury and Sales Tax Community*"⁸⁷, which attempted to address the issue of tax payment on a community basis.⁸⁸ Another 21 new taxes have been imposed on coffeehouses.⁸⁹

Another crucial issue was the matter of the closing hour. In 1920, closing hours were still early all throughout town; coffeehouses had to close at 10 p.m., while restaurants had to close at 12 p.m.⁹⁰ Tarján using his connections, got help from Prime Minister Károly Huszár, his friend, who promised to remedy the coffeehouse owner's problem. However, the case remained on National Chief Captain, Imre Nádossy's desk. Tarján made to keep the Newyork Coffeehouse open all night at the cost of several visits to Nádossy.⁹¹ They also attempted to resolve the issue of closing hours at the industrial association level, among others Tarján tried to force concessions from the authorities.⁹²

The two most important problems were solved, and the coffeehouse remained profitable until 1931. The start of the loss corresponded with the Great Depression's spread into Hungary. In his reports of the Executive Board and autobiographical writings, Tarján also mentions its unique phenomenon as an explanation.

There was a common criticism at the meetings of the Budapest Coffee Association, that many coffeehouses kept their prices low in the hope of attracting as many customers as possible, which dropped the pricing in the industry.⁹³ This was unsustainable and resulted in a significant increase in competition. On the other hand, the restaurant owners had similar feelings about the Coffeehouses, which supplied hot food and enticed people away from the restaurants. The position between the two industrial associations was contentious between the two world wars.⁹⁴

In addition to the professional competition, the public's consumption capacity has decreased. The number of visitors dropped continuously, which was considerable, and their financial situation has worsened as a result of the crisis.⁹⁵ Tarján compensated by booking even more

⁸¹ Kávésok Lapja: Beköszöntő, October 20, 1925. 1.

⁸² Magyar Kávésipar: A fényűzési adó és a kávéházak, July 1, 1920. 1.

⁸³ Magyar Kávésipar: A záróra, December 1, 1920. 1.

⁸⁴ Magyar Kávésipar: A Budapesti Kávésok Áruforgalmi Részvénytársaságának tőkeemelése, July 1, 1920. 3.

⁸⁵ Czina, S. (2021): 102–103.

⁸⁶ BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

⁸⁷ Budapesti Kávésok Fényűzési és Forgalmi Adóközössége

⁸⁸ Kávésok Lapja: A budapesti kávésok fényűzési és forgalmi adóközössége megalakult, February 1, 1928. 1.

⁸⁹ Magyar Kávésipar: A kongresszus, November 15, 1925. 3.

⁹⁰ Magyar Kávésipar: A záróra, December 1, 1920. 1.

⁹¹ Tarján, V. (1937): 167–171.

⁹² Magyar Kávésipar: A záróra, December 1. 1920. 2.

⁹³ Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, December 1. 1931. 2.

⁹⁴ Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, January 1, 1933. 2.

⁹⁵ FL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

costly bands and serving a cheap menu. He was optimistic that these opportunities would excite the audience's interest, but the visitors fell short.⁹⁶ In addition to the economical crisis, the lifestyle of the people has also changed, which mostly expressed itself in other leisure activities. They did not spend entire days sitting at coffeehouses.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the topic of professional dumping has been discussed at the Budapest Coffee Industry Association's presidency meeting since the early 1930s. There were far more cafes trying their luck than it was demanded.⁹⁸

In 1932, Tarján in his report of the board of directors, lists the costs that cannot be reduced as another issue. These included taxes, electricity bills and other overheads, as well as the house rent.⁹⁹ In the case of the Newyork Café, the issue of house rent is what the general public has been informed about by the press. The Newyork Palace was owned by the Est Group when Tarján and his associates took it over. In 1928, the Adria Insurance Company bought the building from them, and wanted to sign a new contract with the Coffeehouse, that would have increased the rent by 100%.¹⁰⁰ Tarján, on the other hand, refused to accept this and brought the case to court.¹⁰¹ A rent of 110,000 pengős were eventually agreed upon, but due to economic circumstances, it had to be decreased by 10% within two years.¹⁰² However, because the battle was still ongoing, the lowering of the house rent has been the subject of constant debate until 1936.

In his memoirs, Tarján also mentions a number of additional factors that contributed to the coffeehouse's downfall. The popularity of pubs, which attracted a substantial guest away from the coffeehouse, was a big dilemma. The Grand Boulevard's loss of prominence, he claimed, was a concern. The wealthy moved to Buda, while the bourgeois middle class migrated to Lipótváros. In addition, Nagymező Street and Oktogon became centers of nightlife. At the same time, it was impossible to rent an apartment at New York Palace. All of these factors have resulted in a decrease in the number of the customers.¹⁰³

The public was already aware of the problems, as house rent conflicts were frequently reported in the press. The board of directors requested a moratorium from its creditors in 1936, negotiated a private deal, and attempted to sell the coffeehouse as soon as possible. Menyhért Kraszner was the buyer.¹⁰⁴

8. Summary

Tarján's business strategy was to open a high-end Coffeehouse, which he did successfully. To do this, he first renovated the café's furnishings and décor to fit the demands of affluent guests, and then he continued to change, modernize, and improve it. Second, he created a world-class kitchen that quickly became famous throughout the city. He realized that engaging the audience wasn't enough; he needed to keep them in order to be profitable. As a result, it provided frequent performances, concerts, and shows for its guests. The aristocrats were attracted here with the help of two prominent members of the National Casino, and his network of contacts played a significant influence in shaping the circle of customers.

⁹⁶ Tarján, V. (1937): 193–194.

⁹⁷ Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, January 1., 1933. 2.

⁹⁸ Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, July 3, 1933. 3–4.

⁹⁹ FL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

¹⁰⁰ 8 órai ujság: Ötszázezer dollárért vette meg a Trieszti Adria Biztosító Társaság a Newyork-palolát, January 24, 1928. 7.

¹⁰¹ Magyarság: Választott bíróság dönt a Newyork-kávéház százhatvanezer pengős bérösszegéről, April 3, 1928. 11.

¹⁰² Esti Kurír: A Newyork-kávéház száztizezer pengős bérét tíz százalékkal leszállította, February 1, 1930. 9.

¹⁰³ Tarján, V. (1937): 193–194.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid 193–194.

His reactions to crises are different. With the help of his business tactics, he was able to successfully deal with the challenges that arose following the First World War. However, his skill has already caught up with the challenges that arose during the Great Depression. He couldn't reach an agreement with the homeowners, and he couldn't use the industry association to assist him combine the growing debts. The most serious issue is that Pest inhabitants' lifestyles and purchasing power have changed. The unfair and unsustainable growth of professional competition was further added to this.

Bibliography

- Buza, P. (2007), *Tarján Művek Részvénytársaság. Egy okos gyerek a pesti éjszakából*. In: Buza Péter (Ed.) A bedeszkázott riporter. (Tarján Vilmos' diary) Budapest: Budapesti Városvédő Egyesület, 5–66.
- Csapó, K. (1996), *A százéves irodalmi kávéház a „Newyork”*, Budapesti Negyed, 4. (1996) 179–200.
- Czina, S. (2021), *The Brief History of the New-York Coffeehouse Company Limited*. In:
- Kaposi, Z. – Rab, V. (Ed.) Economic and Social Changes: Historical Facts, Analyses and Interpretations, Pécs. 95–104.
- Gundel, I. Harmath, J. (1982), *A vendéglátás emlékei*. Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó.
- Konrádyné Gálos, M. (Ed.) (1965), *A Newyortól a Hungáriáig*. Budapest: Minerva.
- Saly, N. (2001), „Budapest nagykávéház” 2001. november 25 – 2002. január 6. Budapest: Ernst Múzeum.
- Saly, N. (2008), „Jean becsukta az ablakokat”. *A Nyugat és a „nyugatosok” kávéházai*. Múlt és Jövő, 69. (2008) 34–46.
- Saly, N. (2016), *Tarján Vili babérkoszorúja*. Budapest, 13. (2016) No. 1. 23–25.
- Sánta, G. (1996), „Vigaszta, ápol és eltakar” *A budapesti kávéházak szociológiai és pszichológiai természetrajza századfordulón*. Budapesti Negyed, 4. (1996) 29–58.
- Szentes, É. – Hargittay, E. (1997), *Irodalmi kávéházak Pesten és Budán*. Budapest: Universitas Kiadó.
- Tarján, V. (1937), (*t.v.*)-től a Tarjánig. Budapest: Pápai Ernő Műintézete
- Tarján, V. (1940), *A pesti éjszaka*. Budapest: Általános Nyomda, Könyv- és Lapkiadó Rt., Vadas, F. (1996), *Belsőépítészet és térhasználat a New-Yorkban Budapesti Negyed*. 4. (1996) 179–200.
- Zeke, Gy. (2001–2002): „*Budapest, a kávéváros*”. Mikes International 2. (2001–2002) 1024.

Daily Newspapers

8 órai ujság: Kilenc vöröshaju görl autibuszon Budapest utcáin..., 08 October 1929 10.

8 órai ujság: Ötszázezer dollárért vette meg a Trieszti Adria Biztosító Társaság a Newyork-palolát, 24 January 1928 7.

Az Est: Ma estétől kezdve egy színházzal több játszik Budapesten, 02 October 1930 8.

BFL. VII.2.e – Cg.2497 New York Kávéház – 1659. box

Budapesti Hírlap: A Newyork-kávéház megnyitása, 25 October 1894

Budapesti Hírlap: Új gázdák a Newyorkban, 17 September 1913 9.

Esti Kurír: A Newyork-kávéház százszázezer pengős bérét tíz százalékkal leszállította, 01 February 1930 9.

Kávésok Lapja: A budapesti kávésok fényűzési és forgalmi adóközössége megalakult, 01 February 1928 1.

Kávésok Lapja: Bekösszöntő, 20 October 1925 1.

Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, 1 December 1931 2.

Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, 2 January 1933 2.

Kávésok Lapja: Elöljárósági ülés, 3 July 1933 3–4.

Keleti Ujság: Budapest látványossága: az ujjászületett Newyork, 24 September 1933 6.

Magyar Kávésipar: A Budapesti Kávésok Áruforgalmi Részvénytársaságának tőkeemelése, 3 July 1920 3.

Magyar Kávésipar: A fényűzési adó és a kávéházak, 1 July 1920 1.

Magyar Kávésipar: A kongresszus, 15 November 1925 3.

Magyar Kávésipar: A záróra, 1 December 1920 1.

Magyarország, 11 April 1928 11.

Magyarország: A legvidámabb szilveszter, 3 January 1928 6.

Magyarság: Választott bíróság dönt a Newyork-kávéház százhatvanezer pengős bérösszegéről. 03 April 1928 11.

Pécsi Napló: A Pécsi Napló rádióműsora, 11 April 1930 11.

Pesti Hírlap: A legszebb kávéház, 25 October 1894 9.

Pesti Napló: New-York Budapesten, 14 October 1894 9.

Vasárnapi Ujság: Newyork palota és kávéháza, 1894. Nr. 46 764-765.

Péter Pavletits

The Golden Age of Narrow-Gauge Railways in Hungary after World War II until the Transport Policy Concept of 1968, Through the Example of the Szerencs-Prügy Narrow-Gauge Railway

Abstract

The purpose of my study. The main target of my study was to survey the golden age of the Hungarian narrow-gauge railways from the end of WWII until the Transport Policy Concept of 1968. Beside the survey, I examined the impact of the Transport Policy Concept of 1968 on the narrow-gauge railways, especially at the Szerencs-Prügy narrow-gauge railway.

Applied methods. Literature review including the history of the Hungarian narrow-gauge railways in the time frame of World War II and 1968. We involved sources from monographies, our own data from researches of archives, especially from MÁV Archive, and local newspapers of the above mentioned period.

Outcomes. After WWII ended, notable narrow-gauge railway constructions began, so we can call apostrophe the quarter century as the second golden age there history, however from the early 1960's the communist regime did not sympathize with narrow-gauge railways (New Economic Mechanism in 1968). Therefore the railway system, which was more than 5000 kilometres long before, constantly began to diminish. Nowadays only 5% of the original system has left (245 kilometers) and today narrow-gauge railways – beside four lines – have only touristical function.

Economic policy recommendations. With the implementation of the transport policy concept, 30% of the low-traffic lines and stations were closed by diverting their traffic to the road. These measures have done a lot of damage to domestic transport. The rate of closure of the sidelines was well above the level of similar measures of the European railways, but the road development did not take place to the extent planned and the loading engineering and other development measures necessary for the successful implementation of the concept were largely cancelled. The leftover railway network could not become an engine for the development of transport, its performances decreased and road transport took over the tasks of the railways even in areas where the railway proved to be more uneconomic.

Keywords: narrow-gauge railways, Three-year Plan, First Five-year Plan, Transport Policy Concept, Szerencs

The narrow-gauge railways after World War II

The World War II caused much more serious damages to the Hungarian narrow-gauge railway network than the World War I. The tracks were destroyed for a significant length, most of the vehicles were taken abroad, and larger artefacts were blown up.¹ The front lines also swept away the last remnants of feudalism, the aristocracy fled, the huge count's estates and faiths were left without their owners. This also affected the narrow-gauge railways serving the estates, with insignificant traffic, stolen by the former maidens and the surrounding population, they began to perish. The population was not attached to the narrow-gauge railway, as it had not served its interests before.²

The Provisional National Government, formed in the last months of the war, announced its land reform program on March 17, 1945. During the reform, the narrow-gauge railways belonging to the large estates were also removed from the possession of the old owners, and

¹ Fodor, I. (2013): 12.

² Nagy, T. (2019): 15.

according to Soviet practice, they were simply taken away from the owners without redemption, compensation or consideration.

According to the government's idea at the time, the narrow-gauge railways would be taken over by the agricultural cooperatives and they would take care of their operation. However, most of the railways were damaged to such an extent by the events of WWII, that the cooperatives were only able to put them into operation to a limited extent even after the explosives were found, so this solution did not seem economically appropriate. Although the land reform and the initial cooperative life kept some of the railways alive, they ran only for local freight on the strength of the new owners. Basically, these narrow-gauge railways were built to transport the crop from the farmlands of the large estate to the connecting MÁV (Hungarian State Railways) station and to the main points of animal husbandry, the majors. In many cases, they did not even affect settlements, these lines were closed fastest.³ Nevertheless, the importance of the remaining narrow-gauge railways has been appreciated for economic and political reasons, bringing its second golden age in connection with the reconstruction of the country. Where a narrow-gauge railway was built, the operation of this relatively cheap means of transport came to the fore because of the expected – relative – fast transport, where it was not working for the fulfillment of increased state orders.⁴ The fact that the narrow-gauge railways were able to flourish after the World War II was due to their cheap construction and maintenance costs.⁵

In 1946/1947, a dispute broke out between the Ministry of Agriculture (FM) and the Ministry of Transport (KM) on the issue of narrow-gauge railways. Government Decree No. 930/1947 Gov. 930/1947 entrusted the railway operator's supervision to the Railway Department of KM, while its owner remained the Land Management Fund.

As part of the Three-year Plan announced on 1 August 1947, the Ministry of Transport (KM) has launched a decree no. 32.359/947.I/2 in the National Narrow-gauge Railway Reconstruction Plan for narrow-gauge railways. The National Planning Office has allocated HUF 54 M for the reconstruction of the railways, of which 2700 km of track renovation, the replacement of rolling stock and the construction of 255 km of tracks are foreseen.⁶ In the ministerial call, the ministry instructed the MÁV departmental engineers to organise temporary transport councils on their territory. These temporary transport councils were tasked with drawing up the reconstruction plan. The members of the Commission were the heads of the County Headquarters of the State Building Office, the MÁV Departmental Engineering at the seat of the legislative authority, the County Land Registry, the farmers' cooperatives and the National Association of New Landowners (UFOSZ). One of the main parts of the reconstruction plan was a draft plan, which included the existing solid paved road and the public rail network, the new solid paved roads included in the framework of the Three-year Plan, and the narrow-gauge railway network existing on 1 January 1944. Another main part is a questionnaire asking for an assessment of the railways falling within the competence of the department engineers.

At that time, according to the position of the narrow-gauge railways in agricultural production, four characteristic types emerged. Portable narrow-gauge railways for the replacement of railway lines, private operating railways, larger farms and production units for transport between private operating railways, larger economies and production area units, and portable economic railways for the transport of limited public economic railways, larger economic and production units.⁷ In parallel, KM established the Directorate of Economic Railways (GVI) on 23 July 1947 by Decree No. 9030/1947 of the Prime Minister. The Board had a dual function: on the one

³ Felek, F. (2017): 1.

⁴ Majdán, J. (2014): 161.

⁵ Fodor, I. (2003): 12.

⁶ Nagy, T. (2019): 15.

⁷ Csanádi, Gy. (1954): 66.

hand, to save it from destruction and to collect the old large-scale railway material, and on the other hand to manage the post-war restoration of the remaining narrow-gauge railways and the construction of new lines meeting new agricultural requirements. Mihály Lőrinczy, Senior Technical Adviser, was appointed to lead the Board of Directors. The newly formed Directorate distributed a total of 5425 km of narrow-gauge railways in the following distribution: 2000 km of mining railways, 150 km of industrial railways, 700 km of forest railways, 105 km of railways owned by the Defence Treasury, and 2470.6 km of railways in agricultural service. In November 1947, the rolling stock park consisted of 64 locomotives, 32 motor cars, 4 rail cars, 28 passenger cars and 8774 freight wagons.

The GVI administration operated for more than a year, in October 1948, Minister of Transport Ernő Gerő ordered that the economic railways be managed by the Economic Railway Department of the Ministry of Transport, thus nationalising them. The economic railways were then managed by four plant management companies (Győr, Kaposvár, Szolnok, Békéscsaba). 1150 km was rebuilt from the 2470 km network of lines established on the former estates, which increased to 1720 km with organized network development, 1100 km of the network had a limited public transport character.⁸ Only railways with public transport were set up for passenger traffic, and since passenger transport on the economic railways was considered as an ancillary task, modern vehicles for passenger transport were not built for a long time.

The transport task of the economic railways was defined in two directions: it mainly transported agricultural crops to the railway transshipment and processing plants, but they also played an increasing role in serving the larger construction sites.⁹

On 14 January 1949, the Ministry of Transport requested the Council of Ministers to establish National Economic Railway Companies (GVNV) for reconstruction and operation of economic railways. The proposal was submitted by the Government on 21 January 1949 in the 9/1949 MT. A total of 34 lines (557.2 km in length), 371.1 km of lines to be restored in the future, 408.5 km to be restored but not covered by credit, 561.8 km of sugar factories and other lines, were placed under the management of GVNV. Their line length was 2302.0 km.¹⁰

At the time of the establishment of the companies, Minister of Transport Lajos Bebrits carried out inspections of several narrow-gauge railway stations, in which he found, among other things, that freight rates, especially for construction materials, were overpriced, timetables were inaccurate, steam locomotives were dirty, careless, and that the working areas were rubbish. Furthermore, the transhipment of narrow-gauge railways are too far from the normal railways, so the transfer involves significant extra work, the stops are not indicated, the general work discipline is poor and there is no coordination between the narrow-gauge railways.¹¹

Each national company is designed as follows:

- National Company of The Economic Railways of Győr, headed by Gyula Horváth,
- National Company of Economic Railways of Kaposvár, headed by István Mandl,
- National Company of Economic Railways of Székesfehérvár, headed by Sándor Károlyi
- National Company of Economic Railways of Szolnok, headed by János Jónás,
- National Company of Economic Railways in Mezőhegyes, headed by András Kristóf,
- National Company of Economic Railways in Gyula, headed by János Ballagó,
- National Company of Economic Railways in Szerencs, headed by István Tóth.

⁸ Csanádi, Gy. (1954): 67.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ MÁV Archive: 42903/1949

¹¹ Pálmány, B. (1981): 350.

The forest railways have been placed under the supervision of the Hungarian State Forestry Plants (MÁLLERD), the industrial railways and mining railways serving the factories and factories under the supervision of the Ministry of Industry.¹²

In 1949, the Central Leadership of the Hungarian Workers' Party stated that the Three-year Plan was a plan for reconstruction, recovery of the Hungarian economy affected by war damage and destruction.¹³ At that time the „battle” between road and rail was still winning by rail, narrow-gauge railways received greater central support instead of developing poor-quality dirt roads. This has brought with it the renovation of existing transport networks and the construction of new lines, while the need for production or procurement of narrow-gauge diesel locomotives has also been put on the agenda to meet the increased traffic needs. The Three-year Plan was to build 136 towing vehicles, mostly diesel engines, on the 68 lines to be opened. On a two hundred and forty-kilometer run, a new economic railway line was established, and nine hundred and fifty kilometers the tracks were restored. In the first year of planning, the construction of the new lines of Tápiószentmárton - Sövegpuszta (7.6 km), Pusztaföldvár (5.6 km), Szeghalom - Töviskés (12 km), Gyopáros - Rákóczielep (3 km), Inám - Somogyszil (6 km), Harangod - Megyasszó (11 km), Kisújújhely - Csorba (12 km), Nyírlugas - Nyírbéltek (9.5 km) and Szentes-rural was envisaged. After the World War II, a 12-kilometer long railway line was built as first in the country, in the Viharsarok, between Tótkomlós and Békéssámson, which was inaugurated by Ernő Gerő himself. The illustrious event was reported by the MAFIRT Chronicle No. 107 in February 1948.

