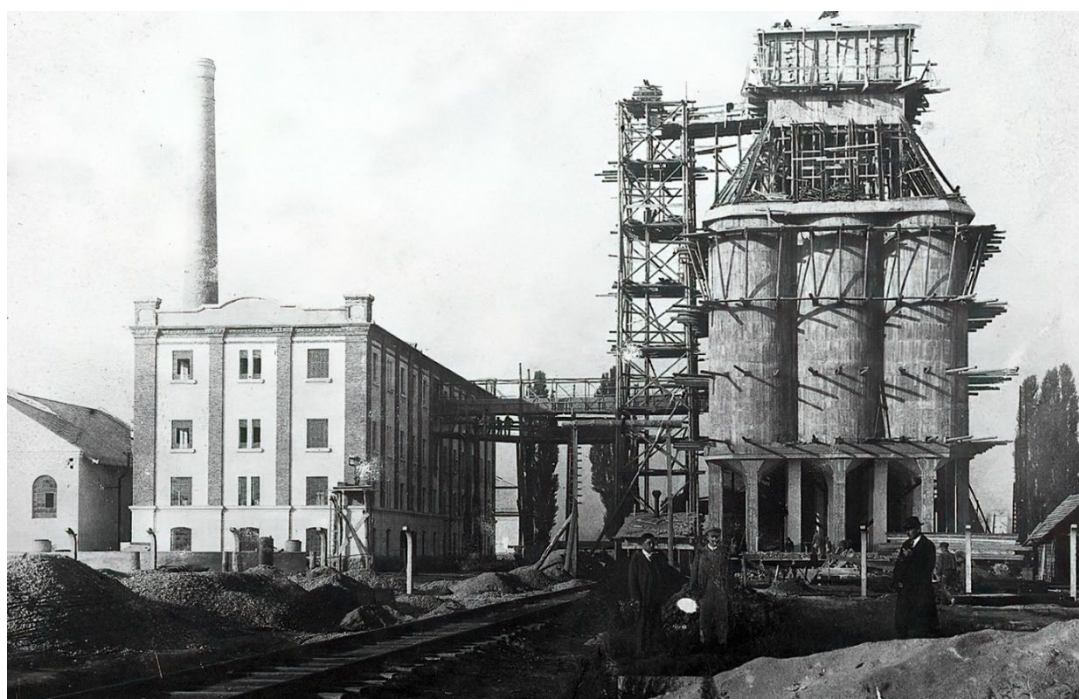


Explorations into the Social and Economic History of Hungary from the 18th to 21st Century

Edited by

Zoltán Kaposi, Virág Rab



Studies on Economic and Social History from Southern Transdanubia III.

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

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George Deák

From Progressivism to Conservatism: The Social Policy of the Hungarian Association of Industrialists (GyOSz) In the Era of Dualism and After World War I

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine how and why the social policies of the GyOSz and its attitude towards a broadening of suffrage changed from progressive ones in the period of Dualism to conservative ones in the Horthy Era.

Applied methods. Literature review including the author's 1980 dissertation and subsequently published works on the topic by him and other authors.

Outcomes. The GyOSz, many of whose members were of Jewish origin, sided with progressive groups in promoting a broadening of suffrage and some social policy measures in the period before World War. They did so in hopes of building an urban alliance that opposed the economic policies and antisemitism of the agrarian interest groups. Shocked by their experience during the latter months of Károlyi's republic and especially the Soviet Republic in 1919, the industrialists of the GyOSz threw their full support behind the conservative Horthy regime rather than making cause with the Social Democrats for progressive reforms. They did this to their peril since the Horthy regime initially promoted antisemitism and later was unable to contain it. Many members of the GyOSz suffered from the antisemitic laws and the subsequent Holocaust at the end of World War II.

Keywords: Hungary, economic interest groups, GyOSz, Dualism, Interwar Period, Horthy Era

History of this Research

The Hungarian Association of Industrialists, or Magyar Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége (GyOSz) played an important political role in the final decades of Dualism as well as in the interwar period. Yet, this organization has not received the scholarly attention that it merits. My doctoral dissertation, which I defended in 1980, took the story of the organization from its foundation in 1902 to the outbreak of World War I.¹ I then left the field of history for a career in information technology. The topic largely lay dormant until the end of communism in Hungary when an organization with the same name was revived and commissioned two works on the history of its predecessor, one by the historian Szabolcs Szita, who described the policies of the organization through its lifetime, and the other by a literary historian, Zoltán Fráter, who

¹ I chose this topic with the help of my then thesis advisor, Professor István Deák of Columbia University and L. Nagy Zsuzsa (Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) who was visiting Columbia University in 1975. Under IREX and Fulbright fellowships, I began archival research on the topic in 1976 with the guidance in Budapest of Dr. Péter Hanák, also of the Institute of History. The dissertation was defended at Columbia University in 1979 and a revised edition published in 1990. Deák, G. (1990). See also Deák, G. (1992).

described the role that the GyOSz played as a sponsor of modernist cultural life.² These works have considerable value, though their point of view is influenced by the fact that they were commissioned by the revived Magyar Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége.

The social policies of the GyOSz were surprisingly progressive in some ways in the years before World War I. A classic Marxist study of Hungarian industrial development published in 1955 by two young historians at the time stresses the class conflict that existed between capitalists and the working class. “The monopolies and, domestic and foreign finance-capital insured their maximal profits at the expense of the dire conditions of the Hungarian working class and its constantly declining standard of living.” [‘A magyarországi munkások sűjos helyzete, életszínvonalának állandó romlása árán biztosítottak a monopóliumok, a magyarországi és a külföldi finánciókések a legmagasabb tókés profitot.’]³ Of course, such statements were politically necessary in a study written in 1955. The value of the book, whose authors would go on to illustrious careers in economic history, and in the case of Ránki, other branches of history as well, lies not in these statements but in the statistical information on industrial development that they brought together. In fact, most historians of capitalist industrial development agree with the essence, if not the tone, of Berend and Ránki’s above statement. In what may be considered the period of “take-off”, industrialists in Europe and the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries paid little attention to the welfare of their workers unless forced to do so by the state, as in Germany under Bismarck or by strong labor movements, as eventually happened in England and Sweden. In Hungary, however, prior to World War I, industrialists through the GyOSz allied themselves with progressive demands that offered to give greater power to the working class, which in turn, promised to allow it to increase its proportion of the national product. The GyOSz did this, because its members found a community of interests with other urban classes against its rival economic interest group, that of the agrarians. The fact that many industrialists and especially the leaders of the GyOSz were of Jewish origins, also turned the organization towards the progressive movements, which, whether socialist, or “bourgeois radicals” such as those around the journal *Nyugat*, opposed distinctions made on ethnic and religious grounds. After World War I, however, this progressive tendency was replaced by a conservatism in social policy inimical to labor that placed industry into close alliance with the aristocratic and gentry dominated governing class. At times, it even outdid the governing party in its opposition to proposals favored by the Social Democrats and other parties that represented the interests of labor and, in my opinion, the general interest of the country. Our goal here is to demonstrate this change which is best exemplified by the opposition of the GyOSz to the introduction of unemployment insurance in the 1930s. We recognize that the problem deserves more research both on the economics of social and electoral reform and on the motives and mindsets of industrialists in opposing such reform.

The question of why business groups take different attitudes toward social policies at different times has garnered some interest in the last decades. The histories of different countries exhibit divergent ways in which social policies emerged (or failed to emerge) to mitigate the social and political problems caused by industrialization and the business cycle. In Germany, social insurance of various sorts was introduced in the 1880s from above by Bismarck. In Sweden of the 1930s, business groups realized that welfare reforms were a political inevitability, given the power of the labor movement and so they advocated them so that in the process they would

² Szita, Sz. (1996); Frater, Z. (1996).

³ Berend, T. I. – Ránki, Gy. (1955): 337.

be able to influence their implementation. In the United States, even during the Depression in 1934, business tried to scuttle the New Deal as best they could. Studying the case of Hungary could add an important set of data to this field of inquiry.⁴

Progressive Policies in the Era of Dualism

The GyOSz was founded in 1902 by a group of men at the apex of Hungary's newly emerged modern industry to represent the interests of their firms in the political arena. Its most prominent founders were Ferenc Chorin, president of the Salgótarján Coal Mines and of the National Association of Mines and Forges, who became the first president of the GyOSz and Sándor Hatvány-Deutsch, whose family owned Hungary's largest sugar refineries, who was president of the Hungarian Association of Sugar Manufacturers, and who became vice-president of the GyOSz. Ferenc Aich, president of the Hungarian Brewers Association and Nándor Förster, president of the National Association of Iron and Machine Manufacturers were also among its founders. The political interests of large industry, and the social interests of industrialist, had been well represented until the beginning of the twentieth century by the gentry founders of the Dualistic political system. There was an implicit division of labor in which parliamentary politics and government administration was the bailiwick of the Magyar nobility, while industrial leadership was left to non-Magyar groups, primarily Jews and to a lesser (or perhaps just less visible extent) ethnic Germans. This division of labor began to fray with the advent of neo-conservative agrarianism as some noble landholders began to feel economically challenged by the rapid growth of industrial, commercial and financial entrepreneurs, many of them Jewish. Agrarianism was organized in such groups as the venerable the National Hungarian Association of Landlords ('Országos Magyar Gazda Egyesület', OMGE), whose roots went back to the Reform Era, and the newer Hungarian Association of Landlors ('Magyar Gazdaszövetség'), formed in 1896 by Count Sándor Károlyi. By the turn of the century both organization, but especially the latter, had an ideology and rhetoric that was decidedly antisemitic.⁵ Industrialists sensed the distancing of the Hungarian nobility from their cause and began to look for allies in the rising urban classes on the left, including the industrial working class, represented primarily by the Social Democratic Party, which had been formed in 1890. This search led the GyOSz to pursue some progressive policies.

The beginnings of progressive social policies in the history of the GyOSz can be seen in the proceedings of a conference that it sponsored on the question of emigration in 1907. The GyOSz considered the preparations for this conference to be its major activity of the year. The managing director of the GyOSz, Lóránt Hegedüs, a liberal intellectual, the godson of the celebrated novelist Mór Jókai, had an interest in the problem both as sociologists/economists and as a Hungarian patriot.⁶ He also considered the problem to be of relevance to industry, from which emigration drew off potential workers. The leaders of the GyOSz agreed with him that emigration was detrimental for industry. They also evidently supported the policy-solutions penned by Hegedüs and published by the GyOSz after the conference, which included provisions for access to land for the peasantry by means of the abolition of the institution of

4 See among others Cutright, Ph. (1965); Flora, P. – Heidenheimer, A. (1981); Kim, K. (2001); Paster, Th. (2011); Paster, Th. (2013).

5 Deák, G. (1990): 27-36.

6 Rab, V. (2021): 18.

entail ('hitbizomány'). The GyOSz however was not unanimous on all of the resulting proposals. Zoltán Lázár of the Rimamurányi Iron Works pointed out that the demand to facilitate the acquisition of land by the peasantry would make it even more difficult to attract workers to industry.⁷

The most important social policy proposal coming out of this conference was for a progressive income tax, which would have increased the taxes paid by industrialists. Sándor Wekerle, during his second prime ministry (1906-1910) proposed just such a tax, a significant modernization, though, for political reasons, Wekerle was not planning to extend the tax to the incomes of large landholders. The GyOSz naturally protested this aspect of the proposal, but advocated that the lower limit of the tax be raised so few workers would be subject to it. The organization also advocated other measures that would have helped the working class. It demanded that the taxes that workers paid for food should be lowered (though taxes on wine and beer should be increased). Institutions of welfare such as state-run old-age pensions and free public education should be expanded. It also favored land reform. It urged that employer (separately from the state) help workers by providing clean and healthy dwellings, consumer cooperatives, school buildings, hospitals, and vacation facilities.⁸

The peak of progressive stances taken by the GyOSz was its support of the broadening of the suffrage. While not a social program itself, broadening the suffrage to the working class was reasonably thought of as key to further social reforms. Suffrage in Hungary at the time was extremely limited, with only about six per cent of the population having the right to vote and in rural areas balloting was done in public under the eyes of the authorities. The demand for universal secret suffrage was the main political demand of the Social Democratic party. It was also supported by much of the urban middle classes. The ruling political elite – the Magyar nobility that ruled the country through parliament – however were wary of extending the suffrage, fearful for their position as the ruling class, as the guardians of Magyar supremacy over national minorities and of territorial integrity. Yet, suffrage reform became part of the political agenda through the multiple pressures of foreign examples (Austria introduced universal manhood suffrage in 1905); the threats from the King to extend the suffrage if the Hungarian parliament did not cooperate with Austria in areas of common administration; the parliamentary opposition parties that were in intense competition for advantage with the government party; and the demands from below of the Social Democrats (who were not represented yet in Parliament), the bourgeois radicals (also not represented) and the Christian socialists (under the umbrella of the Christian People's Party who had a few representative in Parliament)⁹.

⁷ Deák, G. (1980): 210-213; Deák, G. (1990): 99-100.

⁸ Deák, G. (1980): 213.

⁹ For the Christian Socialists, see Szabó, M. (1974): 8.

As early as 1904 the GyOSz, in response to an inquiry from Prime Minister István Tisza about the organization's attitude towards suffrage, stated its support for suffrage reform:

*We believe that the parameters of the suffrage set by the laws of 1848 must be adjusted in line with the changed circumstances. ... The broadening of suffrage would not lead to the loosening of discipline in the factories. Indeed, the representation of the working class in Parliament would be an appropriate means of decreasing the severity of social conflict.*¹⁰

Suffrage reform was one of the main areas where the GyOSz and the Social Democrats cooperated. In 1909, the Association hosted a conference in which it tried to form a "League of Industrial and Merchant Voters" against the "agrarian" interests. The Social Democrats welcomed that effort in their newspaper, though they would have rather have seen the bourgeoisie forming a party.¹¹

On May 23, 1912, a day that has come to be known as Bloody Red Thursday, a demonstration involving about 100 000 protestors, the largest demonstrations of the era, took place before Parliament. It was organized by the Social Democrats who feared that the accession of István Tisza to the speakership of parliament meant the end for their hopes of suffrage reform. The authorities brought in the police, the gendarmes, and the military to suppress the demonstration, which had also spread to other cities. In Budapest, windows were broken, barricades were set up, a street car was overturned, and six people, including a policeman, were killed. The GyOSz commented on the situation with understanding for the demands of the crowd and urging of the introduction of suffrage reform.

*[I]n the same way as turbines transform the destructive force of water, so should intelligent, fine-to-behold laws transform into national strength that "fearsomeness" that flowed destructively through our streets." [... miként a vizek pusztító erejét a turbina termékeny munkája alakítja át, úgy kell azt a „félmetességet“, mely utcáinkon károsan, pusztítón végighömpölygött okos és szép törvénnyel nemzeti erővé átalakítani".]*¹²

The progressive policies espoused by the GyOSz also indicate the choice made by the leaders of the organization to seek an alliance with the internationally oriented parts of the urban middle classes: those with a progressive and inclusive ideology that came to be known in politics as "bourgeois radicals" and in culture, as "the second reform generation." They included such writers as Endre Ady and Mihály Babits and the sociologist Oskár Jászi and Bódog Somló, founders of the magazine *Twentieth Century* ('Huszadik század'). The major stockholders of the literary magazine *Nyugat* (The West) -- founded in 1908 by Miksa Fenyő, who also became the managing director of the GyOSz in 1912 -- were the Hatvany-Deutsch family. We also find among the owners the industrialists Ferenc Chorin Sr. and his son Ferenc Jr., a future president of the association, as well as Manfréd Weisz, Leo Goldberger, Alfréd Brüll, and the banker Leo Lánchy. Wolf Kohner, the son of a GyOSz member also owned stock.¹³ As we have seen, the GyOSz also cooperated with the Social Democrats, whose revolutionary Marxist ideas were

¹⁰ Quoted from 1904 memo in Magyar Gyáripár 1913. No. 2. 4; Deák, G. (1990): 117. It would be worthwhile seeing if the memo to Tisza István can be found.

¹¹ Deák, G. (1990): 149, quoting Népszava 1908. No. 266. 2.

¹² Magyar Gyáripár 1912. No. 11. 2.

¹³ Deák, G. (1990): 68.

tempered by their major effort at this time was aimed at obtaining the suffrage rather than towards overthrowing capitalism by revolutionary means. It is likely that leaders of the GyOSz like Hegedüs and Miksa Fenyő were aware of the ideas of reformist like Eduard Bernstein, who had a major influence on German social democracy.

The progressivism of the GyOSz was probably also conditioned by the fact that much of the leadership was ethnically and socially differentiated from the predominantly gentry and noble political ruling class. Assimilated Jews or Christianized Jews made up probably more than half of Hungarian large industrial entrepreneurs, and assimilated Germans made up much of the rest. Although the Hungarian landowning gentry and nobility that had created the political system of Dualistic Hungary had been liberal (in the early 19th sense of the term) in the early decades of Dualism, by the end of the 19th century, many landowners began to sympathize with the antisemitic conservative movements that were intertwined with agrarianism. The conservative anti-capitalist and anti-Jewish ideology of agrarianism was promoted by the main interest group rival of the GyOSz, the Association of Hungarian Landowners ('Magyar Gazdaszövetség.')¹⁴ It was largely in reaction to this that the GyOSz began to seek allies on the progressive Left.

The Revolutions of 1918-1919

The declaration of a democratic republic under the leadership of Mihály Károlyi in the autumn of 1918 was initially welcomed by the GyOSz. During the initial months of the regime, it showed even greater sympathy to the demands of workers than under Dualism. Miksa Fenyő urged the new regime to respect the principle of private property while also assuring it of the full support of the GyOSz. The organization, he claimed, was in the process of rethinking its earlier [capitalist] ideology. Szita, however, notes that behind its cooperative words, there was foot dragging as well. Some owners attempted to move their money out of the country to safe havens as the economy continued spiraling into chaos and the diplomatic situation looked bleak.¹⁵ The declaration of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" that followed the radical turn of March 21, 1919 spelled the temporary end of the GyOSz. The property of those that it represented was nationalized and several of the leaders themselves were jailed if only for a short time. (They had to share cells with some agrarian landlords but survived the ordeal.)¹⁶

The Horthy Era

The GyOSz was reconstructed after the August 1919 demise of the Republic of Councils but, shocked by the experience of the first seven months of the year, in the era that followed it abandoned its optimism about cooperation with the Social Democrats, which had begun under Dualism. It threw its lot in with the counter revolutionary forces of Miklós Horthy and István Bethlen, hoping that the alliance between these men and the antisemitic White Terror that accompanied Horthy's accession to power would be a temporary phenomenon. Throughout the interwar period, there are no signs of its earlier support of progressive social legislation or an attempt to seek an alliance with the Left, which was in any case given little quarter during the

¹⁴ Deák, G. (1990): 27-36; Szabó, M. (1974): 17.

¹⁵ Szita, Sz. (1996): 49-53.

¹⁶ Szita, Sz. (1996): 53-55.

Horthy regime. Typical of its new social conservatism, the GyOSz was the major and successful opponent to instituting compulsory unemployment insurance when such a policy was being considered under József Vass, minister of social welfare, in 1924 and 1926. The GyOSz argued, perhaps with reason, that employers should not be the only ones to bear its cost.¹⁷ Zsuzsa Ferge, a sociologist who has studied the history of Hungarian social policy, concurs that the GyOSz consistently blocked the acceptance of the institution of unemployment insurance.¹⁸ In 1936, the government instituted the 48 hour workweek, to which the GyOSz reacted with “antipathy” (‘idegenkedés’).¹⁹ The support of the organization for universal suffrage was also reversed during the Horthy period. Under the revolutionary regimes following World War I, suffrage had been greatly expanded and, fearing the rule of the “mob”, it was restricted again in the early years of the Horthy regime.²⁰ Rather than supporting more democratic elections, the GyOSz successfully fought to have itself represented by appointment after 1927 in the Upper House of parliament, when the unicameral legislature was changed back to a bicameral one.²¹ Suffrage was nevertheless broadened again in 1938 and elections were held in 1939, but the new system worked against the interests not only of the GyOSz but also of the Social Democrats. Of the opposition parties, the Arrow Cross won the largest number of seats. In those two years, the monthly journal of the GyOSz, *Magyar Gyáripár*, maintained complete silence on the issue of elections. What drew its apprehensive attention and protest instead was passage of the First Jewish Law. That law was part of a process that would bring the Holocaust to Hungary in 1944 when many leaders of the GyOSz would once again lose their properties and suffer internment. But this time, many would lose their lives as well. Those who survived in Hungary, or returned from exile, like the Pécs industrialist Zsigmond Deutsch, would see their properties nationalized and the GyOSz disbanded in 1948 by the new Communist rulers of the country.

Further Research

A number of questions remain about the history of the GyOSz. The only monograph that tells its story beyond 1914, and only in outline, was funded by the organization with the same name that was reincarnated in 1990 and thus, though the work contains much good information, it may have been hesitant to critically examine its subject. There might well be primary sources that the authors of earlier secondary works, including this author, were unable to consult, for example, among the papers of the Social Democrats in the Institute of Party History or among the papers of the ministry of social welfare, its minister between 1922 and 1930, József Vass, and those around him who dealt with attempts at improving working conditions and the situation of the unemployed. Such sources might give a more reliable answer to whether there were in fact any attempts at a dialogue between members of the GyOSz and such groups? The private papers of Hegedüs Lóránt have come to light in the last decade. Do they contain new information about the GyOSz? Might there be sources in provincial archives related to the provincial branch organizations? It is unlikely that all these were destroyed as supposedly were the ones in Budapest.

¹⁷ Baksai, Z. (1983). 755, 772; *Magyar Gyáripár* 1921. Aug. 1. No. 13-14. 8. and 1926. Nov. 1. No. 10. 2.

¹⁸ Ferge, Zs. (1986): 108.

¹⁹ Szita, Sz. (1996): 87.

²⁰ Romsics, I. (2001): 225.

²¹ Romsics, I. (2001): 224.

It would be interesting to look more closely at the reasons for the change in policy that we have described. Were there economic reasons such as competitive pressures that explain the opposition of the GyOSz to such social reforms as unemployment insurance, or were the industrialists motivated primarily by personal greed? Another question that would be interesting to investigate is what were the relations between industrialists who were of Jewish origin with those who were not? Did antisemitism play a significant role within the class of Hungarian industrialists, or was there a more cooperative attitude among industrialists than there was between those within the big business and those on the outside?

The Pécs Connection

Since this work will appear in a publication based in Pécs, we give an example of a local opponent of the First Jewish Law from a non-Jewish member of the GyOSz. *Magyar Gyáripár* approvingly reported on a speech that Tibor Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay, one of the owners of the Zsolnay Ceramic Works, gave to the Pécs city council in June 1938, days after the passage of Law 1938:XV, “on securing the more efficacious equilibrium in social and economic life,” which, among other things, required that no more than twenty percent of the professional employees in commercial, financial, and industrial firms with over ten employees be legally “Jewish”. Without mentioning the antisemitic legislation directly, Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay declared:

*I am with good reason filled with great trepidation about those irresponsible efforts transplanted into the public mood, which under the slogan of a fairer distribution of national wealth and income, threaten the valuables of our national economy with terrible destruction. (‘Jogos aggodalommal töltenek el azok a közhangulatba átültetett, felelőtlen törekvések, amelyek a nemzeti vagyon és jövedelem igazságosabb eloszlásának jelszava alatt szörnyű rombolással fenyegethetik nemzetgazdasági értékeinket’)*²²

How widespread were such concerns among non-Jewish industrialists? In any case, Pécs can be proud of one of its leading citizens, even if he was not able to find many others with whom to mount a defense of his ethnically Jewish neighbors then, or later.

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²² *Magyar Gyáripár* 1938. June. No. 6. 28.

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Márta Fata

Emigration from the Old Empire to Hungary in the 18th Century as Being Reflected by Contemporary Communication

Abstract

This contribution is not about the causes and reasons of emigration from the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation to the lands of the Hungarian Crown in the 18th century. Rather, the focus is on the question of how the contemporaries communicated about this emigration. More precisely, it is about which problems appeared to be so important to those involved in the migration process that, in certain contexts, they were condensed into metaphors or verbal images by way of which they could argue without the need to give more detailed reasons for their decisions and positions.²³ The analysed metaphors and verbal images represent several levels of communication, such as the level of communication between Emperor and Empire, between authorities and those willing to emigrate, and between emigrants and those staying home.

Keywords: population, communication, emigration of Germans, Hungary,

Communication between Emperor and Empire: Hungary as the outer wall of Christianity

Research has already worked out in detail that in the Early Modern Age both the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire created legitimacy myths to emphasize the necessity of defending their each respective religious identity. The self-understanding of the soldier of the Christian faith was contrasted by the Muslim religious warrior. On both sides, among the people the centuries long confrontation created a self-understanding of being a bulwark of one's own religion.²⁴ Not only frontline countries such as Hungary could claim to be defenders of Christianity, but also the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. For, since the second half of the 16th century German territorial princes with their troops had taken part in the war against the Turks, and finally they had also been fighting alongside the Emperor in the decisive liberation wars between 1683 and 1699, thus contributing essentially to the defence against the danger the Ottomans posed to Central and East Central Europe. The further fighting on the Turkish front, however, receded 'spatially, spiritually and politically'²⁵ ever more into the distance, and with the end of the immediate threat to the Old Empire there also disappeared the foundation for understanding oneself as a defender of Christianity.