In the imagination of the planners, a sewerage network spanning the country was also visualized, which, in addition to relieving transport problems by water, would have even solved the task of irrigation.¹⁴

On 15 January 1949, by decree No. 450/1949 of the Government, the economic railways were taken over by the Treasury. The Communist leadership, which came to power this year, nationalized every company with more than 10 employees. Hungarian sugar factories were also included in this, which handed over their network of narrow-gauge railways outside the factory gate to the seven GVNPs. That's when the real work started: narrow-gauge railway lines were rebuyed and new settlements were extended to the country's circulation. Some examples: from 600 mm to 760 mm, the Tarnaszentmiklós – Hatrónyos-puszta line was rebuilt and extended to Pély, or the Szerencs GV, which was 700 mm from the range of sugar factories, was also breached to the standard 760 mm. In addition to extending and extending existing lines, a significant number of lines were given the resolution instead of renovated due to either their condition or expected traffic.¹⁵

The First Five-year Plan, published on 1 January 1949, one of the most important objectives was to mechanise agriculture. Mechanization increased the precise, scheduled internal transport of the large agricultural plant, made agriculture more productive, reduced the proportion of heavy physical work, and also reduced the difference between the village and the town.¹⁶

The dieselization programme of the related Ministry of Metallurgy and Machinery has already defined the supply of modern fleets of vehicles to the lines. The main objective was to optimise the use of energy in railways, since diesel towing vehicles installed instead of steam locomotives used approximately one-fifth energy than steam locomotives to carry out traction tasks.¹⁷

¹² Malatinszky, Cs. (2009): 90.

¹³ Balogh, S. – Izsák, L.- Mészáros, K. (1976): 203.

¹⁴ Sziksza, M. (2017): 190.

¹⁵ Felek, F. (2017): 2.

¹⁶ Csanádi, Gy. (1954): 67.

¹⁷ Czére. B. (1962): 4.

On 31 December 1949, the seven GVNPs were reorganized, their number decreased to five, Szerencs was attached to Szolnok, Székesfehérvár was attached to Győr, and Mezőhegyes and Gyula were merged under the name Békéscsabai GNP. In addition, from the next day, a national repair department was organized under the name of Economic Railways Repair Service National Company, which was responsible for the repair and reconstruction of rolling materials by national economic railway companies.¹⁸

The beginning of the decade brought new line extensions and the construction of new lines. The propaganda machine started, and the tapes were cut more than once by Lajos Bebris himself, minister of transport. The optimistic atmosphere of the period was also captured by the vernacular, such as „Bebris loader truncated” and „Kadocsa detour”. In 1952, the production of two of the three iconic vehicles of the narrow-gauge railroads, the C50 type diesel engine locomotive manufactured by the MÁV Northern Vehicle Repairer and the GV Bak passenger cars manufactured by the MÁV Debrecen Vehicle Repairer began. The third icon is the R lowry, which has become the largest number of vehicles on Hungarian narrow-gauge railroads, the origin of which dates back to the Monarchy. In Ozd and Diósgyőr it was possible to roll rails again for the narrow-gauge railroads, and in the tracks built from 1951, these steel rails were weighing 12 and 14 kilograms per running metre.¹⁹

Optimism did not last long, and by the second half of 1952, forced growth had plunged Hungary into the biggest transport crisis of all time, exacerbated by the lack of coal. With this precedent, the dieselisation of the economic railway network, estimated to be almost 2500 km long, began.²⁰

In addition to the development of economic operation, the main priority of the First Five-year Plan was the development of passenger traffic. However, their existence was due precisely to the fact that the area they led to was not adequately equipped with means of transport. The possibility has given itself the opportunity to start regular, scheduled passenger transport where there is a need. Such a need is to reach the main railway, the administrative centre, go to school or work, market, visit a hospital, doctor or church.²¹ According to the GV Traffic and Signalling Instructions valid from 1 May 1954, regular traffic has already been recorded on 43 lines of 27 narrow-gauge railway stations.

The first more serious fact-finding study of the economic railways after the World War II carried out in January 1955. The 1st Railway Department of the Ministry of Transport and Postal Affairs (KPM) ordered a revision investigation of the economic railways.²² The investigation revealed serious accounting deficiencies and disorganizations, which were partly due to frequent staff changes and partly due to missing qualifications. As a result of the investigation, the inadequate or unqualified cadres with workers with accounting skills was replaced. Those who had accounting skills without railway qualifications were obliged to provide professional education.

In 1951, the first scientific institution dealing with railways, the Institute for Railway Science Research was founded, which dealt with, among other things, the technical and economic issues of economic railways. The irony is that ten years later, the Institute was beaten the first angle to the coffin of the economic railways.²³ The studies at the time discussed the optimal sharing of transport tasks between transport sectors and the operational and economic issues of economic railways. The institute was also the last refuge for class alien elements removed from the railways.

¹⁸ Pálmány, B. (1981): 354.

¹⁹ Felek, F. (2017): 2.

²⁰ Pavletits, P. (2014): 57.

²¹ Pavletits, P. (2017): 50.

²² MÁV Archive: 99/1955.

²³ Czére, B. (1962): 3.

Another reorganization soon came: István Kossa Minister of Transport and Post 107.264/1960.I.3. As of 31 March 1960, the Directorate of Economic Railways (GVI) was abolished by the merged into the organization of the Hungarian State Railways. The next day, 1 April 1960, the 44 operating departments with a line length of 1223 km were subordinated to the six railway directorates of MÁV, their name changed to MÁV Economic Railways (MÁV GV).²⁴

With the handover, the period of terminations began.²⁵ The merger did not bring about any major changes in the day-to-day work of the economic railways, the MÁV only exercised the control and the main management rights. The control and management of the traffic and commercial work of the economic railway chiefs was carried out by The Directorate's Division III. A timetable was drawn up for the audit, in which the three-month verification had to be ensured. It was then that the driving system of the economic railways was also transferred to the competence of MÁV.

The loss of the importance of the narrow-gauge railways was already apparent, the GV cost plan managed by the Directorate for Material Supply and The General Accountant on planning and accounting issues followed the gardening cost plan.

Picture 1: Unadulterated economic railway sentiment in Somogyszil in 1954



Source: Fortepan/Erky-Nagy Tibor

In the 1960's, Hungary transport policy was changed, there were not enough resources for the simultaneous construction and development of railways and roads, and therefore an election situation emerged.²⁶ While at the beginning of the period they sought to bring the mosaic-like network together, after 1956 the collection of tracks and the directing of traffic to the road began at a rapid pace.²⁷ It shows that during the post-war restorations, not thorough reconstruction, but in many cases, as with the normal-gauge railway, there was extension-patching in the absence of money and materials, as well as maintenance. In particular, expensive and slow duct work was

²⁴ MÁV Archive: 5415/1960.

²⁵ Felek, F. (2013): 3.

²⁶ Tóbiás,L. (1996): 14.

²⁷ Majdán, J. (2014): 161.

missed, which sooner or later sealed the fate of the superstructure. At this time, two thirds of the network is outdated and in poor condition, which significantly reduced the speed of track, which caused the increase in rail transport. Within a few years, the replacement of the tracks and relays was virtually discontinued, the maintenance of the track was limited to sporadic undergrowth, repair of already traffic-prone track faults, scrubbing and snow shoveling.

In 1962, based on the use of the data from 1961, the staff of the Railway Scientific Research Institute, the Scientific Research Institute for Motor Transport and the Institute of Road Sciences carried out a study entitled „Detailed exploration of limited narrow-gauge railway lines in the operation of MÁV with regard to traffic, the technical condition of the line and the possibilities of road transport”.²⁸

In the mid-1960s, the total length of the narrow-gauge railway network reached 4000 km, which was roughly half the length of the normal track gauge network, but their freight traffic was disproportionately smaller, with only 3% of the total volume of goods being transported. This already suggested that the operation of the majority of narrow-gauge railways could not be economical.²⁹ The other main problem was the seasonality, with moderate freight and passenger traffic in the network for three quarters of the year, but in the autumn months the narrow-gauge railways performed 75% of the total annual traffic on the limit of their performance.

The test material also showed that over the next ten years MÁV would have to spend a total of HUF 318 million on track renovation on thirty GV lines.³⁰ The partial dismantling of the railway lines was already under way, and the railway directorates had dismantled the disused sections of track in their territory.

On 1 January 1968, the new economic rail tariff came into force, which resulted in the revenue of the economic railways for freight almost entirely being foregone due to the higher tariffs laid down for the lines.

In May 1968 KPM had categorized the economic railways in its survey in four different categories:

- Group 1: Loss-making lines, traffic to be diverted to the road
- Group 2: Loss-making lines, their traffic cannot be diverted to a road
- Group 3: Profitable lines, traffic can be diverted to the road
- Group 4: Profitable lines, their traffic cannot be diverted to a road.³¹

Regardless of whether the individual economic railways were operating with profit, it should be noted that the profits were made at a significant price supplement in each unit, or were operating at a loss, it proposes to close the railway everywhere. Untrue costs were often included in the economic calculations, thus justifying its uneconomic nature. As a justification, it cites either an existing road running in parallel or under planning, adjusting the planned date for the closure of the line according to the existence of the road or the planned construction. Interestingly, the biggest loss was at the operation of the Economic Railways of Mezőhegyes. The rail connected the settlements around Mezőhegyes (Árpádhalom, Végegyháza, Mezőkovácsháza, Kunágota, Kevermes, Lókősháza, Dombiratos, Dombegyháza, Battonya) and the sixty-five majors of the State Farm of Mezőhegyes in a length of 172 kilometers. Due to the lack and outdated roads, the most problematic thing here was the road distribution.

On 5 September 1968, the government discussed and in October 1968 Dr. György Csanádi, Minister of Transport and Post, presented to the Parliament the new Transport Policy Concept (1024/1968 (X. 31.), which was adopted by the Parliament, which made the destruction of narrow-gauge railways and normal track gauges legal, which had been going on for nearly

²⁸ Balogh, I. (2010): 21.

²⁹ Czére, B. (1994): 39.

³⁰ Felek, F. (2017): 9.

³¹ MÁV Archive: 10049/1970.

a decade.³² The herding of traffic of loss-making and low-traffic railways to public roads has begun.³³

According to the basic concept, the people's economy did not require transport tasks to be fulfilled from specific sectors, but from transport as a whole. To this end, road freight transport has been liberalised and transport districts have been abolished. The aim is to increase the share of road transport, for which the related government decision ordered the dismantling of the economic railways. In the end, the development of the concept was best motivated by the introduction of a new economic management system. The new economic mechanism also imposed requirements on the management of transport development.³⁴

Attempts were made to keep some lines alive, they organized their transfer from the MÁV to other organizations. This is how, among other things, the discontinuing Kaposvári GV became used by the Somogyjád Constitution Agricultural Cooperative,³⁵ the railway line between Balatonfenyves - Táska and Balatonfenyves - Somogyszentpál was managed by the Balaton - Nagyberek State Farm, but the local cooperative also led the Bácsalmás and Csorvás GV plants. The wing line of the Tarnaszentmiklós GV Hatröngyos-puszta - Pély was to be handed over to the Kiskörei State Farm in order to solve the problem of transporting the farm schoolchildren to school.³⁶ In Sárszentmihály, thanks to the lime sludge mine, GV was in operation until 1992.

On 14 January 1969, a timetable for the winding-up of the economic railways was published, which included 31 December 1980 as the final date for the dismantling of the entire network. In a few weeks' time, on 4 February 1969, the above target date was amended by the end of 1975. As a result, the performance of the narrow-gauge railways still in operation has continued to decline. In parallel with the reduction of GV lines the sale or transfer of C50 type locomotives to forest and industrial railways had been started.³⁷ It is a telling fact that in 1971 the production of the Hungarian narrow-gauge railways concrete sleeper was also stopped.

The decision did not address the oil price, and at the time of its creation – in the mid-1960s – it did not matter at all in the Western or Eastern bloc. Statistics from pre-line economic surveys have often been designed to favor the road.

In addition to the issue of job opportunities for former workers, it was also a problem that they were able to travel for free or at a very affordable price, so the KPM's General Directorate of Railways ordered that students and former railway workers be reimbursed for a price difference between bus and rail transport for three years.³⁸

The closure and transfer of the sidelines did not result in any significant savings, the financial situation of MÁV deteriorated further. One of the unspoken aims of the concept has become the solution of the increasingly problematic railway labor situation. Since the 1970s, labor shortages have been a serious problem – it is not for nothing that insurance equipment developments and the large-time engineering of track maintenance work have started with great force. There was also a severe shortage of staff on track maintenance – which is why they tried to transfer staff from already low-traffic railway lines to major, busier service stations. At the same time, the closure of low-traffic railway lines is not a Hungarian specialty, a process that has already taken place in Western European countries. (In Britain, it was shut down because it turned out that the concept was flawed. Here, the line closure law was famous as Beeching

³² Felek, F. (2013): 4.

³³ Balogh, I. (2010): 27.

³⁴ Czére, B. (1994): 43.

³⁵ MÁV Archíve: 13908/1977

³⁶ Pavletits, P. (2021): 51.

³⁷ Balogh, I. (2010): 28.

³⁸ Tolna-megyei Népújság, (1973)

Axe.) However, the other socialist countries did not follow suit. The freight transport functions of small railways have increasingly been replaced by the tourist function.³⁹

Impact of the Transport Policy Concept of 1968 on the narrow -gauge railways

With the transport policy concept, the Hungarian government sealed not only the fate of the economic railways, but also the sideline network of the whole country. From the above tables it can be seen that the government has given a good ten years to eliminate traffic on 1200 kilometers of narrow-gauge economic railway lines and divert them entirely to the road. The same thing takes place as in the early 1900s, when, in adverse, poor traffic conditions, carts and horse-drawn carriages were difficult or unable to meet the demands at all, but vice versa, now they have decided not to develop the railway, but to wither it. With the development of motorization and the poor condition of narrow-gauge economic railways in some places, the track has not been renovated everywhere, so road vehicles have been able to meet the needs better.⁴⁰

With the implementation of the transport policy concept, 30% of the Hungarian low-traffic lines and stations were charged, and their traffic was replaced to a lesser part by the district of loading – dispatch and delivery of goods – and, to a large part, by diverting their traffic to the road. Those with a traffic density not exceeding 400 freight ton km/km/day and 200 freight tons/km/day of narrow-gauge lines were considered to be low-traffic railway lines.⁴¹

These measures have done a lot of damage to domestic transport. The rate of closure of the sidelines was well above the level of similar measures of the European railways, but the road development did not take place to the extent planned and the loading engineering and other development measures necessary for the successful implementation of the concept were largely cancelled. The economic basis for implementing transport policy was intended by the transport government to cover the result of the savings from the shift, which was not established. The railway network, deprived of its sidelines, could not become an engine for the development of transport, its performances decreased and road transport took over the tasks of the railways even in areas where the railway proved to be more uneconomic.⁴²

Of course, well-functioning lines remained in economic rail transport, but the next three decades until the change of regime were determined by the Concept. Regardless of the fact that the main objective was to dismantle the railway lines, improvements were also made. In 1969 a new section was handed over on the Nyírvidék narrow-gauge Railway, and the railway line running in the interior of Nyíregyháza was relocated outside of the city.⁴³

The schematic history of the Szerencs-Prügy narrow-gauge railway

The town of Szerencs is one of the district centers of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, at the southern foot of the Zemplén Mountains, surrounded by highway nr. 37 and the Hatvan - Miskolc - Szerencs - Sátoraljaújhely main railway line. The settlement has been inhabited since prehistoric times, according to Anonymus chronicle, Grand Prince Árpád of the Magyars camped with his leaders on the way from Hung Castle in the field next to the Takta stream. From the 15th century it was Rákóczi and then Andrassy estate. From 1874, Andrassy trust, the estate around Szerencs with the centre of Parno (now Slovakia) count Manó Andrassy has become a trustee.

³⁹ Csapó, J. – Huszti, Zs. (2011): 3.

⁴⁰ Csáki, J. (1965): 10

⁴¹ Frisnyák, Zs. (2012): 102.

⁴² Horváth, F. (1996): 60.

⁴³ Villányi, Gy. (1990): 371.

Already in 1848, the Pest - Miskolc- Kassa - Galicia direction was designated as one of the six national main lines, but in the years of the war of independence this was not built. The first locomotive entered the Miskolc station in the spring of 1859. However, on a significantly modified route, Szolnok - Debrecen - Nyíregyháza took a detour to reach Miskolc. With this, Miskolc and the entire northeastern region were disadvantaged, since the distance with Pest was not shortened, but doubled. As a result of this bypass, Szerencs and Tokaj in Zemplén were put in a favorable position for a while, which could have caused serious transit traffic, so Szerencs became a truly prosperous settlement.⁴⁴

In 1888, the superiors of Zemplén County asked the government to support the establishment of a sugar factory because of the grape phylloxera and the underdeveloped industry in the area. In 1889, the largest sugar factory and refinery in Europe was built in Szerencs.

Two decades later, Szerencs was recognized that the most efficient way to approach the crop factory is by rail, most economically by narrow-gauge railway. At the request of The Hungarian Sugar Industry Co., the Minister of Trade ordered the administrative access of the narrow-track steam-powered economic railway to Balhás-tanya, on the outskirts of the village of Taktaszada from Szerencs, on 4 February 1911.⁴⁵ With this, the construction of the economic railway network in the Szerencs area, which was later 85 kilometers long, began.

The biggest challenge of the construction of the railway was the crossing of the Miskolc - Szerencs main railway line at the track level, the approval of which took many years to start construction. The cross-level crossing and related facilities were built by the royal state railways at the expense of the sugar factory. Finally, the factory was granted permission to use the crossroads only for the current marketing year, according to decree no. 266744/1917 of the Hungarian Royal Railways Directorate dated 9 August 1917, so that the crossing, barriers and safety devices were dismantled by the railway after 30 April 1918 at the expense of the factory. The sugar factory, of course, asked for the level cross to be perpetuated, at which point it was still unsuccessful.

After the Treaty of Peace which ended the World War I, the country's sugar demand decreased. Due to the expensiveness of sugar, capacity underutilization occurred due to low consumption, and production of the factory fell by a third. This was counterbalanced by large-scale improvements.⁴⁶ Part of this, among other measures – in 1923 the sugar factory was supplemented by cocoa and chocolate factory – is also the development of the narrow-gauge railway. On 10 October 1920, the Management of the Hungarian Sugar Industry Co. Szerencs Factory and the Zemplén Agricultural Limited Company applied for the construction of a 700-millimeter horse towing economic railway from the yard of the factory to the steam mill, which was approved by the Administrative Committee of the County of Zemplén under the heading „Turncuted Hungary is not a country, whole Hungary is a heaven” on 8 March 1921. The line was visited by art police on 13 July of the current year.

In 1926, the line was extended to the count Sándor Szirmay's rental farm. The official check was held on 7 September 1926 by the Hungarian Royal Inspectorate of Railways and Shipping, and on 23 June 1928 it was converted from a horse plant to an engine-powered one by decree of the Inspectorate of General.

In the 1930's, Szerencs's industry and agriculture developed steadily. It is interesting in the history of railways that one of the main advocates of the *raison d'être* of narrow-gauge railways, Endre Sármezey, retired ACsEV railway director, author of several professional volumes, argues in his essay entitled „Comment on the question of the construction of economic railways” in the

⁴⁴ Dienes, D. (2013): 116

⁴⁵ Vasúti és Közlekedési Közlöny (1911)

⁴⁶ Figyelő (1986)

15 November 1930 issue of the Hungarian national newspaper, arguing for the correctness of his principle with a positive example of the Szerencs narrow-gauge railway.

Progress was broken by World War II. In 1944, major war damage also hit the area around Szerencs, and the military units that marched through robbed the granaries, took away supplies and livestock. At the beginning of 1945, after the front had gone, the sugar beet crop was collected for the restart of the sugar factory, and the maids were put to free public work. The owners of the estate, but also the farmers, fled, leaving only lower leaders in place. The maids made their apartments habitable, took possession of the land, and during the land division they requested land around the farmsteads with the help of land-claiming and allocating committees. The land reform was decided by Government Decree No. 600/945, and the question of ownership of railways was decided by Government Decree No. 450/949. First, state farms were formed in the farm centers, e.g. The State Economy of Harangod, Szerencs, Takta interstate. Individual enterprises continued to be connected by economic railways.⁴⁷ At the national congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party held on 12 June 1948, the delegation from Szerencs proposed the initiation of passenger and freight traffic, and in September 1948,⁴⁸ at the request of the municipality of Prügy, a limited public traffic was authorized by Ernő Gerő, Minister of Transport. The lines of the south have been partially modified.

In 1949 István Tóth was appointed director of the National Company of Szerencs Economic Railways. At that time, there were twenty-eight narrow-gauge railway lines to Szerencs. A year later, four of the seven national companies were merged, and Szerencs came under Szolnok control.

As a result of the first 5 year economic plan, the main line of the southern network remaining in operation, the main line of Szerencs-Prügy and the Dohányos wing line were segmented from 700 millimeters to 760 millimeters in the first half of 1952. The Tiszamenti Water Works Company recommended help for the crossing. In August 1949, the Tiszaluc Agricultural Distillery National Company requested a similar crossing correction on the 3-kilometer stretch between Tiszalúc and Gabriella-tanya, but this was not realized at the time due to a lack of resources. But the spirits factory promised to generate a lot of traffic.⁴⁹

The socialist labor competition did not miss Szerencs either, the first place in the stahanovist loader category in 1952 was won by Béla Éliás loader with an average performance of 164.2% in six months. The third place finisher is also from Szerencs, Albert Bártfai had an average performance of 163.3%. József Dóri, supervisor of Szerencs, became the best of the sugar mill production workers.⁵⁰ In 1954, the Szolnok workshop renovated the two passenger cars of the narrow-gauge railway with record speed.⁵¹

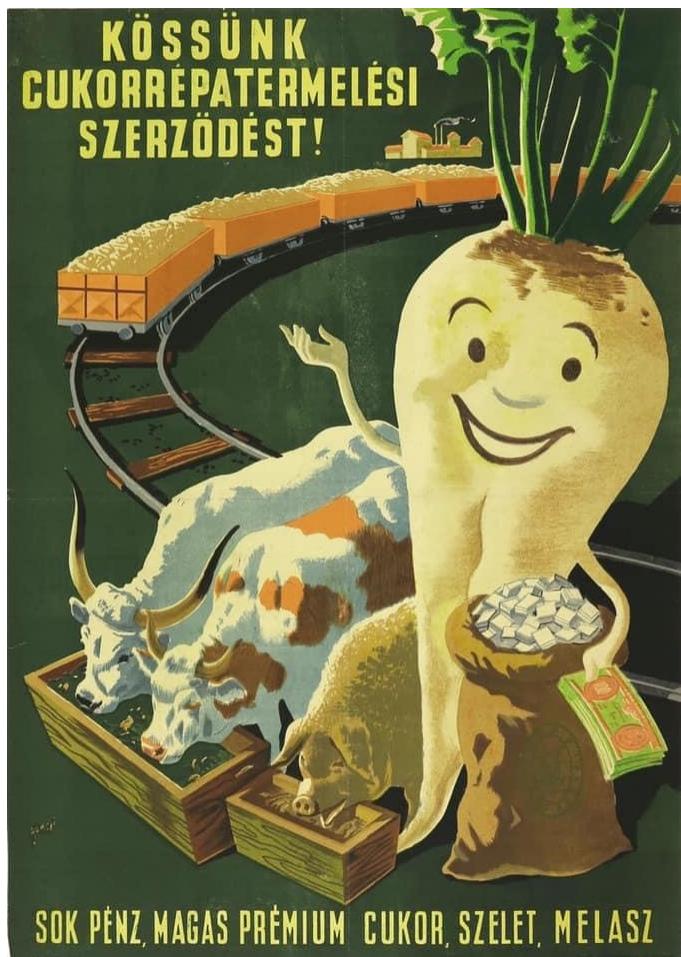
⁴⁷ Högye, I. (2001): 562.

⁴⁸ Zempléni Népújság (1948)

⁴⁹ MÁV Archive: 38748/1949

⁵⁰ Cukoripar (1952)

⁵¹ Észak-Magyarország (1954)



Picture 2: Let us make a crop contract for sugar-beet! A great many, high quality sugar, sugar beet slice, molasses. The propaganda poster from the author's collection, in the atmosphere of the 1950s. Who could resist those calling words? Of course, the reality is not always so wonderful: Imre Rajháti, the chief anarchist of the Balatonfenyves State Farm, who, by the way, is one of Rákosi's minions, embezzled the premium due to farmers interested in sugar beet production. After his capture, he didn't even stop for South America.

The operation of the railway was taken over by the Directorate of Economic Railways of the KPM on 1 January 1955. As part of the 1956 renovation programme, UVATERV was prepared as part of the 1956 renovation programme of the KPM I. Railway Department under the number 7159/1/U-6 under the title „Study of narrow-gauge railway renovations in the vicinity of Szerencs”. After receipt, the line was renovated and upgraded with tracks weighing 14 kg/m, as the entire line was

previously built with rails weighing 7 kg/m. The 7 kg/m rails remained exclusively on the Cseger-delta – Dohányos-tanya wing line. Between Szerencs and Prügy, both the person and the freight transport were carried out entirely on the economic railway, since the two localities and the farmsteads between them were not connected by road. In addition, on the network, the beet transports of the Szerencs Sugar Factory – about 1500 wagons of sugar beet, 1000 wagons of beet bars – were also carried out by the railway, which handled some of the external and internal deliveries of the sugar factory's target economy.

The five-year GVI era was followed by MÁV management from 1 April 1960. On 22 November of the following year, the MÁV Miskolc Directorate carried out a comprehensive investigation. The investigation concluded, inter alia, that one of the three wagons with a half-framed passenger car is dangerous for accidents, is not suitable for passenger transport, and that the capacity of the remaining two carriages is not sufficient to carry out increased traffic, often over 100 people. Another shortcoming is that there is no waiting room at either Szerencs or Prügy terminus, there is drinking water only at Szerencs main station and the staff of the train arriving at the last Prügy daily were sleeping in the car in the absence of a sleeping area (barracks). At that time, the railway was promised to receive two four-axle carriages from the Gyula narrow-gauge railway, which ceased to exist in January 1962. The missing waiting room was taken care by the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council of Prügy before the winter came.⁵² Soon, the freight and passenger fleet became more modern. The previously used 2.5-ton lowries were replaced by MÁV 5-ton trucks. At this time, 4 Mk29 series diesel locomotives (motorised (M) narrow-gauge (k) on the basis of the track number system as amended on 1 August 1957, C50

⁵² MÁV Archive 17179/1961

locomotives), 5 Bak passenger cars and 10 G., 50 I and Ia. 5-5 ton freight wagon was available for the railway. It has an annual passenger turnover of 156,764 people and a turnover of 61,408 tons.

The main line started at the factory station in Szerencs, in the southwestern part of the sugar factory area. The end station consisted of a two-way siding, from which a spur led to the stall. The approximately 500 m long track in the extension of the siding led to the sugar factory weighing track and from there to the inner loading track with a turntable. Before the final siding, a track about 600 meters long from the trunk line approached the warehouse building of MÁV Szerencs station, to which it joined in two places. Leaving the station, the trunk line passed parallel to the Miskolc-Sátoraljaújhely MÁV line, then crossed the then two-track MÁV line by crossing the runway without breaking the track. The trains often waited hours for a permit to cross the normal gauge railway, making regular transport completely impossible. It is interesting that in September 1956 UVATERV planned an overpass to replace it, which unfortunately did not materialize, as it promised to be uneconomic from both an operational and investment point of view. After the track crossing came the junction to Malom-tanya (8.1 km). The trunk line then turned away at Kocsonthát, then along the Prügy vineyard road it moved southwards. At section 41, a junction was built to Rosszmalom-tanya (400 m), then at section 28 it reached the watercourse of the Takta-canal, which it crossed with a larger bridge. After the bridge expired, the mohos-puszai connecting track branched out. In section 74, another junction was built for the Miklós-tanya (1.4 km), then at section 81 towards Nagycseger-puszta – Szabóhomok (7.2 km). This branch served the cattle fattening plant of the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County Animal Dealer Company. Another branch was built for Urrét-major (section 90, 1.7 km in length) and then in section 103 for the lower loader for public relations. The main line was completed next to the Taktaharkány – Tokaj driveway in the village of Prügy with a two-track end-of-line siding. The total length of the track network was 32.1 kilometers. The lines have been fully adapted to the agricultural boarding, therefore the directional conditions are very unfavorable.

The above mentioned draft proposed the modernisation of the main line. It was then that the extension of the main line arose in the length of Prügy - Hodostanya - Báj - Csobaj - Tiszatardos - Tiszaladány - Tokaj 25 kilometers, Prügy - Taktakenes – Tiszadada-rév 8 kilometers and the production site of the Szerencs Quarry Company about 2.5 kilometers long.

The year 1960 is an excellent year in the life of the Szerencs narrow-gauge railway: under the leadership of Tibor Szegedi, the 381,000 tons transport plan was completed to 130%, reaching 419,000 tons, and they won the annual congress competition of the economic railways.⁵³ In the 1960s, twenty-five people worked in the locomotive and wagon repair shop, fifteen in track maintenance (PFT) positions, one manager and four traffic controllers in the traffic department, sixteen engine drivers, and twenty-two ticketing and train attendants. There were five pairs of passenger trains a day, with beet chops, cereals, potatoes and corn making up the majority of the freight traffic, in addition to sugar beet transport.

Impact of the Transport Policy Concept on the Szerencs-Prügy Narrow-gauge Railway

Section 11 of the KPM Railway Department. After a survey in May 1968, the Trade Department classified Szerencs as a loss-making category that could not be diverted to the road. On 18 June 1968, with effect from 31 December 1972, the KPM ordered the closure of the railway in accordance with the concept's low-traffic rail programme. The Traffic Management Committee carried out the necessary territorial investigation, but despite agreeing with the

⁵³ Észak-Magyarország 1960

Picture 3: Typical economic railway mood in Szerencs



Source: László Mohay, 2 November 1973

closure, it proposed a target date for the planned closure after 1975. According to the proposal, the return on road construction investment related to the closure is more than 10 years, which is considered unfavorable. In this case, the investment amount of approximately HUF 35 million could be used for major road construction works. The condition of the track at that time satisfied the existing needs.⁵⁴ The Volán Automobile Transport Trust also agreed with the shift, but made the acceptance of freight transport tasks subject to the complete completion of road construction tasks due to the extremely poor road conditions, swampy and deep soil of the affected area.⁵⁵

Table 1: Comparison of traffic to be shifted and planned traffic to the Volán Trust

Traffic to be diverted in 1971	
passangers / year	158500
workers / year	57900
students / year	18000
tons of goods / year	17200
passanger km / year	2350000
worker km / year	853000
student km / year	284000
tons of good km / year	177300
Volán Trösztre eső tervezett forgalom	
passangers / year	182100
workers / year	54100
students / year	6600
tons of goods / year	4800
passanger km / year	151030
worker km / year	372000
student km / year	31000
tons of good / year	29400

Source: MÁV Archive: 111095/1970

⁵⁴ MÁV Archive 11195/1971⁵⁵ MÁV Archive: 111108/1973

On 30 November 1972, Dezső Kiss, Deputy Minister of the KPM, discussed in Miskolc the three railway line closures affecting the county (i.e. Pretzels, Szerencs, Bodrogköz), at which time the target date for the closure of Szerencs was set at December 1974.⁵⁶ The railway finally ceased to exist later, on 7 November 1975, generating a further loss of HUF 1.5 million over three years, while road construction costs doubled in three years. The railway track was demolished on the basis of the KPM Railway Department's demolition permits no. 103397/1976.6.A. The locomotives were scrapped on December 10. For 50 million forints, a new road was built on the trail of the existing dirt road. The investment requirement for car transport is 1 bus (HUF 525,000), one truck (HUF 135,000). In the last year of operation, the railway carried 158,000 passengers and 17,000 tons of goods, mostly students and commuters. Of course, the railroad was buzzing, shaking, the little cars were buzzing, you had to hold on, like you were sitting on a camel's back. The Wheel will be different, in winter or in the heavy rain, schoolchildren will fall behind and without them will begin arithmetic. That's how the local press mourned the narrow-gauge railway at the time.

Picture 4: The remaining tracks on the territory of the Szerencs sugar factory, with the chimney towers of the closed factory in the background



Source: Peter Pavletits on 27 July 2021

Although the autonomy of the GV plant management of Szerencs-Prügy MÁV was abolished on 1 September 1972 – when it was assigned to 5 traffic controllers and 4 train attendants – the freed-up workforce at the time of termination caused MÁV less problems than the 208 people crew of the Bodrogköz narrow-gauge railway, which was wearing similar shoes.⁵⁷

On September 15, 1975, the Miskolc Road Construction Company handed over the 12-kilometer-long, 6-meter-wide road between Szerencs and Prügy.⁵⁸ On April 26 1977, the Szerencs Sugar Factory also submitted a partial siding demolition request to the Hungarian State Railways. The sugar factory, already without a railway, defied the „latest economic mechanism” for another thirty years and closed on 10 March 2008. The chocolate factory became foreign-owned in 1991. That's how the glory of the sweet world passed in Szerencs.⁵⁹

Bibliography

- Balogh, I. (2010): *Emlékkönyv. 60 éves a balatonfenyvesi gazdasági vasút*. Balaton-Boronka Kisvasút Nonprofit Közhasznú Kft., Balatonfenyves
- Balogh, S.-Izsák, L.-Mészáros, K. (1976): *Magyar történeti szöveggyűjtemény I. 1944–1953*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest
- Dienes, D. (2013): *A Sárospataki Református Kollégium története*. Hernád, Tiszáninneni Református Kiadó, Sárospatak

⁵⁶ Észak-Magyarország (1972)

⁵⁷ MÁV Archive 4053/1973

⁵⁸ Észak-Magyarország (1975)

⁵⁹ Pavletits, P. (2020): 56

- Czére, B. (1962): *Az 1961. október 23.-26. között a MÁV Vezérigazgatóság kultúrtermében megtartott első tudományos ülésszak anyaga*. Vasúti Tudományos Kutató Intézet, Budapest
- Czére, B. (1994): *Közlekedéspolitikai koncepció, 1968*. In: Villányi, Gy. (Ed.): *Vasúthistória Évkönyv*, Budapest
- Csanádi, Gy. (1954): *Vasúti üzem*. Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest
- Csapó, J. – Huszti, Zs. (2011): *Vasúti közlekedés*. In: Veres, L. (Ed.): *Turizmus és közlekedés*, PTE, Pécs
- Csáki, J. (1965): *Keskeny nyomtávolságú vasútvonalak állapota*. Budapest. (Author's original manuscript, MÁV Archive)
- Felek, F. (2013): *A Sarkadi GV története*. (Author's original manuscript, use with the permission of Author)
- Felek, F. (2017): *Gazdasági vasutak – Születéstől a MÁV-ig*. (Author's original manuscript, use with the permission of Author)
- Fodor, I. (2003): *A keskeny nyomközű vasutak közlekedés földrajzi jelentősége Magyarországon*. ELTE TTK, Budapest
- Frisnyák, Zs. (2012): *A kisforgalmú vasútvonalak bezárása a Kádár-korszakban*. In: A Közlekedési Múzeum évkönyve, MMKM, Budapest
- Horváth, F. (1996): *A helyiérdekű vasutak építése és üzeme Magyarországon*. *Vasúthistória Évkönyv*, Közdok Kft., Budapest
- Hógye, I. (2001): *Az Andrássy család hitbizományi birtokai és gazdálkodása 1867, 1874–1944*. Agrártörténeti Szemle Vol. XLIII. (2001) No. 3-4. 539–564.
- Majdán, J. (2014): *A közlekedés története Magyarországon (1700–2000)*. Pécsi Tudománytár, Pécs
- Malatinszky, S. (2009): *Magyarország Gőzmozdonyai. A 490-es sorozat*. Magyar Államvasutak Zrt., Budapest
- Nagy, J. (1994): *MÁV Rt. Kecskeméti Kisvasút*. Kecskemét
- Nagy, T. (2019): *Az adácsi lőüzemű gazdasági vasút története*. Sínek világa, Budapest
- Pavletits, P. (2014): *Kisszériás történet. Magyar szolgálatban a keletnémetek igás Lowa*. Indóház vasúti magazin, Vol. 10. No. 6. Budapest
- Pavletits, P. (2017): *Keskenynyomtávon a Mezőföldön. Fejezetek a lepsényi gazdasági vasút történetéből*. Indóház vasúti magazin, Vol. 13. No. 3. Budapest
- Pavletits, P. (2020): *Kötöttpályán Kocsontahátra és a Rosszmalom-tanyához, fejezetek a Szerencs környéki gazdasági vasutak történetéből*. Indóház vasúti magazin, Vol. 16. No. 5. Budapest
- Pavletits, P. (2021): *Kötöttpályán a Tisza mentén, homokországban, Fejezetek a Tarnaszentmiklós–Hatrónyos pusztá – Pély gazdasági vasút történetéből*. Indóház vasúti magazin, Vol. 17. No. 1. Budapest
- Pálmány, B. (1981): *Dokumentumok a magyar közlekedés történetéből. Források a magyar népi demokrácia történetéhez*. Új Magyar Központi Levéltár, Budapest
- Szepesi, L. (1973): *Megszűnik-e a dombóvár-lepsényi vasútvonal?* Tolna megyei Népújság, Vol. XXIII. No. 21.
- Szikszai, M. (2017): *Adatok Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megye kisvasútjainak történetéhez 1945 után*. Zounuk, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltára Évkönyve. Szolnok
- Tóbiás, L. (1996): *A magyarországi kisvasutak idegenforgalmi földrajzi adottságai*. Budapest
- Villányi, Gy. (1990): *A Nyíregyháza Vidéki Kisvasút*, Vasúthistória évkönyv. KÖZDOK, Budapest

Sourcebooks and Statistics Cited

- MÁV Archive, 42903/1949: *A gazdasági vasutak üzemkezelésére alakított N. V. megnevezése (1949/21.)*
- MÁV Archive, 38748/1949: *Tiszalúc–Gabriella-tanya közötti g.v. vonal helyreállítása*
- MÁV Archive, 99/1955: *Revíziós vizsgálat a Gazdasági Vasutaknál*

MÁV Archive, 5415/1960: *Végrehajtási utasítása Gazdasági Vasutaknak az Államvasutak szervezetébe való beolvásztására*

MÁV Archive, 17179/1961: *A Szerencs-Prügy gazdasági vasút várója Prügyön*

MÁV Archive, VG.10049/1970: *Gazdasági vasutak négy kategóriába sorolása*

MÁV Archive, 111095/1971: *Szerencs-Prügy közötti gazdasági vasút megszüntetése*

MÁV Archive, 111108/1973: *Szerencs-Prügy-i GV forgalomátterelésének problémái*

MÁV Archive, 4053/1973: *Szerencs-Prügy MÁV GV és a Nyírbodrogi Kisvasút megszüntetése miatt felszabaduló munkaerő elhelyezése*

MÁV Archive, 13908/1977: *Gazdasági vasutak kezelői jog átadás Somogyjád Alk. MGTSZ*

Press sources

Vasúti és Közlekedési Közlöny, 22. 01. 1911.

Zempléni Népújság, 30. 05. 1948.

Cukoripar, 01. 06. 1952.

Észak-Magyarország, 07. 11. 1954.

Észak-Magyarország, 09. 04. 1960.

Észak-Magyarország, 01. 12. 1972.

Tolna-megyei Népújság, No. 21. 1973.

Észak-Magyarország, 26. 08. 1975.

Figyelő, 14. 08. 1986.

Barbara Bolechová – Branislav Kršák – Csaba Sidor – Ľubomír Štrba

Development of Cave Tourism in the Domica Area in Slovakia

Abstract

The purpose of the study. The main goal of the study is to determine the most effective solutions for the development of cave tourism and medical tourism, as well as the standard of living and infrastructure of the region, based on the used literature and the questionnaire research on tourism development.

Applied methods. The study starts with information about the natural and geological heritage found in the Domica region in Slovakia. It continues with the discovery, construction and characterization of the most significant caves from a tourist and economic point of view. Following the professional characterization, the questionnaire research developed and evaluated in the last stage of the study analyzes the possibility of the development of cave tourism and health tourism in the immediate vicinity of the Domica Cave based on the opinions, remarks and experiences of the service providers in the area.

Outcomes. Caves are called natural underground cavities that have formed as a result of geomorphological and geophysical processes under different natural conditions. The caves in the karst are dissolved or are created by the weathering of the bedrock, while after the leakage of gases, caves form as cavities in the volcanic rocks. Few countries have as many different underground karst formations as Slovakia, with 7,014 known caves, of which only 18 can be visited. Discovering these underground wonders is a new challenge for hikers. Interest in caves peaked in the 20th century, when the desire to return to nature and improve the health of patients with respiratory diseases (speleotherapy) became the leading motivation. Today, caves are most often used for recreation. Nevertheless, within geotourism a popular way to explore caves is caving and the associated extreme or less extreme sports that only came to the fore in the 21st century.

The results of the research of this study are sufficient evidence that the region is suitable for the development of cave tourism and medical tourism, for which the most obvious solution is to create an international geopark.

Keywords: cave, geotourism, questionnaire, research

1. Introduction to cave tourism

A hollow underground space created in the earth's crust by natural processes that is more than 2 meters long or deep and whose surface opening is smaller than its length or depth is called a cave. The caves can be classified as natural monuments. The most important and valuable are the caves of the Slovak Karst and the Dobšiná Ice Cave, which is registered on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The most important cave site in Slovakia for the development of cave tourism is the Slovak Karst National Park, located in the southeastern part of Slovakia. It forms a single unit with the adjacent Aggtelek National Park (Hungary), which is the largest plain-type karst area in Central Europe. The 361.65 km² Slovak Karst is considered as one of the most beautiful areas in Slovakia with its natural and cultural diversity. The National Park was established on February 13, 2002 and has been characterized as a protected landscape area since 1973. This is the first Slovak biosphere reserve since March 1, 1977. In 1995 the caves of the Slovak Karst and the Aggtelek Karst were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.¹ There are about 1,300 caves in

¹ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323021308_Caves_as_touristic_attractions_in_Hungary_Adventure_health_culture_ecotourism

the Slovak Karst. From a tourist point of view, the Gombaszög Cave (Gombasecká jaskyňa), the Jászó Cave (Jasovská jaskyňa), the Buzgó Cave (Krásnohorská jaskyňa), the Ochtina Aragonite Cave (Ochtinská aragonitová jaskyňa) and the Domica Cave (jaskyňa Domica) are the most significant.