What did not disappear, however, was the self-perception of the Habsburg rulers – who were Emperors of the Roman-German Empire and Kings of Hungary at the same time – as soldiers

²³ On the verbal images see, among others, Jost, J. (2007)

²⁴ Varga, J. (2000): 55-64; Tibi, B. (1999)

²⁵ Wrede, M. (2004): 214.

of the Christian faith. The reason for this was not only the Emperors' obligation, who in the electoral capitulation swore to be 'Advocates' of Christianity, of the Holy See in Rome and of the Christian Church and to keep them 'under good and faithful protection and shield'.²⁶ Among others, the still existing Ottoman danger on the southern border of the Habsburg Empire played a role for this. However, the religiously connoted task to protect was adjusted to the changed military and political situation at the end of the 17th century. Accordingly, now the Habsburgs considered it their obligation, also in Hungary, to support the territories they had reconquered from the 'arch enemy of Christianity' for the purpose of 'improved education, re-elevation and population', as it said in the edict on the settlement of the country, the so called *Impopulationspatent* (Immigration Edict) of 1689.²⁷ By this declaration, also in Hungary the population discourse found its place in national-policy considerations, and the Hungarian King, in his function as the Roman-German Emperor, in a way established a connection between the discourse which in the Old Empire had been conducted as early as since the end of the Thirty Years War and as it had only then become acute in Hungary.²⁸

The Immigration Edict of 1689 was one of the results of those lengthy consultations which happened between the Privy Council and the main committee, established by Emperor Leopold I., for newly establishing the Kingdom of Hungary after the long period of Ottoman rule.²⁹ What was discussed was not only the urgency of settling the under-populated regions of the country but also the way in which this was supposed to happen. Both at the meetings and by the *Einrichtungswerk* presented to Leopold I., the principle of voluntariness instead of the forced resettlement of subjects within the Kingdom of Hungary was supported.³⁰

By help of benefits such as the free distribution of plots or tax-free years, people from foreign countries 'without estate, nation, and religion' were supposed to be motivated to migrate.³¹ Concerning foreign countries, one had most of all people from the Roman-German Empire in mind, as becomes obvious from the *Einrichtungswerk*. However, the edict was never publicly announced either in the German territorial states or in the Habsburg Hereditary Lands. Nevertheless, the news of the extremely favourable settlement conditions for farmers and craftsmen spread rapidly. Also soldiers coming home from the Turkish front as well as the traditional trade and news routes such as along the Danube played a role for this.³²

The emigration of Germans from crisis-ridden and starved Upper Swabia had its first peak in 1712. Some landowners, such as Alexander Károlyi or Ladislaus Dóry, grasped the opportunity and had Germans settled on their estates in County Szatmár or County Tolna.³³ For many of these, however, the attempt to settle down in Hungary had to end in disaster. This was not only due to mostly spontaneous and thus ill prepared emigration³⁴ to a country which, between 1703

²⁶ Burgdorf, W. (2015): 314.

²⁷ Das *Impopulationspatent* was signed by Leopold Kollonich, Cardinal Bishop of Győr, und Peter Korompay, Bishop of Nyitra and Royal Chancellor, on 11.08.1689. The text is printed in Tafferner, A. (1974-1975): 53.

²⁸ On the long history of the population debate in the Old Empire see Nipperdey, J. (2012)

²⁹ On this see Kalmár, J. – Varga, J. J. (2010); Seewann, G. (2013): 100-114.

³⁰ Kalmár, J. – Varga, J. J. (2010): 130-136, 339f., 394f.

³¹ Quoted after Tafferner, A. (1974-1975): 53.

³² Franz Ferdinand Jany, Titular Bishop of Sylvania and Abbot of Pécsvárad, was one of the first landlords in Hungary who settled Germans on his domains in County Baranya. Even in early 1689 Dionysius von Rehlingen und Guggenberg was active as a recruitment agent in Augsburg on his behalf. On this see Hermann Egyed, I. (1929): 48-60.

³³ Vönház, I. (1931); Eppel, J. (1988): 31-40.

³⁴ On the organisational flaws both among the immigrants and among the landlords see Eppel, J. (1988): 38.

and 1711, had been suffering from the Rákóczi Rebellion, however also from the plague.³⁵ The failure of the 1712/13 emigration of so many was a lasting memory most of all of the territorial princes who had to accept again subjects they had already dismissed, allowing them to give reason to their sometimes negative attitude towards emigration.

Emperor Karl VI. verifiably turned towards several worldly and clerical territorial lords for the first time in the spring of 1722, asking for the release of subjects willing to emigrate to the Banat of Temesvár, which had been liberated in 1717 and where he was the sole landlord. His individual correspondence partners in this context are unknown. What is known, however, is a thus-connected correspondence of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt which, however, has only been preserved by one late copy.³⁶ In a letter from April 20th, 1722, the Emperor asked Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt to release 600 families without charging the compulsory redemption and emigration fees, giving the reason that he intended 'to occupy the lands which have been conquered from the hereditary enemy in the course of last year's war and which are so bare of inhabitants, with German people, as an outer wall of Christianity [...]', to this way 'serve the common Christian spirit'.³⁷

But the Emperor's hopes were lessened. The Lutheran Landgrave at first asked the neighbouring territorial princes for their opinion. Lothar Franz, Elector and Archbishop of Mainz, who had also been contacted by the Emperor, was ready to comply with the request 'solely out of goodwill and in honour of' the Emperor'.³⁸ Karl, the Reformed Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, who had not been contacted by the Emperor, argued against the Imperial request by referring to the Peace of Westphalia whose articles stipulated the redemption of serfs and the emigration fee according to denominational aspects. Apart from legal problems, he feared that emigrating Protestants would be suppressed in Habsburg Hungary because of their denomination and that they would neither be able to bear the unfamiliar climate nor the foreign way of life. Thus he claimed that they would return in a state of impoverishment, like the emigrants from the Swabian Imperial Circle in 1712.³⁹ By advice of his government, who believed a rejection of the Imperial request to be unwise, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt allowed his subjects to emigrate.⁴⁰ However, he was not ready to let the emigrants go without them paying the ten per cent tax on the wealth they would take with them and the redemption fee.⁴¹ Thus, in 1729 the Emperor once again appealed to the Landgrave, repeating his arguments.⁴²

³⁵ Fata, M. (2009): 43-57. Extreme weather also played a role, such as the great floods of 1712. On this see Éble, F. (1893): 83.

³⁶ Tafferner, A. (1974-1975): 77-84.

³⁷ Ibid. 77.

³⁸ Ibid. 82.

³⁹ Ibid. 83.

⁴⁰ Schmidt, J. (1929): 211-214.

⁴¹ On October 14th, 1722, the Landgrave issued a decree where he did not only warn his subjects of emigration, among others by urging that the shipwrecked should not again be accepted as subjects, but just the same affirmed the emigration taxes and fees and told his officials to report on the financial situation of those willing to emigrate and not to permit emigration until he had issued his resolution on the issue. Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt R 1 A 42/17: Verordnung, die Emigration der Untertanen nach Ungarn betreffend. – On the various taxes in case of emigration see Heinz, J. (1989): 66-77.

⁴² He asked for not charging the high emigration fees and once again emphasized the common Christian interest, according to which the settlement of the Banat would establish an outer wall of Christianity. See Schmidt, J. (1929): 213.

Astonishing with this correspondence is not the attitude of the territorial lords, which was most of all due to their different denominations, but the fact that all three avoided to call Hungary an outer wall of Christianity. Although they did not in principle reject emigration to Hungary, they took care not to take up the Emperor's argument. Possibly this would have had the signalling effect that the territorial lords were giving up on their rights vis-a-vis the Emperor, among which there also counted the regulation of migration.

The metaphor 'outer wall of Christianity' appeared again after the Seven Years War. Then the territorial lords were confronted with their subjects being massively lured away. England and France wanted German settlers for their overseas colonies, but also Spain, Denmark, Prussia, and the Habsburg Monarchy as well as Russia canvassed German colonists.⁴³ In particular the generous economic benefits as well as religious freedom announced by Tsarina Catherine II. in 1763 did not fail to have effect.⁴⁴ As the territorial lords were unable to solve the problem themselves, the Imperial Districts were included into the fight against emigration.⁴⁵ In 1766 the Bavarian Imperial District even asked the neighbouring districts to jointly work against the 'evil of transports of colonists to foreign empires which were not at all closely related to our most worthy German fatherland'.⁴⁶ And finally the Anterior Imperial Districts asked Emperor Joseph II. to pass a ban on emigration from the Empire.⁴⁷ The edict to this effect of June 7th, 1768, included the clause, introduced by Bavaria, that emigration to countries outside the Imperial borders was not permitted.⁴⁸ Thus, Joseph II. took a position between the interests of the Empire and his own interests as a territorial lord in Hungary. These were tacitly brought in line, however quite in the sense of what the Imperial envoy told the Franconian district assembly, confirming the validity of the clause, however he added: 'anytime, with the eminent exception of the Kingdom of Hungary as an outer wall serving the Empire and entire Christianity against the Turkish assaults'.⁴⁹

Hungary's special position was also included by Imperial publicist Johann Jacob Moser into his work of 1772, 'Teutsches Auswärtiges Stats-Recht', in the context of the edict of 1768, however without referring to the bulwark function. Moser only emphasized: 'Hungary [...] because it is a hereditary kingdom of the House of Austria which is provided with Roman Imperial dignity; it is thus understood by other foreign powers.'⁵⁰ That Moser's explanations were still understood in the sense of the metaphor of 'Hungary as an outer wall' is proven, among others, by a correspondence between the government of Württemberg and the Senior Bailiff of Leonberg of 1773. In the Duchy of Württemberg, where the Treaty of Tübingen of 1514 was valid as the foundation of emigration law, the emigration edict was not publicly announced. Nevertheless, the Senior Bailiff asked how he was supposed to behave in the case of Jakob Großhaupt, who intended to emigrate to Medgyes in Transylvania, because 'according

⁴³ On this see among others Schünemann, K. (1935): 234-243.

⁴⁴ On this see among others Brandes, D. (1993)

⁴⁵ Wunder, B. (2000): 112.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Among the Anterior Imperial Districts there counted the Franconian, the Electoral Rhenish, the Upper Rhenish, the Swabian, and the Westphalian Circle. The Swabian Circle was not involved in the letter to the Emperor. On the specific case of this Imperial Circle as far as emigration is concerned see the explanation further below.

⁴⁸ Tafferner, A. (1974-1975): 245.

⁴⁹ Quoted after Wunder, B. (2000): 114.

⁵⁰ Moser, J. J. (1772): 330.

to Moser's treatise on the Emperor's prerogatives, this ban [is not supposed to] cover Hungary and Transylvania as an outer wall of Christianity'.⁵¹

When considering the communication between the Habsburg ruler and the Hungarian estates,⁵² it is worthwhile to have a look at the texts written in the run-ups to the diets. At their conference of 1712, where they discussed the female succession of Habsburg in Hungary, the Hungarian magnates demanded the impartibility and safeguarding of Hungary's special position within the Habsburg Monarchy, giving the reason that 'for the non-Hungarian countries Hungary is the blessing of being an outer wall'.⁵³ Both magnates and estates considered themselves quite in line with the bulwark tradition. At the Diet of 1722/1723 where, in line with the traditional custom, speeches were given, also Franz Szluha, the Protonotary and Vice-Zupan of County Komárom, raised his hand. In his speech, which was also printed in German, surprisingly he changed the traditional metaphor by emphasizing that only by help of 'the glorious arms' of the Emperor Hungary 'had been saved from the dangerous-bloody sea waves of the Turkish War' and that also in the future the safety of the Kingdom required the 'powerful shield' of the House of Habsburg.⁵⁴ In a way, Szluha represented those noblemen who, during the Rákóczi Rebellion, had belonged to the confidants of the insurgent prince but had gone over to the Imperial side after the Peace of Szatmár of 1711 and considered the ruling House of Habsburg the guarantor of Hungary's safety and wealth.⁵⁵ Szluha's speech was thus more than just a gesture of reconciliation, which found clear expression by the diet's decision concerning the issue of settlement.

In the run-up to the Diet other noblemen, such as already mentioned Károlyi, once Rákóczi's general, worked on plans for political, economic, and military reforms as members of the so called Systematic Commission established in 1715. Similar to the *Einrichtungswerk* of 1689, also for the Commission the settlement of the underpopulated regions was a political topic, thus a topic which fundamentally concerned the state.⁵⁶ It suggested two possible ways of settlement to the Diet, which assembled in Pozsony in 1722, i. e. inviting foreign colonists or, on the other hand, resettling native subjects from the densely populated regions of the country. Instead of a violent resettlement of native subjects, the Diet voted for voluntary immigration from foreign countries, which became law, as Article 103/1723, after the decisions of the Diet had been sanctioned by the King.⁵⁷

Like the *Einrichtungswerk* and the Immigration Edict, also this Article desired immigration from the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. The Article even gave that task to the King (Karl III.) as the Emperor (Karl VI.) to support the Hungarian case in the Empire: '§1 However, so as to announce edicts in the Holy Roman Empire and also in the neighbouring

⁵¹ Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart A 202, Bü 2428.

⁵² On this see among others Forgó, A. (2020): 233-250.

⁵³ The meeting happened in the context of extending the Pragmatic Sanction of female succession in the House of Habsburg on Hungary. Both magnates and estates grasped the occasion to secure or extend their privileges. On this see Turba, G. (1906): 166.

⁵⁴ Szluha, F. (1722): 1, 3.

⁵⁵ Szluha, M. (1996): 71-78.

⁵⁶ Kónyi, Mária: (1932): 168. On the other hand, the immigration of craftsmen was negotiated, quite in the mercantilist mode, among the Commission's the sub-delegation on economic issues, which was then included into Diet Law 117/1723. Márkus, D. (1900): 649.

⁵⁷ 'His Most Holy Majesty will kindly allow that free individuals of any kind are called into the country, that these will be relieved of any public tax for six years, and that this liberty may be announced all over the country.' Quoted after Márkus, D. (1900): 645.

countries and provinces of His Much Blessed Majesty in this sense, His Majesty together with the Estates of said Holy Roman Empire, of the neighbouring countries and provinces, may consider.’⁵⁸ There is no indication that Emperor Karl VI. turned to the German Estates in this sense. Still, emigration was a sovereign right of the territorial lords who always acted according to their own economic interests when granting or trying to prevent emigration. The Emperor was only entitled, by permission of the respective territorial lord, to support emigration by help of his agents, while observing that those willing to emigrate were regularly released from the state.⁵⁹ Yet still, the significance of Article 103 must particularly be emphasized, as it provided the necessary legal grounds for German immigration in the 18th century.

The communication between authority and emigrants: ‘food’

Right from its beginnings, the research on emigration from Germany in the Early Modern Age focused on its causes and reasons.⁶⁰ However, the results show that these were not only different each according to region and time but that they were also multi-causal, which caused quite a headache even for the authorities of the 18th century in their search for answers, particularly to major emigration waves. For example on July 2nd, 1712, Duke Eberhard Ludwig of Württemberg ordered his public servants to investigate if ‘poverty, a lack of food, or any other cause’ was responsible for the sudden desire of so many people to emigrate to Hungary.⁶¹ ‘Food’ in the sense of subsistence was a key term of the politics of the territorial princes, on which social peace was depending.⁶² However, there was no clear definition of what exactly was meant by food. However, there was agreement that every subject was entitled to food according to his/her social status and that the territorial prince had the obligation to take care for his subjects’ livelihood.⁶³ Among others, this found indirect expression by the occasional fee for emigration, such as in the Margraviate of Baden-Durlach. The law code of 1715 stated: ‘Who leaves our lands has to show gratefulness for having been protected and shielded and must pay half the fee for being granted citizenship.’⁶⁴ On the other hand, there was little agreement about the methods of maintaining social peace by way of ‘food’ given a growing population and stable natural resources. Suggestions made by cameralistic authors were difficult to implement. For, the preconditions such as those formulated by Johann Gottlob Justi – prudent governance and a good state of food⁶⁵ - required complex social and economic reforms for the implementation of which the early modern state usually lacked the means. Accordingly, the governments of the territorial states wavered between admitting and banning emigration.

Also in the emigration records and the petitions by those willing to emigrate there was no further explanation of what ‘food’ was, it was only topically postulated as the reason given for the wish to emigrate. Urban Walser, a citizen of Meßkirch in Fürstenberg, stated in 1712 that ‘because

⁵⁸ Márkus, D. (1900): 645.

⁵⁹ On the migration regime in the Old Empire see Härter, K. (2016): 45-86.

⁶⁰ For an example see Miller, M. (1935); Hippel, W. (1984)

⁶¹ Quoted after Hippel, W. (1984): 284.

⁶² On the concept of food see Krünitz, J. G. 1773-1858): <https://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/xxx/n/kn01027.htm>, (accessed 16.10.2022); Blickle, R. (1988): 73-94; Spiekermann, U. (2004): 40-46.

⁶³ See among others Kocka, J. (1990).

⁶⁴ Quoted after Hacker, W. (1980): 109.

⁶⁵ Justi von, J. H. G. (1761): 199.

of the always many interventions in his actions and expensive times [he could] no longer make a living here'.⁶⁶ Jörg Krauß, a weaver from Knetzgau in Bavaria, wanted to emigrate three years after that, as he wrote: 'given my needy state, and that I find it impossible to any longer make a living in honest ways and to feed wife and children'. Like so many, also he hoped to 'find better sustenance' in Hungary.⁶⁷ In 1771 Josef Berner, a farmer from Welschingen, which was ruled by the Lords of Hewen, gave as the reason why he intended to emigrate that with his family he wanted to move 'to his cousins at German, 8 miles from Ofen', as 'they wanted to help them to get themselves something for better food.'⁶⁸ The living conditions of the petitioners were certainly different, like their ideas of what they needed for a living. Nevertheless, tersely and unanimously they argued by referring to 'food', not only because they knew that this way they could legitimate their wish to emigrate by referring to their right to sustenance. Also the language and worldview of the common man in the Early Modern Age contributed considerably to this term becoming a general means of communication between subjects willing to emigrate and authorities. Usually the notions of the common man did not go beyond his/her own sphere of living. His/her milieu was that one world he/she could understand, consisting of a sufficient supply of basic foods, in particular grain, for moderate prices as well as safe employment.⁶⁹ Thus, in the detailed justifications the authorities demanded from time to time one frequently referred to bread shortages, rising prices and unemployment.

Each according to territory and even within one and the same territory the territorial lords and authorities reacted differently to their subjects' desire to emigrate. Nevertheless, one main trend of decision-making can be stated: if release was granted or even desired, then this mainly referred to the emigration of the poor, to this way relieve the communal coffers. Also the emigration of indebted farmers was welcome, such as in the Bishopric of Würzburg in 1724, to this way support 'the wealthy subjects by appropriating the estates on sale'.⁷⁰ Thus, the farms left behind were supposed to be distributed among those farmers who were staying and economically working or among their sons. From the support of the emigration of those subjects labelled 'lazy, wanton and good for nothing' it became obvious that the authorities could not meet their obligations towards their subjects because they were unable to maintain the balance between food and population.⁷¹ Only with the insight into the possibly positive effects of the cameralistic ideas of reform since the mid-century also the arguments of the authorities changed.⁷²

Files from Württemberg provide deeper insight into this changed way of thinking. On June 30th, 1750, the government council in Stuttgart stated on the emigration issue that it was incomprehensible 'how subjects leave, without the greatest need, a well-kept country

⁶⁶ Hacker, W. (1975): 351.

⁶⁷ Staatsarchiv Bamberg, Hochfürstlich Bambergische Regierungsakten B 67, I/15, Prod. 7

⁶⁸ Hacker, W. (1975): 171.

⁶⁹ Münch, P. (1996): 58-110.

⁷⁰ Selig, R. (1988): 24.

⁷¹ For an example: Von Gottes Gnaden, Eberhard Ludwig, Hertzog zu Württemberg und Teck [...] wie es mit Annehmung der Burger und Beysitzer gehalten, und das Land mit überflüßigen Leuthen und Haußhaltungen, denen es nachgehends an Nahrung gebriecht, nicht angefüllet [...]. Stuttgart, den 31. August 1714. <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN1029217351>, (16.10.2022).

⁷² Fertig, G. (2000); Fertig, G. (1999): 77-88.

abundantly provided with everything needed for sustenance and need, where thus food may be supposed to be easily found.’⁷³

Starting out from the interplay of demography and economy, in Stuttgart the emigration particularly of wealthy subjects was considered, from the point of view of the welfare of the state, to be harmful. For, due to ‘moving away, the number of subjects is considerably reduced, which way however [...] the interests of Lord and territory are affected, also much money [is] taken out of the country, and in a word, while the strength of a country depends on the amount of its well-doing inhabitants, general damage must be caused.’⁷⁴

On September 3rd, 1781, the Württemberg territorial assembly repeated the well-known arguments against emigration. However, in the course of the more than 30 years which had passed since the former document, the perspective had changed significantly. If until 1750 emigration was said to be the fault of those subjects who, instead of meeting their obligation to provide food, had abandoned themselves to idleness, in 1781 the motto ‘*Fleiß und Arbeit die nahrung vermehret, der Müßiggang solche verzehret* (diligence and work increase food, idleness eats it up)’⁷⁵ was no longer stated as an argument. Not the subjects alone, it was said, were to be blamed for emigration. Rather, the territorial assembly recognized that the subjects themselves were suffering from the consequences of a rapid growth of the population, because in Württemberg the fields were fragmented as a result of gavelkind and the basic food resources were becoming ever tighter, and because the daytallers had no income anymore since the farmers were working their small plots themselves. One recognized the problems causing emigration, however the subjects could not be helped.⁷⁶ As long as the policy of balancing food and population had priority, emigration remained an important element of the economic system, even if it was undesired or even banned. This was also because other means of regulating the population, such as marriage restrictions, could no longer be supported in the second half of the century.

Instead, now there were more frequent appeals to the subjects that also they had to meet their obligations towards the country by not emigrating. For example the Fürstenberg government rejected Gabriel Hafner’s emigration from Kreenheinstetten in 1770, when emigration was at its peak, by giving the reason that he should ‘apply for service and food in the country’.⁷⁷

The communication between emigrants and those staying home – ‘dung’ and the ‘good Emperor’

Letters by emigrants are particularly suitable for the analysis of the communication between emigrants and those staying home in the 18th century. Ursula Lehmkuhl in the handbook published in 2020 writes that the letters by emigrants may not just be considered information media but a ‘medium of cultural transfer and sense-making in contexts of abrupt and often

⁷³ Quoted after Hippel, W. (1984): 300. By the way, this was a self-perception which was not at all unique, as also the Electoral Palatinate liked to argue by way of the self-perception of being ‘paradise on earth’.

⁷⁴ Quoted after Hippel, W. (1984): 300.

⁷⁵ Quoted after Wagner, S. (1711): 5.

⁷⁶ Hippel, W. (1984): 311-315.

⁷⁷ Hacker, W. (1975): 223.

traumatic experiences of difference.⁷⁸ This is certainly true for the ca. 11,000 letters written to Germany by emigrants living in America, but not for the ca. 150 thus far known letters by German emigrants to Hungary in the 18th century. These letters are no evidence of an abrupt experience of difference, only occasionally they give testimony to traumatic losses of family members which could destroy the emigrants' hopes for a new beginning. At the same time it must be emphasized that the letters by those emigrating to Hungary in the 18th century were considered an official kind of recruitment, which is why they were observed by the authorities. It is thus not uncommon that the authorities in the region of emigration did not pass over all too positive reports to the addressees, or that letters telling about negative experiences in regions of immigration were confiscated by the authorities there.⁷⁹ The question if in the preserved letters there appears certain information condensed to metaphors must be answered by no. Nevertheless, certain metaphorical messages can be read from them.⁸⁰ They are going to be explained by the example of letters from the time of Emperor Joseph II.'s rule in Hungary (1780-1790).

These letters from the 1780s tell about what the emigrants meant by good 'food'. The settlers in Hungary had encountered circumstances which seem to have far exceeded their expectations as farmers. For, from the letters we can read astonishment and joy about the favourable natural conditions they found. Adam Wegehenkel from Cservenka in the Bačka, for example, wrote home on July 17th, 1785: 'The soil is so rich that you won't believe it when I'm writing it.'⁸¹ On the same day Johann Georg Wittig, also from Cservenka, wrote: 'The area is such good soil that it must not be manured and provides the best yield that it lies down because it is so rich.'⁸² Also Stephan Kaufmann from Bukin reported to Weissenhasel in Hesse that the 'dung we produce in the winter is just a burden for us. If there should be anybody to take it in spring, I would be happy to help him with loading.'⁸³ It seems as if Kaufmann perceived the new situation in a foreign country as being relieved from the production system in his home country. There, one had not been able to achieve a good balance between grain yield and fodder, as a result one had not been able to increase the number of livestock and the amount of dung, and had thus not succeeded with improving the fields.⁸⁴ The fields at Bukin in the Bačka, on the other hand, were so fertile that there was not even any need to fertilise them.

If we go on reading Kaufmann's letter, we are told that he even considered his emigration a real salvation 'from the vale of tears'⁸⁵ and the 'heavy burden of labour':⁸⁶ 'Also in Hungaryland we must work, but for the amount of hay I make, together with my children, every day over here, at Hasel you may send 12 people to making hay and they won't make as much as 4 over here. And over here in Hungaryland, in the course of one year I've been wiping more grease off my mouth than I had to eat at Hasel over 2 years, and I wiped more wine off my mouth than I had beer to drink at Hasel.'⁸⁷ In a way, here Hungary I presented as a land of milk and honey

⁷⁸ Lehmkuhl, U. (2020): 631.

⁷⁹ On this see e. g. the confiscation of letters in the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken in 1785, Landesarchiv Speyer, B2, Zweibrücken, Polizeisachen, Nr. 4313: Verordnung bezüglich des Emigrierens in fremde Lande, 1738-1787.