The caves, characterized as a protected natural treasure, can be visited mainly within guided groups. From the point of view of the needs of the visitors, the forms of cave tourism are most often divided into the following: open-to-visit caves, barrier-free caves with guides, and caving.

While visiting the freely accessible caves, visitors have the opportunity to observe the natural beauties in the immediate vicinity. In addition to a certain amount of relaxation, they gain knowledge about the historical development of the cave. A special form of cave visits is caving, which is classified as an extreme sport and is characterized by physical condition, endurance, special equipment (lighting, helmet, etc.).²

Due to the precise definition, characterization, and promotion of geological tourism, interest in cave tourism increased exponentially in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

The view of the protection of the natural heritage and the rethinking of symbiosis with nature has come to the fore.

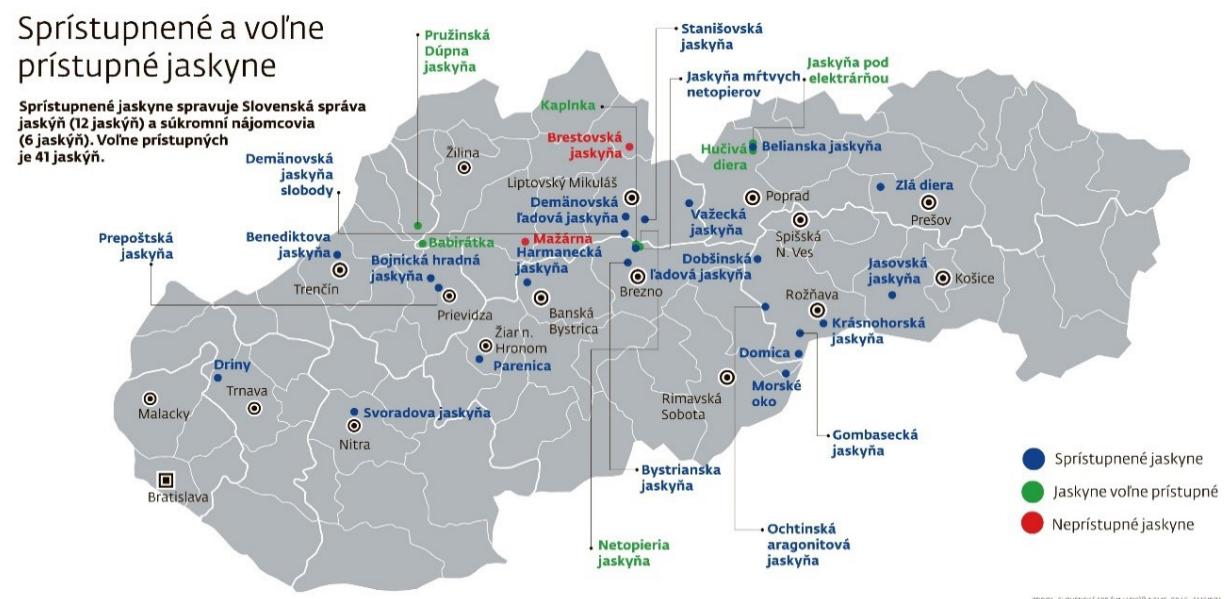
The following study highlights the current state of interest in caves, the range of opportunities offered by cave tourism in the selected cave, and the opportunities for developing its use.

2. Description of the most significant caves from the point of view of cave tourism

Most people do not know that Slovakia is one of the Central European countries with the highest amount of karst phenomena.

Public attention is usually focused on just a few caves that are most visited during sightseeing and hiking trips. Most of the more than 7,000 caves in Slovakia are known only to experts, karst lovers and cave tourists.

Picture 1. List of caves for tourists



Source: <https://domov.sme.sk/c/8096232/na-slovensku-mame-tisice-jaskyn-vacsinu-nepozname.html>

² <https://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jasky%C5%88a>

³ <https://kamnahory.sk/Jaskyne/Spristupnene-jaskyne/>

The basis for the development of ecotourism is undisturbed or minimally altered natural resources. The term ecotourism encompasses: visiting, admiring and observing living or inanimate nature, and at the same time summarizes a wide range of forms and types of tourism, from recreational tourism through health tourism to experiential tourism. The main common motive of the above forms of tourism is to stay in the natural environment in order to obtain as much information as possible about the area and the processes that take place in nature.⁴

One of the youngest forms of nature tourism is geotourism, which is based on the geological and geomorphological recognition and observation of inanimate nature phenomena. Places for the development of this type of tourism in Slovakia are: caves, mountains, river valleys, ditches, etc.⁵

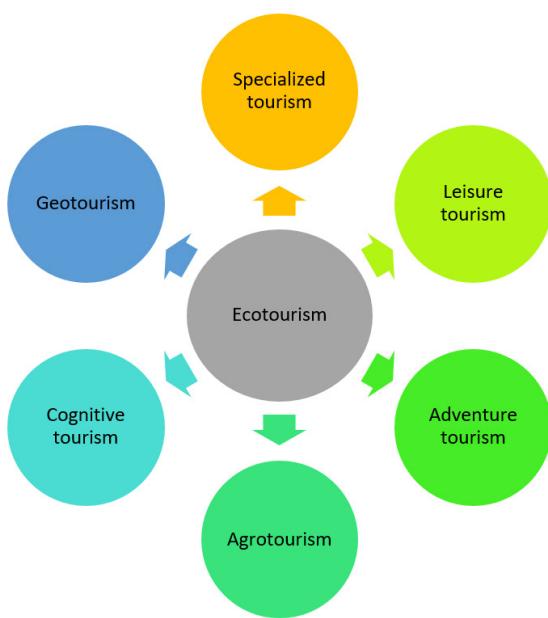
2.1 Characterization of Dobšiná Ice Cave

If we had to list the seven natural wonders of historical Hungary, the Dobšiná Ice Cave would undoubtedly be among them. Professional circles classify it as one of the most significant ice caves in the world, as its ice mass is unusually large, more than 110,000 cubic meters, which is also a rarity in the area outside the alpine highland zone. A contribution to this in 1972 was the discovery of the Stracena Cave, which became a continuation of the ice cave and became one of the most significant caves in Slovakia with its extensive passages and huge halls.

On the early morning of June 15, 1870, an 8-man team set off from Dobsina in the direction of Stracena. The head of the team was Nándor Fehér, a doctor from Dobsina, known as a supporter of the research of natural strangeness. Jenő Ruffinyi, a 24-year-old mining engineer, was the first to descend into the cave. Through today's Small Room he reached the Great Hall and then the Ruffinyi corridor.⁶

Enthusiasm was boundless. The cave was visited the next day by a group of citizens from Dobšiná. The city leadership thanked the brave explorers and then undertook in writing to properly manage and preserve the unique natural phenomenon for which it was willing to make all sacrifices. He also promised to open the cave and to use the proceeds to maintain and beautify the environment. The management and protection of the cave was entrusted to the urban forestry. Soon in 1872-1873 a hotel was built, which was later expanded. His scientific observation was not neglected either. As early as 1870, White Doctor began measuring the temperature of flights. Based on more detailed measurements József Sándor Krenner, a professor at the Budapest University of Technology, tried to shed light on the cause of the ice. His experience was published in 1874. In the same year, a detailed description of the ice cave was published by János Pelech, Chief Physician of Dobšiná.

Picture 2. Forms of tourism [own work]



⁴ <https://slovakia.travel/co-vidiet-a-robit/priroda-a-krajina/jaskyne>

⁵ <http://www.smopaj.sk/sk>

⁶ Gaál Lajos (2010), Gömörország természeti öröksége, Bratislava, ISBN: 9788089455027

After 1890, the number of visitors reached three thousand a year. In 1883 it was visited by Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav and Mór Jókai. As a result of the growing number of visitors, on the initiative of the mining director Kálmán Münnich, the town of Dobsina already illuminated the Great Hall in 1881, among the first ones in Europe, and then in 1886 introduced the electricity with the help of a generator.

In 1911 the Hungarian State Meteorological Institute also established a permanent observatory in the Great Hall. In 1914 the lighting of the cave was connected to the city power lines.

However, the cave's brilliant career soon ended in World War I. After the war the number of visitors increased only slowly. In 1937 more than 23,000 people visited the cave, but World War II soon intervened. In 1945 during the fighting the hotel also burned down with some guestbooks. Although the hotel was rebuilt in 1949, the cave's ice formations which required proper treatment, were treated unprofessionally and steplessly. In 1954 the lighting of the cave and the itinerary were modernized. Figure skating trainings were still held in the Great Hall.

The preservation of the unique values of the cave was undoubtedly benefited by the establishment of the Slovak Caves Directorate in 1970, which involved the management of all 12 tourist caves in Slovakia under one roof. Later in 1998 the entrance building was renovated in its original form and a study trail was established on the way to the entrance. Thanks to the results of ice research, a meeting of the International Cave Association's Ice Caves was held in Slovakia in May 2006 with the participation of experts from 12 countries. The cave is actually a single huge bag-like cavity. Its entrance opens at an altitude of 969 meters, about 130 meters high towards the Gölnic stream.⁷

The Dobšiná Ice Cave, together with the Stracena Cave, was declared a national natural monument in 1996, as it is an outstanding natural value in many respects. In 2000 both caves were inscribed on the World Heritage List as part of the Slovak Karst and Aggtelek Karst. The openings of both caves are located in the Stratena National Nature Reserve, which is part of the Slovak Paradise National Park.

2.2 Characterization of the Gombaszög Cave (Gombasecká jaskyňa)

The Gombaszög Cave is a stalactite cave in the Slovak Karst. The cave was discovered on November 21, 1951, by an association of volunteer cavers from Rožňava, the Slovak Speleological Society, by digging a black spring.

The Gombaszög Stalactite Cave celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2005. Thanks to Ladislav Herényi and colleagues, the cave has been open to the public since 1955. A 300 metre section of the total length of the cave (1525 m) has been open since 1955. It also previously served as a sanatorium for the treatment of respiratory diseases. Since 1968, it was the first cave in Slovakia to be used for speleotherapy for 10 years. Thanks to the aerosol in the air, staying in the cave also has a healing effect. The air temperature fluctuates between 9.0 and 9.4 °C. The relative humidity varies between 95 and 97%.

In terms of development, the Gombaszög stalactite cave is one of the youngest caves in Slovakia. However, it has a very stunning decoration that includes sinks of different shapes, in rich colours, from white to yellow to ochre. A European characteristic is white straw 2-3 mm thick and up to 3 m long, which contrasts sharply with the reddish-brown coating of the walls. The cave is often called a fairy tale. Nature has given the drops various bizarre shapes and forms, which are still highlighted by the colourful colors and freshness as their creation continues. The

⁷ <http://old.roznav.sk/sk/-91-2665-jaskyna-dobsina->

most beautiful squares include the marble hall, the Peace Hall (Ladislav Herényi Hall), the Hall of Wisdom (Viliam Rozložník Hall), the Quill Hall and others.⁸

The Gombaszög Cave, as part of the Silice Cave system, with its unique straw stalactites is the one of the most outstanding natural phenomena in Gemer. Its protection is ensured as a national natural monument.

2.3 Characterization of the Jászó Cave (Jasovká jaskyňa)

The Jászó Cave is the longest accessible cave. It is well known for the occurrence of rich calcite sintered fillings where pagoda-shaped stalagmites, “stone” waterfalls, drums and straws attract attention. It is among the caves of the Slovak and Aggtelek karst in the natural heritage of the world. The cave was inhabited in prehistoric times, as evidenced by parts of the vessels and bronze objects. Many old inscriptions and drawings have also been preserved in the cave. It is said that the upper part of the cave was discovered in the Middle Ages by a monk of the Premontre order of Jászó so that the inhabitants of the village and the monastery could use it as a refuge.

Thanks to the superior Alojz Richter, the cave was opened to the public in 1846 as the first cave in Slovakia. At that time it was possible to cross the underground spaces with torches, about 250 m long. Other areas of the cave (Tigria corridor, upper floor) were discovered in 1923 and reopened in 1924 after modifications. Two years later electric lighting was introduced into the cave. The underground spaces of the cave reach the length of 2,122 metres and the vertical span is 55 metres. There are 314 steps in the Jászó Cave and during the tour the visitor can overcome up to 360.

The air temperature is 8.5 to 9.5 °C and the relative humidity is 90 to 98%, which are ideal for speleotherapy. The Jászó Cave is one of the three caves in the country for the treatment of respiratory diseases.

2.4 Characterization of the Ochtina Aragonite Cave (Ochtinská aragonitová jaskyňa)

The Ochtina Aragonite Cave differs significantly from the other caves due to its wonderful snow-white aragonite crystals, its marble passages and the special way in which they are excavated. The discovery of the cave was a result of the iron ore research. The iron ore deposits of the Upper Hrádok began to be cultivated in the 19th century. Mining continued after World War I, until 1927.

After World War II further research and excavations took place. It was accidentally discovered in 1954 during the excavation of the Kapusta geological exploration tunnel by ore miners Jelšava M. Cangár and J. Prošek in eastern Slovakia. In 1955 the touristic use was inspected by the staff of the state organization and in 1956 exploratory sounding work was carried out. Accessibility work began in 1966 with the excavation of a 145-metre-long access tunnel that allowed the cave to be opened to the public in 1972.⁹

The length of the accessible part is 230 metres. The oldest aragonite formations are nearly 140,000 years old. In the cave we can find three generations of aragonite, the first of which is 121–138 thousand years old.

The second generation is represented with the most needles curved for tens of centimeters long, about 14,000-year-old spiral helicites. The youngest generation is currently forming on sediments and creating small fans of only 2 to 4 millimeters. The temperature of the cave is between 7.2 °C and 7.8 °C and the relative humidity is between 92% and 97%.

⁸ <http://www.sopsr.sk/web/?cl=20693>

⁹ https://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ochtinsk%C3%A1_aragonitov%C3%A1_jasky%C5%88a

This is another world unique in Slovakia, as the cave is one of the three available aragonite caves on the planet. The other two are in Mexico and Argentina. The Ochtina Aragonite Cave, together with the Slovak Karst and Aggtelek Karst Caves, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1995 and declared as a National Natural Monument in 1996.

2.5 Characterization of the Buzgó Cave (Krásnohorská jaskyňa)

Its uniqueness lies in the fact that moving in it is accompanied by a certain dose of adrenaline and sports activities. Although the cave is public, entry is only allowed accompanied by experienced guides and full cave equipment. It was discovered by cavers in Rožňava in 1964 after the water level in the Buzgó spring was lowered.

Viliam Rozlozník and some of his colleagues made an attempt to deepen the spring as early as 1953, and then resumed work in 1956, when the city of Rožňava commissioned earthworks for the drinking pipeline.¹⁰

The fact of the cave, which was excavated almost 700 metres long, received a great deal of press coverage. The idea of opening up tourism almost immediately arose. According to the measurements of engineer and geologist Árpád Abonyi, the works started in the autumn of 1964 mainly with the financial support of the Rožňava Local National Commission and the iron ore mines. During the excavation work the highest stalactite of the cave with a height of 32.7 meters was discovered.

In 1982 a corridor dotted with beautiful helictites was discovered. The length of the cave thus increased to 1100 metres. The cave has been a national monument since 1996.

The known length of the cave is 1556 metres. The hiking trail leads to the Rožňava Caves Chapel, one of the largest waterfalls in the world at an altitude of almost 33 m. Until recently it was included in the Guinness Book of Records. Buzgó Cave is a national natural monument. The protection of the area was declared in 1972 and amended in 2007. The opening of the cave was considered after its discovery, but the opening for the tourists only became a reality in 2004 thanks to J. Stankovič and his colleagues.

2.6 Characterization of the Domica–Baradla cave system

The 25.5 km long Domica–Baradla cross-border underground cave system from the border of Hosszúszó (Dlhá ves) – Slovakia to Jósvafő – Hungary offers a truly magnificent sight to the visitor. Formed by underground streams, in some places it became a defining gem of the Gömör-Tornai karst thanks to its corridors of power, unique stalactite formations, valuable fauna and rich archeological finds. The main axis of the cave system is the Styx stream bed. The stream still flows from Domica to Baradla, where it picks up the Acheron stream and other tributaries. Later it falls into deeper regions to form another magnificent cave in a few hundred thousand years. On the Slovak side it is Domica, and on the Hungarian side it is the entrance to Baradla-Aggtelek and Vörös.¹¹

The total length of the Domica is 5,368 metres, that of the Baradla 20,196 metres. Much of the cave system has been known since the Stone Age. We have had memories of this special stalactite world since the 18th century.

However, Mátyás Bél's work *Notitita Hungariae Novae Historico Geographica*, which also describes the geography of Hungary, was published in 1742, in which he also mentioned Baradla. The first map of Baradla was made in 1794 by the mining engineer of the Eger estate, József Sartory.

¹⁰ <http://www.gemer.sk/ciele/kjaskyna/hu.html>

¹¹ <http://npslovenskykras.sopsr.sk/projekty/aggtelek-domica-curative-cave/>

Picture 3. Location of Domica – Baradla cave system



Source: http://anp.nemzetipark.gov.hu/index.php?pg=menu_2780

In 1807 a detailed description of the cave was published. The cave was visited by József Nádor in 1806. On this occasion the route of the visit was built, the entrance to Aggtelek was blasted, bridges and stairs were built so far. The underground passage itself was lit by many thousands of candles. A stalactite called the Palatine Column preserves the memory of the visit. Not far from it is the Ferdinand Column, named after Archduke Ferdinand, the later Hungarian king and Austrian emperor in 1817. There is also a Reviczky column, reminiscent of the Chancellor's visit in 1829, a colourful lettered, engraved stalactite intended for József Almásy, the head of Gemer, but there are also several inscriptions in the cave referring to other famous personalities.¹²

Dr. Pál Almásy Balogh published a further detailed description in his scientific collection in 1820 based on his own observations.

The importance and reputation of Baradla grew rapidly. In his travelogue published in 1839 by English physician John Paget, it was already described as a well-known excursion destination abroad. The underground stalactite wonder was not overlooked by Elek Fényes when compiling the description and geographical dictionary of Hungary.

Despite frequent visits by the middle of the 19th century the cave was in a rather neglected state. As a result, Károly Siegmeth, President of the First Scientific Cave Research Organization, initiated the management of the cave by the Hungarian Carpathian Association. Archaeological research at Baradla began in 1876. The excavations were organized by the Hungarian Historical Society. Thanks to research it has become one of the best-known Neolithic sites in the country.

The cave was declared as a national treasure by a decree of the Ministry of Culture in 1925, new concrete sidewalks and concrete bridges were built, and roads leading to the cave were built.

In August 1926 another cave in the Baradla, named Domica, was discovered. After its discovery the cave was treated by various organizations of the Slovak League. The tourist opening of the cave was finally realized by the Czechoslovak Tourist Club.

In 1930 a storage facility was built at the site of the current entrance, and in 1932 with the construction of concrete sidewalks and electric lighting, the cave was opened to the public.

¹² <http://www.slovensky-kras.eu/info/jaskyne-a-priepasti/jaskyna-domica/>

Earlier that year the water of the Styx Cave Creek was inflated, allowing for underground boating. In August of that year Hungarian cave researchers proved the connection between the two caves.

In 1935 the research of the cave continued under the leadership of the Karst Section of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club. Also that year large-scale renovations were carried out. In 1936 Governor Miklós Horthy also visited the renovated cave.¹³

After World War II Soviet soldiers set up a stable for it, and a flood in 1954 caused catastrophic damage to Domica and its archaeological finds. The Labyrinth Branch was built in 1960, later modernized and able to accommodate thousands of people. The caves of the Domica-Baradla cave system in both countries are strictly protected and under constant surveillance. Since 1940 – under the Nature Conservation Act of 1935 – they have been protected with a surface area of 10 ha.

The Baradla was then protected as all Hungarian caves are in Hungary as a result of the Hungarian Nature Conservation Act in 1961, and the Domica was declared a protected natural form in 1972. It has been a national natural monument since 1996. Baradla has been a highly protected natural value since 1982.

The cave system was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1995 as a part of the cave world of the Slovak Karst and the Aggtelek Karst. In 2001 both underground wetlands, both caves were declared Ramsar sites. The two caves have a common protection zone.

On the Slovak side the Slovak Karst has been a nature reserve since 1973 and a national park since 2002. Domica belongs to the Directorate of Slovak Caves in Liptovský Mikuláš, while Baradla belongs to the Directorate of Aggtelek National Park in Jósvafő. Cooperation between the two institutions is regular.

Ecotourism is an important part of active tourism. Although they have many features in common, active tourism is characterized by elements of adventure tourism, such as cave tourism.

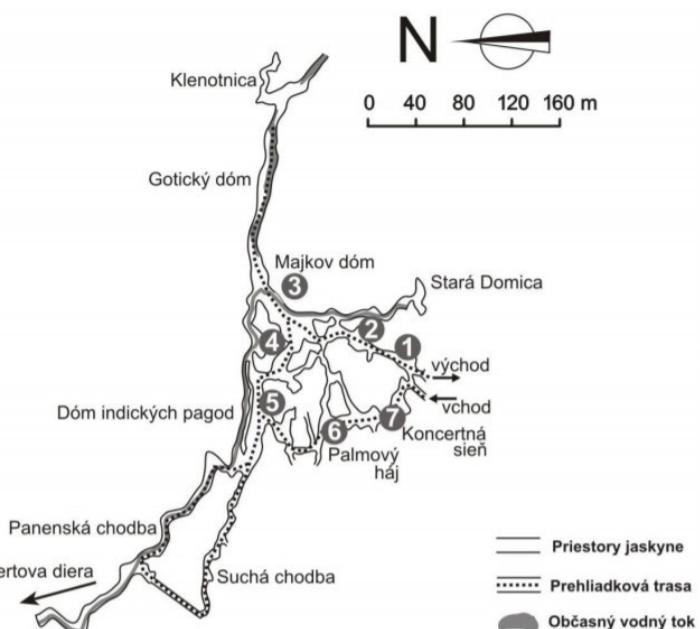
The beneficial effects of caves in medical tourism are used during speleotherapy, which relieves or treats allergic and chronic diseases of the respiratory system based on the aerosol present in certain caves. Obtaining the Slovak Medical Cave Certificate could be an important milestone in the development of health tourism in the Domica Cave.

The most beautiful water cave in Europe, the Domica, is a stalactite cave on the Slovak side.

The Domica Cave together with the Baradla Cave forms a unique complex in the Aggtelek Karst, Hungary, with a total length of 30 kilometers. The visitor can choose from two types of cave viewing routes: 780-metre short guided tour or a long circuit with an impressive boat trip on the underground river Styx with a length of 930 meters

Due to its excellent natural endowments Slovakia has a Source: <https://lepsiden.sk/jaskyna-domica-pycha-gemera>

Picture 4. Domica-cave visiting route



¹³ <http://www.gemer.sk/ciele/domica/domica.html>

significant capacity to develop cave tourism. Evidence of this is provided by summarizing and evaluating the responses of the participants in the questionnaire research.

3. Description and evaluation of questionnaire research related to the development of cave tourism

The main method of researching the experiences and attitudes of service providers to improve their promotional activities is a web questionnaire. The questions answered by the respondents focused on seeking ideas and inspirations for the development of cave tourism in the area, where the aim was to get as many answers as possible from existing service providers, respecting the anonymity of the respondents.

The questionnaire was sent in June 2021, primarily in the form of an e-mail, to the service providers participating in the research. The decisive factors in choosing the form to complete the questionnaire were time, distance and epidemic situation.

The target group was service providers in the local and immediate vicinity of the Domica Cave between the ages of 18 and 50. The research focused on a survey based on the current knowledge of service providers and employees related to cave tourism, taking into account, of course, sustainable development and environmental protection.

The analysis of the responses summarizes the effective ways to increase guest traffic and eliminate errors that negatively affect the development of cave tourism, including obtaining a medical cave certificate.

The results of the research are based on the following questions:

1. What do you think about getting a medical cave certificate?
2. What innovations would you use to improve the quality of cave tourism?
3. What forms of propaganda do you prefer?

The basic pillars of the questionnaire are the above questions, but in order to get an objective picture, other additional questions had to be asked, which examined the basic information, education, target groups, duration of the visit, the possibility of establishing a geopark.

The web questionnaire was completed by 80 respondents, more than 54% of whom are women. There is a minimal difference between the age groups of 20 to 30 years (27.8%) and 30 to 45 years (32.9%). For the other two age groups, the difference is 9.7%, i.e. respondents under 20 (14.8%) and respondents over 45 (24.5%).

In terms of educational attainment respondents can be divided into three groups: most respondents have secondary education (57.8%) and the fewest have primary education (4.2%). 38% of survey participants completed higher education.

The next section included questions about the service providers' experiences with visitors. Respondents surveyed included restaurant owners (41%), accommodation owners (27%), grocery store operators (12%), taxi service providers (9%), and others (11%).

Defining the target group is an important factor in planning and introducing new and interesting tourist attractions. Based on the analysis of the answers of the service providers to the target group, it can be stated that 68.9% of the respondents prefer the group of families with children. In case that the medical cave certification is achieved, in addition to improvements for the current target group, the primary tasks will be to ensure the establishment of health care and related quality services.

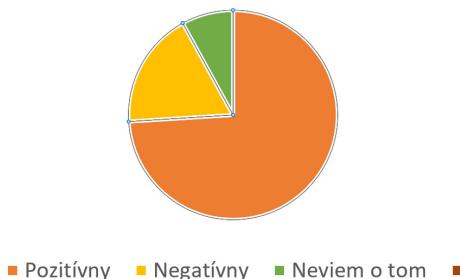
The region has a high unemployment rate. The development of medical and cave tourism would create new job opportunities to increase the number of employees, and this would have a positive effect on raising the living standards of the settlement. Expanding the services provided would also create opportunities for qualified tourism professionals.

When asked about the length of stay of tourists, 72% of respondents marked the one-day answer, pointing to insufficient accommodation capacity.

The main part of the analysis is the answers to the questions asked in the second part of the questionnaire. The questions focused primarily on past experiences and opinions on the future of the area within rural and cave tourism.

Figure 1. Provider's opinion on obtaining a medical certificate

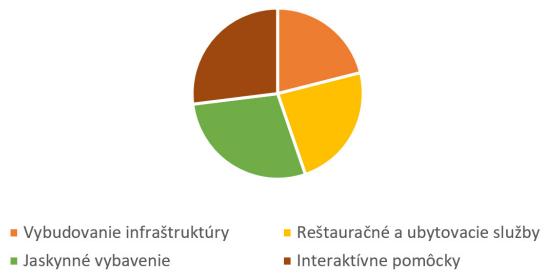
Aký máte názor na získanie certifikátu liečivej jaskyne?



The positive attitude of the majority of respondents reflects the promotion of sustainable, responsible and quality tourism in the municipality by increasing its competitiveness while making better use of its potential, with the aim of levelling out regional disparities and creating new jobs.

Figure 2. Infrastructure development

Aké inovácie by ste využili na zvýšenie kvality jaskynného turizmu?



interior equipment, landscaping parks, etc.). Service providers have identified restaurant and accommodation services (72%) as part of the promotion of rural tourism and as a means of creating new job opportunities as a very important component in expanding their product range. The responses show that the most important component for the respondents (86%) is the creation of opportunities to sell and rent cave equipment from beginners to professionals. Respondents showed great interest (82%) in introducing and using interactive educational aids that can provide useful information about local geology, educational trails, bike paths, natural resources, and the cave itself.

The last question focused on forms of marketing. It is clear from the responses that respondents (57%) prefer the development of a quality and up-to-date website and appropriate, active e-marketing communication on social networks. A smaller proportion of respondents (39%) also mentioned traditional marketing communication tools as an important component.

A large number of respondents (74%) confirmed that they see the possibility of obtaining a medical cave certificate due to the possible development of existing cave tourism. A significantly lower number of respondents have a negative attitude towards this question. Their rejection was justified in several cases by a disproportionate increase in mass tourism, which would have a negative impact on environmental protection (18%). Surprisingly, a small percentage of respondents (8%) did not have information about a promising opportunity to develop tourism in the locality.

Based on the comments of the respondents, which relate to another issue related to the improvement of the secondary supply in the settlement, it can be stated that the successful development of cave tourism is determined by the expansion of the range of existing services.

The majority of service providers (64%) expressed the opinion that the technical infrastructure should be reconstructed and built in accordance with European standards (lighting, roads, car parks, stairs,

Based on the good and prosperous relationship with neighbouring Hungary, the third group of respondents (71%) considers the geopark to be established on the model of the Novohradský Nógrád geopark to be the most effective tool for promoting the development of cave tourism. Geoparks offer an opportunity for significant development of geotourism.

With its unique cave system of the Slovak Karst, which is on the UNESCO World Heritage List, it meets these conditions and can even integrate very quickly into the Global Network of Geoparks.

The summary of the analysis of the answers to the questionnaire research forms a clear picture of the service providers' opinions, views and opportunities for development. The possible acquisition of a medical cave certificate opens up an even wider range of natural and human potential.

Intensive rural and cave tourism and the number of visitors can lead to the partial destruction of the environment and interference with the natural cycle of flora and fauna. For this reason, it plays an important role and the protection of caves and nature comes to the fore.

All caves that can be visited are considered national natural monuments, therefore their appropriate and optimal use is based on monitoring the impact of visitors. In the Slovak Republic, the protection and operation of the caves that can be visited is ensured by the Slovak Cave Directorate in Liptovský Mikuláš. It is listed as an organizational unit in the State Nature Conservation Institute of the Slovak Republic, which is a professional nature conservation organization of the Ministry of Environment of the Slovak Republic. The activities of the Slovak Caves Directorate focus on the management and safe and sustainable use of all caves.

In addition to the above activities, it takes care of the facilities and equipment located in the underground and cave entrance areas, ensures their maintenance and operational safety.

4. Summary

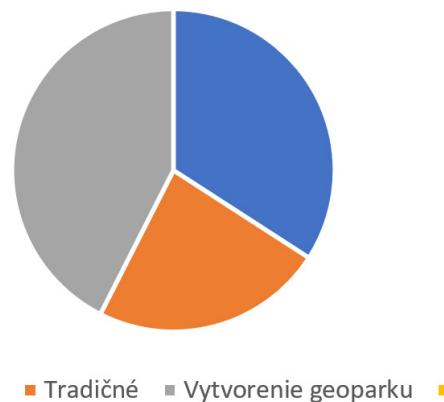
The beauty of unusual natural phenomena, caves attracts visitors from the public to experts. They are enchanted with the diverse formations of drop decoration, rock formations, artistic ice creations, canyons and lakes full of crystal-clear water created in the underground spaces. They create a home for various species of small animals that have adapted to underground life. They preserve the memories of the ancient past, which relate to the lives of the ancient representatives of mankind, as well as often important sites of archaeological finds.

The caves of the Slovak karst system are known for their highest stalagmic, aragonistic and sintered formations, as well as an ice-filled ravine, making them unique in Central Europe. They are also on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

The largest cave in the Slovak karst, the Domica, was ranked among the first. Despite its natural and geological features, its popularity and use are unsatisfactory. The low level of secondary services and additional tourist attractions results in stagnant tourism. The results of the research show that the service providers have a clear positive attitude towards the development of cave tourism and the creation of appropriate conditions for the therapeutic use of the cave.

Figure 3. Using of marketing tools

Aké formy propagácie usprednostňujete?



In summary, the aim of the cave and geotourism itself is to protect the geological and natural beauties of the area, in addition to attracting active information to the area and providing useful information to the incoming visitors through advertising campaigns.

Bibliography

Gaál Lajos (2010), Gömörország természeti öröksége, Bratislava

Sources from the internet

- [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323021308 Caves as touristic attractions in Hungary Adventure health culture ecotourism](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323021308_Caves_as_touristic_attractions_in_Hungary_Adventure_health_culture_ecotourism)
- <https://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jasky%C5%88a>
- <https://kamnahory.sk/Jaskyne/Spristupnene-jaskyne/>
- <https://slovakia.travel/co-vidiet-a-robit/priroda-a-krajina/jaskyne>
- <http://www.smopaj.sk/sk>
- <http://old.roznava.sk/sk/--91-2665-jaskyna-dobsina->
- <http://www.sopsr.sk/web/?cl=20693>
- https://sk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ochtinsk%C3%A1_aragonitov%C3%A1_jasky%C5%88a
- <http://www.gemer.sk/ciele/kjaskyna/hu.html>
- <http://npslovenskykras.sopsr.sk/projekty/agtelek-domica-curative-cave/>
- <http://www.slovensky-kras.eu/info/jaskyne-a-priepasti/jaskyna-domica/>
- <http://www.gemer.sk/ciele/domica/domica.html>

Patrik Zsolt Varga

The Businesses and the Innovations of Adolf Engel in the Second Half of the 19th Century

Abstract

The purpose of the study. The study is about the businesses of Adolf Engel, a local entrepreneur of Pécs in the 19th century. The study is focused on finding answers to three main questions. Firstly, in what ways did Adolf Engel's career differ from other great entrepreneurs of Pécs, such as Zsolnay, Angster or Hamerli? Secondly, how big was Engel's impact on the local economy and how did he tackle the charcoal crisis by establishing industrial coal mining in Komló? Finally, what kind of innovations did he use and what were their effects?

Applied methods. The research is based upon a wide range of sources. A great volume of domestic and international literature and the memoirs of Adolf Engel provided the background of the study. I used statistics of the era and I read numerous articles found in the Arcanum Digitheca and Hungarian Cultural Heritage Portal databases. Furthermore, I revealed and analysed archival sources of the Regional Archives of Baranya County of the National Archives of Hungary. I composed the study in chronological order and have summed up Engel's work.

Outcomes. By the end of the study, I was able to reflect on the differences of Adolf Engel's entrepreneurial career. He managed multiple businesses in different sectors at the same time. He successfully participated in the development of the local economy and took part in solving the energy crisis. He applied several unusual innovations, but their outcome was undoubtedly positive and successful. Engels's efforts are clearly telling of the career of a self-made businessman.

Keywords: economic history, 19th century, Pécs, business story, innovation

1. Introduction

In the era of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy Adolf Engel was one of the important entrepreneurs of Pécs (1820–1903). After the loss of his father at the age of 4 he was living in extreme poverty with his mother and younger brother. He left school at a very young age and began working as a door-to-door salesman. Alongside his daytime job, he educated himself during the night and on weekends. He learned to speak four languages thanks to his diligence. He invested his savings into low-risk business opportunities that showed a return. His circumstances kept improving continuously, and by 1853 he opened his first shop in Pécs. He founded a public bath, transformed the Czindery Garden, established a woodworking plant and he was managing multiple parallel businesses from the 1860s. He became one of the wealthiest citizens of Pécs by the turn of the 19–20th century. In 1887 he received the title “jánosi” of nobility for his activities from Joseph Franz, the Hungarian monarch. Adolf Engel has already interested many historians. Copious articles have been written about him; however, a comprehensive economic history study of his business ventures is yet to be published. That is what I attempt to resolve by writing this essay.

2. Sources, questions, methods

During my research I tried to broaden the base of my resources as much as I could. Various accounts of the endeavours of Adolf Engel for the betterment of the residents of Pécs can be found in contemporary local newspapers (Pécsi Napló, Pécsi Figyelő, Pécsi Lapok, Dunántúl etc.). In addition, examining statistical yearbooks, documented censuses and gazetteers retrieved

from the 19th century aided me in fitting the work of Engel into the more important processes of the era. Furthermore, literature, publications, memoirs and even studies of mining contributed to precisely portraying his life. Adolf Engel had foreign ties too, so I involved several international sources in the research as well. Moreover, I expended my research to the sources of the Regional Archives of Baranya County of the National Archives of Hungary. After his death, a list of the assets of Engel provides a clear view into the greatness of his career and the value of his achievements. The distribution of his heritage proves just how thoroughly dedicated he was to his family.

After inspecting the sources, I posed three questions. The first one being: was Adolf Engel the same type of entrepreneur as his local peers (Vilmos Zsolnay, Lőrinc Littke, József Angster etc.)? The second: what impact did he have on the major economic issues of his time during his ventures into different business sectors? And lastly: did he continue any activities that could be classified as distinct, odd, and innovative for businessmen of his time?

3. Economic development of Pécs in the era of dualism

With the 1867 Austrian–Hungarian Compromise, Europe's peculiar, structured state of Austria–Hungary was born, which was a monarchy based on dualism. For the next half century, Hungary was benefitting from its economic golden age. The Hungarian market economy was initiated in this era.¹ The economic boost also brought rapid development to many Hungarian cities. Amongst them, the biggest settlement of South Transdanubia, Pécs improved in many ways during this time.

The biggest advancement occurred in the field of industry in Pécs. One of the most booming sectors was coal mining, the mechanisation of which in the South Mecsek region almost reached the same level as England's by the end of the 19th century.² In addition to mining, we are seeing substantial progress in several new industrial sectors. In the ceramic industry, one or two of the Zsolnay factory's wide range of products can still be found in Pécs today.³ The glove business of János Hamerli and the leather factory of the Höfler Brothers were prominent compared to their contemporaries. In the metal and machinery sector the organ and harmonium factory of József Angster became world famous.⁴ The key to the success of the above-mentioned plants was the mechanization, the innovation, and the continuous labour force growth. Branches of the food industry also had their place in the industrial evolution of the city, such as the breweries of Hirschfeld and Scholz, or the champagne factory of Littke. In the high standard furniture manufacturing field Károly Hoffman's renowned business stood out. However, Adolf Engel belongs to the same group of manufacturers too, as he is mainly remembered as a woodworker and parquet maker.⁵

The boom of agriculture between 1850–1873 had a significant impact on the city. The extensive viticulture was a determining income source for the population of Pécs. A vast number of civilians and entrepreneurs owned vineyards then. The activities of the local wine merchants turned Pécs into the second largest wine trading settlement of Hungary by the end of the 1890s.⁶

The greatest advancements of the era were implemented most spectacularly in the transportation industry, more specifically in railway construction, just like in most European countries. The key to development was the railway. In the region of South Transdanubia the first railroad was built between Üszög-puszta (next to Pécs) and Mohács (port of the Danube)

¹ Kaposi, Z. (2017); Kaposi, Z. (2007).

² Babics, A. (1952): 45.

³ Rúzsás, L. (1954).

⁴ Angster, J. (1993).

⁵ Pécs Lexikon (2010): Vol. 1. 199.; Kaposi, Z. (2006): 102–108.

⁶ Ibid.

by the First-Danube-Steamboat-Shipping Company (DDSG) in 1857, which was involved in coal mining in Pécs and the surrounding villages. In 1868 the second railway, Pécs–Barcs, was opened with which the traders of Pécs could get connections to the lines of the Austrian Southern Railway Company. A direct connection to the capital was created in 1882 by the Pécs–Szentlőrinc–Budapest railway line. By the beginning of the 1900s, more and more local railways had been built. On the other hand, the road network of the city had less importance and was rather there to facilitate the internal transportation.⁷ The development of the domestic financial institution system was another important area of the economic boom. One of the most relevant organisations was the Savings Bank of Pécs, which was a construction contractor, a charity, a lender, and the financier of numerous industrial companies of the city. Several other banks were also founded alongside it, which contributed greatly to the economic development.⁸ Let us also mention the development of utility services in the city. By the turn of the century, Pécs already had water, gas, and electricity. In addition, 1913 saw the city introducing trams into public transportation too.

4. The social background and the family circumstances of Adolf Engel

Before 1780 Pécs was an episcopal city, where they did not really tolerate any other religion than Catholicism. This changed in the era of dualism, but the majority remained Catholic. Around 1870, approximately 91% of the population of the city (21,715 person) was Catholic. The remaining 9% (2,148 persons) followed other religions, from which Judaism represented a significant proportion already. In the 1910s the religious breakdown became more diversified, to which the various religions of the newly settled immigrants contributed greatly.⁹

The number of Jews increased the most in that time. For a long time, not only the local jurisdiction, but also the population opposed their settlement. Besides of the various taxes many obstacles made their everyday life harder. On the other hand, there was a huge economic demand for their economic activity. A part of the mercantile-, credit-, and bank developments of Pécs were founded and improved by the settled Jews.¹⁰

The father of Adolf Engel, Péter Engel was an immigrant Jewish retailer who got his permission to reside through marriage in the beginning of 1800s. He remarried after the early

1. Picture: **Adolf Engel with his wife Anna Justus**



Source: Lenkei, H. (1930): 63.

death of his first wife. His second wife was Mária Süsskind, with whom he had two sons, Adolf and Simon. Péter Engel was granted a permanent residency in Pécs in 1820.¹¹

After the early death of his father Adolf Engel lived with his mother and his younger brother. Adolf Engel was born on 6 February 1820 in Pécs. He was already working by the age of 11 because of his poor financial circumstances. His first known job was as a door-to-door salesman in the streets of Pécs with different small

⁷ Majdán, J. (2005): 59–62.

⁸ Gál, Z. (2005): 38.

⁹ Várdy, F. (1896): 683–690.

¹⁰ See Ágh, T. (1894): 19–23.; Gál Z. (2005).