⁸⁰ On the issue in the context of emigration to America see Helbich, W. (1990): 63-80.

⁸¹ Hefner, A. (2002): 439.

⁸² Ibid. 445.

⁸³ Ibid. 441f.

⁸⁴ On this see Trossbach, W. (2001): 198.

⁸⁵ Hefner, A. (2002): 441.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ebd.

– a counter-idea to the statist order which was popular in the 18th century.⁸⁸ Here it is a counter-presentation to the bad food supply in the original home country.

It was also thankfully noticed by the emigrants that all the promises they had been made by the recruitment bills when it came to establish independent lives as farmer were indeed kept. 35 years old ploughman and miller Nikolaus Rabung from Rubenheim in County Leyen, who seems to have had not a penny to his name, wrote from Mercydorf in the Banat: 'what they promised us out there, for the first time a newly built house for two hundred and fifty Guilders, also two horses and a wagon as well as a cow with a calf, like also a bed and as much of iron ware as a farmer needs in his house [...] all that we've got. We are given as much land as we can farm [...]. For which we cannot be grateful enough to our most gracious Emperor.'⁸⁹ Other settlers compiled tables to list in detail what they had been given for free to build their new lives as farmers, so that Wegehenkel had to assert those who stayed home: 'I'm telling you no lies, this is as certain as it is certain that I owe my life to God. If you don't believe it, don't blame me but our gracious Emperor who gives this gift to us.'⁹⁰ Such an assertion was indeed necessary, as compared to the benefits under Karl III. and Maria Theresia, under Joseph II. the immigrants on the state domains of the Hungarian Chamber received extremely generous benefits.

The authors of these letters told that in the foreign country they had found the solid basic food resources they had missed so much at home, which they exclusively owed to the graciousness and kindness of their 'good Emperor', as Ottilia Säcklerin told in her letter from Kolut of February 18th, 1786.⁹¹ Due to his popular attitude and the benefits he had granted to immigrants, Joseph II., who not seldom had personally received groups of immigrant farmers and even complaining settlers in Vienna, could be condensed to become the perfect example of the good ruler whose memory remained an element of the legends of the Danube Swabians still in the 20th century.⁹² Certainly the letters from the period between 1784 and 1787 do not cover the entire range of fates and emotions of the immigrants, which were indeed not free of negative experiences. But they do not show any traumatic experiences of being different. On the contrary, the fertility of the natural environment and the figure of the good Emperor give expression to hopes having become reality.

Conclusion

As a conclusion it may be stated that the linguistic analysis of texts written in the context of migration allows for a more thorough understanding of the motivation as well as the patterns of behaviour and thought of those involved in the migration process. Verbal images pursue a certain goal and are meant for unfolding effect. The metaphor of 'Hungary as an outer wall of Christianity' as well as frequently used terms such as 'food' or 'the good Emperor' and 'dung' were supposed to make the territorial lords allow emigration or to convince those staying home

⁸⁸ On this see Müller, M. (1984); Richter, D. (1984)

⁸⁹ Klugesherz, L. (1987): 94.

⁹⁰ Hefner, A. (2002): 439.

⁹¹ Ibid. 449

⁹² Magyar, Z. (2006): 51-81. Several legends about Joseph II. are still known, among others also from Csávoły in the Bačka. On this see Cammann, A. – Karasek, A. (1977): 121f., 268.

that emigration was worthwhile. The metaphors used were important elements of communicative negotiations simply because, due to being rooted in the common knowledge of early-modern society, they were commonly understood.

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Judit Borsy

Possibilités économiques des paysans dans les domaines du district du fonds public de Pécsvárad dans la première partie du 19ème siècle

Abstract

The purpose of the study. The purpose of the study is to determine how different the situation of serfs living in public foundation manors differed from that of serfs living in private manors or church manors.

Applied methods. We analyzed the manorial accounts of the public foundation district of Pécsvárad, which is located in Hungarian National Archives of Baranya County, as well as other censuses and court documents. The focus of the examination was the three abbey estates in Pécsvárad.

Outcomes. The accounts showed that the source of income of public foundation manors were significantly different from that of private or church manors. The “robot” reports show that the serfs had ample opportunity to get rid of this burdensome service. The favorable terms of the land leases proved that the serfs living in the public foundation district had more opportunities for economic growth, and they took advantage of this. Farming on leased lands and clearings, significantly increased the economic opportunities of the serfs. The lack of “allodium” offered the serfs ample space for farming. **Keywords:** estate, public foundation, “robot”, “allodium”, leased land

L’origine du fonds public

Le fonctionnement, l'administration et l'exploitation des domaines étaient essentiellement déterminés par le propriétaire, le seigneur. Dans le cas des domaines ecclésiastiques et privés les propriétaires et les décideurs étaient les mêmes. Que la direction du domaine soit décidée par une seule personne, une réunion de famille ou une assemblée capitulaire, l'intérêt était évident. Dans le cas des domaines ecclésiastiques la personne désignée pour gérer le domaine, généralement un chanoine, a été lui-même propriétaire et il était donc bien intéressé à augmenter les revenus.

Dans le cas des domaines du fonds public le propriétaire était le fonds d'étude, le fonds religieux et le fonds universitaire. C'étaient les officiers du conseil de lieutenance qui dirigeaient les domaines, sans aucune formation d'agriculture et les chefs des domaines n'avaient pas leur mot à dire dans les décisions. Les gestionnaires n'avaient aucun intérêt direct. La cause de ce mode de fonctionnement particulier qui a différé de tout autre type de domaine s'explique de l'origine du fonds public.

Les domaines du fonds public peuvent être divisés en trois groupes selon leur origine et en quatre selon leur destination.

Les revenus des biens de l'ordre des Jésuites dissous en 1773 étaient utilisés pour des fins éducatives, c'était le fonds d'étude que Marie-Thérèse a créé par le décret du 25 mars 1780.

Les revenus des domaines des ordres religieux abolis par l'empereur Joseph II entre 1782 et 1787 ne devaient être utilisés qu'aux fins de la religion catholique, selon le décret de l'empereur Joseph II. C'était du revenu du fonds religieux qu'on a complété les salaires des prêtres et ceux des enseignants catholiques et qu'on a subvenu les frais de l'entretien et de la construction des églises et des écoles.

Dans le comitat de Baranya et celui de Tolna il y avait des cloîtres des Bénédictins qui avaient été dépeuplés sous la domination turque et où les Bénédictins ne sont plus retournés. Dès le début du 18^{ème} siècle les abbayes ont été confiées à des prêtres séculiers en guise de donation. Dans la seconde moitié du 18^{ème} siècle lorsque la question des biens ecclésiastiques était à l'ordre du jour, les abbayes vacantes n'étaient plus comblées. Tout d'abord en 1751 c'était l'abbaye de Bátaszék que Marie-Thérèse a destiné à maintenir le Theresianum, c'était le fonds du Theresianum.⁹³ Les revenus du domaine ont été employés à l'entretien du Theresianum et à fournir des bourses d'études aux jeunes nobles.

L'abbaye de Földvár⁹⁴ est devenue vacante en 1768. L'année prochaine Marie-Thérèse a disposé que les biens de celle-ci soient utilisés pour l'entretien de l'université royale auparavant jésuite de Nagyszombat placée d'abord à Buda puis à Pest, créant ainsi le fonds universitaire. C'était à ce fonds qu'on a affecté le domaine de l'abbaye de Szekszárd après la mort de l'abbé François Roth en 1777 et les trois domaines de l'abbaye de Pécsvárad, Pécsvárad, Bozsok et Versend après la mort du comte Carolus Hugo ab Eltz Kempenich en 1779.

Les biens des ordres religieux en partie vacants et en partie abolis ont été placés sous l'administration de l'État et les bénéfices des domaines ont été destinés au fonds public. En 1781 l'empereur Joseph II a confié l'administration du fonds d'étude et puis celle du fonds religieux à la chambre, tandis que le capital des fonds a été géré par le trésor public. En 1785, après la fusion du conseil de lieutenance et de la chambre, les affaires des fonds étaient gérées par le conseil de lieutenance, plus exactement par un des départements du conseil de lieutenance.⁹⁵ Cette situation n'a pas changé même après la séparation du conseil de lieutenance et de la chambre et c'était le conseil de lieutenance qui est resté l'autorité suprême des affaires du fonds public jusqu'à 1848. Le département des fondations s'occupait également des affaires des autres fonds laïques et ecclésiastiques. Dans les comptes des fonds, les dépenses et les recettes de chaque fonds étaient indiquées séparément.⁹⁶

La direction des domaines du fonds public

Les domaines appartenant aux différents fonds ne formaient évidemment pas un ensemble organique, mais ils étaient constitués de biens éparpillés dans tout le pays.⁹⁷ L'empereur Joseph a formé dix districts d'administration de chambre pour diriger les domaines du fonds public. En 1793 François I^{er}, roi de Hongrie a confié le conseil de lieutenance de réorganiser

⁹³ Le Theresianum était géré séparément des autres fonds, non pas par le praefectus du district du fonds public, mais par un conseil d'administration à Vienne.

⁹⁴ Les villages sont mentionnés dans l'étude par leurs noms contemporains : Agárd (Sióagárd), Bozsok (Palotabozsok), Földvár (Dunaföldvár), Jenő (Baranyajenő), Kéménd (Máriakéménd), Kér (Németkér), Kömlőd (Dunakömlőd), Rácmecske (Erdőmecske), Varasd (Apátvarasd), Várkony (Zengővárkony).

⁹⁵ Felhő, I. – Vörös, A. (1961): 325.

⁹⁶ Ember, Gy. (1940): 164, 174.

⁹⁷ Felhő, I. – Vörös, A. (1961): 324.

l'administration. C'est alors qu'on a créé huit districts sur une base territoriale pour rendre l'administration des domaines plus directe. Les domaines d'un district appartenaient à des fonds différents, mais ils étaient administrés à la même manière, seuls les revenus ont été attribués aux différents fonds.

Entre 1793 et 1802 les centres de ces districts étaient Pest, Oradea, Kutjevo⁹⁸, Vágsellye,⁹⁹ Pécsvárad, Jászó, Sajólad et Szentmárton. En 1802 les biens du fonds religieux sont diminués car François I^{er} a restauré plusieurs ordres religieux et il leur a rendu leurs domaines. Les huit districts deviennent sept après avoir annexé le district de Kutjevo à celui de Pécsvárad. Le district du fonds public de Pécsvárad créé en 1793 a été l'un des deux dont le nom et le centre restait le même tout au long des réorganisations successives pendant une période plus d'un siècle. Entre 1793 et 1885 le territoire du district de Pécsvárad s'est étendu à trois comitats: Baranya, Tolna, Pozsega, tandis que les autres districts du fonds public étaient encore plus étendus, leurs domaines se trouvaient dans cinq à six comitats.¹⁰⁰

Le chef du district était le praefectus¹⁰¹ qui vivait généralement au centre du district et selon l'arrêté du conseil du lieutenant de 1794, il était « le directeur des domaines du district et le représentant direct des domaines du district dans tous leurs droits ».¹⁰²

Les huit domaines du district du fonds public de Pécsvárad étaient tout à fait différents. Les domaines de Pécsvárad, Bozsok et Versend du comitat de Baranya, Szekszárd et Földvár de celui de Tolna, 38 villages au total appartenaient au fonds universitaire.¹⁰³ Neuf villages du domaine Mágocs et du domaine Vajszló faisaient partie du fonds religieux. À partir de 1802 le domaine de Kutjevo composé de 35 villages dont le propriétaire avait été auparavant l'ordre des jésuites, était également administré de Pécsvárad. Le district de Pécsvárad contenait donc les domaines de tous les trois fonds et il était aussi vaguement lié aux domaines du quatrième fonds: le domaine Terézianum de Bátaszek et Báta. Entre 1798 et 1832 les domaines de Vajszló et de Báta avaient un seul avocat (fiscal) et en 1848, bien que pour une courte période les domaines de Bátaszék et de Báta aient été annexés au district de Pécsvárad. (Tableau 1)

⁹⁸ Kutjevo: ville en Croatie, nom d'aujourd'hui: Kutjevo.

⁹⁹ Vágsellye: ville de Slovaquie, nom d'aujourd'hui: Šal'a.

¹⁰⁰ Les domaines du district de Vágsellye se situaient dans six comitats, ceux du districts de Jászó et de Szentmárton (plus tard Somlyóvásárhely) dans cinq comitats.

¹⁰¹ Praefectus: mot latin. Il était le chef du district du fonds public. Il était en relation du conseil de lieutenant et aussi des provisors des domaines. Borsy, J. (2007): 164-165.

¹⁰² HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a.29A/323.

¹⁰³ Le fonds d'étude (en latin: fundus studiorum) était souvent utilisé même pour désigner le fonds universitaire. Le domaine de Földvár a été le premier domaine du fonds universitaire, mais jusqu'à 1809 on l'a mentionné comme la propriété du fonds d'études. Le domaine de Szekszárd était aussi mentionné souvent comme domaine du fonds d'études.

Tableau 1

Nombre des communes et des sections urbariales des serfs¹⁰⁴ des domaines du district de Pécsvárad entre 1802 et 1849¹⁰⁵

Domaine	Propriétaire original	Propriétaire nouveau	Nombre des communes	Nombre des sections
Domaine de Pécsvárad	Abbé de Pécsvárad	Fonds universitaire	11	466 et 1/8
Domaine de Bozsok	Abbé de Pécsvárad	Fonds universitaire	9	497 et 6/8
Domaine de Versend	Abbé de Pécsvárad	Fonds universitaire	9	502 et 2/8
Domaine de Mágocs	Ordre de Saint-Paul de Pécs	Fonds religieux	4	225
Domaine de Vajszló	Ordre des religieuses de Buda	Fonds religieux	5	129 et 4/8
Domaine de Szekszárd	Abbé de Szekszárd	Fonds universitaire	6	251 et 6/8
Domaine de Földvár	Abbé de Földvár	Fonds universitaire	3	108
Domaine de Kutjevo	Ordre des Jésuites de Pozsega	Fonds d'étude	35	532 et 3/8
Au total			82	2710 et 6/8

La gestion de l'économie du district de Pécsvárad

Avant 1848 la tutelle seigneuriale couvrait tous les aspects importants de la vie des paysans des villages. C'était la seigneurie qui surveillait l'administration des communes, contrôlait les comptes des magistrats communaux et la nomination des juges. Elle s'occupait également de l'entretien des routes, des ponts et de la régularisation des eaux. Le domaine avait la charge des orphelins, de leurs biens et il faisait produire des intérêts à leur capital. Le domaine approuvait aussi les contrats de vente, de mariage et les testaments des paysans. Le tribunal seigneurial décidait des affaires litigieuses des paysans et il réglait les questions disputées de l'héritage des familles. Le domaine se chargeait de l'éducation des enfants et de la vie religieuse du peuple. C'était du domaine que les prêtres catholiques, les pasteurs protestants et les instituteurs recevaient une grande partie de leurs revenus. Le domaine prenait soin de la construction et de l'entretien des bâtiments des églises et des écoles.

Le rôle dominant seigneuriale influençait surtout les possibilités économiques des paysans qui dépendaient principalement de la manière dont les domaines étaient gérés. Le territoire du

¹⁰⁴ La section urbariales (dite parcelle, terrain) des serfs s'est composée de terre arable, du jardin et du pré, en somme 32 arpents dans le comitat de Baranya. Mais il y avait peu de gens qui avaient une section « entière », il y avait plutôt des paysans qui cultivaient une demi, un quart ou un huitième de section. Les inquilini (zsellér) en avaient moins d'un huitième.

¹⁰⁵ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a. 6D/178, 183, 19D/287, 288, 290, 292, 293, 48A/256, 257, 285, 288.

domaine s'est divisé essentiellement en deux parties: l'allodium (la terre seigneuriale) et les sections urbariales des serfs.

Même avant 1848 la répartition des terres n'était pas rigidement fixée. Le propriétaire foncier pouvait augmenter la terre seigneuriale ou juste au contraire en la diminuant pouvait offrir des terres à louer aux paysans. Il est facile de voir comment un changement dans l'une ou l'autre direction de ces deux formes de culture pouvait rétrécir ou élargir l'espace vital des paysans. La croissance de la terre seigneuriale exigeait de plus en plus de corvées et au bout d'un moment même les corvées sont devenues insuffisantes et on a exigé le travail des ouvriers à la journée. Au fur et à mesure que l'agriculture du seigneur s'est développée, les possibilités des paysans sont devenues plus limitées. L'augmentation de la superficie de l'allodium n'a pas laissé de place à l'extension des fermes des paysans. En même temps la diminution ou la disparition complète de l'allodium a offert absolument plus de possibilités aux paysans.

Pour la vie des paysans il était donc une question fondamentale dans quelles mesures le seigneur a cultivé sa propriété. Pour bien organiser l'administration des domaines c'était la proportion de l'allodium et les sections urbariales des paysans qui a déterminé la gestion du domaine et les tâches des chefs du domaine.¹⁰⁶

Le propriétaire foncier a organisé la culture du domaine selon ses besoins. Dans la plupart des domaines privés l'allodium était indispensable pour que le seigneur ait été muni de vivres, surtout s'il habitait sur place. Il était important pour les religieux de Saint-Paul vivant au couvent de Pécs que les produits de leur domaine de Mágocs complètent leurs repas de fête et c'est pourquoi les serfs devaient aller chasser dans la forêt de Mágocs avant les fêtes selon le contrat urbarial de 1735.¹⁰⁷

Dès que les différents fonds (religieux, d'études, universitaires) étaient devenus les bénéficiaires et les propriétaires des revenus des domaines, ils cherchaient à obtenir les recettes les plus élevées possibles. Ainsi, l'allodium, même où il y en avait eu a été liquidé. Dans le domaine de Mágocs on a réparti le terrain de l'allodium parmi les habitants allemands établissants et le droit de chasse a été loué.¹⁰⁸

L'absence de l'allodium avait un effet direct sur la vie et sur la situation économique des paysans. S'il n'y avait pas d'élevage domanial le pâturage n'était pas partagé entre les paysans et le seigneur. La dîme a été l'une des deux plus importants devoirs des paysans.¹⁰⁹ La possibilité de l'affranchissement de la dîme réduisait la vulnérabilité des paysans et leur exploitation est devenue plus prévisible. Cependant l'option la plus importante était la possibilité d'affranchissement de la corvée. En Hongrie c'était en 1767 que Marie-Thérèse avait réglé les relations entre les seigneurs et les serfs en précisant les prestations du domaine que les serfs devaient offrir. Ceux qui possédaient une section urbariale « entière » devaient fournir 104 jours de corvée par an. « L'obligation la plus contraignante était la corvée qui est due par tous. Celle-ci donnant souvent lieu a nombreuses injustices, elle fait l'objet d'une attention particulière dans les réglementations urbariales, ce qui provoque la colère des seigneurs qui se sentent lésés de leurs droits séculaires.»¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Provisor mot latin. Il était le chef, l'intendant du domaine.

¹⁰⁷ Borsy, J. (2001b):104.

¹⁰⁸ Borsy, J. (2014): 116.

¹⁰⁹ La dîme signifie un dixième de tous les récoltes, mais on a employé ce mot même pour le neuvième.

¹¹⁰ Vajda, M. Fr. (2001): 19.

On se plaignait souvent du fait que les paysans ne pouvaient pas cultiver leurs propres terres, car il passait son temps à travailler dans l'allodium. Zsófia Demeter a écrit à propos du domaine d'Enying: « Tant les paysans que les propriétaires considéraient la corvée comme le plus pénible des services des serfs... »¹¹¹ Le domaine d'Enying avait utilisé les corvées même en surplus pour lesquels il payait un tarif journalier de 12 krajcár¹¹² par jour pour les paysans.¹¹³ De même, Zoltán Kaposi souligne l'exigence croissante de main-d'œuvre dans les domaines.¹¹⁴

Par contre dans le district du fonds public l'usage de la corvée a posé un sérieux problème, il était donc évident qu'on a forcé les paysans à les affranchir. L'affranchissement de celle-ci avait une vieille tradition dans le domaine de Pécsvárad. La plupart des abbés de Pécsvárad du 18^{ème} siècle ne s'y sont même pas rendus, comme ça il est compréhensible qu'ils n'aient pas cultivé l'allodium pour obtenir leurs besoins quotidiens. Ainsi même à l'époque de l'abbaye, le domaine de Pécsvárad « attirait les serfs » pour affranchir la corvée à bas prix.¹¹⁵ En janvier 1768 un contrat a été passé avec les Allemands établis dans le domaine et en mars 1768 même avec les Hongrois.¹¹⁶

C'était la même chose dans les domaines du fonds public, les serfs pouvaient aussi affranchir une partie ou la totalité de leur obligation de corvée. On a passé les contrats généralement pour plusieurs années selon lesquels les paysans devaient payer 10 à 12 kr pour une journée de corvée.¹¹⁷

Dans le domaine de Pécsvárad 11,6% des corvées ont été affranchies en 1839. En 1841 il est arrivé qu'en dehors des 7172 jours fixés par le contrat 11 696 jours, soit un cinquième des corvées, 20,9% sont restées inutilisées par le domaine. Dans chaque commune on a tenu une assemblée où le provisor a publié un appel pour encourager les paysans à affranchir les corvées. La réponse a été laissée au libre choix des paysans. Ils étaient convenus d'une seule volonté que dans l'année 1840-1841 les corvées qui auraient été inutiles pour le domaine, seraient affranchies par eux pour 10 kr les corvées manuelles et pour 20 kr celles à chariot.¹¹⁸ Dans le domaine de Pécsvárad il y avait une mine où on avait besoin de corvées, surtout pour transporter le charbon. Le centre du district se trouvait à Pécsvárad situé dans le domaine de Pécsvárad. Mais dans les autres domaines où il y avait moins d'officiers qu'à Pécsvárad, il y avait encore plus de corvées superflues. En 1841 le domaine de Versend n'a utilisé que 31,5% des corvées, 18751 journées sur 59505 journées. 42432 journées, le 70% des corvées ont été affranchies par les habitants. En 1846 le domaine de Versend n'a eu besoin que 16,5% des corvées et les serfs n'en ont affranchi que 22,9% et comme ça les 60,6% des corvées sont restées superflues. (Tableau 2-1, 2-2)

¹¹¹Demeter, Zs.(2013): 82.

¹¹²Krajcár, kreuzer (ci-après kr) coûtait un soixantième du forint. Forint, florin en latin florenus, devise de la Hongrie de 1750 à 1892

¹¹³ Demeter, Zs.(2013): 82-83.

¹¹⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2013): 153.

¹¹⁵ Ruzsás, L. (1964): 79.

¹¹⁶ HU-MNL-BaVL IV.1.i. 198.

¹¹⁷ En 1845 les habitants de Pécsvárad ne payaient que 10 kr pour une journée de corvée. HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a.29A/313.

¹¹⁸ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a. 18K/47.

Tableau 2-1

Usage des journées de corvées dans les domaines de Pécsvárad, Versend et Bozsok entre 1824 et 1841¹¹⁹

Domaines	Versend	Versend	Versend	Versend	Bozsok	Bozsok	Pécsvárad
Année	1838	1840	1841	1846	1824	1834	1838
Agriculture	12684	6680	10080	1308	4058	13612	6200
Sylviculture	3745	6893	4134	2025	3485	6117	12668
Transport des produits	3237	2178	1586	975	7134	5284	12200
Réparation des bâtiments	3952	1039	932	655	1599	2019	6000
Transport des officiers, des lettres	2189	2017	2019	1318	18	2695	1300
Corvées vendues	2918	0	1518	3621	398	8344	10864
Corvées affranchies	28960	39717	38276	13645	42432	16795	6369
Corvées superflues	1280	831	960	36159	850	5929	146
Au total	58965	59355	59505	59706	59974	60795	55747

Tableau 2-2

Proportion de l'utilisation des journées de corvées dans les domaines de Pécsvárad, Versend et Bozsok entre 1824 et 1841¹²⁰

Domaines	Versend	Versend	Versend	Versend	Bozsok	Bozsok	Pécsvárad
Année	1838	1840	1841	1846	1824	1834	1838
Agriculture	21,5	11,2	16,9	2,2	6,8	22,4	11,1
Sylviculture	6,4	11,6	6,9	3,4	5,8	10,1	22,7
Transport des produits	5,5	3,7	2,7	1,6	11,9	8,7	21,9
Réparation des bâtiments	6,7	1,8	1,6	1,1	2,7	3,3	10,8
Transport des officiers, des lettres	3,7	3,4	3,4	2,2	0,1	4,4	2,3
Corvées vendues	4,9	0	2,6	6,0	0,6	13,7	19,5
Corvées affranchies	49,1	66,9	64,3	22,9	70,7	27,6	11,4
Corvées superflues	2,2	1,4	1,6	60,6	1,4	9,8	0,3
Au total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹¹⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a. 43H/53, 90, 18K/47.

¹²⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a. 43H/53, 90, 18K/47.

Manque de l'allodium le domaine n'avait besoin de corvées que pour assurer les indemnités des officiers du domaine et des personnes étant sous le patronage du domaine (prêtres, pasteurs, ministres, instituteurs etc.). En moyenne la livraison des produits dîmés (surtout le vin) occupait en moyenne 7%. Le 14 à 16 % des corvées étaient utilisées pour la récolte du foin, pour les travaux dans les caves et 8 % pour les travaux sylviculture, tels que l'abattage et la livraison du bois, tandis que le transport des officiers et l'expédition des lettres occupaient de 3-4%. La quantité des travaux concernant de la réparation des bâtiments était variée allant de 3 à 10%. On a utilisé les corvées même pour la construction des églises, ce qui était beaucoup plus pénible pour les habitants du siège de la paroisse que ceux de ses alentours.¹²¹

Dans le district de Pécsvárad, à partir des années 1810, on a même vendu la corvée. Tandis que le prix d'affranchissement d'une corvée manuelle était 12 kr et celui d'une corvée à chariot 24 kr, les acheteurs payaient plus que le double, 24-30 kr pour une corvée manuelle et 48-60 kr pour une corvée à chariot. Les corvées étaient très recherchées et parmi les acheteurs des corvées on trouve les officiers du comitat, même le chef de celui-ci, le sous-préfet¹²² des marchands, des fermiers, des meuniers et même les paysans du village. Le curé de la paroisse a également acheté des corvées au domaine, il les a utilisées généralement pour des travaux autour du bâtiment de la paroisse, pour la construction de clôtures ou bien pour le transport de n'importe quoi. Il arrivait aussi qu'un marchand de Pest a acheté des corvées à chariot au district de Pécsvárad. Plusieurs meuniers ont passé un contrat à durée de plusieurs années pour la livraison de céréales, aussi bien que le locataire de la mine de Vasas qui achetait régulièrement 6 à 7 mille journées de corvée par an pour le transport du charbon.¹²³

Dans le district du fonds public les officiers ont été souvent déplacés au lieu lointain, c'étaient les corvées à chariot à l'aide desquelles on pouvait résoudre le problème difficile du déménagement.¹²⁴ En 1821 quand Mihály Pritz a été promu, il a demandé au conseil de lieutenance la permission d'acheter 8 à 10 corvées à chariots s'engageant de payer le double prix pour pouvoir déménager sa femme et ses cinq enfants de Pécsvárad à Mágocs.¹²⁵

Bien que les corvées aient été bien cherchées dans les domaines voisins, l'utilisation des corvées a posé chaque année un problème dans les domaines du fonds public de Bozsok et de Versend. Ainsi, l'affranchissement de la corvée par les paysans n'était limité que par leur situation financière.

Dans tous les domaines il y avait toujours des terres à cultiver qui sont restées après avoir arpenté les sections urbariales, appelées les terres « remanentialis ». Les paysans avaient la possibilité d'en louer à un loyer modéré, sans obligation de la corvée, quelque fois même sans dîme. De cette façon les paysans ont pu développer leur économie et les inquilini n'ayant pas eu auparavant pouvaient obtenir des terres à cultiver. En dehors de ces terres « remanentialis » dans les domaines du fonds public il y avait encore des terres à louer par les paysans, d'une part, le territoire de l'allodium non-cultivé par le seigneur, d'autre part, les terrains essartés.

¹²¹ En 1766, les habitants du domaine de Pécsvárad ont porté plainte contre le domaine au tribunal du comitat. Borsy, J. (2001a): 269.

¹²² En hongrois: alispán. Le chef du comitat hongrois avec en partie des attributions de préfet français. Sauvageaut, A. (1942): 21.

¹²³ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.h. B4, 5.

¹²⁴ Borsy, J. (2015): 188-189.

¹²⁵ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a. 44B/203.1/2.

Au début du 19^{ème} siècle dans les domaines du district de Pécsvárad il n'y avait pas du tout des terres cultivées par le seigneur. On pourrait se demander pourquoi le domaine n'a pas fait de la culture sur ces terres. Dans la plupart des cas ces terres étaient dispersées dans les domaines où la « taille optimale de la ferme » ne pouvait pas se réaliser.¹²⁶ Mais en fait la raison se cache dans la nature de la direction du fonds public. Les décideurs étant fonctionnaires du conseil de lieutenance n'osaient pas ou ne voulaient pas se mettre à l'agriculture. En 1798 par exemple, après avoir arpenté le domaine de Mágocs on a trouvé un territoire de 547 arpents. Le provisor du domaine avait voulu le cultiver, mais le conseil de lieutenance ne l'a pas permis c'est comme ça qu'il a été pris à bail par les paysans.¹²⁷

En 1794 le domaine de Versend a loué 627 arpents de terres aux paysans. D'après le contrat le loyer a été fixé en corvée, chaque arpent de terre louée a coûté 3 jours de corvée qu'on a affranchies tout de suite par un prix très favorable, neuf kr par jour, on a payé donc 27 kr par arpent soit trois-quarts du prix habituel de la corvée. (Tableau 3)

Tableau 3

Les terres « remanentialis » louées dans les communes du domaine de Versend en 1794¹²⁸

Commune	Nombre des fermiers	Terre labourée (arpent)	Pré (arpent)
Versend	82	30,50	0
Szajk	2	3,50	0
Babarc	27	37,25	0
Kisnyárad	59	120,75	2
Liptód	127	294,50	0
Maráza	82	43,75	15,50
Kéménd	19	31,50	26,25
Szederkény	0	0	0
Monyoród	24	23,50	4
Au total	422	585,25	41,75

D'après le contrat passé en 1806 avec les communes du domaine de Pécsvárad, de Bozsok et de Versend le loyer a été pareillement fixé en corvée mais en plus on devait donner du neuvième et du dixième. Une autre différence en était que la ville de Pécsvárad devait payer 10 kr au lieu de 9 pour la journée de corvée, mais c'était encore moins que les 12 kr habituels. (Tableau 4).

Tableau 4

Les terres « remanentialis » louées dans les communes du domaine de Pécsvárad, Bozsok et Versend en 1806¹²⁹

Domaine	Nombre des communes	Terre louée (arpent)
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¹²⁶ Kaposi, Z. (1998): 80.

¹²⁷ Borsy, J. (2001b): 91.

¹²⁸ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.h. F1. Les terres « remanentialis » en 1794.

¹²⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.i. U. Le procès des communes du domaine de Bozsok en 1816.

Domaine de Pécsvárad	9	2083,75
Domaine de Bozsok	9	317,06
Domaine de Versend	7	207,63

En 1820, le domaine a passé des contrats à durée indéterminée avec les communes. Les habitants pouvaient continuer à cultiver les terres possédées au-delà de leurs sections, ils devaient donner les neuvièmes et payer 32 kr par arpent. Pour le pré on devait payer 2 forints par arpent mais sans dîmes. Ce qui était curieux dans ce contrat, c'est que tous les deux parties donc le seigneur et même les paysans avaient le droit de dénoncer le contrat d'un délai-congé d'un an. « Ce contrat restera en vigueur jusqu'à ce que l'une ou l'autre des parties souhaite y mettre fin, mais chaque partie devra donner un préavis d'un an de son intention de le faire »¹³⁰ Dans d'autres cas la durée du contrat a été fixé par les mots: « aussi longtemps que le seigneur le voulait ».

La plantation des vignes était une activité particulièrement subventionnée, puisque le vin du district du fonds public de Pécsvárad n'est provenu que des vignobles des paysans. Il était donc dans l'intérêt du domaine de soutenir la culture de la vigne. Dans le district il y avait des territoires favorables à la viticulture. Les viticulteurs pouvaient planter des vignes sur les terres sans corvées et beaucoup de fois sans dîmes. La culture de la vigne des paysans était avantageuse même pour le domaine. Le vin a servi à l'indemnité des fonctionnaires dominales et à celle des personnes étant sous le patronage du domaine, et en plus à la vente dans les auberges dominales de laquelle on a procuré un revenu important.¹³¹ On voit donc que la viticulture était fructifiante tant pour le seigneur que pour les paysans.

Les vignes des paysans peuvent être divisées en trois parties du point de vue du paiement: les vignes sans dîme, les vignes décimable et les vignes plantées sur les terres remanentiales c'est à dire sur les terres louées. La terre « intravillanus » le pré ou les suppléments de ceux-ci étaient exempts de tout paiement. Les vignes plantées ici en étaient donc aussi exempts, on ne devait payé ni le neuvième ni le dixième. Les vignes étaient également libres du paiement de la dîme si on les a plantées sur le labour appartenant à la section urbariale. Dans les domaines de Pécsvárad, Bozsok et Versend en 1850 on a enregistré 230 988 toises carrées de vignes plantées sur le labour, 87% desquelles se trouvaient dans le domaine de Bozsok. (Tableau 5)

Tableau 5 Vignes plantées sur le champs dans les domaines de Pécsvárad, de Versend et de Bozsok (le 20 août 1850)¹³²

Commune	Nombre des vigneron	Toise carrée
Le domaine de Pécsvárad		
Pécsvárad	18	16 528
Várkony	2	792
Vasas	4	808
Domaine de Pécsvárad au total	24	18 128
Le domaine de Versend		
Versend	8	8302

¹³⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.f. H4. Contrat des villages Ellend, Pereked et Romonya.

¹³¹ Borsy, J. (2019): 238.

¹³² HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.a. 43M/140. (1850).

Kéménd	9	3618
Domaine de Versend au total	17	11 920
Le domaine de Bozsok		
Fazekasboda	12	9366
Lovászhetény	2	947
Varasd	2	1300
Rácmecske	14	10 142
Bozsok	17	10 639
Véménd	132	95 072
Feked	17	5840
Szebény	53	67 634
Domaine de Bozsok au total	249	200 940
Au total	290	230 988

On peut comparer le territoire des vignes sans dîme et celui des vignes décimables dans les cinq villages du domaine de Versend, au total 494 350 toises carrées¹³³ dont 55,7% étaient sans dîme. (Tableau 6)

Tableau 6

Les vignes décimables et les vignes sans dîme dans les cinq communes du domaine de Versend (en toise carrée)¹³⁴

Commune	Vignes sans dîme sur les terres intravillanus	Vignes sans dîme sur les champs	Vignes décimables	Au total
Versend	66 200		51 900	118 100
Monyoród	49 800	26 800	38 000	114 600
Babarc	1 500	16 550	14 100	32 150
Maráza	14 000		26 300	40 300
Liptód	100 200		89 000	189 200
Au total	231 700	43 350	219 300	494 350
Pour-cents	46,9%	8,8%	44,3%	100,0%

Pour les vignes plantées sur les terres remanentiales en dehors du loyer de la terre on devait payer le neuvième et le dixième, mais on ne devait aucun autre service au domaine.

Les conditions favorables de l'impôt encourageaient les paysans à planter et à cultiver des vignes. Mais c'était le statut juridique spécial du vignoble qui était l'avantage le plus éclatant pour les paysans : « les vignobles pouvaient être vendus, achetés, hérités et engagés. »¹³⁵

Synthèse

¹³³ En hongrie dans cette époque on a employé une unité de mesure spéciale pour les vignes, en hongrois : kapás. Un « kapás » était la quantité du territoire de la vigne qu'une personne pouvait houer en une journée, selon le calcul contemporain cette unité a fait 200 toises carrés.

¹³⁴ HU-MNL-BaVL XI.605.h. F le 15 janvier 1833.

¹³⁵ Magyar Néprajz II. (2001)

La possibilité d'acheter, de vendre ou d'hériter les vignes a donné aux paysans une certaine liberté. La vigne était également un moyen d'échange, elle pouvait être louée ou mise en gage. À la suite de l'examen de 1 340 contrats des paysans entre les années 1812 et 1848 on peut constater que la vigne est le bien le plus souvent vendu ou échangé, c'était dans 37,8% des cas que la vigne était l'objet des contrats des paysans.

Le 20% des ventes ont concerné des sections urbaines avec ou sans maison. En principe les paysans n'avaient pas le droit de disposer de ces parcelles, pourtant dans le district de Pécsvárad les paysans vendaient, échangeaient leurs biens, ils en disposaient par testament et le domaine a approuvé les contrats dans tous les cas, puisqu'il n'était pas intéressé à la reprise des terres.

En examinant les possibilités économiques des paysans des domaines du district du fonds public de Pécsvárad on peut constater que c'était la proportion de l'allodium et des sections urbaines des serfs qui les a déterminées. En absence de l'allodium le domaine n'avait pas besoin de corvée, le paysan pouvaient l'affranchir. Il est facile à voir les avantages qui en suivaient. Si les paysans n'ont pas dû travailler dans l'allodium, sur les champs seigneuriaux, ils pouvaient profiter leur temps du travail pour cultiver leur propre terre et leur vigne. D'un autre côté à cause de l'absence de l'allodium les paysans avaient plus de possibilités de louer des terres et en plus, de défricher les forêts et les buissons pour augmenter les terres à cultiver. C'est la question de l'utilisation des corvées qui montre le mieux la différence entre les domaines du fonds public et les domaines privés ou ecclésiastiques.

Sources

HU-MNL-BaVL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Vármegyei Levéltára

- XI. 605. Pécsvárad közalapítványi kerület levéltára
- XI. 605. a. Főtiszti iratok
- XI. 605. h. Versendi uradalom iratai

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Virág Rab

The Life-Changing Travels of Loránt Hegedüs

Abstract

The purpose of the study. This study looks at the changing role of travel in the life Loránt Hegedüs (1872–1943). It is part of a larger psychobiography of that important figure whose career spanned the Era of Dualism and the Interwar Period. The purpose of this study is to collect all historical data connected to the travels of Hegedüs that might be usable in writing a psychobiography of him as well as all documents that can help us understand his view of the world.

Applied methods. The sources used include published and unpublished memoirs; published descriptions of his travels that Hegedüs wrote for various periodicals; correspondence between that traveling Hegedüs and various family members, professors, colleagues, and friends; as well as official accounts of travels that he undertook as part of his professional duties. Besides these, the paper will make use of sections in his fictional works whose theme is travel as well as photographs.

Outcomes. We conclude that travel, along with other factors, especially his relationship to his godfather, the writer Mór Jókai, helped make the widely travelled Hegedüs more liberal than his class contemporaries. It also helped him to maintain his mental and physical health under extremely pressured circumstances.

Keywords: Loránt Hegedüs, Hungary, 20th century, biography, travel

Introduction

This study is part of a larger work, the goal of which is to describe the exceptional and atypical life journey of Loránt Hegedüs, a member of the interwar Hungarian elite, focusing primarily on the question of self-realization. The research is built on documents (scientific, literary, and journalistic writings), showing him as he saw himself as well as how others – his family, friends, and colleagues – saw him. The work seeks to answer the question of why and how (that is, through what life strategies) was Hegedüs able in a historical era full of traumas to lead an extraordinarily productive, forward-looking life despite some serious failures to achieve his professional goals, even while often going against the grain of his own social group (for example, in speaking up against the Jewish Laws in 1938 and after in Parliament).

The main question of the more extensive work, to which this study belongs, is what made Hegedüs see the world differently than most of his contemporaries in the social group in which he was born. To what extent can we attribute this to his nature vs. his socialization? To answer this question, in that larger work, I plan to present the life of Hegedüs from many angles: what did he hold to be his life goals, goals that would give meaning to his life, and what kind of

importance and priority did he attribute in this to his work, his family and friends, and his health?

Our research so far has shown that Hegedüs did not always have the same goals and priorities. At different periods of his life, he gave different levels of importance to work (including his studies), health, and social connections.¹³⁶ To answer such a complex question as how changes occurred in what gave a subject their life's meaning, it is useful to utilize the tools of psychobiography¹³⁷, which can often productively complement the usual research methods in the field of history.

Studying Hegedüs' travels provides a highly differentiated picture of how changes in the prioritization of work, health, and social connections were influenced by the specific social and more general cultural and historical conditions that Hegedüs experienced at various stages of his life. His travels tell us much about Hegedüs' system of values and how those evolved.

The Goals of the Study and Utilized Sources

The purpose of this study is to collect all historical data connected to the travels of Hegedüs that might be usable in writing a psychobiography of him as well as all documents that can help us understand his view of the world.

The study conceives the concept of travel very broadly. It will examine all such actions, regardless of their goals, that involved a change of locale and occurred in a place other than where Hegedüs had his permanent residence. These travels include places where he studied, relaxed, or worked for shorter or longer lengths of time as well as those travels that he planned but was not able to consummate but which can be shown to have left visible marks in the course of his life. Moreover, the study will describe some thoughts that Hegedüs held on the role of travel in the lives of others.¹³⁸

Since we are using a broad definition of travel, the sources vary greatly in origin and type. They include published and unpublished memoirs (from Loránt Hegedüs, his daughter, Mária¹³⁹, and his oldest grandson, Sándor Zsindely Jr.¹⁴⁰); published descriptions of his travels that Hegedüs wrote for various periodicals; correspondence between the traveling Hegedüs and various family members, professors, colleagues, and friends; as well as official accounts of travels that he undertook as part of his professional duties. Besides these, the paper will make use of sections in his fictional works when their theme is travel (for example, for the purpose of research or field work.) Photographs that are often the only documents from particular trips are also important sources. It is fitting in connection with the theme of this study that Hegedüs'

¹³⁶ Rab, V. (2021)

¹³⁷ Psychobiography is at the intersection of psychology and history and explores the lives of prominent individuals through the application of psychological theories. Pontoretto, J. (2015): 460.

¹³⁸ Hegedüs wrote several biographies, including some of important Hungarian statesmen: on the writer and economist István Széchenyi (1791–1860), and the prime ministers Gyula Andrássy the elder (1823–1890), his son of the same name (1860–1929), as well as on the prime ministers Kálmán Tisza (1830–1902) and his son István Tisza (1861–1918).

¹³⁹ Hegedüs, M. (1977)

¹⁴⁰ Zsindely, S. (2007a), Zsindely, S. (2007b), Zsindely, S. (2007c)

private writings – which were saved for posterity by his sister Rózsika and her descendants – were found, during the late winter of 2010 in the family’s travel chests.

This study seeks to find a pattern over the course of Hegedüs’ life by describing the most characteristic attributes in the various stages of that life and by pointing out similarities and differences between them. For each stage of life – pre-adulthood (0–17), early adulthood (17–40), middle adulthood (40–60), late adulthood (60–71) – we will examine: 1) What motivated the trip? 2) With whom did he travel and with whom did he make contact? 3) What was the lasting effect of the trip on his life?

Results

Pre Adulthood (0–17)

As one would expect, the radius of Hegedüs’ travels was the shortest in this stage of life. We have evidence for his stays in various districts of Pest, Buda (Svábhegy¹⁴¹), Komárom, and Pápa, places where his immediate or extended family resided permanently or seasonally.

At the time of his birth, the Hegedüs family lived near Egyetem tér (University Square) in the 5th district,¹⁴² but his recorded memories, almost without exception, are tied to another location in Pest, Józsefváros, in the 8th district. This is where the large ‘yellow house’ with a garden was located, where his godparents, the renowned novelist Mór Jókai (1825–1904) and his wife, the Hungarian actress Róza Laborfalvy lived between 1868–1882.¹⁴³ In his memoirs Hegedüs described the house, its residents and visitors,¹⁴⁴ those who lived in the neighborhood at the time, as well as his most memorable experiences there. Many of the latter were connected with recurring holidays such as St. Nicholas’ Day or Christmas.¹⁴⁵

The Jókai couple owned another property in Buda, on the Svábhegy (Swabian Hill), since 1853, which they had transformed from a former stone quarry by planting fruit trees and flower beds. Hegedüs was brought there often when he was ill as a young schoolboy. This is where he edited his first newspaper and wrote his first poems. The Hegedüs family also had a house and garden on the Svábhegy on Tündér (Fairy) Street, which they had bought in 1875 when Hegedüs was three years old and that they used for vacations. Even in his old age, Hegedüs remembered this summer-home even in his old age as one of the most meaningful locations of his youth.¹⁴⁶

Travel, often in connection with holidays, played a significant role in structuring his time. Trips occurred as a sort of ritual repeated in weekly, monthly or annual cycles (for example, winter or summer vacations). Komárom may have been one such a regular destination. This is suggested by a photograph made in Komárom, the earliest one we have of Hegedüs together

¹⁴¹ Svábhegy is located in one of the central parts of the Buda Hills, today in the 12th district. Hegedüs and many members of his family (Rózsika Hegedüs, Mari Váli, Ferenc Zsindely) recorded many incidents from his childhood. Zsindely, S. (2007a): 9–10.

¹⁴² Zsindely, S. (2007a): 8.

¹⁴³ When Hegedüs was eight years old, in 1880, his family apparently lived with the Jókais at 80 Külső Stáció Street. A családom. Az apai ág. (My family, paternal branch.) Zsindely, S. (2007c), n.p.

¹⁴⁴ Hegedüs, L. (1929): 260–261.

¹⁴⁵ Hegedüs, L. (1928): 6–7.

¹⁴⁶ Hegedüs, L. (1935), *Tündérek utcáján*, in: *Túl az óperencián Mesekönyv a kisunokámnak*. Budapest: Sylvester R. T. 28–30.

with his maternal grandmother.¹⁴⁷ The other recurring destination was Veszprém County. Mari (Mária) Váli (Mrs. József Peti, 1840–1915), Mór Jókai's niece lived in that county in Pápa for forty years between 1849 and 1889. It was only after 1889 that the manors of Etelka Jókay (1852–1939) and her husband Lajos Ihász in Lórinte and Hathalom became the locus of important family events.

As we can see, one motive for these trips was the maintenance of social connections, especially with immediate and more distant family members; the other motive was the maintenance of health or its restoration after an illness, most often an infectious one. This is consistent with what we have seen in examining other aspects of this stage of Hegedüs' life: social connections took first place followed closely by physical health in his list of priorities.

Travel in this stage of Hegedüs' life provided an opportunity to discover himself: he recognized what it was that he enjoyed doing (editing a newspaper, reading and writing in the villa of his godfather, Mór Jókai); he learned what was expected of him by others and of where his capabilities lay. In the time spent away from his parent's house, he received much encouragement from his relatives, and this had an effect on the development of his self-image. The trip that contributed the most to his turning into an adult was a two-week journey that he undertook by himself at the age of seventeen to Transylvania.¹⁴⁸ Since travel provided him with feelings of success, he was open to it at later stages of his life as well. He liked to return to the scenes of his childhood travels. Indeed, at the age of 26, he even came to represent the city of Pápa in Parliament.

Early Adulthood (17–40)

It was in his early adulthood that Hegedüs traveled most often, to the most places, and with the most varied goals – study, work, research, honeymoon (at the age of 26), and rest. Among his destinations were the breadth of Europe from the Spitzbergs to the most southerly tip of Portugal's most southerly tip. It was also in this period that he visited North Africa and the United States of America.

His travels grew more frequent during his university years. He studied economics in Berlin for a year (in 1892) and sociology in London for another year (in 1893). At the same time, he made longer journeys to France, Spain¹⁴⁹, Denmark¹⁵⁰, and Scotland¹⁵¹. His main motive for travel during these years was to study. Following of the style of the 'Grand Tour', he traveled no doubt to broaden his knowledge. Within this larger plan, he concentrated on gaining knowledge necessary to his future political career. He sought to familiarize himself with various political systems and institutions in action. For example, he attended court trials in England.¹⁵²

Hegedüs reported on his travel experiences in the pages of the Sunday News, (*Vasárnapi Újság*) for example: from Berlin on the celebration of Emperor William's birthday¹⁵³, on the Irish

¹⁴⁷ Mrs. Károly Jókay, née Klára Csontos (1820–1882).

¹⁴⁸ Zsindely, S. (2007a): 8.

¹⁴⁹ *Vasárnapi újság* October 20. 1895, Vol. 42, No. 42. 693.

¹⁵⁰ Hegedüs, L. (1892b): 522–523.

¹⁵¹ Hegedüs, L. (1893b): 677–678.

¹⁵² Zsindely, S. (2007a): 14.

¹⁵³ Hegedüs, L. (1892a): 139–140.

debate in the English Parliament which led to a duel; or the natural beauties of a North-European boat tour.¹⁵⁴

Following his university studies, he stayed in the United States for several months in 1897 to study the problem of emigration. Moreover, he visited Romania, the land of the Szeklers in Transylvania, as well as Upper Hungary (today's Slovakia). He wandered throughout Transdanubia and Slavonia (today in Croatia) so that he could study on location the causes of Hungarian emigration.

Hegedüs represented the city of Pápa in Parliament as a Liberal between 1898 and 1905 and Szepsiszentgyörgy as a member of the Party of National Work between 1910 and 1918. During this latter period as a member of Parliament he served as the chief rapporteur of the committee on finance and the military rapporteur of the Delegation (whose task was to coordinate joint policies with the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy). Thus, he visited Vienna frequently. While there, he often stayed at the Hungarian embassy in Vienna, where he slept many a time in the same bed as his much-admired Sándor Wekerle Sr., three-time prime minister of Hungary and minister of finance had slept formerly.¹⁵⁵ Hegedüs usually travelled by train. Between his two bouts as an MP, Hegedüs served as the Executive Director of the National Association of Industrialists (GYOSZ), helping to organize the association throughout the country. Hegedüs worked in close cooperation with many Jewish industrialists, such as Ferenc Chorin Sr. in the first decades of the twentieth century and with his son, Ferenc Chorin, Jr. after World War I, both of whom were directors of the GYOSZ.¹⁵⁶ He no doubt worked with many Jews as he scoured the provinces for members of the organization. Such proximity and acquaintance insulated him from antisemitism, though that cancer was quite rampant in many members of his class.

In selecting his foreign destinations, copying played a role. Hegedüs was fond of following Széchenyi's example by travelling to Switzerland, Tyrol and Salzburg. Behind his enthusiasm for Scotland, we can sense the attachment to Walter Scott, just as behind his visits to Karlsbad can be seen as a result of his respect for Goethe. In his travels, as in other aspects of his life, we can sense that Hegedüs considered the Romanticism of the 19th century, that is, the era of Jókai, indeed, at times the novels of Jókai, to be his points of reference.