¹¹ Oláh, J. (2012); Weisz, G. (1929): 11.

items. He bought sulphuric acid and asbestos to create fire starters, but he was peddling with pencils also. Simultaneously he paid great attention to his self-education too. By the age of 16 he saved 160 Ft, which he invested and successfully multiplied. Whatever investment he reckoned would bring a return he held onto until the end. If he put money into something he would risk everything and stick with it. This attitude and his widening horizon led to his first serious investment into Pécs, transforming the area of Balokány.¹²

5. The transformation of Balokány and the Engel Garden

In 1857 Adolf Engel alongside of three local citizens wanted to rent the area of Balokány (situated in the eastern side of Pécs), where Engel wanted to open a public bath. Shortly after submitting their application for the lease, Engel ended up on his own with the project because the others backed out. The left-alone territory of Balokány had already significantly disfigured the scenery of Pécs by then, so the transformation was beneficial for the city as well. The administration of the city accepted Engel's application. In the summer of 1858, the bath was already operating, it was named after the Austrian archduke Frigyes Rudolf Albrecht. With this development, Engel implemented only a part of his vision. He acquired the site next to Balokány with a land exchange whereon he eradicated the landfill, levelled and landscaped the ground and he founded a physical education, and gymnastics institute next to the bath. He provided the required equipment and the corresponding education also. Engel joined Pécs in to the bathing culture of the era with the Balokány bath. The spot became a popular place amongst the citizens, where not only the locals but also the military could learn to swim. Engel attracted the attention of the Commander-in-Chief of the Austrian military too. Therefore, in 1858 he was invited to Vienna, where he gave swimming lessons to the Austrian imperial forces. After the expiring of the 15-year long lease, Engel donated Balokány to Pécs with all its obligations.¹³

By the 1860s, Engel became a wealthy entrepreneur, and he was looking for another opportunity to move forward. His next venture was breaking into the timber industry. For this investment, in 1860 he bought the Czindery Garden for 20,000 Forints. The garden became the headquarters of several economic activities of his. László Czindery, the count of 27,000 cat. acres developed the park at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1863 Engel founded his steam sawmill here and with it he left his mark on the history of the town. The central park became an increasingly popular spot. Via the efforts of Engel, the park became an important cultural area also. The Engel Garden was a place dear to everyone and the starting point of many marriages.¹⁴

6. Sawmill and parquet factory in Pécs and Vienna

The sawmill and parquet factory of Pécs was located in the northern part of the Engel Garden, at Országút 14 (today Rákóczi Road).¹⁵ At first it was a small company, but later on it grew continuously thanks to the increasing demand. In the early 1870s the plant consisted of a boiler room (steam was produced by two steam boilers), a powerhouse (with steam engines, the main one producing 15 hp and the spare one producing 8 hp), a sawmill building (separated into three floors to manufacture various timber products), a woodcutting workshop, a separate room (for mechanical joinery), another workshop (for joinery) and a drying and wood alkalisising room.¹⁶ The parquet factory employed 30 male and 3 child employees when it was founded. Additionally, in the forests leased and owned by Engel, 250–300 people worked simultaneously. The labourers

¹² Baiersdorf, K. (2009): 54–60.; Szirtes, G. (1998): 85–90.; Schweitzer, J. (1966).

¹³ Engel, Ad. (2009): 27–28.; Madas, J. (1989): 105–132.

¹⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2019): 70.; Lenkei, L. (1922): 181–184.

¹⁵ Pécsi Lapok, 30. 05. 1867.

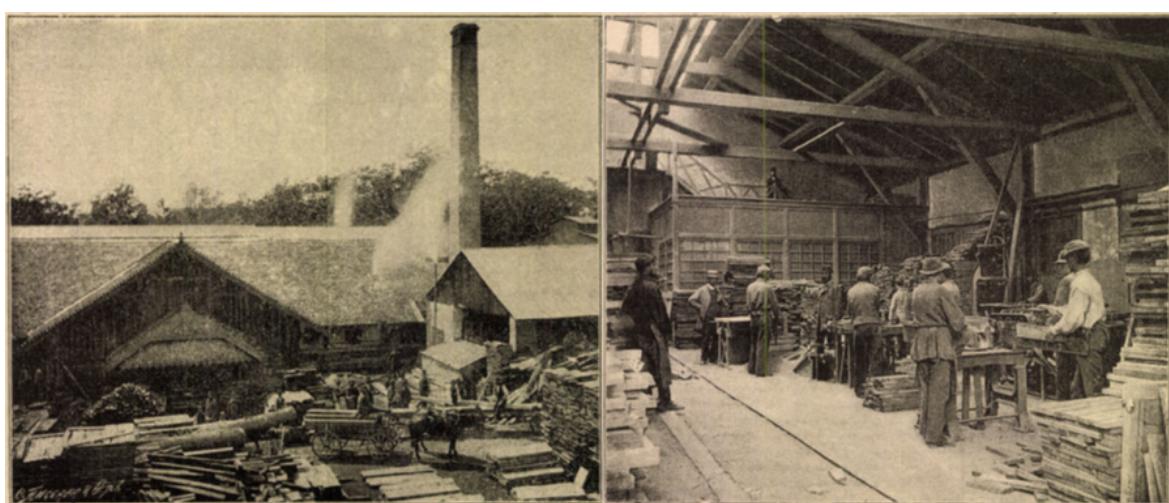
¹⁶ Anyagi Érdekeink, 28. 08. 1874.

of the forests provided the resources to the factory. Their wages were a bit higher than the average then. The innovative approach of Engel showed its results at his main property too. Safe working conditions were a main priority to him. He maintained a factory sickness fund in case of his employees falling ill. Furthermore, as a fringe benefit, they were allowed to use the later founded steam bath free of a charge. He paid his employees their wages on Fridays, so that they could buy their food conveniently and much cheaper at the weekend fairs. His humanitarianism was reflected in the fact that his winter workers received hot soup and fresh bread every day at the expenses of the factory.

Engel started buying forests in the 1860s. He often inspected the quality of the cut timber himself because reliable raw material was a key factor in the operation of the factory. This was one of the reasons for the market success of the company too. Adolf Engel predominantly purchased the needed wood domestically, but he initially imported spruce from the northern highland of Hungary and later from Switzerland and Carinthia also. The parquet factory used many types of wood, and it was utilising the material in various ways.¹⁷ The expanding business was transformed in the second half of the 1870s. Engel involved his sons in the successful company. He founded the Engel Adolf és Fiai general partnership with his eldest son, József and his 1-year younger brother Sándor.

The industrial wood enterprise was constantly developing technically. In 1896 the steam engines of the company could produce approximately 85 hp. The machinery they powered consisted of 40 machines assisting production. The factory itself was equipped with electric lighting. Engel employed 70–100 male workers at that time. On the other hand, women were not hired at all, and children were taken on to accompany the transport wagons only. As we can see in Váradys book: „(...the annual production capacity of the factory was about 3,000 m³ of cut material and 25,000 m² of parquet...)”.¹⁸ It is clear from these sentences that the factory had expanded significantly, and it was operating with increasing capacity and higher productivity. Because of the increasing demand for wood products and the presence of competitors (like the Gutmann Companies of Nagykanizsa and Beliscse), Engel’s company was in need of spatial growth.¹⁹ Therefore, in 1878 they established branches in Barcs and Szigetvár, then in 1892 they founded another steam sawmill in Szentlőrinc.²⁰

2. Picture: The Engel Sawmill and the inside of the parquet factory (1885)



Source: Gazdasági Mérnök, 13. 12. 1885.

¹⁷ Engel, Ad. (2009): 30–32.; *Gazdasági Mérnök*, 13. 12. 1885.

¹⁸ Váradys, F. (1896): 608.

¹⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2014): 192.; Kaposi, Z. (2009): 276–277.

²⁰ Vörös, A. (1996): 275–284.; Váradys, F. (1896): 606–608.; Szabó, M. (2019): 155–157.

Adolf Engel was not solely expanding in South Transdanubia; in 1884 he purchased a parquet factory founded by Stefan Barawitzka in Ober-Döbling (today Vienna), Austria and he handed it over to his son Sándor. Sándor Engel was a prominent professional in the wood industry, therefore it is not surprising that he was to manage the new firm. He knew exactly what opportunities lay in the domestic timber industry and trading and he supported his theories by writing professional and scientific studies about them. He published two relevant books on the industry. One of which described the Hungarian, and the other the Austrian wood industry and trade. Sándor Engel added a joinery to the Barawitzka Factory and the success of it was undoubted. By the 1900s the Viennese plant had provided woodwork for buildings such as the halls of the Vienna City Hall, the palace of Prince Arnulf of Bavaria, the palace of Crown Prince Rudolf or the villa of Empress Elisabeth. It was also exporting to Spain, India, and the American continent.²¹

The businesses of Adolf Engel did not only have local relevance but they had also been important at regional level and at national level too. It was the biggest wood industry company of South Transdanubia. While it was employing fewer workers than the other great entrepreneurs of the era, the products of the factory had outstanding quality. The enterprise of Engel won several famous exhibitions, which confirmed the reputation of the company. One of the greatest achievements of the firm was winning a gold medal at the 1878 World Expo in Paris. Along with the gold prize weighing roughly 30 ducats the Engels also received the highest honour, the gold cross with the crown which made the company even more recognised all around the world.²²

Adolf Engel had founded and developed a significant business in the wood industry. „He is representative of that type from the old times that, with a never-flagging will to work, ingenuity and ability, creates great things out of nothing, and has scarcely accomplished one of his goals before another is already on his mind, pondering how he could increase his own fortune while being of service to the public. From the humblest beginnings he has made a considerable fortune with exclusively honest methods.” – wrote a contemporary.²³

7. Land ownership, construction, transportation development

Because the wood industry had been a resource-intensive sector, Engel started buying up property in 1870. First, he purchased the land of Pál Somssich at Simonfa (south of Kaposvár).²⁴ Then, in 1878 he proceeded to buy the manor located at the border of Felsőmindszent and Szatina (northwest of Pécs). After that, in 1880 he obtained the land of Jánosi-puszta (today it is the area of Komló), and in 1885 he acquired the land of Ócsárd–Pázdány (in Baranya County, south of Pécs). Out of all his estates, Jánosi was the most important one. Not only had he introduced various agricultural reforms and built a model farm here, Jánosi was also the place where the coal mining industry of Komló was set up. In 1900 he constructed the Castle of Mecsekjánosi, still standing to this day, on this property as well.²⁵

During the dualism epoch a construction boom hit Pécs. There was a huge demand for timber products. Adolf Engel recognised this and got numerous development projects under way. He built multiple edifices in the centre of Pécs, such as the palace of the city police in 1894, located at Siklósi Street 21, or the two-storey apartment house at Hal Square. His most notable investment was the Palace of Lóránt. He gave the finished building as a dowry to his

²¹ Weiss, L. (1898); Engel, Al. (1892); Engel, S. (1882).

²² Pécsi Figyelő, 05. 10. 1878.

²³ Lenkei, L. (1922): 181.

²⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2019): 141.; Kaposi, Z. (2002): 59–87.

²⁵ Engel, Ad. (2009): 39–40.

eldest daughter Berta in 1884. The two sons of Engel, Sándor and Mór helped to complete the building. The impressive construction can still be seen today in the heart of the city.²⁶

Adolf Engel efficiently assisted the evolution of train transportation. He connected his timber warehouses with branch lines in Pécs. He donated land to the Hungarian State Railways, to make its operation more economical. He financially supported the implementation of a railway connection with his capital. In 1882 the railway line between Pécs and Budapest was established. The tracks ran right next to the land of Engel, Felsőmindszent–Szatina. The entrepreneur seized the opportunity to set up a train station on his property in 1897. With this stop, Engel was going to connect his estate in Komló to the national coal transportation. That was one of the reasons why the coal mining of Komló was so successful.²⁷

8. The last major investment: the coal mining of Komló

Mining in the Mecsek area was a fast-growing sector from the 1860s onwards. The coalfield of the Mecsek is basically divided into two sections. The southern part stretches in an S-shape from Pécs–bányatelep to Pécsvárad (Óbánya) for 25 kilometres. The northern coal line runs along the northern foothills of the mountain, along the Magyaregregy–Kárász–Vékény–Szászvár–Váralja–Nagymányok line, for about 15 kilometres.²⁸

The development of the coal mining of Komló was directly linked to the progress of the northern areas. Coal mining started earlier at the southern part, in the northern somewhat later, in 1812. Mining of the northern area was unprofitable until the venture of Adolf Engel at the end of the century. Although multiple companies were founded for the purpose of potential coal mining, eventually they collapsed. Engel's manor of Jánosi consisted of four areas: Szopok, Komló, Jánosi and Jánosi-puszta. After merging them together, Engel started explorations and drillings for coal with the help of Gyula Engel between 1890 and 1892. In 1894 Adolf Engel obtained two fields. Then in 1895 his company started the extraction of the black coal with the Adolf Tunnel. Initially tunnel mining was not a profitable activity. Therefore, the firm of Engel expanded the extraction several times. In

1896 he opened the Glanzer Tunnel, then the Szerencse Tunnel in 1897. The real breakthrough came in 1898, when the Anna Shaft, a deep-coalmine was opened. The shaft was 106 metres deep, had a wooden gallows-frame and a steam powered conveyer belt that brought coal up to the surface. The innovative production was so profitable that in 1901 the company abandoned tunnel mining altogether. The pit was deepened several times allowing it to reach new, valuable carbon layers.

3. Picture: Anna Shaft at Komló



Source: https://mandadb.hu/tetel/381191/Komloj_Anna_akna

Licence: PDM, Rights holder: Csorba Győző
Könyvtár – Pécs (Downloaded: 18.12.2021)

²⁶ HU-MNL-BaML-IV.-1409.b.-1127/1911.; Pilkhoffer, M. (2004); Bezerédy, Gy. (1983): 265–293.

²⁷ See Erdősi, F. (1986); Compass (1897): 410.

²⁸ Babics, A. (1967): 8.; Babics, A. (1952): 17–18.

Later the wooden structure of the shaft was replaced with an iron one as part of the efforts to modernise the site. As a result, the amount of coal extracted by the company was steadily increasing.²⁹

After the upsurge of the coal mining of Komló, Engel left the family business. On 31 August 1898, with the capital thus freed up, he founded his new general partnership registered in Pécs, the Jánosi Engel and Fiai Kőszénbánya és Iparvállalatai Komlón (Jánosi Engel and Sons Coal Mine and Industries, Komló).³⁰ With the formation of the black coal mining industry of Komló, it wasn't only just the immediate region that benefited from the long-term advancement as the coal with high calorific value was considered to be of standout quality and so it could be utilised in almost any sector.³¹

9. Wealth of the great entrepreneur

Adolf Engel accumulated significant assets during his entrepreneurial life. He died on 10 January 1903 in his Viennese home. After his passing the inheritance procedure started, which happened according to his will. The documents of the inheritance were archived at the Regional Archives of Baranya County of the National Archives of Hungary, therefore I am able to present the inheritance itself. The inventory of assets provides us with a detailed description of the distributable reserve (1. Table), which does not include the possessions he passed onto his family and friends during the course of his life.

The assets of Engel contained properties in Pécs (such as land, vineyards, farm buildings, houses), shares in the coal mining company of Komló, land and farm buildings in Baranya County (at Szigetvár, Darány, Szentlőrinc for instance), and six seats at the synagogue of Pécs. Their total value was 1,262,380 Austrian–Hungarian crowns. The listed assets were freely transferable to the heirs. On the other hand, the probate records show a liability of 1,265,400 crowns, which refers to the reallocation process between the family business and the well-established mining company in Komló.

Adolf Engel had several wills taken from 1893 onwards, which suggests that he was determined to distribute his wealth evenly among his family members. As his assets were growing, he nominated more and more heirs as beneficiaries. His wills paint a picture of a pater familias, who left his hard-earned fortune to his family in such a way that prevented his heirs from squandering it. As a religious man, he stated that if anyone turned away from Judaism, they would lose their part of the heritage. Engel was striving not to cause any dissatisfaction in the family, even after his death.³²

Based on the sources, we can say that the life of Adolf Engel is a success story. He rose from poverty to one of the highest tax-paying citizens of the city. Overall, we can state that the dynasty founder was not living a wasteful and prodigal lifestyle. Comparing the assets of Engel to the other assets of the Jewish businessmen (like Joachim Schapringer banker and wholesaler, Lipót Justus oil manufacturer or Vilmos Tausz tobacco wholesaler), there are huge differences in favour of Engel. He was constantly saving up to leave his family in the best possible financial situation, because they were his first priority.³³

²⁹ Krisztián, B. (2020): 39–42.; Jäger, L. (2014). 13–18.; Jäger, L. (2015): 17–23.; Jakab, J. (2009): 93–102.; Babics, A. (1958): 21–30.

³⁰ HU-MNL-BaML-IV.-1409.b.-1127/1911.

³¹ Jäger, L. (2015); Jakab, J. (2009).

³² HU-MNL-BaML-IV.-1409.b.-1127/1911.

³³ HU-MNL-BaML-IV.-1409.b.-1127/1911.

1. Table: Adolf Engel's total assets listed in Hungarian krones

		Total Assets	Value
A. Fixed assets			
1.) Pécs catalogue: nothing			0
2.) Vienna catalogue: clothes, books and mineral collection			594
			594
B. Accounts receivable			
3.) Adolf Engel and Sons Company			53 234
4.) Engel Jánosi and Sons Coal Mines and Industries in Komló: 40% ownership			420 000
a.) Jánosi estate			1 100 000
b.) Coal Mines in Komló with buildings and machinery			1 200 000
c.) Commuter Rail of Komló-Bakócz-Felsőmindszent			2 000
d.) Assets of Industries in Komló			2 722 000 | x0.4
			1 088 800
			1 142 034
C. Synagogue Prayer Chairs			
5.) 4 male prayer chair in Synagogue of Pécs; third mid-righ row, chairs 7, 8, 9 and 10 (700 krones per piece)			2 800
6.) 2 female prayer chair in Synagogue of Pécs; galery, first row, chairs 1 and 2 (1200 krones per piece)			2 400
			5 200
D. Property			
7.) 30 th sheet of Pécs land terrier: 50-50% ownership shared with his wife Anna Justus			860
a.) Property reference number 2337/2, 3.1 Czindery St; farm building and yard			65 100
b.) Property reference number 2338, 50/2. Siklósi Road; farm building, steam bath, house and yard			30 000
c.) Property reference number 2339, 48 and 50 Siklósi Road; two houses, farm building and yard			913
d.) Property reference number 2340, Engel-garden, 7632 m ²			16 500
e.) Property reference number 2258, 66 Siklósi Road; house and two outbuildings			13 544
f.) Property reference number 6417, Rigóder dűlő; vineyard 43537.5 m ²			120
g.) Property reference number 6419, 27 Rigóder-Szabolcsi Road; winery			2 748
h.) Property reference number 6421, Rigóder dűlő; garden 29528.5 m ²			2 700
i.) Property reference number 6422, 29 Rigóder-Szabolcsi Road; house			9 000
j.) Property reference number 203, 5 Lyceum St and 6 Malom St; two-store house, outbuilding and yard			141 485 | x0.5
			70 743
8.) 31 st sheet of Pécs land terrier			24 000
a.) Property reference number 2325, 52 Siklósi Road; house			805
b.) Property reference number 2336/1; yard			1 370
c.) Property reference number 2337/3, 3/2 Czindery St; farm building			1 120
d.) Property reference number 2337/1, 3 Czindery St; farm building			4 537
e.) Property reference number 7504/1; lumber yard next to the central railway station			1 841
f.) Property reference number 7544; real estate south of the central railway satation			911
g.) Property reference number 7520/2; real estate at the central railway station			114 553
9.) 251 st sheet of Szentlőrinc land			114
10.) 915 th sheet of Szigetvár land terrier			7 927
a.) Property reference number 1326; meadow and warehouse			10
11.) 1110 th sheet of Szigetvár land			176
12.) 343 rd sheet of Darány land terrier			999
a.) Property reference number 2330; ploughland			
b.) Property reference number 2331; ploughland			
c.) Property reference number 2332; ploughland			
			1 262 380
Liabilities			Value
The Testator, as general partner at Engel Jánosi and Sons Coal Mines and Industries in Komló is in debt to Adolf Engel and Sons Company in the form of commercial debt.			1 265 400,00
			1 265 400

Source: HU-MNL-BaML-IV.-1409.b.-1127/1911;

10. Results and conclusions

We get quite a wide picture by looking at the major developments of Engel. In 1857 he started the recovery of Balokány as a partner, but he finished it by himself and created the first well-known public bath of the city. And with it, he joined in Pécs to the national bathing culture. Through his 1860s investment he transformed the Czindery Garden into the most popular public park of Pécs with just a few changes and by applying his values in real life. He provided space for civic culture. Then he founded his parquet factory, which brought him great recognition. His conscious ventures in the timber industry left a long-lasting mark on the history of the sector. He took an active role in the development of mining, transportation, and trading, taking into consideration both the interest of the city and his own. Hence, Adolf Engel was different from the other entrepreneurs of the era. One business quickly outgrew itself, and as soon as he was in the position to, he started managing several others simultaneously. Despite the fact that he was focusing on numerous things, he was able to successfully manage his own and later his family company. In the eyes of the locals, he was a building contractor, a bath owner, a landowner, a transportation innovator, a mine owner, an economist and even a patron of Pécs. Adolf Engel ensured the place of Komló and its area in the field of the Hungarian coal mining by using the most modern coal exploring and drilling methods. He always advocated for innovations. He kept looking for ways to successfully upgrade his ideas, which might have seemed unusual compared to other entrepreneurs, but they proved to work. The biography outlined in this essay shows a self-made man type of entrepreneur who is willing to do everything for the projects he set his heart on.³⁴ He exploited the economic opportunities his era offered, one after another, he was always seeking new, untraveled roads to take. Furthermore, in addition to his personality traits, he was one of the most popular figures of the time. Due to his humanitarianism, as a play on his surname, he is remembered as “Angel” by some of the public.