In connection with the motivation for his travels, we must mention Hegedüs' particular attraction to England (though it would be a mistake to identify this with 'anglomania'). After his university years, he even spent his honeymoon in London, though at the time Italy was much more fashionable for that purpose. The reason for Hegedüs' must have been that his hosts in London during his student years were an Italian family, with whom he remained on close contact even decades later. This is evidenced by a picture taken with the Giuseppi family in London when Hegedüs was around 60 years old.¹⁵⁷

With whom did Hegedüs meet during his travels? He met with professors, his fellow students, hosts; and he often travelled in the company of his brother Sándor and with his friends, Frigyes Fellner (who was also Jewish background caused no problem in their relationship) and József Illés, both professors of law. It is worthwhile to note the names of some of the professors with

¹⁵⁴ Hegedüs, L. (1893a): 542–543.

¹⁵⁵ Zsindely, S. (2007b) n.p.

¹⁵⁶ Deák, G. (1990), Deák, G. (1992).

¹⁵⁷ Zsindely, S. (2007c)

whom Hegedüs studied. They included educators at the Friedrich William University of Berlin, founded in 1810 by Wilhelm Humboldt: the economist Adolf Wagner, Theodor Mommsen, who received a Nobel Prize in literature in 1902, Heinrich von Treitschke, the German historian and Friedrich Paulsen, the German philosopher, pedagogue and university professor. In England, where Hegedüs studied sociology, Herbert Spengler had the greatest influence on him. He remained in touch with the English polyhistor (philosopher, biologist, anthropologist, and sociologist) for practically the rest of his life. Not only did he keep up a correspondence with Spencer, but also visited him several times in England.

In this period – consistently with the results of my earlier researches – it is evident from the nature of Hegedüs' travels that his highest priorities were study and work. Connections with family and friends came second, while health took third place.

Middle Age (40–60)

Hegedüs traveled much and to many places in this period as well. One set of his travels involved shorter and longer visits to immediate and more distant family members. We know about these travels not from Hegedüs but from his youngest daughter, Mária. Her reminiscences about family travels provide us with insights primarily about the kind of father that Hegedüs was. He had three children, all daughters. Their upbringing should not have been his duty by the standards of the time. Nevertheless, due to the frequent absences of his wife, he took over her duties almost completely, taking his daughters on vacation alone or in the company of his friends, most often that of Frigyes Fellner. Mária's earliest memory comes from when she was six years old, in 1912, and when Hegedüs was forty. The site of the family vacation was the German island of Norderney, situated between between the North Sea coast and the East Frisian islands. Its natural beauty was protected by being part of a National Park and was declared to be a bathing place in 1797, soon becoming quite popular. The family visited it several times.

It is also from the youngest daughter of Hegedüs that we learn that the family often visited Lőrinte in Veszprém County, where her aunt? Etelka Jókay, the niece of Mór Jókai, lived with her husband Lajos Ihász and their adopted child, Miklós. The Hegedüs daughters called this huge manor their second home. Lőrinte and Etelka Jókay often provided Hegedüs with a refuge of last resort. This was so after his two imprisonments by Hungarian Soviet Republic (see below) and also after his return from a sanatorium in Berlin in 1921. It was Etelka Jókay who provided the funds for his daughter to travel to Berlin to bring Hegedüs home.

A custom developed in the Hegedüs family to go on visits in the springtime, once the weather became pleasant again, alternating each Sunday between 63 Budakeszi Road, where the parents of Mrs. Hegedüs had their gardened house and 12 Tündér Street on the Svábhegy where the Hegedüses had their own house and garden. *'We were just headed for Svábhegy, Dad, Manci, and I when the fruit trees were beginning to bloom. That night, the Red soldiers took Dad away'*, wrote Mária Hegedüs in her memoirs.¹⁵⁸ This was the first time that Hegedüs was imprisoned by the communists of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic. He looked upon this as a sort of travel. He was able to use humor as an avoidance mechanism. *'I'm staying in the hotel across the street'*, he wrote to his daughters. *'If they don't bring breakfast very soon, I'm moving to a*

¹⁵⁸ Verba volant, scripta manent

different hotel,” he joked with his cell-mates. After being released from several weeks of imprisonment, he was arrested again by the Reds and locked in the basement of Parliament. This latter experience took a lot out of him. He called it his first experience of hell. After his release, the whole family went to Lőrinc to stay with Etelka Jókay.

In 1920, Hegedüs was a member of the Hungarian delegation to Trianon as an expert. Indeed, it was he who informed the Hungarian public about the events of the conference in the pages of the Pest News (Pesti Hírlap). This took its toll on his health, but at this time he still looked upon such difficulties as positive challenges and believed that he could save the country by creating a workable financial plan. However, once his financial plan had failed in the fall of 1921, he sought refuge in a sanitarium in Berlin for treatment of his physical and mental exhaustion. This crisis was a major turning point in his life. It was a great achievement that he was able to return to normal. This event demonstrates the healing power of travel, that it allows one to escape from the pressures of everyday. After this, travel for Hegedüs gained a close connection not only to physical health but mental health as well. We see this play out in the story of his wife as well, moreover, much of Europe’s population had need of similar treatment after World War I.

A missed trip is also connected to Hegedüs’ self-confinement in Berlin. He was disturbed for decades by the fact that because of his illness he was unable to accept an invitation from Columbia University in New York. He reflected on this event even in 1937, sixteen years after his illness.¹⁵⁹ His recovery in 1921 was greatly helped by another journey: his daughter Margit rented a private railroad car from the Hungarian Railroad Company to take him home. She was afraid that if he ran into someone he knew during the trip, he would regress. They were accompanied by a nurse, who was to stay with him for many years. His writing did much to aid Hegedüs return to health. Though in thought only, he continued to travel, thus keeping a distance between himself the harsh reality of what was happening in Hungary and with his health.

The maintenance of health held an important place among the reasons for his travels after this episode. *‘I have a headache that is export worthy. I’m taking it to Switzerland’*, he wrote to a friend.¹⁶⁰ He often visited Karlsbad in Czechoslovakia expressly to refill himself with energy after hard work. It is evidence of his lack of snobbery and his political openness to Hungary’s Little Entente neighbors that he chose Karlsbad, even though Baden-Baden, in Germany, was much more fashionable.

We know very little about the trips at this stage of his life that were undertaken to maintain social connections. We have a photograph that tells us that he spent his summer vacation in 1931 with the poet and novelist Mihály Babits in Esztergom.¹⁶¹

In connection with his travels, a fortunate incident (for him) must be mentioned that was recorded by his grandson, Sándor Zsindely Jr., Hegedüs arrived for the funeral of Franz Joseph in 1916 on a special train, but he did not take that train back since he wanted to spend an extra day in Vienna. Due to a badly set switch at Herceghalom (near Budapest) the returning special

¹⁵⁹ Kornis, Gy (1938), 426.

¹⁶⁰ Zsindely, S. (2007a): 48.

¹⁶¹ Zsindely, S. (2007c)

train – on which Hegedüs did not ride – crashed into an oncoming freight train. This was one of the largest accidents that had happened on Hungarian railroads up to that time.

One journey that Hegedüs undertook was special because unlike the majority of his travels, which acquainted him with foreign lands and cultures, this one also brought him into contact with his own national community. This was the pilgrimage that he made to New York in 1928 for the dedication of the Kossuth Statue on Riverside Drive near Columbia University on the 80th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. The statue was funded by the American Hungarian community but the dedication was visited by a large delegation from Hungary. Travel, as is well known, can have a big impact on the development of identity when the traveler experiences the sense of belonging to a single nation as part of a group tour. For Hegedüs this tour was significant. Not only did it reinforce his Hungarian identity, conceived as a liberal one on the model of his interpretation of Kossuth, about whom he had written in his literary works. At a luncheon in New York at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel that was held in his honor by the American Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, he asked for the help of the American Hungarian community to support Hungary in its search for justice in the revision of the Trianon Treaty. But he also asked for the help of American Hungarians to instill a sense of democracy in Hungary in opposition to the ‘reactionary and feudal’ forces at home. He claimed that it was these forces that had prevented him from realizing his plan for saving the Hungarian monetary system in 1921. *‘I promise you that [when I return to Hungary] I will do everything in my power to set Hungary in the service of American ideals.’* (*‘Fogadom nektek, hogy Magyarországot, amíg tőlem telik, az amerikai eszmék szolgálatába fogom állítani.’*)¹⁶²

Ever since his gymnasium days, the travels that appeared in his literary and historical readings must have had an effect on Hegedüs. By the time he reached adulthood, he was convinced that travel develops one’s judgment, broadens one’s perspectives, and helps one become a better citizen of his country by exposing the traveler to different opinions and customs. This is shown in one of his novels, where he describes the effects that reading about the travels of Byron’s Childe Harold had on the development of István Széchenyi’s personality.¹⁶³ In this novel Hegedüs also points out that for Széchenyi’s generation of Romantics travel was a way of finding oneself. Thus, among the motives of travel for Hegedüs, knowledge of oneself played an important role.

Late Adulthood (60–71)

The era lasted only ten years and was marked by illness. It was the era in which Hegedüs wrote his great biographies and dedicated the most attention to his family. The time that the family spent together was often in connection with travel. These travels, like those of his early adulthood, included regularly recurring destinations. Once a year, for example, he visited his daughter Mária’s family on their provincial estate in Baj. He usually made this trip via a chauffeured car borrowed from work (GYOSZ), which almost always broke down on the trip. It is worthwhile to consider here the vehicles used by Hegedüs. The most characteristic mode of long-distance transportation in the era was rail. This is what he used most often to travel between cities. Within cities he used taxis since he did not know how to drive. There is one

¹⁶² Amerikai Magyar Népszava, March 19, 1928, Vol. 29, No. 67. 3.

¹⁶³ Hegedüs, L. (1943): 92.

picture of him on an airplane. His grandson wrote on the picture that Hegedüs was a fan of flying from early on. We cannot tell exactly when the picture was taken, but probably sometime between his 40th and 60th years.¹⁶⁴

His grandson, Sándor Zsindely Jr., took two trips with him in this period. The first was to Abbazia in 1939 during the Easter vacation. In his memoirs Zsindely mentions a scampi dinner by the Adriatic, the salty scent of the sea waves and the curvy walks along the shore. In 1941 they spent time after Christmas together in Lillafüred. The grandson remembered the deep snow on the benches by the lakeside walk and the strange dining room of the Palota (Palace) Hotel.

In the summer of 1942, half a year before his death, Hegedüs spent several weeks in Szováta with his daughter Mária and his granddaughter the little Zsuzsi. It is telling what he brought along on these several-week-long stays: a large stack of writing papers and writing utensils. If he got bored of walking, he wrote his books. These trips became more frequent as time went on. His grandson explains that this was because they became increasingly important to his mental and physical well-being.

At the end of his life, Hegedüs wrote about one more missed journey which filled him with great sadness, because he knew that he could not make up for it any longer. All his life, he would have liked to have attended the Bayreuth Festival, one of the most significant opera festivals in the world. It was a summertime musical tradition begun in 1876 by Richard Wagner for the presentation of his operas. Regrettably Hegedüs was never to make this journey.¹⁶⁵

Conclusions

The patterns of travel and the rituals and customs related to it, show strong similarities to all three earlier studied areas of Hegedüs' life, namely his work, his social connections, and his psychological and physical health. Hegedüs considered travel as a means of creating balance in his life. He intuitively used it as a strategy to increase his well-being in all three areas. The travel that was connected to study and work were means by which he met his obligations towards society at large. This was induced by his family socialization and the example of his much-respected elder relatives. At the same time, his travels to England, Scotland, the United States and even Germany probably contributed to making him more liberal than were many of his contemporaries in his social class, the educated Christian gentry. His admiration of and close relationship in his youth to the great romantic liberal nationalist writer Jókai also contributed to this attitude. Travel in the company of his family occupied the most time in his travels and this contributed to his stable family relationships. Stable family relationships in turn undoubtedly supported his ability to pursue his career. His close relationship with his children and grandchildren can be attributed to their joint travels, since while one is away from home one experiences relationships more intensely. His travels related to the maintenance of health clearly contributed to his ability to overcome the pain of failures and were key preconditions for new ventures. In addition, these kinds of journeys, especially that of entering a sanitarium, demonstrates that travel can be a means of self-expression. It allowed Hegedüs to make a break with his earlier government career.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

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János Fritz

Das Lebenswerk von Graf Imre Széchenyi, des Agrarierpolitikers und Publizisten des Zeitalters des Dualismus

Abstract

The purpose of the study: To present the work of Count Imre Széchenyi, a lesser-known Somogy-affiliated leader of the agrarian movement that criticized the capitalism of the end of the 19th century from the right-side. Through his theoretical and political activities to demonstrate the reform conservative toolbox with which this course at that time imagined the settlement of the peasant issue, the overcoming and the agrarian socialism.

Applied methods: A critical analysis of Imre Széchenyi's writings in the light of the 19th press and publications was conducted. The conclusions were complemented by analyses of agricultural and local historiography. For better contextualization, it was advisable to examine agricultural proposals with the eyes of the agricultural economist. The scenes of Imre Széchenyi's operation were presented with the help of thematic maps.

Outcomes: Imre Széchenyi's work closely fitted into the public perception of the era, which was thinking strongly about national politics. In the age of great emigration, he also admitted that there was no Hungarian land without Hungarian small owners. Imre Széchenyi saw this as feasible by adapting foreign patterns. The American journey convinced him of the usefulness of the institution of homestead, and the experience of Posen convinced him of the importance of inner colonization. It is another matter, how favourable the Hungarian conditions were to transpose them? The one-child-system, the decrease in the birth rate was again something by which one saw the Hungarian supremacy in danger. In addition, Imre Széchenyi's narrower environment, Somogy, was among the leading areas in this. Széchenyi saw the solution in moral rather than economic motives in his otherwise highly resonant writing dealing with the topic. Nevertheless, Imre Széchenyi played an active role in the economic development of Somogy county. Thus, after the phylloxera epidemic, he, as a government commissioner was entrusted with the reconstruction of vineyard in the region of South Balaton. Similarly, he played a great role in the development of the Balaton coast, seeing the opportunity in tourism.

Keywords: agrarian socialism, homestead, inner colonization, rent-holdigs, one-child-system

Einführung

In dieser Studie möchte ich mit einem wenig bekannten Leiter der Agrarierbewegung von Somogy, Graf Imre Széchenyi befassen, der im letzten Jahr während meiner Dissertation in mein Blickfeld geriet. Ich bin offensichtlich nicht der Erste, der dieses Thema anspricht. Zuvor haben über ihn eher Sozialhistorikern geschrieben, als die Ideen des Neukonservatismus aufkamen. Oder die Heimatshistoriker haben sich auf ihn im Zusammenhang mit dem

Einzelkindsystem bezogen. Es ist zweifellos, dass die Öffentlichkeit unter den Führern der damaligen Agrarierbewegung die Namen von Graf Sándor Károlyi, Ignác Darányi, besser kannten. Natürlich spielt dabei auch die Tatsache eine Rolle, dass Komitat Somogy – dessen Imre Széchényi einer der Großgrundbesitzer war – damals hinter dem führenden Komitat Pest, Siebenbürgen und Westungarn in die zweite Reihe dieser Bewegung gedrängt wurde.

Wer war er? Er war der Enkel von Graf István Széchenyis ältester Bruder, Lajos, der sich am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts als reformkonservativer Politiker einen Namen machte. (Die Bedeutung von István Széchenyi sollte nicht unterschätzt werden. Er gilt als Vater des modernen Ungarns.) Für die Historiographien, die sich mit der Figur von Imre Széchényi befassen, sind die Werke von András Vári¹⁶⁶, Miklós Szabó¹⁶⁷, László Anka¹⁶⁸, György Fehér¹⁶⁹ am relevantesten. Unter den lokalen Historikern wurde über ihn von István Király¹⁷⁰, und Klára T. Mérey¹⁷¹ geschrieben. István Király Meinung nach wurde die Bedeutung von Imre Széchényi auch dadurch bewiesen, dass er allein es war, der die Bauernfrage nach 1848, welche zu dieser Zeit nicht Gegenstand eines ungarischen öffentlichen Diskurses war, wachhielt. Somit repräsentiert seine Arbeit eine besondere Brücke zwischen 1848 und 1891, der ersten agrarsozialistischen Aufruhr.¹⁷² In Fortsetzung dieses Gedankens möchte ich diesen Aspekt seines Lebenswerkes ein wenig mit dem Blickwinkel eines Ökonomen untersuchen.

Graf Imre Széchényi wird hier betrachtet als 1. der Aristokrat, 2. der Publizist, 3. der Landespolitiker und 4. schließlich als der Lokalpolitiker.

Der Aristokrat

Die Széchényis, dessen Familiensitz sich ursprünglich bei Sopron befand, wurden 1677 Grundbesitzer von Somogy, als der Erzbischof von Gran (Esztergom) György Széchenyi, welcher der Familie auch den Titel eines „Grafen von Sárvari-Felsővidék“ verlieh, das Dorf Bize, was heute ein Teil von Marcali ist, als Spende vom Kaiser erhielt.¹⁷³ Nach 1726 erhielten sie weitere Spenden im Komitat. Die Ackerbürgerstadt Marcali wurde von ihnen zu einem herrschaftlichen Zentrum, einem Mustergut, ausgebaut.¹⁷⁴ Später gründete ein Zweig der Familie einen Fideikommiss in Felső-Segesd.

Aber wir interessieren uns jetzt nur für den Ferenc -Zweig! (Siehe Abbildung 1!) Über Graf Ferenc ist bekannt, dass er der Vater von István Széchenyi und der Gründer des ungarischen Nationalmuseums war. Aber er war zugleich der Obergespan vom Komitat Somogy und – wie sein Erzbischofsvorfahrer – ein großer Gutssammler seiner Zeit, der sein Vermögen hauptsächlich entlang der Drau vermehrte. Hier baute er Barcs zu einem herrschaftlichen Zentrum aus und verschaffte 1794 der Gemeinde den Status eines „Oppidums“ (Ackerbürgerstadt). Wie wir von den Erforschungen von Zoltán Kaposi wissen, besaß Graf

¹⁶⁶ Vári, A. (2009): 394-396.

¹⁶⁷ Szabó, M. (2003): 127.

¹⁶⁸ Anka, L. (2005): 43-44.

¹⁶⁹ Fehér, Gy. (2019): 197.

¹⁷⁰ Király, I. (1992): 289-298.

¹⁷¹ T. Mérey, K. (1979): 44-46.

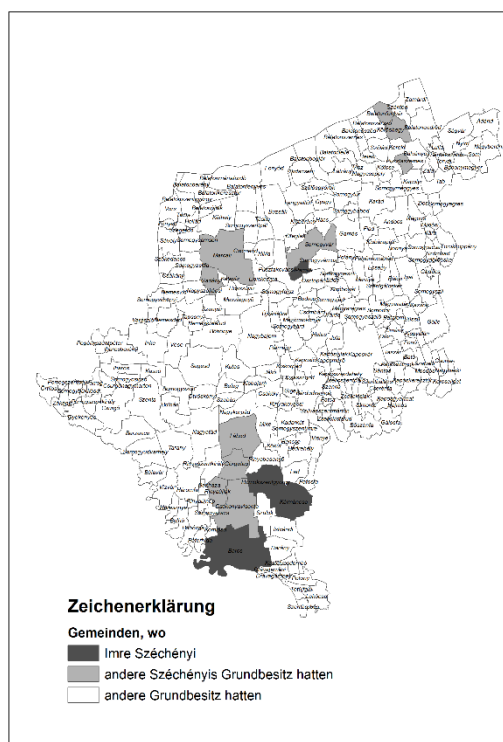
¹⁷² Király, I. (1992): 289.

¹⁷³ Borovszky, S. (1914): 266-267.

¹⁷⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2003): 45-75.

Ferenc Széchenyi am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts in Westungarn und Südtransdanubien insgesamt 300.000 Joch Felder. Davon war im Komitat Somogy 176.000 Joch zu finden. Das Testament von 1814 teilte diese Güter unter den drei Erben, den Grafen von Lajos, Pál és István, auf. István Széchenyi, der unter ihnen der jüngste war, verkaufte im Jahre 1842 sein 62.000 Joch großes Gut Csokonya an seine Brüder, und – wie es bekannt ist – begann das Gut in Nagycenk zu bewirtschaften. Nach den Angaben der Gutszählungen des Statthalterrates in den 1830-1840er Jahren hatte Lajos Széchenyi in Somogy 95.000 Joch, während Pál Széchenyi 80.000 Joch besaß. Aber diese großen Ländereien wurden im 19. Jahrhundert immer wieder aufgeteilt. Speziell im Fall von Imre Széchenyi – wie es Zoltán Kaposi ableitet – konnten sich die Erben zum Zeitpunkt seines Todes im Jahr 1905 nur mit 8629 Joch in der Umgebung von Somogyvár und Barcs beteiligen.¹⁷⁵

Karte 1. Güter der Széchenyis im Komitat Somogy Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts



Quelle: Gazdacímtár (1897): 100-110.

In Bezug auf die wichtigsten biografischen Daten wurde der spätere Agrarierpolitiker und Theoretiker, Graf Imre Széchenyi am 31. März 1858 in Sopronhórpács geboren. Sein Vater war Graf Dénes Széchenyi, seine Mutter Gräfin Maria Hoyos. Seine Kindheit verbrachte er teils in Sopronhórpács, teils in Somogyvár, in der Siedlung nördlich von Kaposvár. Der Vater nahm am Unabhängigkeitskrieg 1848-1849 teil und – abgesehen von einer kurzen Periode, die er als Botschaftsrat in München verbrachte – widmete er sein Leben dann ganz der Bewirtschaftung. Graf Imres Eltern waren es, die aus einer Herrenwohnung das Schloss von Somogyvár ausbauten. Dénes Széchenyi war als einer der berühmten Sportreiter seiner Zeit bekannt, der

¹⁷⁵ Kaposi, (2017): 127-156.

diesen Sport wesentlich erneuerte.¹⁷⁶ Aber Imre Széchenyi wurde wahrscheinlich mehr von seinem Onkel beeinflusst, der auch Imre hieß. Er war der erste in der Familie, der in den diplomatischen Dienst eintrat. Der ältere Imre¹⁷⁷ begann seine Laufbahn in Rom, diente aber auch in Stockholm, Frankfurt und St. Petersburg. Seine Karriere im Auswärtigen Amt endete mit dem Fall des Königreichs Neapel für eine Weile und er wurde beurlaubt. Er nutzte diese Zeit, um sein Gut in Sopronhorpács zu modernisieren. Er galt gleichzeitig als ein talentierter Komponist. Als Diplomat wurde er im Jahre 1878 wieder reaktiviert und wurde dann zum Botschafter der Monarchie in Berlin ernannt.¹⁷⁸ In Bezug auf die Kindererziehung gingen sowohl Imre Sr. als auch sein jüngerer Bruder, Dénes davon aus, dass der Zeitgeist verlangt, dass Aristokraten auch ernsthafte Berufe haben. Deshalb schickte Graf Dénes seine Söhne, Imre und Géza erst auf das Pressburger (Pozsony) Obergymnasium und dann nach dem Abitur an die Berliner Wirtschaftsakademie.¹⁷⁹

Im Falle der Elternabsichten sollte berücksichtigt werden, dass der wirtschaftliche Niedergang der Aristokratie nach der Befreiung von Leibeigenen recht greifbar war. Und die Wirtschaftskrisen der 1870er und 80er Jahren drängten auch andere Sozialgruppen in den Hintergrund, so wie die Bauernschaft oder das Kleinbürgertum. Um die Situation zu ändern entstanden in den Monarchien Mitteleuropas neukonservative Bewegungen: einerseits die Agrarier und andererseits die Anhänger des politischen Katholizismus begannen sich zu organisieren. Für diese Gruppen wurde die intellektuelle Munition von solchen deutschen kathedersozialistischen Professoren und katholischen Theoretikern zur Verfügung gestellt, wie Wilhelm Roscher¹⁸⁰, bzw. der französische Frédéric Le Play¹⁸¹. In Ungarn wurde im Jahre 1896 auf diesen Grundlagen die von Graf Sándor Károlyi angeführte „Magyar Gazdaszövetség“ („Verband Ungarischer Landwirte“) gegründet. Hier ging es vielleicht um mehr als im Fall der in der Reformzeit zur Verteidigung der heimischen Industrie ins Leben gerufenen Schutzverbandsbewegung, da sich darauf ein ganzes Sozialprogramm aufbaute. Die Agrarier wollten durch das Genossenschaftswesen die prominentesten Elemente der Dörfer in die Politik einbeziehen, um somit eine Art Mittelschicht zu schaffen.

¹⁷⁶ Szinnyei, J. (1909): 502.

¹⁷⁷ Graf Imre Szécsényi Senior (1825–1898): Diplomat, Komponist.

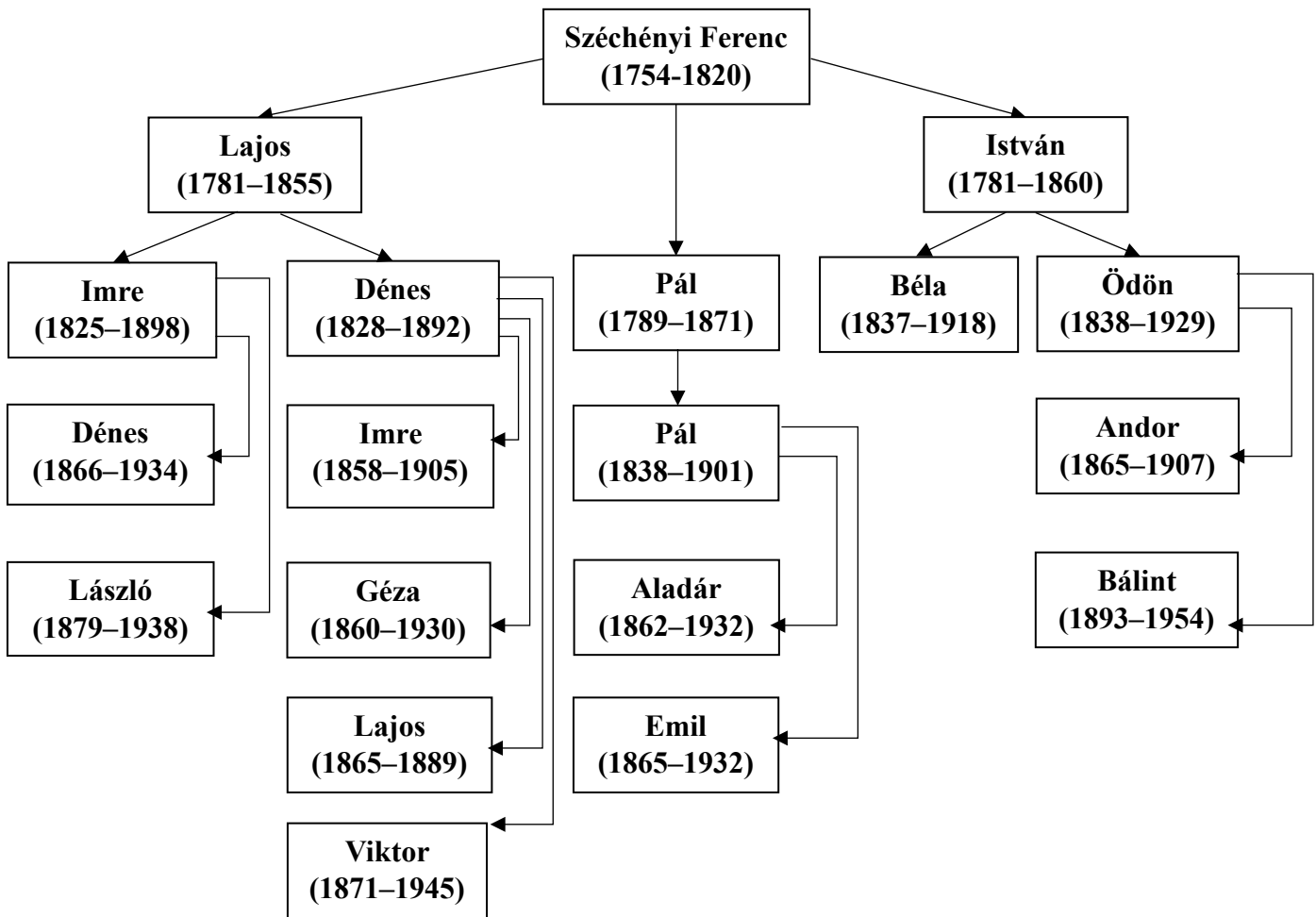
¹⁷⁸ *Vasárnapi Ujság* 26. (1879) 31. 1-2.

¹⁷⁹ Rébay, M. (2016): 3-4.

¹⁸⁰ Wilhelm Roscher (1817–1898): deutscher Ökonom, Leitfigur der frühen der Deutschen Historischen Schule.

¹⁸¹ Frédéric Le Play (1806–1882): französischer Ingenieur, Statistiker, Soziologe.

Abbildung 1. Der Stammbaum der Familie Széchényi



Quelle: Nagy I. (1863): 517-525

Der Publizist

Imre Széchenyi, der im Jahre 1883 als Wirtschaftsreferent beim Komitat Somogy in die Arbeit eintrat, war sowohl durch seine Familie als auch durch seinen gesellschaftlichen Umständen prädestiniert, um eine führende Rolle in der Agrarierbewegung zu spielen. Der junge Graf zeichnete sich schon damals durch seine Anfälligkeit für die theoretischen Probleme aus, die ihn sein Leben lang begleiteten. Von dem reichen publizistischen Lebenswerk würde ich jetzt nur drei seiner Schriften hervorheben: 1. die Erfahrungen der amerikanischen Studienreise im Jahre 1881, 2. der Bericht über die Ansiedlung von Posen vom Jahre 1892 und 3. in Bezug auf die nächstliegende Heimat, Somogy mit seinen Vorschlägen zum Einzelkindsystem.

Fangen wir mit der amerikanischen Reise an! Dabei war Imre Széchenyi nicht vom Wunsch nach einer „Grand Tour“ getrieben, sondern davon, Erfahrungen in der Volkswirtschaft und der Landwirtschaft zu sammeln. Als Folge der Getreidekrise gingen andere Ausländer (wie Max Sering, Karl Lamprecht, Emile Levasseur) nach Amerika, um dort gezielt nach dem Geheimnis der Überproduktion zu forschen. Im März 1881 brach eine Kompanie junger ungarischer und österreichischer Magnaten in die Neue Welt auf. Auf der Studienreise, die fast neun Monate dauerte, führte der deutsche Soziologe Rudolf Meyer sie im ganzen Land herum. Die Mitglieder der Gruppe waren die folgenden: die beiden älteren Széchenyi-Söhne, Imre und Géza, der zukünftige Schwager, Graf Géza Andrassy, sowie Graf Ernst Hoyos und Baron Gabriel Gudenus. Zuvor wurde Imre Széchenyi von dem Cousin seines Vaters, Pál – der damals Minister für Landwirtschaft, Industrie und Handel war, eine Art oberster Wirtschaftsminister – gebeten Berichte für die Bebauung des inländischen Publikums zum Blatt „Magyar Föld“ („Ungarischer Boden“) zu senden. Die Artikel, die unter dem Pseudonym Imre Somogyvári geschrieben wurden, wurden auch 1883 als Buch mit dem Titel „*Amerikai levelek*“ („*Briefe aus Amerika*“) veröffentlicht.¹⁸²

Karte 2. Route der Amerikareise



Quelle: Somogyvári I. (1883)

¹⁸² Somogyvári, I. (1883)

Die wichtigste Schlussfolgerung des Buches war, dass – basierend auf den dortigen Mustern – der beste Weg zur Stärkung der ungarischen Kleinbesitzerklasse wäre, die Heimstätte („homestead“), oder Heimatschutz zu adaptieren. Nach den US-Landgesetzen wird dem Landbesitzer ein bestimmter Mindestbesitz des Landes – welcher je nach Staat variiert – zur Verfügung gestellt, der nicht zur Schuldentilgung versteigert werden darf. So kann sich der amerikanische Farmer leisten, bei schlechten Ernten keinen Kredit aufzunehmen zu müssen. Stattdessen geht er zum Tagelohn arbeiten, bis er wieder auf die Beine kommt. Was macht der ungarische Kleinbesitzer im Gegensatz dazu? Ein Ungar zu sein bedeutet doch nicht, dass er zum Tagelohn arbeiten geht. Er zahlt eher die hohen Zinsen und kann es sich eine Weile gut gehen lassen. Wenn er sich das nicht mehr leisten könne, wird sein Vermögen versteigert. Und somit werde nur die gefährliche Masse des Proletariats vergrößert, unter dem die kommunistischen Ideen einen fruchtbaren Boden finden können.

Aber – zusätzlich dazu – war im Mitteleuropa vom 19. Jahrhunderts die Bauernfrage eher eine nationalpolitische Frage, welche Haltung immer mehr Raum gewann. Imre Széchényi konnte sich auch nicht aus diesem Effekt herausziehen. Er glaubte auch, dass es kein ungarischer Boden ohne ungarische Kleinbesitzer gibt.¹⁸³ In deren Verwirklichung wurde das Muster von ihm – wie von vielen anderen – in der preußischen Ansiedlung in Posen gesehen. Preußen wollte Posen, oder Poznań, die durch Aufteilung Polens gewonnene Provinz von Anfang an in seinen Staatskörper angliedern.

Karte 3. Die Ansiedlung von Posen innerhalb des Bismarckschen Reiches



Quelle: aufgrund <https://censusmosaic.demog.berkeley.edu/data/historical-gis-files> eigene Konstruktion

Die Idee, verschuldete polnische Großgüter von den preußischem Staat aufkaufen zu lassen und darauf deutsche Bauern anzusiedeln, wurde bereits nach dem polnischen Aufstand von 1830 aufgeworfen. Aber das darauf abzielende Gesetz über staatliches Handeln wurde jedoch erst 1886 verabschiedet. Laut diesem Gesetz wurde es die „Königlich Preussische

¹⁸³ Paár, A. (2020): 218.

Ansiedlungscommission für Westpreussen und Posen“ geschaffen, deren Tätigkeit Imre Széchenyi im Sommer 1892 an Ort und Stelle studierte. Als Ergebnis der Untersuchung entstand die im Jahre 1893 veröffentlichte Studie mit dem Titel „*Telepítési törekvések Németországban*“ („*Ansiedlungsbestrebungen in Deutschland.*“).¹⁸⁴

Imre Széchenyi interessierte sich wahrscheinlich mehr für die Technik der Rentengutsystem, die auf der Theorie von Rodbertus¹⁸⁵ basierte, das heißt das Land sei kein Kapital, sondern vielmehr eine Rentenquelle. Was bedeutete das in der Praxis? Die nationalpolitischen Zielsetzungen erforderten die Vermehrung der Bauernschaft, was auch Bauernhöfe erforderte. Aber wie sollten sie geschaffen werden? Damals weckte die Erbpacht noch zu sehr feudale Reminiszenzen. Für eine direkte Landreform war die Situation noch nicht reif genug. Dazu war es notwendig, einen Grad der intensiven Landwirtschaft zu erreichen, bei welchem sich eine Schicht von Kleinbesitzer ausbilden konnte. Dieses Problem sollte mit dem Rentengutsystem überbrückt werden. In dieser Konstruktion zahlt der Siedler einer Rentenbank eine langfristige Rente, die sie an den Eigentümer überweist. Im Gegenzug wird der Siedler so lange als Pächter betrachtet, bis das Land endlich in sein Eigentum kommt.

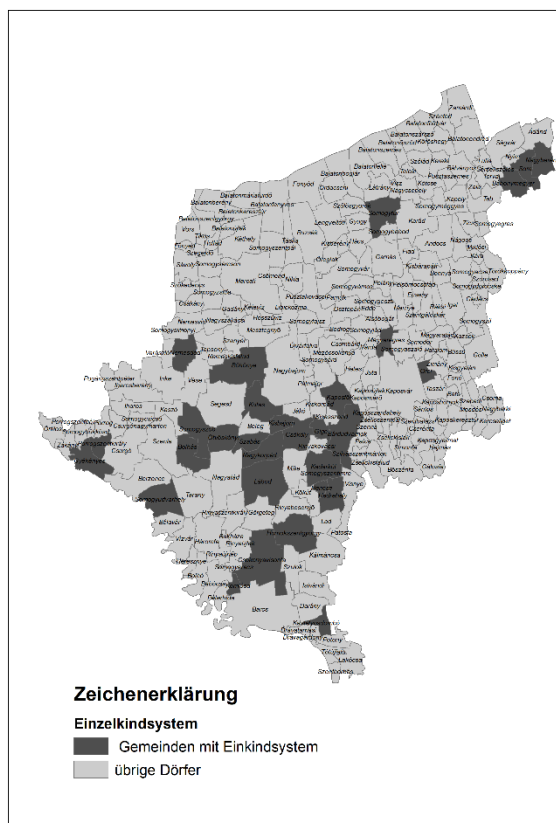
Der nächste wichtige Schrift war „*Az egyke*“ („*Das Einzelkind*“), den Imre Széchenyi bereits in seinen letzten Lebensjahren schrieb. Der Grund dafür war die Volkszählung vom Jahre 1900, aufgrund deren Angaben den Statistikern die Alarmglocken läuteten, dass sich die Anzahl des Magyarentums innerhalb des Landes vermindert, wodurch die ungarische Vorherrschaft gefährdet sein könnte. Dies war besonders charakteristisch für Transdanubien und innerhalb dessen nach Konfession für die Reformierten. Da Somogy in dieser Hinsicht zu den führenden Komitaten gehörte, wandte sich Imre Széchenyi an die Pastoren von 54 reformierten Siedlungen, um die Situation in einer Art Fragebogenumfrage einzuschätzen. Nach Angaben der Kirchenbücher in diesen Siedlungen nahm die wohlhabende Bauernschicht zwischen 1861 und 1886 immer noch zu, was zugleich die Vermehrung der Anzahl der Ungarn bedeutete.

Nach der Diagnose sind Probleme grundsätzlich in der Aufteilungsfreiheit verwurzelt, da auf der anderen Seite die Geburtenraten des Gesindes, die die 20-40 Prozenten der Bevölkerung ausmachten, deutlich besser waren als die der Kleinbesitzer. Nach der Meinung der Geistlichen war der Grund für den Rückgang der Geburtenzahlen sowohl moralischer als auch wirtschaftlicher Natur. Die Männer kümmerten sich um die Aufteilung des Familienbesitzes, während die Frauen sich auf ihr Aussehen fokussieren. Was das Majorat bei der Aristokratie bedeutet, ist derjenige das Einzelkindsystem bei den Bauern. Die Situation sei noch schlimmer als in Frankreich, dessen Beispiel erschreckt wirkte. Interessanterweise, während die Pastoren nach einer Lösung in der Wirtschaftsebene suchten, konzentrierte sich Imre Széchenyi mehr auf moralische Motive. Die Pfarrer wollten vor allem den finanziellen Problemen von Familien mit mehreren Kindern helfen. Sie schlugen vor, ihnen eine Steuervergünstigung zu geben, einen Teil der Unterrichtskosten des Kindes zu übernehmen. Sie sollten vom öffentlichen Dienst und dem mietenden staatlichen Land bevorzugt werden. Zuallererst wäre die Entwicklung der Industrie notwendig!

¹⁸⁴ Széchenyi, I. (1893)

¹⁸⁵ Johann Karl Rodbertus-Jagetzow (1805–1875): preußischer Ökonom, Sozialpolitiker.

Karte 4. Gemeinden mit Einzelkindsystem im Komitat Somogy



Quelle: Széchényi I. (1906)

Was hat Imre Széchényi dazu hinzugefügt? Er forderte, dass Abtreibungen strafrechtlich verfolgt werden, dass die Gemeinden nur zertifizierte Hebammen beschäftigen, die ein angemessenes Gehalt von der Gemeinde erhalten sollten. Handeln Sie gegen Luxus! Erstellen Sie einen Fonds, um Frauen zu belohnen, die mehr als ein Kind geboren haben. Sowohl sollen Ehepartner, die sich getrennt haben, aber nicht geschieden sind, sollten gezwungen werden, wieder zusammenzuleben. Es sein notwendig, darauf Einfluss zu nehmen, das Vermögen eher testamentarisch zusammenzugeshalten werden!

Der Landespolitiker

Danach wenden wir uns an Imre Széchényi, der öffentlichen Figur! Besonders an den Aristokraten, der nach der Rolle des Agrarierführers strebte! Die Agrarier bildeten weder eine eigene Partei noch einen parteinahen Interessenverband, wie es für die Deutschen typisch war. Bei uns wurde die aufgrund des öffentlichen Rechts organisierte Parteistruktur von der agrarischen-merkantilen Gegensatz quer gekreuzt. Es gab also sowohl „Agrarier“ als auch „Merkantilisten“ in jeder Partei. Während die Agrarier zuvor in Deutschland und Ungarn als vorkommunistische Richtungen interpretiert wurden, neigen die heutigen Historiker dazu, in ihnen mehr Bewegungen zu sehen, die einen „Modus vivendi“ mit dem modernen Nationalstaat und

der modernen Wirtschaft suchten.¹⁸⁶ Andras Vári weist in Bezug auf sie darauf hin, dass es sich hier in Anbetracht ihrer Wurzeln um eine liberale Bewegung in England des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts handelte. Dies liegt daran, dass die Whig-Aristokratie während der Ausweitung des Wahlrechts im Inselstaat versuchte, ihren Einfluss durch die Förderung des Pferdesports zu bewahren, sodass man oft selbst als Champion auf der Pferderennbahn auftrat. Während der Reformepoche kam auch dieses sportliebende Aristokratenbild nach Ungarn herüber.¹⁸⁷ In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts änderten jedoch der Zustrom von Getreide aus Übersee, der Bedeutungsverlust der Landwirtschaft und die Landflucht diese Perspektive allmählich. Und schließlich als Ergebnis der Getreidekrise ging die Bewegung von liberal zu konservativ hinüber.

Den Schauplatz der Lobbytätigkeit von Imre Széchenyi bezog sich hauptsächlich auf das Oberhaus. Hinsichtlich seiner Karriere wurden die Dimensionen durch seine Beziehung zu Graf Sándor Károlyi¹⁸⁸, einerseits und Graf István Tisza¹⁸⁹ andererseits bestimmt. Obwohl Somogy nur in der zweiten Linie der Agrarierbewegung stand, schien es noch eine Weile so, als würde Imre Széchenyi ihr Landesführer sein. András Váris Meinung nach scheiterte dies durch die Tatsache, dass der junge Graf, Großgrundbesitzer von Somogyvár, weder in seiner eigenen Familie noch im Komitat Somogy zu den reichsten gehörte. Diese Aussage ist insofern umstritten, als dass Imre Széchenyi keine ernsthaften Chancen gehabt hätte, der Ministerpräsident Graf István Tisza selbst – der, obwohl er auch ein Großgrundbesitzer war, von den Agrarier als Reaktionäre und Dogmatiker betrachtet wurde – ihm davon nicht abgeraten hatte.¹⁹⁰ Es besteht kein Zweifel daran, dass Károlyi, der älter war als Imre Széchenyi, und einen Nimbus eines Freiheitskämpfer hatte, konnte er gleichzeitig von Fót die Landes- und Landesangelegenheiten im Auge behalten, was im Fall von Széchenyi nicht möglich war.¹⁹¹ Für ihn war es jedoch wichtig, dass er durch seine Frau eng mit der einflussreichen Familie des Zeitalters des Dualismus, den Andrásy, verwandt war. Sowohl er als auch sein Cousin zweiten Grades, Graf Aladár Széchenyi heiratete eine Andrassy-Tochter. Die Mutter des Letzteren stammte ebenfalls aus dieser Familie.

Obwohl es Imre Széchenyi nicht gelang, Agrarierführer zu sein, wurde er 1890 jedoch zu einer Amtübernahme in das damals relativ junge Landwirtschaftsministerium aufgefordert. Der gerade angetretene neue Minister Graf András Bethlen¹⁹² ernannte ihn zum Regierungskommissar für den Sandweinrebenanbau mit der Aufgabe der Rekonstruktion von Weinbergen nach der großen Reblaus-Epidemie. Es lohnt sich auch, ein paar Worte über András Bethlen zu sagen! Ein Graf aus Siebenbürgen, der sein Studium in Leipzig fortsetzte, wo er ein Lieblingsschüler des bedeutenden Ökonomen Wilhelm Roscher war. Obwohl Ignác Darányi allgemein als die ikonische Person der Agrarierbewegung angesehen wird, sind viele der Meinung, András Bethlen wäre hier die wirklich charismatische Figur. Er orientierte sich stark an die Nationspolitik und wollte aufgrund des Ansiedlungsgesetzes von 1894 wie in Posen das

¹⁸⁶ Anka, L. (2005): 41.

¹⁸⁷ Vári, A. (2009): 493-494.

¹⁸⁸ Graf Sándor Károlyi (1831–1906): Grossgrundbesitzer, Wirtschaftspolitiker.

¹⁸⁹ Graf István Tisza (1861–1918): Grossgrundbesitzer. Ministerpräsident zwischen 1913 und 1917.

¹⁹⁰ Anka, L. (2005): 44.

¹⁹¹ Vári, A. (2009): 424.

¹⁹² Graf András Bethlen (1847–1898): Landwirtschaftsminister zwischen 1890 und 1894.

Szeklerland (Székelyföld) – diese Sprachinsel – durch Ansiedlungen entlang des Flusses Marosch mit den ungarischen Kerngebieten verbinden.¹⁹³

Der Auftrag des Regierungskommissars von Imre Széchényi passte gut in diese Konzeption hinein. Obwohl der Sandweinrebenanbau den nationalen Aspekt übersehen zu haben schien, wollten sie die Rekonstruktion von Weinbergen mit einem Test verbinden, wie die Institution des preußischen Rentengutssystems im häuslichen Umfeld funktioniert. Das Balatonufer versprach dafür ein ideales Terrain zu sein, denn einerseits wurden hier infolge der Epidemie bedeutende Flächen zum Verkauf angeboten, andererseits könnten hier aus dem benachbarten Zala Landwirte und Landarbeiter mit einer guten Zahl angesiedelt werden. Außerdem verlief hier eine wichtige Strecke entlang der Südbahn, was eine gute infrastrukturelle Grundlage für die Aktion bot. Dazu kaufte man zuerst Ländereien in der Nähe von Fonyód und Blatonkeresztúr – sowie im Dorf Hencse bei Kaposvár¹⁹⁴ – um kleine Bauernhöfe zu errichten. Dann wurden die beschädigten Bauern aus Zala umgesiedelt. Doch das Projekt scheiterte, weil sie das Land zu teuer kauften, und die neuen Landwirte zu hohe Raten hätten zahlen müssen. Dennoch wurde mit der Ansiedlung der Grundstein für das spätere Balatonmáriafürdő gelegt, welche nach der Frau von Imre Széchényi, Mária Andrassy benannt wurde. Später aber entstand in der Nähe von Kecskemét die Ansiedlung von Helvécia, die ebenfalls von Imre Széchényi initiiert wurde, welche – dank des Schweizer Winzers Ede Weber – jedoch viel erfolgreicher war.¹⁹⁵

Der Lokalpolitiker

Schauen wir uns abschließend die anderen wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungsaktivitäten an, die Graf Imre Széchényi in seinem engeren Umfeld, Somogy durchgeführt hat! Dabei konnte er sich auf seine anderen gesellschaftlichen Funktionen verlassen. Nach Ernő Vende in der zeitgenössischen Monographie von Dezső Csánki war er Mitglied des Aufsichtsrats von Magyar Földhitelintézet („Ungarische Bodenkreditanstalt“), der Verwaltungsrat der landwirtschaftlichen Industrie-Aktiengesellschaft (MIR), das heißt der Zuckerfabrik von Kaposvár. Imre Széchényi war auch Vorstandsmitglied von Großbanken, sowie von Magyar Ipar- és Kereskedelmi Bank („Ungarische Industrie- und Handelsbank“) und Magyar Általános Hitelbank („Ungarische Allgemeine Kreditbank“). Zugleich war er Leitfigur der ungarischen Genossenschaftsbewegung. Nach Vende spielte er eine wichtige Rolle bei der Gründung von Magyar Gazdák Hadsereg-ellátó Szövetkezete („Armeerversorgungs-Genossenschaft der Ungarischen Landwirte“), Magyar Mezőgazdák Szövetkezete („Genossenschaft Ungarischer Landwirte“) und von Magyarországi Szövetkezetek Szövetsége („Verband Ungarischer Genossenschaften“). Seine anderen Verpflichtungen zeigen sich darin, dass er eine Weile der Notar des Oberhauses war. Er hatte auch eine führende Position in dem Katholischen Zentralen Kongrua-Komitee. Gleichwohl war er auch Vizepräsident von Magyar Atletikai Klub („Ungarischer Sportverein“).¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Antal, T. (2012): 9-10.

¹⁹⁴ Szabó, A. F. (1987): 292-316.

¹⁹⁵ Ebenda: 299.

¹⁹⁶ Vende, E. (1914): 266-267.

Vor Ort setzte er sich als führender Agrarpolitiker für den Aufbau der Lebensmittelindustrie ein. Es war seine Idee, die Landwirtschaftsschule Somogyszentimre zu gründen, die bis 1935 bestand. Der andere große Verdienst von ihm war der Ausbau des Balatonufers. Die winzige Plattensee-Siedlung Balatonfoldvár, die ursprünglich eine Pussta seines Bruders Viktor war, machte er – neben Siófok – zu einem beliebten Urlaubsziel der Großgrundbesitzer. Imre Széchényi sah mit einem guten Sinn, dass eine verringerte Nachfrage nach Dienstleistungen im Zusammenhang mit Bergtourismus am Plattensee gut genutzt werden könnte. Die Frucht davon ist jedoch erst nach Trianon reif geworden. In anderer Hinsicht war die Schaffung der Fischergenossenschaft von Balaton (*Balatoni Halászsövetkezet*) ebenfalls Teil dieser Entwicklungstätigkeit.¹⁹⁷

Hier muss man auch ein paar Worte über den landwirtschaftlichen Grundbesitzer, den kapitalistischen Unternehmer sagen! Imre Széchényi lebte in Somogyvár nördlich von Kaposvár, wo seine Familie einer der größten Besitzer war. Wie es bereits erwähnt wurde, war das alte große Landgut von Csokonya in der Nähe von Barcs zu seiner Zeit bereits auf die Dörfer Somogyvár, Barcs, Pamuk, Buzsák und Öreglak geschrumpft. Obwohl sein Vater Graf Dénes für die Landwirtschaft lebte, war die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn eine schwierige Zeit für die adligen Landbesitzer. Zunächst musste der große „Neustart“ nach der Leibeigenenbefreiung gemacht werden, wo es notwendig war, von Fronarbeit auf Lohnarbeit hinüberzuwechseln. Als diese Schwierigkeiten überwunden wurden, kam nun die Getreidekrise! Allerdings ist es verständlich, dass Dénes Széchényi in diesen Jahrzehnten so viele Schulden angehäuft hat, dass 1889 das Gut von Somogyvár verkauft werden musste. Aber zum Glück wurde die Angelegenheit innerhalb der Familie gelöst: die Käufer waren sein Sohn Imre und seine Schwiegertochter Mária Andrassy. Hinter dem Finanzmanöver schien sich der Schwiegervater Graf Andrassy Aladár verborgen zu haben, der seine Tochter zur „alleinigen Herrin von Somogyvár“ machen wollte.¹⁹⁸

Obwohl Graf Dénes Széchényi – der nach dem Besitzerwechsel nach Sárpentele zog – als Grundbesitzer scheiterte, kann man nicht daran zweifeln, dass er nicht versuchte, sich dem neuen kapitalistischen Geist anzupassen. So war er an verschiedenen Industrieunternehmen in Barcs, dieser sich dynamisch entwickelnden Siedlung des Dualismus-Zeitalters, beteiligt. Hier baute er auch eines der größten Getreidemagazin. Graf Imre trat in die Fußstapfen seines Vaters, als er Teilhaber der Kunstmühlen AG. von Barcs (Múmalom Rt. in Barcstelep) wurde. Der jüngere Széchényi betätigte sich bereits in einer Epoche der wirtschaftlichen Konjunktur, so dass er als Landbesitzer erfolgreicher war als sein Vater. Dies zeigt sich deutlich daran, dass sich zu seiner Zeit die Intensivierung der Landwirtschaft in Somogyvár – in der Gemeinde damals mit 7500 mit Bewohnern – beschleunigte. Nach den zeitgenössischen statistischen Erhebungen wurden in der Siedlung zwischen 1895 und 1911 die Ochsen mit Pferden in einer solcher Rate ersetzt, die über dem Komitatsschnitt lag. Und dadurch wurde eine qualitative Veränderung der landwirtschaftlichen Traktion erreicht. Während es auch in der Tierzucht ein bedeutender Rassenwechsel für Rinder und Schweine stattfand.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Király, I. (1992): 292.