Bibliography

- Ágh, T. (1894), *Emléklapok Pécs Szabad Királyi Város Múltjából és Jelenéből*. Pécs: Taizs József
- Angster, J. (1993), *A pécsi orgonagyár és a család története*. Pécs: Baranya Megyei Könyvtár
- Babics, A. (1952), *A pécsvidéki kőszénbányászat története*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Babics, A. (1958), *A komlói kőszénbányászat története*. Pécs: Dunántúli Tudományos Intézet
- Babics, A. (1967), *Az észak-mecseki kőszénbányászat története*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó
- Baiersdorf, K. (2009), *A jánosi Engel családról. Adatok és kérdőjelek, I. rész. A családalapító, jánosi Engel Adolf*. In: Pécsi Szemle Vol. 12. No. 2. 54–60.
- Bezeredy, Gy. (1983), *A városkép és városszerkezet alakulása Péccsett*. In: Baranyai helytörténetírás 1982. (Edited: Szita, L.) Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár. 265–293.
- Compass (1897): *Magyar Compass 1896/97, Pénzügyi évkönyv Vol. II*. (Edited: Galánthai Nagy, S.) Budapest
- Engel, Ad. (2009), *Életemből*. Pécs: Pro Pannonia Kiadó
- Engel, Al. (1892), *Österreichs Holz-Industrie und Holzhandel*. Wien: Kais. und Königl. Hofbuchhandlung Wilhelm Fritz
- Engel, S. (1882), *Magyarország Faipara és Fakereskedése. Technikai, Gazdasági és Statistikai közlemények Fakereskedők, Faiparosok, Erdészek stb. számára*. Budapest: Grill Károly Királyi Udvari Könyvkereskedése
- Erdősi, F. (1986), *Baranya közlekedési hálózatának fejlődése a 19. század második felében*. In: Baranyai helytörténetírás 1985–1986. (Edited: Szita, L.) Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár

³⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2020): 59–73.

- Gál, Z. (2005), *A pécsi magánbankárok felemelkedése és bukása a 19. század derekától az 1930-as évekig*. In: Mozaikok Pécs és Baranya gazdaságtörténetéből. (Edited: Szirtes, G. – Vargha, D.) Pécs: Pro Pannonia Kiadó. 35–54.
- Jäger, L. (2014), *A komlói kőszénbányászat kezdetének 200. évfordulójára Vol. I*. In: Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok – Bányászat 147. Vol. 5–6. 13–18.
- Jäger, L. (2015), *A komlói kőszénbányászat kezdetének 200. évfordulójára Vol. II*. In: Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok – Bányászat 148. Vol. 1. 17–23.
- Jakab, J. (2009), *Pécs „igazi mecénása” és a komlói szénbányászat megálmodója*. In: Engel, Ad.: Életemből. Pécs: Pro Pannónia Kiadó. 93–102.
- Kaposi, Z. (2002), *Egy középbirtokosi család 100 éve Somogy vármegyében (A Somssich-család felemelkedése)*. In: Somogy megye múltjából 2002. Levéltári Évkönyv 33. (Edited: Szántó, L.) Kaposvár: Bősze Sándor dr. a Somogy Megyei Levéltár Igazgatója. 59–87.
- Kaposi, Z. (2006), *Pécs gazdasági fejlődése 1867–2000*. Pécs: P-BKIK
- Kaposi, Z. (2007), *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Ungarn 1700–2000. Studia Hungarica* 1. Passau: Schenk Verlag
- Kaposi, Z. (2009), *Kanizsa gazdasági struktúrájának változásai 1743–1848*. Nagykanizsa: Czupi Kiadó
- Kaposi, Z. (2014), *Nagykanizsa gazdasági fejlődése 1850–1945*. In: Nagykanizsa. Városi monográfia III. 1850–1945. (Edited: Kaposi, Z.) Nagykanizsa: Nagykanizsa Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata. 99–249.
- Kaposi, Z. (2017), *A kiegyezés szerepe a magyarországi mezőgazdaság fejlődésében*. In: Agrártörténeti Szemle – Historia Rerum Rusticarum 58. Vol. 1–4. Budapest. 67–88.
- Kaposi, Z. (2019), *Uradalmak, földbirtokosok és birtokforgalom a Dél-Dunántúlon a 19. században*. Budapest: Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum és Könyvtár
- Kaposi, Z. (2020), *Vállalkozók, vállalkozások és innovációk Pécsett a dualizmus korában*. In: Marketing & Menedzsment 54. Special issue 1. 59–73.
- Krisztián, B. (2020), *Egy vállalkozó dinasztia alapítója, Jánosi Engel Adolf*. In: Honismeret 48. Vol. 1. Budapest. 39–42.
- Lenkei, L. (1922), *Negyven év Pécs életéből*. Pécs: Pécsi Irodalmi és Könyvnyomda Rt.
- Lenkei, H. (1930), *A jánosi Engel-család*. In: Múlt és jövő 20. Vol. February. Budapest. 62–68.
- Madas, J. (1989), *A pécsi Balokány*. In: A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve 33. (Edited: Uherkovich, Á.) Pécs: JPM. 105–132.
- Majdán, J. (2005), *Pécs, mint közlekedési központ (1846–1946)*. In: Mozaikok Pécs és Baranya gazdaságtörténetéből. (Edited: Szirtes, G.– Vargha, D.) Pécs: Pro Pannónia Kiadó. 55–87.
- Oláh, J. (2012), *Egy „angyal” egykor és ma – Az Engel család felemelkedése, nagysága és...* In: Hácofe, az országos rabbiképző–zsidó egyetem vallástudományi online folyóirata. Availability: <http://or-zse.hu/olah-angyalcsalad/>
- Pécs Lexikon (2010): *Pécs Lexikon I.–II. Vol. 1–2.* (Edited: Romváry, F.) Pécs: Pécs Lexikon Kulturális Nonprofit Kft.
- Pilkhoffer, M. (2004), *Pécs Építészete a századfordulón (1888–1907)*. Pécs: Pro Pannónia Kiadó
- Rúzsás, L. (1954), *A pécsi Zsolnay-gyár története*. Budapest: Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó
- Schweitzer, J. (1966), *A pécsi izraelita hitközség története*. Budapest: A Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete
- Szabó, M. (2019), *Az 1879. évi erdőtörvény hatása a Dráva menti uradalmi erdőgazdálkodás és a faipar fejlődésére*. Agrártörténeti Szemle – Historia Rerum Rusticarum 50. Vol. 1–4. Budapest. 147–157.
- Szirtes, G. (1998), *Jánosi Engel Adolf, Zsibárusból lett nagyvállalkozó*. In: Pécsi Szemle 1. Vol. 2. Pécs. 85–90.
- Váradyi, F. (1896), *Baranya Múltja és jelenje I.–II. kötet*. Pécs: Telegdi Ármin Könyvnyomda

Vörös, A. (1996), *Adalékok az Engel Adolf és Fiai cég történetéhez*. In: Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 2–3. (Edited: Vonyó, J.) Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány. 275–284.

Weiss, L. (1898), *Die Gross-Industrie Oesterreichs. Festgabe zum glorreichen fünfzigjährigen Regierungs-Jubiläum Seiner Majestät des Kaisers Franz Josef I.: dargebracht von den Industriellen Oestereichs 1898 unter dem hohen Protectorate seiner K. und K. Hoheit des durchlauchtigsten Herrn Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand. Band. 3.* Wien.

Weisz, G. (1929), *A pécsi izraelita hitközség monográfiája*. Pécs: Pécsi Izraelita Hitközség Elöljárósága

Archival sources

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Megyei Levéltára. IV. 1409. b., Pécs város Árvaszékének közigazgatási iratai 1127/1911. Engel Adolf hagyatéki iratai: Ajándékozási szerződés; Becsűbizonyítvány; Birtoklap; Haláleseti felvétel; Leltár; Jegyzőkönyv; Jegyzőkönyv; Társascég; Végrendletek; Végzés; Végzés. [Documents of the Regional Archives of Baranya County of the National Archives of Hungary IV. 1409. b., administrative documents of the Árvaszék of the city of Pécs 1127/1911. Probate documents of Adolf Engel: *Donation contract* (23.11.1904), Copy of a donation contract; *Certificate of value* (02.09.1904), Valuation of the assets concerned.; *Land sheet* (15.10.1904), Copy of the number 30 land sheet of Pécs; *Death Recording* (10.01.1903), Second copy of the Death Recording of Adolf Engel of Jánosi; *Inventory* (20.02.1904), Second copy of the inventory of the assets of Pécs; *Report* (1904), Report of certain assets; *Report* (04.09.1904), Report of the acceptance of the sections of the heritage of the nephew of Adolf Engel; *Partnership company* (03.06.1905), Copy of the establishment of the general partnership, the "Jánosi Engel és Fiai Kőszénbánya és Iparvállalatai Komlón"; *Wills* (18.10.1892–08.12.1901), Wills of Adolf Engel. Copy, typewritten, translation of testaments in German; *Execution* (12.04.1906), The execution of the heritage procedure of the Árvaszék of the free royal city of Pécs; *Execution* (28.06.1906), A state of inheritance.

Hereinafter: HU-MNL-BaML-IV.-1409.b.-1127/1911]

Press releases

Anyagi Érdekeink (28.08.1874), *Engel Adolf „első pécsi gőzfűrész-, szelvény- és talajkoczkagyára”*.

Gazdasági Mérnök (13.12.1885), *Engel A, és fiai faipari telepe Pécsett.* 9.

Pécsi Lapok (30.05.1867), *Hirdetések*.

Pécsi Figyelő (05.10.1878), *Hirdetések*.

Borbála Rózsa Zsindely

Lage der Mühlenindustrie im Komitat Baranya und die Veränderungen der Beschäftigtenzahlen zwischen 1876 und 1886

Abstract

The purpose of the study: This paper aims to analyze how the number of workers changed in the mill industry of Baranya County between 1876 and 1885. The study is based on statistical surveys conducted in those two years. The statistics were compared for several labor market factors (number of entrepreneurs, assistants, apprentices). The earlier statistics (1876) are part of the first authentic national survey, while the milling survey, published in 1885 as a separate publication, contains data.

Applied methods. Statistical surveys and data were analyzed and compared. At the end of the study, a mathematical calculation was also performed on the problem of labor force change. From the number of mills closed, it was calculated how many mill workers could lose their jobs during the narrow decade studied. The latter procedure may continue to play a significant role in the future due to the scarcity of available data.

Outcomes. The study has two results. The first is that the number of workers in the milling industry (contractors, assistants, apprentices) has decreased in the nine years between the two statistical surveys. The second is that the closure of the mills has contributed significantly to the reduction in the working force. These results call for further investigation. One of the most relevant questions to be answered is: what was the reason for the decrease in the number of mills and the number of workers in the milling industry in Baranya at the same time as the milling industry was a driving force in Hungary.

Keywords: Mill industry laborforce, watermills, mill industry statistics, mill establishment fever, water law.

1. Einführung

Nach der Industrialisierung in Ungarn wurde die Mühlenindustrie Schlüsselsektor. In den Städten spielten die größeren Dampfmühlen, in den Klein- und Zwergdörfer Kleinstdörfern der Provinz spielten die Kleinmühlen eine entscheidende Rolle. Während die großen Dampfmühlen für den Export provozierten dienten die Kleinmühlen den lokalen Bedürfnissen. Anders formuliert, in diesen Mühlen wurde das eigene, das selbst produzierte Getreide gemahlen. Diese Kleinmühlen waren in der Zeit des Dualismus am Land in einer großen Zahl tätig und im Komitat Baranya waren diese fast ohne Ausnahme Wassermühlen.

Ziel meiner Studie ist die Veränderung der Zahl der Arbeitskräfte in der Mühlenindustrie im Komitat Baranya vorzustellen, sowie Gründe für die Veränderungen zu suchen. Untersuchungszeitraum sind die Jahre zwischen zwei statistischen Erhebungen, die in den Jahren 1876 und 1885 entstanden. Die im Jahr 1876 entstandene Untersuchung ist die erste landesweite Erhebung zur Industrie, in der Mühlen auftreten. Die nächste Untersuchung entstand im Jahr 1885. Beide entstanden in der Blütezeit der Mühlenindustrie, die laut der Fachliteratur von 1863 bis 1906 andauerte.¹

Gleichzeitig zur zweiten Studie entstand das Wasserrecht-Gesetz (1885:23.),² das in der Geschichte der ungarischen Wassermühlen einen wichtigen Einschnitt bedeutete. Dieses Gesetz regelte die Wassernutzung der Mühlen (wie viel Wasser sie benutzt durften), die

¹ Vajkai Zs. (1981): 353.

² XXIII. tc (1885)

Bedingungen der Errichtung? von Mühlen (ist die Zu- und Abfuhr des Wassers, lösbar, können Schleusensysteme gebaut werden usw.) und die Genehmigungsprozesse der Mühlen.

2. Über die Chancen der Mühlenindustrie in dem Komitat Baranya im Allgemeinen

„Das Komitat Baranya gehört zum Einzugsgebiet zweier großer Flüsse Ungarns, der Donau und der Drau.“³ Schon in der Zeit der Landnahme prägte eine Siedlungsstruktur mit sehr kleinen Dörfern das Komitat. „Das vielfältige... [Ausnahme von mir R. B. Zs.] Gebiet des Komitats gekoppelt mit den für die Landwirtschaft günstigen Grund- und Klimabedingungen schufen für die Selbstversorger-Landwirtschaft ideale Bedingungen.“⁴ „Die natürlichen Voraussetzungen bedeuteten günstige Bedingungen für subsidiär Wirtschaft.“⁵ Die Siedlungsstruktur in dem Komitat war am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts durch eine große Dichte an Orten geprägt.⁶ Dieses Charakteristikum (Eigenschaft) ist bis heute erhalten geblieben. Charakteristisch sind die vielen Kleinstdörfer, also solche Siedlungen, die weniger als 500 Einwohner zählen.⁷

Pécs, die einzige Großstadt der Region, wurde in den ersten Jahrzehnten des Dualismus, schnell industriell entwickelt. Für die anderen Gebiete der Region war dies nicht charakteristisch. Ab den 1850-er Jahren stieg die Zahl der industriellen Betriebe in Pécs. Diese Entwicklung dauerte bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges.⁸ In den ländlichen Gebieten von Baranya war weiterhin die Kleinindustrie charakteristisch. Im Bereich der Kleinindustrie war die Mühlenindustrie eine Industrie, die – laut Statistiken – im überprüften Zeitraum besonders in den ländlichen Gebieten des Komitats blühte. Die zu dem blühenden Leben der Mühlenindustrie nötigen Bedingungen sind in den geographischen Bedingungen des Komitates und in der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung, die wiederum auf die geographischen Voraussetzungen zurückgeführt werden kann, zu suchen. Die am Mecsek-Gebirge und an den Baranyai-Hügeln hinunterliegenden Bäche boten perfekte Möglichkeiten zur Errichtung von Wassermühlen. Bei diesen Mühlen wurde das zur Antreibung der Mühlenräder gebrauchte Wasser durch sogenannte Mühlenkanäle zu den Mühlen geleitet. Die Strömung der Bäche lieferte die Energie zur Antreibung der Mühlenräder. Die Kanäle waren mit Schleusen zur Regulierung der Wassermenge mit den Bächen verbunden.⁹

Gleichzeitig muss man erwähnen, dass es nur sehr selten dafür die Möglichkeit gab (, dass es nur selten möglich war die Mühlen das ganze Jahr zu betreiben.), dass im ganzen Jahr eine Mühle funktionieren könnte.¹⁰ Der schwankende Wasserstand, sowie aus den sandigen und lössigen Böden resultierende Abraum verhinderte den ständigen Betrieb.

Trotz den Schwierigkeiten die Mühlräder anzutreiben, existierte auch im Komitat Baranya ein Vermietungssystem der Mühlen. Gegen Bezahlung oder einen Anteil am Getreide konnte Getreide in die Mühlen gebracht werden und dort gemahlen werden. Das gemahlene Getreide wurde – als Mehl – auf in der Nähe liegenden Märkten verkauft. Der Preis für die Benutzung der Mühle betrug ein Zehntel des verarbeiteten Getreides.¹¹

Es muss erwähnt werden, dass das Straßennetz damals sehr schlecht war. Wegen dem schlechten Zustand der Straßen war es schwierig größere Mengen an Gütern zu transportieren. Die Schwierigkeiten im Transport führten dazu, dass selbst in vielen kleinen Dörfern Mühlen

³ Lovász, Gy. (1997): 165.

⁴ Barakonyiné Winicza, K. (1984): 30.

⁵ Ebd.

⁶ Ebd.

⁷ Pirisi, G. – Trócsányi, A. (2019): 169.

⁸ Kaposi, Z. (2014): 26-27.

⁹ Vajkai, Zs. (1983): 351.

¹⁰ Dóka, K. (1991): 41-54.

¹¹ <https://obudaianziksz.hu/hajomalmok-obudan/> (letzes mal herunterladen am 15.12.2021.)

bestanden, um das lokale Getreide zu verarbeiten. In der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts wurde das Straßennetz erneuert,¹² was auch für Mühlen bedeutete, dass Getreide und Mehl leichter über größere Distanzen transportiert werden konnte. Von diesen Verbesserungen profitierten die Mühlen, die gegen einen Anteil am Getreide arbeiteten, da in ihnen nun mehr Getreide verarbeitet werden konnte.

Im Bezug auf die Erforschung der Geschichte der Mühlenindustrie in Baranya ist eine der wichtigsten Fragen, welchen Anteil die Arbeiter in Mühlen an der Bevölkerung des Komitats einnahmen und wie sich die Anzahl veränderte.

3. Die Mühlenindustrie nach dem ‚Ausgleich‘, insbesonders in dem Komitat

Die auf Zusammenarbeit aufbauende Industrie der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie schaffte günstige Bedingungen für die Mühlenindustrie. Zum Beispiel im Bereich des Getreideverkaufs erreichte Ungarn eine Art von Monopolstatus in dem österreichischen und in dem tschechisch-mährischen Markt. Nach dem Aufschwung des Getreidehandels wurden immer mehr Handelsunternehmen gegründet.¹³ Die Unternehmen, die über mobilisierbare Kapital verfügten, gründeten schon in den Jahren vor dem Ausgleich Mühlen. Der primäre Grund der Welle an Mühlengründungen waren die Profitmöglichkeiten im Mehlexport.¹⁴ Man muss aber erwähnen, dass die Großindustrie sich parallel technisch entwickelte, diese allgemeine Entwicklung erreichte die Kleinmühlen allerdings langsamer.¹⁵

Vor dem Dualismus (1867-1918) wurden im Jahr 1863 die Mühlen im ganzen Land statistisch erfasst.¹⁶ In die Erhebung wurden aber nicht alle Mühlen aufgenommen, weil zu der Zeit der Messung einige Mühlen nicht arbeiteten, allerdings zuvor und danach schon.¹⁷ Das ist der Grund dafür, dass wir diese Messung nicht mit den anderen zwei Messungen vergleichen dürfen. Trotzdem muss man erwähnen, dass im Jahr 1863 im Komitat Baranya drei Mühlen mit künstlichen Energiequellen (Dampfmühlen), 568 Wassermühlen, 15 Rohmühlen und 177 Schiffsmühlen bestanden. Diese Mühlen hatten insgesamt 954 Mühlsteine,¹⁸ was bedeutet, dass es mehrere Mühlen gab, die mit zwei Mühlsteinen mahlten. Mehr Mühlsteine bedeuten, dass mit einer größeren Kapazität gearbeitet werden kann. Im Jahr 1863 bestanden in Pécs drei Dampfmühlen und 26 Wassermühlen, die insgesamt über 29 Steine verfügten.¹⁹ Es ist interessant, dass anhand der Daten zu den Mühlen gesagt werden kann, dass es im Komitat Baranya die meisten Wassermühlen im ganzen Land gab.²⁰ Nach Baranya folgt auf der Liste das Komitat Nyitra und danach das Komitat Trencsény. Es könnte das Thema einer anderen Studie sein, warum in diesen drei Komitaten die meisten Wassermühlen bestanden.

4. Die Mühlenindustrie des Komitats Baranya in Bezug auf die Statistik aus dem Jahr 1876

Laut der Erhebung der industriellen Betriebe gehörte das Komitat Baranya zur Soproner Handels- und Industriekammer. Im Komitat Baranya gab es in Bezug auf diese Statistik 5.946 Unternehmer, davon waren 827 Personen in der Mühlenindustrie tätig. Aus diesen 827 führten 774 Wassermühlen.²¹ Das bedeutet, dass 13,9% der Unternehmer in dem Komitat in

¹² Kaposi, Z. (2020): 61.

¹³ Kirsch, J. (1985): 98.

¹⁴ Ebd.

¹⁵ Vajkai, Zs. (1983): 351.

¹⁶ Soproni Kamara (1879)

¹⁷ Rémiás, T. (1989): 136.

¹⁸ Soproni Kamara (1879)

¹⁹ Ebd.

²⁰ Rémiás, T. (1989): 136.

²¹ Soproni Kamara (1879)

der Mühlenindustrie arbeiteten. Die Zahl der Wassermühlen²² war laut der Statistik im Jahr 1863 568 und die Zahl der Wassermühlen stieg um 206 Mühlen auf 774. Es muss aber erwähnt werden, dass das Komitat Baranya über eine perfekte Wasser-, Erd- und Naturgeographie verfügte, die sich für den Mühlenbau und für den Betrieb von Mühlen eignet. Im Komitat Baranya wohnten 1876 260.426 Personen, in Pécs 23.372.²³ In dieser Zeit wurde das Komitat und Pécs in den Statistiken getrennt gemessen, weil Pécs eine freie königliche Stadt war und später eine über ein Bezirksrecht verfügende Stadt war.