¹⁹⁸ Bösze, S. (2001): 70-71.

¹⁹⁹ Ebenda.

Zusammenfassung

Als Agrarier war Imre Széchenyi eher ein Theoretiker als eine Bewegungsmensch. Seine wirtschaftliche Entwicklungsarbeit im Komitat Somogy hat bleibende Spuren hinterlassen. In der Bauernfrage sah er, wie in anderen Agrarier, einen engen Zusammenhang zwischen Verarmung und der Verbreitung agrarsozialistischer Ideen. Um dies zu überwinden, entwickelte er Vorschläge für die Heimstätte und Ansiedlung, basierend auf dem, was er in Amerika und Posen gesehen hatte. Sein Konzept könnte so zusammengefasst werden, dass diejenigen, die über genügend Kapital verfügten, in eine Ansiedlung preußischen Typs involvieren müssten.²⁰⁰ Aber wie anpassungsfähig sind diese fremden Muster an die ungarischen Verhältnisse? In Bezug auf die Ansiedlung von Posen sei auch daran erinnert, dass dies auf Kosten der Polen ging, die sich im Laufe der Zeit organisierten und dadurch die deutschen nationalen Bestrebungen behinderten. Gyula Rubinek, Sekretär des Interessenverbands der Großgrundbesitzer (OMGE) argumentierte in einer Studie von 1904 ausdrücklich, dass die deutsche Methode in Ungarn nicht angewendet werden könnte. Er glaubte, dass es für uns zu teuer wäre, und das Vererbungsgesetz sollte auch dafür geändert werden. Hinsichtlich der nationalen Politik in ethnischen Regionen wäre der Mittelgrundbesitz effektiver als das Bauerngut.²⁰¹ Und der Heimstätte könnte man entgegensetzen, dass es sich um eine einzigartige amerikanische Institution handelt, weil Amerika schon damals ein Siedlerland gewesen war, in dem das Rückgrat der Gesellschaft Einwanderer bildeten, die sich nicht entmutigen ließen.

Aber Imre Széchenyis einflussreichstes Werk war doch sein Schreiben über das Einzelkindsystem. Einerseits deshalb, weil infolgedessen im Jahre 1909 – im Komitat Somogy zum ersten Mal – Sonderausschüsse, sogenannten „Einzelkind-Komitees“ je Notarbezirk mit der Beteiligung reformierter Pastoren zu Erhebungs- und Informationszwecken eingerichtet wurden. (Im Einzelkindsystem sah Imre Széchenyi auch ein grundlegendes transdanubisches reformiertes Phänomen.) Der Komitatspräsident dieses Gremiums war Imre Széchenyis Cousin zweiten Grades, Graf Aladár Széchenyi, der zugleich als der Führer der Unabhängigkeitspartei in Somogy fungierte. Auf der anderen Seite – was noch wichtiger ist – war es die Debatte über die Therapie, die dazu führte, dass im Komitat die Bauernsektion dieser Partei unabhängig wurde und daraus später die Kleinbauernpartei auf nationaler Ebene hervorging.

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²⁰⁰ Fünfundzwanzig Jahre später war Mihály Kerék, der auch die deutsche Ansiedlung studierte, ebenso beeindruckt von der Organisation und Effizienz des Projekts, wie Imre Széchenyi. [Kerék M. (1935)]

²⁰¹ Rubinek, Gy. (1905): 6-12. 16-17.

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Imre Halász

Untreue Verwaltung um die Jahrhundertwende bei den Geldinstituten im Komitat Vas

Abstract

The purpose of the study: In the dual monarchy era, especially after 1873 there was a strong economic development in Hungary, and its results and specialties in Vas County were presented by our previous studies. Such a rapid development also brought to light the dark side of business life: amongst embezzlement the regulatory shortcomings also appeared.

Applied methods: The records of savings banks were preserved fragmentarily by the Vas County Archives, there are neither ledgers nor board reports kept from the above mentioned period. We could rely on the Szombathely Regional Courts criminal suit's documents as primary sources and the annual printed balance sheets, data of the Hungarian Compass and the contemporary press as secondary sources.

Outcomes: This study deals with the three cases of embezzlement which were followed by the national press at the time. In addition, one of the cases were discussed at the meeting held for savings banks' reforms in 1899 in Miskolc. The cases in question reveal human errors and regulatory shortcomings.

Keywords: embezzlement, default, liquidation, savings bank, bank

Einführung

Der zusammengerechnete Geldverkehr stieg in den zwei Jahrzehnten zwischen 1878 und 1899 im Komitat Vas, das sich stark kapitalisiert hatte, enorm. Er erzielte einen 6,3-maligen Zuwachs in der Bilanzhauptsumme, einen fast 11-maligen Zuwachs in der Summe des Grundkapitals, und die Anzahl der Geldinstitute wurde auch zweieinhalb Mal größer. Im Komitat Vas bildeten sich die regionalen Marktzentren aus, die sich auf die Bezirkszentren konzentrierten. Damit parallel kamen die mikroregionalen Marktzentren zustande, und der Verkehr zwischen den Sparkassen wurde auch immer ausgeprägter, obwohl uns über deren Maß keine exakten Daten zur Verfügung stehen. Im Jahre 1897 boten hier 38 Sparkassen und 35 Kreditgenossenschaften ihre finanziellen Dienstleistungen an.²⁰² Diese Tendenz setzte sich fort, und am 31-sten Dezember 1912 konnte in 27 Gemeinden im Komitat schon irgendeine finanzielle Dienstleistung in Anspruch genommen werden, im Komitat arbeiteten schon 52 Sparkassen, es gab 15 Institute mehr als im Jahre 1899.²⁰³ In diesen fünfzig Jahren gab es aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zahlreiche solche Missbräuche, die die Sparkassen noch handhaben konnten und wegen der Schutz ihres eigenen guten Rufes nicht an die Öffentlichkeit kommen ließen und geheim hielten. Drei bedeutende Vorfälle sorgten aber sogar in der Landespresse für Schlagzeilen.

²⁰² Halász, I. (2021): 61-71.

²⁰³ Ebd. und Halász, I. (2019): 56-63.

Aus Bankangestellten wurde Bankier, dann Gefängnisinsasse

Der Ritter Lajos D'Elvert wurde von den zeitgenössischen Quellen als ein gutaussehender, gut gebauter, gewinnender Mann beschrieben. Er kam am 27. Januar 1868, in Innsbruck zur Welt, seine Mutter war eine Baroness, sein Vater ein Soldatenoffizier. Lajos absolvierte zwei Jahrgänge an der Handelsakademie.²⁰⁴ Sein Vater, der Soldatenoffizier beendete im Jahre 1894, erfolgreich, als Generalmajor, Kommandant der 8. Gebirgs-Brigade in Foča, seine Militärkarriere. Aber da er mehrmals umgesetzt worden war, war er gezwungen, mit seiner Familie immer wieder umzuziehen. Einer seiner Söhne wurde später Gardekapitän in Wien. Der andere Sohn, Lajos D'Elvert arbeitete in den 1880-er Jahren bei der Bankfiliale der Österreich-Ungarischen Bank in Szeged.²⁰⁵ Im Jahre 1887, als er schon das nötige Praktikum hinter sich hatte, wurde er Zweitbuchhalter bei der Temeschwarer Sparkasse.²⁰⁶ Kurz danach kehrte er zu der Österreich-Ungarischen Bank zurück und wurde stellvertretender Leiter der Bankfiliale in Nagybecskerek (heute: Zrenjanin, Veliki Beckerek, Serbien). Das war schon eine Vertrauensstelle mit großer Verantwortung im Sitz des Komitats Torontál, der im so genannten „goldenen Zeitalter“ der Banken einen unglaublich intensiven Aufschwung nahm. Fabriken, Geschäftsunternehmungen wurden gegründet und gediehen prächtig, so wurde diese Stadt zu einem wirtschaftlichen Zentrum der Region. D'Elvert lernte während dieser Jahre alle Teilbereiche der Banksphäre kennen. Diese Arbeit bat dem jungen Bankangestellten, der schon über 30 war und sich nach bedeutenderen Aufgaben sehnte, die besten Möglichkeiten. Im Jahre 1891 heiratete er und bald hatte er schon zwei Kinder.

Seine Chefs schienen mit ihm in jeder Hinsicht zufrieden zu sein, da als die Bank im Jahre 1900 zehn weitere neue Filialen in Ungarn und in Österreich eröffnet hatte, wurde er zum Chef der damals aufgestellten Szombathelyer Filiale ernannt.²⁰⁷ Bis zur Jahrhundertwende war die Filiale in Szombathely nur eine Zweigstelle der Soproner (Ödenburger) Filiale, das bedeutete, dass die Österreich-Ungarische Bank mit einer lokalen Sparkasse zur Wechselskontierung einen Vertrag abgeschlossen hatte.

Die Gründung der Bankfiliale bedeutete einen großen Fortschritt sowohl im Wirtschaftsleben der Stadt als auch der Region, da von nun an ereignete die Kreditbewilligung direkt in Szombathely, so bekam der Kreditantragsteller die beatragte Summe viel einfacher und in viel kürzerer Zeit und er konnte die Dienstleistungen der Österreich-Ungarischen Bank direkt in Anspruch nehmen. Diese Ernennung bedeutete auch im Leben des 32-jährigen Bankexperten einen besonders großen Fortschritt, da er dadurch einer der 33 Bankfilialen-Chefs wurde. Szombathely erlebte in diesen Jahren eine ebenso eine bedeutende wirtschaftliche Entwicklung, wie Nagybecskerek, so erwartete die Leitung der Bank mit Fug und Recht, dass D'Elvert, der schon über reiche Erfahrungen verfügte, die Bank tatkräftig auszubauen begann. Sie täuschten

²⁰⁴ Die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Blitzkarriere und den Sturz von D'Elvert richtete László Mayer im Jahre 2015, auf dem Archivtag des Archivs des Komitats Vas des UNSAs. Sein Manuskript unter dem Titel: „... er wurde zu einem ehrlosen Menschen, da er seine Ehre behalten wollte.“ - Blitzkarriere und Sturz eines Wiener Bankangestellten, Ritter Lajos D'Elvert (1868–1914), das in seinen Mittelpunkt die Berichte der zeitgenössischen Presse stellte, wurde leider nicht angefertigt.

²⁰⁵ Dutyiban a volt bankfőnök. Szeged és vidéke. 17. 05. 1913 4.

²⁰⁶ Magyar Compass, (1887): 374.

²⁰⁷ Az új bankfiókok főnökei. Pécsi Napló, 01. 05. 1900. 4. und Az osztrák-magyar bank új fiókjai. Budapesti Napló, 12. 08. 1900

sich in ihren Erwartungen nicht, was von den Geldverkehrsdaten eindeutig bewiesen und unterstützt wird.²⁰⁸

Bargeldverkehr der Szombathelyer Bankfiliale der Österreich-Ungarischen Bank
zwischen 1900-1913

Jahr	Krone (Währungseinheit)	Jahr	Krone (Währungseinheit)
1900	16.022,000	1907	142.136.000
1901	69.190.000	1908	166.360.000
1902	76.665.000	1909	189.214,000
1903	84.314.000	1910	210.289,000
1904	93.024.000	1911	253.269.000
1905	108.753.000	1912	294.426.000
1906	120.935.000	1913	276.709.000

Quelle: Magyar Compass 1900-1913.

Der Kassenverkehr der Szombathelyer Bankfiliale überragte im Jahre 1904 die hier gegründeten Geldinstitute bedeutend. Im Jahre 1905 realisierte sie schon den höchsten Geldinstitutsverkehr im Komitat Vas, obwohl die Bankeinlagen nicht zu ihren Geschäftsbereichen gehörten. Ihre Geschäftspartner waren größten Teils Kaufleute, die ihre Kredite mit einem 3,5% Zins bekamen. Diese Filiale verfügte aber auch über einen bedeutenden Lombarddarlehen-Verkehr. Die lokal gegründeten Sparkassen gewähren von ihren Geschäftsbereichen abhängig, ihre Kredite mit einem 5-6-prozentigen Zins, das fast das Doppelte von dem war, was die Österreich-Ungarische Bank anbot. Ein bedeutender Schritt im Ausbau des Banksystems war, als sie Zweigstellen gründete. Im Jahre 1901 wurden die Bank namens Kemesaljai Közgazdasági Hitelbank in Celldömölk (Wirtschaftskreditbank in Kemesalja, Celldömölk wurde früher auch Kiscell genannt) zu einer Zweigstelle der Bankfiliale der Österreich-Ungarischen Bank, dann bekam im Jahre 1905 auch die Szentgotthárd Sparkasse in Szentgotthárd diesen Status.²⁰⁹

D'Elvert war zwischen 1900 und 1908, also fast acht Jahre lang der Leiter der Szombathelyer Filiale. Bald wurde er zu einer bekannten und bestimmenden Persönlichkeit sowohl des Wirtschafts- als auch des Gesellschaftslebens der Stadt. Er lebte das Leben der jungen Menschen, die über Einfluss und beträchtliche wirtschaftliche Macht verfügen.²¹⁰

D'Elvert wurde im Jahre 1908 als Berater in das Wiener Bankzentrum umgesetzt, aber damals zogen schon dunkle Wolken über seinen Kopf auf. Immer mehr Anzeigen wurden gegen ihn wegen Wechselfälschung eingereicht, was aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach dazu geführt hatte,

²⁰⁸ Magyar Compass, (1900-1913)

²⁰⁹ Magyar Compass, (1902): 19. und (1906):10.

²¹⁰ Zum Beispiel habe im Jahre 1903 in Nagyunyom, bei einer Jagd die Strecke 145 Hasen, 2 Fasanen und 8 Rebhühner betragen, wie darüber das Jägerblatt berichtete. Vadászlap, 15. 12. 1903 463.

dass er bald mit einer 3200-Kronen-Rente in den Ruhestand gesetzt wurde.²¹¹ Die Anzeigen wegen „eines betrügerischen Sturzes“ folgten aber einander, so sollte die Bank auch Anzeige erstatten.

Inzwischen zog D'Elvert, als pensionierter höherer Bankangestellter nach Szombathely zurück, aber als die Bank ihn wegen Betrugs und Wechselfälschung Anzeige erstattete, flieh er nach Wien, wo er im Jahre 1913 wegen Urkundenfälschung verhaftet wurde.²¹² Im Endeffekt, da er die Mehrheit der Fälschungen als der Chef der Filiale in Szombathely begangen hatte, wurde die Gerichtsverhandlung auch in Szombathely gehalten. Er wurde wegen 20-facher Wechselfälschung zu sechs Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt. Inzwischen kamen zwei neue gefälschte Wechsel zum Vorschein, einer von der Kemenesaljai Közgazdasági Hitelbank, im Wert von 1150 Kronen, und ein anderer von der Szentgotthárdi Sparkasse im Wert von 400 Kronen. Auf den Wechseln standen als Aufnehmer fast ohne Ausnahme die Namen der Geschwister von D'Elvert.²¹³

Die Ergebnisse des Prozesses wurden auch von der Landespresse verfolgt, so wurde die Öffentlichkeit auch über die Zahl der während des Prozesses bekannt gewordenen, gefälschten Wechsel benachrichtigt, die nicht nur in Szombathely, sondern im ganzen Komitat Vas im Umlauf waren. D'Elvert konnte diese Fälschungen durchziehen, da er als Bankfilialen-Chef berechtigt war, Wechsel bei den Geldinstituten anzulegen, ohne dass sie überprüft worden waren. Aus der Presse wissen wir auch, dass es viel mehr, als um 23 Wechsel ging, aber ein Geldinstitut, das im Artikel nicht genannt wurde, die Wechselschulden von D'Elvert abstrich, so kamen diese weiteren Angelegenheiten nicht vor Gericht.²¹⁴

D'Elvert hatte für seine Tat eine ganz besondere Erklärung. Er sei zur Wechselfälschung gezwungen, da sein Vater, der General ein solches Leben geführt habe, das weit als seine Einnahmen gekostet habe, so habe er ein „Erbe“ von einer 40.000-Kronen-Schuld auf seine Familie überlassen. D'Elvert sollte die väterlichen Schulden tilgen, wobei seine eigene Lebensweise auch hohe Summen verzehrte. Er behauptete auch, dass sein Bruder, der Gardekapitän zuerst die Wechsel unterschrieben habe, was er aber später verweigert habe. Der Bankier behauptete, er sei von seinen Brüdern mit der Konsolidierung der Schulden beauftragt worden. Schließlich wurde er am 22-ten Dezember 1913 wegen 23-facher Wechselfälschung zu acht Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt. Er verbrachte aber schon zwei Monate in Untersuchungshaft, so sollte der ehemalige, verarmte Bankangestellte nur sechs Monate im Gefängnis in Szombathely bleiben. Während seiner Strafzeit arbeitete er im Gefängnisbüro, aber am 9-ten Februar 1914 verstarb er an einer Gehirnhautentzündung.²¹⁵

Seine Persönlichkeit wurde später interessant beurteilt. Die Lokalpresse berichtete, dass von dem Bankier, der auch in Sopron bekannt war, überall mit höchstem Mitleid gesprochen war, er wurde für ein Opfer seiner Familie gehalten und als er in Schwierigkeiten geraten war, ließen ihn sogar seine Nächsten in Stich, deshalb fiel er unverschuldeter Weise der Sünde anheim.²¹⁶

²¹¹ D'Elvert lovagot elitelték. Pesti Napló, 23. 10. 1913

²¹² A lovag hamis váltói. Világ, 29. 07. 1913 16. und D'Elvert lovagot hazahozták. Pesti Napló, 30. 07. 1913

²¹³ A váltóhamisító lovag. Pesti Napló, 24. 12. 1913 13. und Lovag D'Elvert ügye. Pesti Napló, 14. 09. 1913

²¹⁴ D'Elvert lovag váltói. Budapesti Hírlap, 14. 09. 1913

²¹⁵ A váltóhamisító lovag. Pesti Napló, 15. 08. 1913 17. und HU-MNL-VaVL VII.9. Szombathelyi törvényszéki börtön iratai. Börtöntörzskönyvek. 1913. 302.

²¹⁶ D'Elvert lovag elitélése. Soproni Napló, 22. 01. 1914 3.

In seine Kollegen hinterließ er ein gutes Andenken, da seine Beerdigung von dem Offizierstand der Österreich-Ungarischen Bank finanziert worden war.²¹⁷

Bestechungsskandal in Kiscell

Hinter dem Konkurs der Kisceller Sparkasse verbarg sich eine so große Unterschlagung, dass er sogar an der Beratung behandelt wurde, die im Jahre 1899 zum Thema der Reformen der Sparkassen zusammengerufen worden war. Laut der Ansicht der Beratung in Miskolc steckten die Gründe der Konkurse darin, dass die Banken und die Industrie -und Handelsunternehmen in einer zu enger Beziehung miteinander verflochten waren, und von ihnen auf dieser Weise Kredite in zu hohen Maßen geliehen wurden. Neben den Vorfällen von Arad, Máramarossziget, Érsekújvár und Újvidék wurde auch der Konkurs in Kiscell detailliert behandelt, besonders weil die letzten zwei Fälle auch landesweit bekannt worden waren und Ärgernis erregt hatten. Zum Sturz der Sparkasse in Újvidék kam es dadurch, dass sie der Dampfmaschine in Újvidék eine besonders große Summe als Kredit gewährt hatte. Der Generaldirektor der Dampfmaschine hatte aber das Vermögen des Unternehmens auf der Börse verloren, und dieser Sturz hatte auf dieser Weise auch die Sparkasse mit sich gerissen. Die Kisceller Sparkasse, die im Jahre 1869 gegründet worden war, machte aber wegen fortgesetzt verübten Untreues Konkurs. Lajos Rosenberg, der Generaldirektor verursachte dem Geldinstitut in mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten, im geheimen Einverständnis mit dem Buchhalter namens Károly Riedt einen Schaden von etwa einer Million Kronen.²¹⁸

Die Rosenberg Familie und ihre Verwandtschaft spielten schon seit mehr als einem Jahrzehnt in der Gegend von Celldömök, später aber im ganzen Komitat eine bedeutende Rolle. Die Familie Rosenberg war, die als Schnittwaren -und Gemischtwarenhändler tätig waren, von Anfang an mit der Familie Pick eng verwandt, und die beiden standen auch mit den Anlegern der Ungarischen Westlichen Bahn in verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung. So wurden sie bald die exklusiven Einlieferer der Bahnbauarbeiten. Anfangs, so zirka zwei Jahrzehnte lang, lieferten sie mit einer Vorzugstarif Kiesel, dann machten sie mit allen möglichen Sachen ihre Geschäfte. Sie hatten Interesse an der Forstbewirtschaftung und der Bauindustrie. Schließlich beschafften sie schon alles, so wie Bahnschwellen, Schienen, Lokomotiven und Waggons, nebenbei lieferten sie auch auf Komitats- und Staatsauftrag Kiesel.²¹⁹

Als Rosenberg der jüngere zum Vizedirektor der Kisceller (heute Celldömök) Sparkasse ernannt wurde, war die Familie schon ein bedeutsamer Faktor im Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsleben des Komitats. Obwohl der Fall schon eine Vorgeschichte hatte, mehrere Kundschaften Bemerkungen machten und eine Untersuchung forderten, passierte aber damals noch nichts. Im Jahre 1895 erregte sich der Verdacht einer nicht korrekten Geschäftsführung, da ließ man die Geschäftsbücher mit einem Experten aus Győr (Raab) überprüfen, aber er fand auch alles in bester Ordnung.

Nachdem sich der Skandal entfesselt hatte, schrieb die Presse, dass die Familie Rosenberg im Komitat über so großes Ansehen und bedeutenden Einfluss verfügte, dass man es für unmöglich hält, dass sie einen Betrug begangen hätten. Nicht einmal dann passierte etwas, als ein Einleger

²¹⁷ D'Elvert lovag tragédiája. Pesti Napló, 12. 02. 1914 16.

²¹⁸ Jirkovsky, S. (1942): 439-440.

²¹⁹ A kis-celli panama. Alkotmány, 05. 02. 1899

laut, auf der offenen Straße den geschäftsführenden Direktor zur Frage stellte und er behauptete, alle Bilanzen seien gefälscht. Er schloss das extemporierte Verantwortlichmachen damit, es wäre gut, wenn der Direktor ihn wegen Verleumdung anzeigen würde, denn da gäbe es zumindest eine Untersuchung. Rosenberg schluckte von ihm die Beleidigung herunter und da passierte wiederum nichts. Als sich in der Stadt die Nachricht verbreitete, dass Rosenberg verhaftet worden wäre, überfielen die Einleger, die für ihr Geld mit Fug und Recht Sorgen machten, die Sparkasse. Sie bekamen da aber kein Geld, bloß die beruhigenden Worte, dass das Vermögen des Vorstands den Verlust deckt, der durch die Unterschlagung zustande gekommen war.²²⁰

Wie es schon bei zahlreichen anderen Fällen übrig war, trugen Rosenberg, sein Schwager und manche Vorstandsmitglieder alle vorstellbaren Summen ein, bevor der Konkurs angemeldet wurde, damit sie möglichst über keinerlei Vermögen verfügten, das man beschlagnahmen könnte. Als die Staatsanwaltschaft einen Antrag stellte, dass das Vermögen der Vorstandsmitglieder beschlagnahmt werden sollte, blieben schon kaum Vermögenselemente übrig, die zur Deckung der Einlagen als Sicherung hätten dienen können.