Insgesamt waren in dem Komitat 1.361 Personen in der Mühlenindustrie als Arbeiter beschäftigt.²⁴ Von den industriellen Arbeitern (4.896)²⁵ waren Unternehmer von denen besaßen 827,²⁶ also 16,89%. 1876 gab es in insgesamt 1.050 Unternehmer, davon waren 25 Personen im Bereich der Mühlenindustrie tätig. 1876 gab es in insgesamt 1.050 Unternehmer, davon waren 25 Personen im Bereich der Mühlenindustrie tätig. Von diesen betrieben drei Dampfmühlen, 22 Wassermühlen.²⁷ Infolgedessen machten die Pécser Unternehmer der Mühlenindustrie nur 2,38% der Unternehmer in der Stadt aus.

In der Industrie des Komitats Baranya arbeiteten insgesamt 2.842 Helfer, von denen 358 als Müllerhelfer arbeiteten.²⁸ Das bedeutet, dass vom gesamten Anteil der als Helfer im Komitat arbeiteten, 12,6% in der Mühlenindustrie arbeiteten. Im Bezug auf Pécs betrug das Verhältnis 8,93%.

Im Komitat Baranya arbeiteten 2.192 Lehrlinge im Jahr 1876, von denen 615 in Pécs²⁹ und 1.557 im restlichen Komitat das Müllergewerbe lernten. Es ist sichtbar, dass 71% Prozent der Lehrlinge in dem Komitat lernten nicht in Pécs. Die Zahl der Lehrlinge in der Mühlenindustrie war insgesamt 163,³⁰ von denen 13 in Pécs und 150 in anderen Siedlungen des Komitats lernten.

Tafel 1. **Beschäftigtenzahl in der Mühlenindustrie im Komitat Baranya im Jahr 1876**

	Komitat ohne Pécs (Personen)	Pécs (Personen)	Insgesamt (Personen)
Unternehmer	792	35	827
Helper	326	32	358
Lehrling	150	13	163
Andere Arbeiter	9	4	13
Insgesamt	1.277	84	1.361

Quelle: Anhand der statistischen Zählung aus 1876³¹

²² Es gibt zwei Arten von Wassermühlen: Bachmühle und Schiffsmühle. In unserer Vorstellung ist eine Wassermühle eine Bachmühle, damals hingegen unterschieden die Statistiken zwischen den verschiedenen Arten. Der Antrieb der Mühlräder funktioniert in beiden Fällen mit Wasser. Der größte Unterschied ist, dass die Schiffsmühlen Teil von einem Schiff sind und deshalb schwimmen. Die Bachmühlen stehen an einem Bach und ihre Räder werden mit dem Wasser des Baches angetrieben, das durch Mühlkanäle zur Mühle geleitet wird.

²³ MSE 1877.

²⁴ Soproni Kamara (1879)

²⁵ Ebd.

²⁶ Ebd.

²⁷ Ebd.

²⁸ Ebd.

²⁹ Ebd.

³⁰ Ebd.

³¹ Ebd.

5. Wasserrecht (1885) und die mühlenstatistische Messung in Baranya

Die im Jahre 1885 entstandene Zählung ist aus mehreren Gründen eine Besonderheit. Die größte Besonderheit ist, dass das Zentrale Statistische Büro (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal), die Mühlenindustrie der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie als eigene Kategorie untersuchte.

In der Zeit des Dualismus entstand nur eine einzige weitere Zählung der Mühlenindustrie, die Mühlen getrennt behandelte; die Zählung aus dem Jahr 1906. Die statistische Erfassung entstand zusammen mit der „*allgemeinen industriellen und hausindustriellen*“³² Zählung. „*Die Grundlage der Datenerfassung war ein Fragebogen aus 42 Fragen.*“³³ Die Fragen stellte die „*mühlenindustrielle Fachabteilung des ländlichen Branchenverbandes*“³⁴ zusammen. „*Die betroffenen Arbeiter der Mühlenindustrie bekamen die Fragebögen durch den Stuhlräder oder durch Mitglieder des Stadtrates.*“³⁵ Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass allen Fragen nur durch die Besitzer der großen Mühlen, den Dampf oder den Wassermühlen, beantwortet werden mussten.³⁶ „*Aus den Fragebögen für die kleineren Wasser-, Roh- und Windmühlen wurden einige Fragen ausgelassen. Über die Kategorisierung der Mühlen muss man hier erwähnen, dass bei der Unterscheidung der über größere Einrichtungen verfügenden und den einfachen Wassermühlen nicht die Schleifkapazität gültig war, und nicht die tatsächlich gemahlene Menge maßgebend war, sondern die Zahl des tatsächlich verarbeiteten Mehls, und anderer Arten von Getreide war entscheidend.*“³⁷ Die andere Besonderheit dieser Erfassung ist, dass – entgegen der Zählung aus dem Jahr 1876, – die Daten von Pécs nicht getrennt angegeben wurden, es sind also nur die Daten für das ganze Komitat verfügbar.

1885 gab es im Komitat Baranya 277.515 Einwohner, in Pécs lebten 28.945 Personen.³⁸ Im ganzen Komitat arbeiteten 25 größere Mühle, 615 einfache Wassermühle, zwei Roh-, und eine Windmühle. Insgesamt bestanden 643 Mühlen.³⁹ In diesen 643 Mühlen arbeiteten 753 selbstständige Unternehmer, 38 Beamten und 311 Helfer.⁴⁰ Zu diesem Zeitpunkt bestanden in Ungarn 17.277 Mühlen, von denen 12.520 Wassermühlen waren.⁴¹ Also 3,72% aller Mühlen des Landes und 4,91% der Wassermühlen arbeiteten in Baranya.

Es ist wichtig zu erwähnen, dass 1885 die Wasserrechte der Mühlen geregelt wurden. Diese neuen Regeln unterwarfen ab 1885 Bau neuer Mühlen strengerem Regeln.⁴² Das Wasserrecht-Gesetz bestimmte, dass alle Arten der Wassernutzung gemeldet werden mussten⁴³ und „*zum Weiterbetrieb oder zur neuen Wassernutzung der Vizegespan eine wasserrechtliche Erlaubnis erteilen musste. Für den Genehmigungsprozess musste der Mühlenbesitzer einen Plan der Gebäude und deren technische Beschreibung anfertigen.*“⁴⁴ Im Fall der Schiffsmühlen konnte das Flussingenieurs-Büro seine Meinung äußern. „*Im Komitat Baranya war bis 1898 das für in Transdanubien verantwortliche Kulturingenieurs-Büro des 1. Bezirks tätig, und nach 1898 wurde diese Aufgabe vom Pécs Kulturingenieur-Büro übernommen.*“⁴⁵ Die Beamten des Büros wussten, dass die Genehmigungsprozesse lang dauern werden, deshalb „*waren sie ziemlich sensibel in*

³² Halkovics, L. (1997): 714.

³³ Ebd.

³⁴ Ebd.

³⁵ Ebd.

³⁶ Ebd.

³⁷ Ebd.

³⁸ MSE 1885

³⁹ Magyarország malomipara (1885)

⁴⁰ Ebd.

⁴¹ Ebd.

⁴² Dóka, K. (1991): 43.

⁴³ Ebd.

⁴⁴ Ebd.

⁴⁵ Ebd.

dieser Frage und ein Teil der Mühlen durfte *n* nach einer einfachen Anmeldung weiterarbeiten“⁴⁶ Die Kulturingenieurs-Büros dokumentierten, welche Wasserrechts-Genehmigungen erteilt wurden, aber wegen der Mangelhaftigkeit der Dokumentation kann man leider keine genauen Daten darüber finden, wie viele Genehmigung das Büro genau erteilte.⁴⁷

Trotz dieses Mangels kann man sagen, dass „bis Ende 1895 von den bereits existierenden Mühlen circa 450 *justifiziert* wurden, und bis 1920 1/3 über ein regelhaftes Wasserrecht verfügen“⁴⁸ Von den 1885 in Baranya gezählten Wassermühlen „erreichte die große Mehrheit (von 581) nicht eine tägliche Leistung von 5q, nur drei Wassermühlen waren fähig täglich mehr als 10q zu mahlen.“⁴⁹ Zugleich „war trotz der geringen Leistung die Verarbeitung des im Komitats angebauten Getreides die Aufgabe von kleinen Wassermühlen.“⁵⁰ Die Art des von den Wassermühlen gemahlenen Getreides war wechselnd, die größeren Dampfmühlen verarbeiteten Weizen. Im Fall von kleineren Dampfmühlen „spielte der Mais und das Doppelte⁵¹ eine große Rolle.“⁵² „Die Wassermühlen verarbeiteten für den Bedarf der Einwohner hauptsächlich Weizen und Roggen.“⁵³ „Die Befriedigung der lokalen Bedürfnisse wird auch dadurch bestätigt, dass von 615 Mühlen nur 80 für den Verkauf produzierten. Die anderen Mühlen arbeiteten für die Bauern, die gegen Bezahlung ihr Getreide mahlen ließen.“⁵⁴

6. Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend kann man über die zwei die Mühlenindustrie betreffende statistischen Erhebungen sagen, dass in der Zeit zwischen den Zählungen im Komitat Baranya die Zahl der Mühlen sank. 1876 waren 827 Mühlen in Betrieb und 1885 nur noch 643. Das bedeutet, dass es 184 Mühlen weniger gab (22,24 %). Nicht nur in dem Komitat sank die Zahl der Mühlen. István Bogdáns Berechnungen zeigen, dass die Zahl der Mühlen im ganzen Land sank: 1873 gab es 24.900 Mühlen,⁵⁵ 1885 nur noch 17.277 Mühlen.⁵⁶ Und das, obwohl die Bevölkerungszahl im Komitat Baranya und in Pécs stieg.⁵⁷

In der Zahl der Wassermühlen ist auch die Reduktion sichtbar: aus 774 Wassermühlen blieben 1885 615 über. Die Veränderung der Anzahl der pécser Wassermühlen kann man aus diesen Statistiken nicht nachweisen, weil die zu Pécs gehörenden Daten nur aus dem Jahr 1876 zur Verfügung stehen (22 Mühlen). Es ist sicher, dass 1885 in Pécs Wassermühlen arbeiteten, aber die Zahl können wir nur aus anderen Quellen bestimmen.

In der Mühlenindustrie arbeiteten 1876 1.277 Personen, zu denen man 84 Personen dazuzählen muss, die in Pécs in Mühlen beschäftigt waren. Das bedeutet, dass insgesamt 1.361 Personen in Mühlen in Baranya tätig waren.⁵⁸ 1876 arbeiteten 17 Dampfmühlen im Komitat (davon drei in Pécs). Wenn in einer Dampfmühle durchschnittlich 4,75 Personen arbeiteten und

⁴⁶ Ebd.

⁴⁷ Ebd.

⁴⁸ Ebd.

⁴⁹ Dóka, K. (1991): 43.

⁵⁰ Ebd.

⁵¹ (Lat. Triticum mixtum) Weizen und Roggen wurde gemischt gesät.

⁵² Ebd. 43.

⁵³ Ebd. 43.

⁵⁴ Siehe: Magyarország malomipara (1885)

⁵⁵ Bogdán, I. (1966): 182.

⁵⁶ István Bogdán zählte für 1884 im ganzen Land insgesamt 17.200 Mühlen

⁵⁷ Einwohner von dem Komitat Baranya 1876: 260.426 Personen, Pécs 23.372 Personen. 1885 stiegen die Zahlen auf 277.515 Personen und 28.945 Personen. in: MSE 1877

⁵⁸ MSE 1877

wir mit diesem Durchschnitt⁵⁹ rechnen, beschäftigten die Dampfmühlen circa 90 Personen. Die Zahl der in der Mühlenindustrie arbeitenden betrug insgesamt 1.361 Personen. Das bedeutet, dass die meisten Arbeiter der Mühlenindustrie (1.271 Person) nicht in Dampfmühlen arbeiteten. In diesem Fall entfallen auf die 810 Kleinmühlen⁶⁰ 1.271 Person, wenn wir mit gerundet 1,6 Person pro Kleinmühlen rechnen, und wenn wir berücksichtigen, dass für die Mahlarbeiten einer Kleinmühle die Arbeitskraft von ein oder zwei Menschen nötig war.

1885 waren es 1.102 Person,⁶¹ die in der Mühlenindustrie im Komitat Baranya arbeiteten. In 25 Dampfmühlen arbeiteten insgesamt 119 Personen (mit demselben 1,6 Durchschnitt rechnend), in den Kleinmühlen arbeiteten also 983 Menschen. Der Unterschied die Zahl der Kleinmühlen im Erhebungszeitraum betreffend, ist 192, also so viele Mühlen wurden innerhalb von neun Jahren eingestellt. Dies übte einen Einfluss auf den Arbeitskräftebedarf. Zwischen 1876 und 1885 verloren circa 288 Menschen ihre Arbeit. Diese Angaben können aus der Zahl der nicht mehr in Betrieb segenden Mühlen, aus den gebrauchten Arbeitskräften und der Zahl der Arbeitskräfte errechnet werden.

Die Zahl der Mühlen sank, das kann man so erklären, dass „parallel mit der Entwicklung der Dampfmühlen der Verfall der Wassermühlen anfing.“⁶² Im Komitat Baranya waren die Wassermühlen bedeutend: 1876 waren es 774 und 1885 war ihre Anzahl 615.⁶³ Die Spuren der in den 1850-er und 1860-er Jahren ablaufenden Mühlengründungswelle⁶⁴ sind auch im Komitat Baranya sichtbar. 1876 mahlte 17 Dampfmühlen im Komitat, davon drei in Pécs, 1885 erreichte die Zahl an Dampfmühlen 25 in Baranya.

Zusammenfassend kann man feststellen, dass die das ganze Land betreffende Tendenz nämlich, dass die Zahl an Wassermühlen sank und die Zahl der Dampfmühlen stieg, auch eindeutig in Bezug auf das Komitat Baranya erkennbar ist. Damit hängt die Mühlengründungswelle und der Wechsel der Arbeitskraftverteilung zusammen. Daneben ist es wichtig zu wissen, dass 1885 das Wasserrechts-Gesetz den Mühlenbau regelte. Aber die Glanzperiode der Mühlenindustrie wurde damit nicht beendet, sondern als Folge mehrerer Gründe erst im Jahr 1906. Einen weiteren großen Wechsel brachte der Lage der ungarischen Mühlenindustrie der Erste Weltkrieg und das Diktat von Trianon, die das Thema einer folgenden Studie seien werden.-

Literaturverzeichnis

Quellen und angegebene Statistiken

XXIII. tc. (1885): <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=88500023.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D32>

Magyarország malomipara (1885): Magyarország malomipara az 1885. év elején. Statisztikai Közlemények. Edited and published by Orsz. Statisztikai Hivatal. (Hg.): Jekelfalussy József. Budapest: Atheneum. 1885.

MSE (1877): Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 7. Edited and published by Orsz. Magyar Statisztikai Hivatal. 1877. I. Budapest: Atheneum

⁵⁹ Anhand von der Datenaufnahme der Soproner Industriekammer aus dem Jahr 1876 ist diese Zahl der arithmetische Durchschnitt der Arbeiterzahl in Dampfmühlen.

⁶⁰ Zur Kategorie der Kleinmühlen gehören: Wassermühlen, Rohmühlen, Windmühlen

⁶¹ MSE 1885

⁶² Frey Gy. P. In: http://arch.et.bme.hu/arch_old/korabbi_folyam/20/20frey.html (letztes mal herunterladen am 16.12.2021.)

⁶³ Es gibt zwei Arten von Wassermühlen: Bachmühlen und Schiffmühlen

⁶⁴ Klement, J. (2012): 10.

MSE (1885): Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv 15. Edited and published by Orsz. M. Kir. Statisztikai Hivatal. 1885. I. Budapest: Atheneum. 1887.

Soproni Kamara (1879): Soproni Kereskedelmi és Iparkamarának Nagym. M. K. Földművelési, Ipar és Kereskedelmi Minisztériumhoz intézett 1876.-ik évi Statisztikai jelentése II. rész II. füzet. 1879.

Statisztikai Közlemények (1863): Statisztikai Közlemények a hazai állapotok ismeretének előmozgatására. Edited and published by Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Statisztikai Bizottmánya (1861-1863) 1863. Band 5. Budapest

Bibliography

Barakonyiné Winicza, K. (1984), *Baranya aprófalvas településhálózatának múltja és jelene*. Baranyai Krónikaírás 7. (1984) Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár

Bogdán, I. (1966), *A malom és a népesség*. In: Agrártörténeti Szemle 8. (1966) 1-2. S. 178-189.

Dóka, K. (1991), *Baranya megyei vízimalmok a vízjogi törvény kiadása (1885) után*. In: VII. Kézmvésparttörténeti Szimpózium. Veszprém, 1990. november 12-14. Veszprémi Akadémiai Bizottság

Halkovics L. (1997), *A magyar malomipari statisztika története, 1850-1950*. Statisztikai Szemle 75. (1997) 8-9. S. 708-721.

Frey Gy. P., *Malmok Mecseknaásdon és Óbányán*. in:

http://arch.et.bme.hu/arch_old/korabbi_folyam/20/20frey.html

<https://obudaianziksz.hu/hajomalmok-obudan/>

Kaposi Z. (2014), *Pécs gazdasági és társadalmi helyzete az Erzsébet Tudományegyetem Pécsre költözése évtizedében*. Per Aspera ad Astra 1. (2014). 1. S. 26-49.

Kaposi Z. (2020), *Vállalkozók, vállalkozások innovációk Pécssett a dualizmus korában*. In: Marketing & Menedzsment LIV. (2020) Különszám 1. S. 59-74.

Klement, J. (2012), *Hazai vállalkozók a hőskorban. A budapesti gőzmalomipar vállalkozói a 19. század második felében*. Budapest: Eötvös Kiadó.

Kirsch J. (1986), *A magyar élelmiszeripar története*. Alföldi Nyomda, Budapest

Lovász Gy. (1977), Vízföldrajz. In: (Hg.) Lovász, György, *Baranya megye természeti földrajza. Baranya monográfia sorozat*. Pécs. S. 163-188.

Pirisi G. – Trócsányi A. (2019), *Fejezetek a társadalomföldrajz világából*. Pécs: Publikon Kiadó.

Rémiás T. (1989), *Malmok Északkelet-Magyarországon a 19. század második felében. (Az 1863.évi magy. kir. Helytartótanácsi összeírás és korabeli malomstatisztikai felvételek alapján.)* in: (Hg.) Németh, Györgyi-Veres, László, Manufaktúrák Magyarországon 1. Manufaktúratörténeti Konferencia Miskolc. 1988. október 16-17. Miskolc

Vajkai, Zs. (1981), *Malomtípusok és a molnár mesterség a XIX. századi Magyarországon I.* in: (Hg.) Takács, Imre, A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei 1978-1980. Budapest.

Vajkai, Zs. (1983), *Malomtípusok és a molnár mesterség a XIX. századi Magyarországon II.* in: (Hg.) Für, Lajos, A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei 1981-1983. Budapest

About the Authors

Bolechová, Barbara, Ing.

Engineer of Tourism, Technical University of Košice, Institute of Earth Resources, Faculty of Mining, Ecology, Process Control and Geotechnologies

Borsy, Judit

Senior Archivist, Baranya County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Czina Sára

PhD Student, University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Interdisciplinary Doctoral School, Europe and the Hungarians during the 18–20 centuries Program

Fata, Márta PhD

Professor, University of Tübingen, Faculty of Humanities, Department of History, Institute of Modern History

Fritz, János PhD

Independent Researcher

Halász, Imre PhD

Professor Emeritus, Budapest Business School

Horeczki, Réka PhD

Research Fellow, Institute for Regional Studies, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies

Kaposi, Zoltán D.Sc,

Professor, Director, University of Pécs, Faculty of Business and Economics, Department of Marketing and Tourism

Kršák, Branislav, doc. Ing. PhD.

Associate Professor, Technical University of Košice, Institute of Earth Resources, Faculty of Mining, Ecology, Process Control and Geotechnologies

Lengvári, István

Chief Archivist, Director, Pécs University Archives

Luka, Dániel

PhD Student University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Interdisciplinary Doctoral School, Europe and the Hungarians during the 18–20 centuries Program

Máthé András

PhD Lecturer, Babeş-Bolyai University, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Romania, Faculty of Geography, Department of Geography in Hungarian

Nagy, Imre Gábor

Deputy Director, Senior Archivist, Baranya County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Nyári, Tamás

PhD Student, University of Pécs, Faculty of Business and Economics, Doctoral School in Regional Policy and Economics

Pavletits, Péter

PhD Student, University of Pécs, Faculty of Business and Economics, Doctoral School in Regional Policy and Economics

Pelles, Márton PhD

Assistant Research Fellow, University of Pécs, Faculty of Business and Economics; Assistant museologist, Hungarian Museum of Science and Transportation

Rab, Virág PhD

Associate Professor, University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Contemporary History

Sidor, Csaba, Ing. PhD

Philosophy Doctor of Tourism, Technical University of Košice, Institute of Earth Resources, Faculty of Mining, Ecology, Process Control and Geotechnologies

Štrba, Lubomír, doc. Ing. PhD

Associate Professor, Technical University of Košice, Institute of Earth Resources, Faculty of Mining, Ecology, Process Control and Geotechnologies

Szabó, Máté

PhD Student, University of Pécs, Faculty of Business and Economics, Doctoral School in Regional Policy and Economics

Varga, Patrik

University Student, University of Pécs, Faculty of Business and Economics

Zsindely, Borbála Rózsa

PhD Student, University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Interdisciplinary Doctoral School, Europe and the Hungarians during the 18–20 centuries Program