Der Konkurs wurde am 9-ten Februar 1899 offiziell angemeldet.²²¹ Am 13-ten Februar versammelten sich die Kunden, die um ihre Einlagen Sorgen machten, auf dem Markt in Kiscell. Zirka 300 Menschen erschienen da, die meisten waren Bauern aus der Gegend. Ein hiesiger Schuhmachermeister hielt eine „sozialistische“ Rede, er behauptete, das Geld sei noch da, bloß die Herren wollten es nicht hingeben, und er forderte sie auf, in das Gebäude einzudringen. Der Oberstuhlrichter schickte acht Gendarmen zum Tatort, die die versammelte Menge zerteilten.²²²

Während des Gerichtsverfahrens stellte es sich schnell heraus, dass falsche Bücher geführt und wertlose Wechsel bei der Sparkasse angelegt worden waren. Riedt war bald geständig, er gestand, dass sie ihre Manipulationen seit zirka zweieinhalb Jahrzehnten trieben. Rosenberg und sein Schwager Pick nahmen kontinuierlich ohne vorschriftsmäßige Kreditbeurteilung große Kredite auf und sie deckten diese Unterschlagungen indem sie die Bücher der Sparkasse fälschten. Von dem Geld bekam der Buchhalter auch erhebliche Summen.²²³ Der Untersuchungsrichter erschloss den Vorstandsmitgliedern einen Beitrag vom 13-ten Februar 1883, von dem er fragte, warum es ihnen nicht aufgefallen sei, dass eine 20000- und eine 10000-Kronen große Geldaufnahme, ohne Kreditbeurteilung und Erlaubnis oder Einlegung eines Wechsels passiert sei. Die Vorstandsmitglieder antworteten, dass sie davon nichts verstehen. Heute können wir es nicht mehr beurteilen, ob es wirklich stimmte, dass sie von diesen Transaktionen nichts verstanden oder sie verteidigten sich nur damit. Diejenigen, die ihr eigenes Geld noch rechtzeitig retten konnten, können sich kaum darauf berufen, keinen Sachverstand gehabt zu haben.²²⁴

Die Untersuchung erwies, dass der Vizepräsident, Henrik Rosenberg schon seit 1872, ohne Wissen des Vorstands ein eignes, separiertes Konto geführt hatte, so wie sein Sohn Lajos Rosenberg, der stellvertretende Direktor auch. Bis sich die Geldunterschlagung herausstellte, gab es schon ein Kassendefizit von 464.000 Forint, und dazu kam noch die ungedeckte Schuld

²²⁰ A kis-cellai panama. Alkotmány, 11. 12. 1899

²²¹ Magyar Compass, (1899. I.): 374.

²²² A kis celli csőd. Kis Újság, 14. 02. 1899

²²³ A kis-cellai panama. Alkotmány, 12. 02. 1899

²²⁴ A kis-cellai panama. Alkotmány, 12.02.1899

von Henrik Pick, die 118.000 Forint betrug. Der wahre Bestand des Wechselportefeuilles von den angeblichen 545000 Forint betrug nicht mehr als nur 274.000 Forint, und der größte Teil der Wechsel war wertlos.²²⁵ In der Bilanz stand 25 Jahre lang bei den Hypothek-Darlehen statt der wahren Summe von 94000 Forint, eine Summe von 280000 Forint. In der Spalte der so genannten Schuldenscheine standen im Buch 118000 Forint, der wahre Verkehr betrug aber nur 25000 Forint. Von einer Bilanzhauptsumme von 1.374117 Forint betrug Ende 1897 das Defizit einen Betrag von 532000 Forint.²²⁶

Die lokalen Geldinstituten und die aus der Hauptstadt brachen schon früher die Geschäftsbeziehungen zu der Kisceller Sparkasse ab, so erlitten sie wegen dieses Bestechungsskandals keine Materialschäden.²²⁷

Die Kurie setzte Rosenberg und Riedt nach neuen Monaten Untersuchungshaft auf freien Fuß.²²⁸ Nachdem Rosenberg aus der Untersuchungshaft frei gekommen war, flich er sofort und flüchtete in die USA.

Am 24-ten Januar 1902 begann der Prozess vor dem Szombathelyer Strafgericht.²²⁹ In der Abwesenheit des Hauptschuldigen, Lajos Rosenberg, der ab 16-ten Januar 1900 gefahndet worden war, saßen der Oberbuchhalter Riedt, sein Mittäter Pick, und weitere elf Mitglieder des Vorstands und des Aufsichtsrates auf der Anklagebank. Am Ende einer Gerichtsverhandlung, die alles aufgedeckt hatte, wurde Riedt zu einer 3-jährigen Zuchthausstrafe und einem 5-jährigen Amtsverlust verurteilt. Den Anderen auferlegte das Gericht eine Geldstrafe von 100 Kronen.²³⁰ Gegen Rosenberg, der immer noch abwesend war, und damals schon in Amerika als Majolika- und Porzellanhändler tätig war,²³¹ wurde die Abwicklung des Prozesses aufgehoben, bis er erwischt wird.²³²

Die Finanzen konnten schließlich nach langen Verhandlungen so bereinigt werden, dass vier Fünftel der Kunden der Kisceller Sparkasse den 60 %-Vorschlag der Landwirtschaftlichen Spar- und Kreditbank in Szombathely annahmen.²³³ Zwar mit einem erheblichen Verlust, aber sie retteten, was zu retten war.

Rosenbergs Anwalt ersuchte im Jahre 1909 die Staatsanwaltschaft mit der Bitte, dass sie die Fahndung zurückziehen soll. Er wusste nicht einmal, dass die Szombathelyer Staatsanwaltschaft schon am 19-ten März 1906 die Fahndung wegen Verjährung zurückzog und das weitere Verfahren einstellte.²³⁴

Jemand, der drei Sparkassen und eine Stiftung ruinierte

²²⁵ A kis celli csőd. Kis Újság, 14.02.1899 5.

²²⁶ A kis-cellai takarékpénztár csődje. Pesti Hírlap, 12. 09. 1899 und Magyar Compass, (1898. I.): 342-343.

²²⁷ A kis-cellai takarékpénztár csődje. Pesti Hírlap, 12. 09. 1899

²²⁸ A kiscelli takarékpénztár csődje. Pápai Közlöny, 22. 10. 1899 5.; Huss Gyula: Rosenberg Lajos. Kis-Czell és Vidéke 20. 05. 1900 1.; und Rosenberg Lajos Amerikába. Kis-Czell és Vidéke 20. 05. 1900 3.

²²⁹ HU-MNL-VaVL VII.f.171.

²³⁰ HU-MNL-VaVL VII.f.171.

²³¹ Kis-Czell és vidéke 1902. február 9. 3.

²³² A kis-cellai takarékpénztár. Alkotmány, 25. 01. 1902 11.

²³³ A Kis-Celli takarékpénztár ügye. Pesti Napló 10. 08. 1899 9.

²³⁴ HU-MNL-VaVL. VII.f.171. Szombathelyi kir. Ügyészség 3479/1909.

Kurz nachdem die Kisceller Sparkasse Konkurs machte, wurde der Geldmarkt des Komitats Vas weiter bereinigt, da ein anderer, komplizierter und verzweigter Betrug aufgedeckt worden war.

Das erste moderne Geldinstitut dieser Region wurde unter dem Namen Volksbank der Vas- und Zala Komitate gegründet. Damals lebte aber der Gründer und erster Generaldirektor der Ersten Sparkasse der Vas- und Zala Komitate, namens Ferenc Udvary, nicht mehr. Er kam 1840 zur Welt. Er war zwischen 1887 und 1892 der Parlamentsabgeordnete der Unabhängigkeits- und '48-er Partei im Körmender Bezirk, und er ging am 3-ten März 1904 von uns. Sein Sohn kam im Jahre 1868 zur Welt, er war ein hervorragender Sportler, aber kein so sehr hervorragender Politiker und Bankdirektor, trotzdem trat er in den Fußstapfen seines Vaters und wurde Leiter der Körmender Sparkasse. Der jüngere Udvary wurde dadurch bekannt, dass er, als ein ergebener Anhänger des damals in Mode gekommenen Fahrradsports, im Jahre 1899 mit seinem Bruder mit dem Fahrrad von Körmend nach Paris zu der Weltausstellung fuhr. Unterwegs nach Hause besuchten sie Lajos Kossuth in Turin.²³⁵ Er absolvierte die Handelsakademie in Graz. Er trat das Erbe seines Vaters an, er leitete neben der Körmender Sparkasse auch die Szombathelyer Stadtparkasse, und er gründete im Jahre 1904 in Budapest die Zentrale Volksparkasse. So gelang es ihm in kurzer Zeit sogar drei Sparkassen auf einmal in den Konkurs zu führen, so kamen alle drei Geldinstitute zu einer Endabrechnung. Parallel damit ging auch die 1000 Goldforint werte Stiftung von Ferenc Udvary dem Älteren in Konkurs, deren Finanzen damals ebenfalls von der eigenen Bank, der Ersten Sparkasse der Vas- und Zala Komitate verwaltet wurden. So galt der Dominoeffekt auch außerhalb der Geldinstitute. Die Sparkasse wollte der Verantwortung entfliehen, und wollte laut der Presse von der Liquidierung der Stiftung nichts wissen, deshalb übergab der Vizegespan, der die gesetzliche Aufsicht über die Stiftung führte, dem leitenden Komitat-Staatsanwalt den Fall.²³⁶

Der erste Dominostein kam zum Vorschein, als bei der Szombathelyer Stadtparkasse Zahlungsschwierigkeiten auftraten. Die Krise der Szombathelyer Stadtparkasse wurde auch dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass die Sparkasse ab 1901 drei Jahre lang keine Dividenden auszahlte. Ab 1904 gelang es doch pro Aktie 12 Kronen auszuzahlen.²³⁷ Die Betätigungsprobleme bestanden aber weiterhin, und obwohl die ganze Öffentlichkeit es erwartete, konnte keine Lösung gefunden werden. Inzwischen wurde Udvary zum Parlamentsabgeordneten der Katholischen Volkspartei im Bezirk in Zirc gewählt, und er gründete in der Hauptstadt auch eine Sparkasse, um durch die Verwaltung des Vermögens der neuen Sparkasse dem Bankkrach zu entgehen.

Die Geschäftsschwierigkeiten der Szombathelyer Stadtparkasse begannen im Jahre 1901, als sich der Generaldirektor mit einem der Mitglieder des Vorstands, einem Grundbesitzer aus der Steiermark, namens Károly Schmalz verfeindete. Nach dem Streit trat er von seiner Mitgliedschaft zurück. Er wollte seine Einlage von anderthalb Millionen Kronen aus der Sparkasse ausziehen und er warf alle seine Aktien auf den Markt. Schmalz konnte aber nicht zu seinem Geld kommen, und er stellte einen Antrag auf Eröffnung eines Konkursverfahrens. Weitere drei Einleger, alle wohnhaft in Graz, schlossen sich dem Antrag an.²³⁸

²³⁵ Udvary, F. (1891)

²³⁶ Elveszett alapítvány. Az Újság, 23. 04. 1907 und Udvary áldozatai. Somogyi Hírlap, 24. 04. 1907. 3.

²³⁷ Magyar Compass, (1905. I.): 830.

²³⁸ A szombathelyi városi takarékpénztár csődje. Pesti Hírlap, 25. 07. 1901 10-11.

Die Untersuchung deckte in kurzer Zeit eine ganze Reihe der Nachlässigkeiten auf, inzwischen verließen mehrere Mitglieder den Vorstand, da sie erklärten, sie wären mit der Mentalität der Sparkasse nicht einverstanden.

Obwohl der Staatsanwalt der Sparkasse schon früher vorgeschlagen hatte, einen Antrag auf Eröffnung eines Konkursverfahrens zu stellen, wollte aber Udvary davon gar nicht hören. Er wollte viel mehr mit der Hilfe der in der Hauptstadt neu gegründeten Sparkasse seine wankende Glaubwürdigkeit zurückzubekommen. Er hatte vor, reiche Parlamentsabgeordnete seiner Partei, hohe Geistlicher in die Gründung der Sparkasse zu miteinbeziehen, aber als die Aktien der neuen Bank nicht in genügender Menge gezeichnet wurden, kaufte er selbst für eine erhebliche Summe Aktien, aber das Geld dafür nahm er aus der Szombathelyer Sparkasse. Diese Summe trieb er so auf, dass er auf den Grundbesitz seines Schwagers namens Béla Barthodeiszky, der in Beled lag und eine Million Kronen wert hatte, einen Kredit aufgenommen hatte, und dieses Geld als eine Einlage, bei der Szombathelyer Bank anlegte. Von nun an bewirtschaftete er das Vermögen der Bank ohne Aufsicht, er schloss mehrere Verträge, mit der Versicherung, dass die Familie Barthodeiszky für die Zahlungspflicht verbürgen wird. So verlor neben den Geldinstituten auch die Familie seiner Frau ihr Vermögen. So verschwanden eine 500000-Kronen-Einlage, 300000 Kronen Bargeld, das Mitgift seiner Frau im Wert von 140000 Kronen und er richtete das Leben seiner zwei Schwäger auch zugrunde, die Mitglieder des Vorstands der Szombathelyer Bank waren. Sein Opfer war auch der Notar von Szombathely, der Selbstmord beging, da er wegen des Sturzes der Szombathelyer Bank sein ganzes Vermögen verloren hatte.

Später hatte er von Miklós Szemere einen Kredit von 200000 Kronen aufgenommen, aber als Szemere sah, dass sein Geld verloren geht, forderte er es zurück. Um Zeit zu gewinnen, übergab Udvary Szemere einen Bürgschaftsbrief, der von je zwei Vorstandsmitgliedern von der Körmender und Szombathelyer Geldinstituten unterschrieben worden waren. Schließlich begann im Januar 1907 das Konkursverfahren.²³⁹ Die Geldinstitute gerieten in Liquidation, die Familie seiner Frau geriet auch in eine schwierige Situation.²⁴⁰

Danach verschwand Udvary. Zuerst lebte er unter einem falschen Namen in Bukarest, aber als er erkannt wurde, ging er weiter nach Konstantinopel und später nach Szmirna (heute Iznik in der Türkei), wo er schließlich am 20-ten März 1912 erwischt und festgenommen wurde.²⁴¹ Er nutzte aber die damaligen sehr chaotischen, innenpolitischen Zeiten in der Türkei aus, so wurde er den ungarischen Behörden nicht ausgeliefert. Er war spurlos verschwunden.

Wegen der Person- und Kapitalverflechtungen geriet die Erste Sparkasse der Vas- und Zala Komitate in eine Krisensituation, nachdem sie schon fast seit einem Jahrzehnt Schwierigkeiten gehabt hatte. Der Grund der Schwierigkeiten war ein Bankausbau, der die Kräfte der Bank überstieg. Im Jahre 1906 verfügte sie schon über vier Filialen, nämlich in Némétújvár, Szombathely, Zalaegerszeg und Kiscell. Von diesen Filialen gestaltete er selbständige Geldinstitute, die in einer Form einer Aktiengesellschaft funktionierten. Später verzweigten seine Geschäftsbeziehungen in mehr als zwanzig Gemeinden. Er kaufte sich im Jahre 1899 durch Aktienkauf einen Anteil in der Kemenesaljai Sparkasse, im Jahre 1893 in der Stadtparkasse in Szombathely und in der Sparkasse des Komitats Zala. Er nahm an der

²³⁹ Magyar Compass, (1907. I.): 982.

²⁴⁰ Udvary Ferenc bankjai. Budapesti Hírlap, 29. 12. 1906 5-6.

²⁴¹ Elfogták Udvary Ferencet. Budapesti Hírlap, 21. 03. 1912 10.

Gründung der Landesbodenkreditanstalt der Kleingrundbesitzer mit 12400 Kronen teil, und schloss mit ihr einen Vertrag über Übermittlung von Lombardkreditbriefen. Er wendete eine erhebliche Summe an die Gründung der Körmender Buchdruckerei.²⁴²

Zusammenfassung

Alle Untersuchungen, die nach den Straftaten geführt worden waren, stellten untreue Verwaltung und Spekulation fest, und sie hoben neben der persönlichen Verantwortung auch den Mangel einer wirksamen Finanzaufsicht hervor. Die Geldinstitute, die Konkurs machten, setzten das Mehrfache ihres Grundkapitals um, so blieb ihnen kein entsprechendes Kapital für die Entschädigung ihrer Kunden. Wir können laut sagen, dieses Phänomen ist nicht nur für dieses Zeitalter charakteristisch.

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²⁴² Magyar Compass, (1907. I.): 587-588. Felszámolás alatt. (Sie steht unter Konkursverfahren.) Az 1908. évi Magyar Compassban már nem szerepel. (Im Jahre 1908 stand sie nicht einmal im Ungarischen Compass.)

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Übersetzt von Dr. Dora Kuzma.

Imre Gábor Nagy

Classement sociale du conseil municipal de la ville de Pécs (1918 – 1944)

Abstract

The purpose of the study. The purpose of this study is to compare the legislative authority committee of Pécs during the dualism period, before the Serbian occupation, with the legislative authority committee of Pécs between the two world wars. The study also includes an examination of Article XXX of Act 1929 on the regulation of public administration.

Applied methods. The study aims to processing the documents of the Hungarian National Archives of Baranya County - the minutes of the municipal committee, committee documents - local newspapers and local history books. In addition to the analysis of narrative sources, it also analyses them statistically.

Outcomes. Until 1929, the municipal committee of the city of Pécs consisted of half of the most tax-paying members (*virilis*) and half of elected members. The three main occupational groups of the municipal committee were intellectuals, industrialists and merchants. After the Serbian occupation in 1921, the old, incomplete municipal committee met, in which the Hungarian Social Democratic Party no longer had a representative. The city administration and the municipal committee, were sabotaged the supplementation of the municipal committee and the by-elections, because they were afraid of the Social Democrats. The social composition of the new municipal committee in 1929, was substantially changed, in 1930 45.2% of the members of the municipal committee belonged to the civil service and liberal professions and 47.4% belonged to the mining and metallurgy, industry, trade and credit, transport occupational groups.

Keywords: Pécs, city, municipal committee, local elections, most tax payers

Conseil municipal²⁴³ de la ville de Pécs en 1918

Après 1867 les droits de l'autonomie de la ville de Pécs étaient exercés par le conseil municipal en vertu de la loi XLII de 1870 et puis XXI de 1886 sur l'autonomie. Le nouvel conseil municipal de la ville a été formé en 1872. Entre 1872 et 1929 la moitié des membres du conseil municipal était les « virilistes » payant le plus d'impôt, la moitié de ceux était élue. À partir de 1872 le conseil municipal de Pécs avait 96 membres (48 « virilistes » 48 élus) et à partir de 1884 il en avait 114 (57 « virilistes » 57 élus). Le 47§ de la loi XLII de 1870 a garanti le droit de réunion et droit de vote même aux fonctionnaires principaux du municipalité en dehors des membres du conseil municipal.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ En hongrois : törvényhatósági bizottság. Les attributions du conseil municipal hongrois ne recouvrent pas celles des conseils municipaux français. Sauvageaut, A. (1942): 1204.

²⁴⁴ Nagy, I. G. (2019): 93-94.

À Pécs avant la première guerre mondiale c'était en 1911 et au début de 1914 qu'on a tenu les dernières élections générales du conseil municipal parce que selon le 2§ de la loi VI de 1915 le mandat des membres élus a été prolongé pour trois mois après le traité de paix. Les 57 membres ont été élus pour six ans en vertu de 28§ de la loi XLII de 1870 de telle manière qu'on a décidé tous les trois ans de la moitié des places. À Pécs aux élections municipales de 1911 et de 1914 c'était deux tiers des membres du conseil municipal qui ont été réélus, donc on ne peut pas le considérer comme un renouvellement complet. Il y avait 22 sur 29 membres (75,9%) en 1911 et 19 sur 30 membres (63,3%) en 1914 qui ont été réélus.²⁴⁵

En cas de vacance (pour cause de perte de l'éligibilité, de l'abandon, de décès) on a tenu des élections partielles qui ont eu lieu dans l'intervalle. Les places vacantes des membres élus ont été comblées généralement à la fin de l'année. En vertu de la loi de 1915 ce système a continué à fonctionner même pendant la guerre bien qu'il soit arrivé quelquefois en retard. À l'élection partielle du 19 décembre 1915 quatre, à l'élection partielle du 25 mars 1917 un et à l'élection partielle du 9 décembre 1917 deux nouveaux membres du conseil ont été élus.²⁴⁶ Finalement l'élection partielle du 15 décembre 1918 a été ajournée à cause de la nouvelle loi électorale de la révolution.²⁴⁷

À Pécs c'était la répartition de la circonscription de 1884 qui était valable jusqu'à la guerre mondiale, aussi bien que le nombre des membres du conseil municipal. (Tableau 1) La population de la ville s'étant accrue à 47 844 habitants en 1910 la loi aurait permis l'augmentation du nombre des membres du conseil municipal de 114 à 192 mais on n'a pas exercé ce droit.²⁴⁸

Tableau 1

La circonscription électorale du conseil municipal de Pécs après 1884²⁴⁹

Circonscription électorale		Membres élus	
Nombre	Nom	nombre (personne)	proportion (%)
I.	Faubourg Szigeti	10	17,6
II.	Ville intérieure avec faubourg de Siklós et Rácváros	14	24,6
III.	Ville intérieure	17	29,8
IV.	Faubourg Budai avec Pécsbányatelep	8	14,0
V.	Faubourg Budai	8	14,0
Au total		57	100,0

²⁴⁵ Nagy, I. G. (2019): 107. - Tous les trois ans on devait renouvelé 29 ou 28 places mais en 1914 il y avait encore deux membres du conseil qui se sont retirés, c'est pourquoi on a élu 30 membres.

²⁴⁶ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs kgy. jkv. 14/1916. (január 24.), 23/1917. (február 26.), 27/1918. (február 18.)

²⁴⁷ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs kgy. jkv. 185/1918. (október 22.); Bizottsági tagsági választások. *Pécsi Napló*, 1918. november 28. 3-4..

²⁴⁸ Dans les villes autonomes on comptait une place par environ 250 habitants cependant le nombre total des places ne pouvait être inférieur à 48 ni supérieur à 400.

²⁴⁹ Nagy, I. G. (2019): 97.

La population de la ville intérieure avait esprit principalement gouvernementale, tandis que celle des faubourgs avait esprit d'opposition. Ainsi en 1911 les candidats du parti gouvernemental ont vaincu dans les deux circonscriptions de la ville intérieure (II et III) tandis que ceux de l'indépendance ont gagné dans les circonscriptions du faubourg Szigeti et dans les deux circonscriptions du faubourg Budai.

En 1909 Pécs a été la première parmi les villes autonomes de la Hongrie où on a réussi à faire élire un candidat social-démocrate au conseil municipal.²⁵⁰ À l'élection partielle du 28 novembre le secrétaire local du parti social-démocrate József Szabó²⁵¹ a été élu membre du conseil dans l'une des circonscriptions du faubourg Budai (V). En 1911 le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie (MSZDP) a obtenu encore deux places : Gyula Hajdu avocat et Ferenc Vlasits (Vlasics) aubergiste ont été élus au conseil dans la circonscription du faubourg Szigeti (I) et dans celle du faubourg Buda (V). Parmi les électeurs il n'y avait que quelques membres du Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie c'est pourquoi le succès de ce parti est dû à son alliance avec les petits industriels ayant esprit d'indépendance du faubourg Szigeti et avec les industriels et petits propriétaires bosniaques du faubourg Buda.²⁵²

Avant les élections municipales de 1914 le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie avait fait de la campagne extrêmement forte utilisant tous les moyens possibles de la propagande électorale. C'est à cause de cela que quelques semaines avant les élections un parti s'est formé ce que l'on appelait parti de la ville à l'initiative des chefs de Pécs du Parti National du Travail. Ce parti a été clairement dirigé contre les sociaux-démocrates. Le parti de la ville a rassemblé le parti gouvernemental, d'opposition du droit politique (le parti de l'indépendance) et d'autres organisations auquel même les couches supérieures de la bourgeoisie ont rejoint. C'est pourquoi les élections municipales de Pécs sont devenues bipolaires à la fin du dualisme. Enfin 25 places sur 30 ont été remportées par les candidats du parti de la ville.

Cependant le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie représentant les syndicats des ouvriers a réussi à rassembler les couches plus inférieures des électeurs et comme ça grâce aux petits industriels et aux transporteurs le parti a gagné les quatre places de la circonscription la moins peuplée, celle du faubourg Budai (V).²⁵³

La cause de l'évidence de la place des membres « virilistes » a été expliquée par les contemporains que les couches sociales ayant plus de moyens, plus de formation et plus d'instruction pouvaient représenter mieux les intérêts de la ville et en plus la plupart en était pour le pouvoir actuel. La liste des membres « virilistes » du conseil a été créée chaque année et les intellectuels (médecins, avocats, pharmaciens, etc.) et les membres de la Chambre de commerce et d'industrie de Pécs pouvaient demander la duplication de leurs impôts. Ainsi c'étaient les intellectuels, les artisans et les commerçants qui formaient les trois principaux groupes des « virilistes » à Pécs. Il est vrai que les avocats et les médecins de Pécs auraient été inclus dans le conseil municipal même en l'absence de leurs biens (maisons, vignes) et de leurs revenus. Ce qui montre le mieux l'importance du « virilisme » c'est que les représentants de

²⁵⁰ Révész, M. (1988): 213-217.

²⁵¹ József Szabó (le 7 septembre 1872 Becefa- le 9 janvier 1919 Pécs) maître maçon.

²⁵² Hajdu, Gy. (1957): 100-107.

²⁵³ Nagy, I. G. (2019): 106-107 - Les nouveaux membres sociaux-démocrates du conseil étaient Ignác Blázsovcics, petit propriétaire foncier, Mátyás Kis Gadó petit marchand, József Pécs aubergiste et György Suvákovics junior petit propriétaire foncier. Le dernier siège (le trentième) celui de l'avocat de Ottó Hoffmann n'avait pas été confirmé et cette place n'était comblée qu'à l'élection partielle du 25 mars 1917.

ces trois couches pouvaient rester membres du conseil municipal pendant des dizaines d'années sans suspension, tandis que les membres élus de celui-ci ont pu perdre leur place à tout moment aux élections à cause du vote secret.²⁵⁴

La ville de Pécs pendant l'occupation serbe entre 1918 et 1921

Pécs a été sous occupation serbe entre le 14 novembre 1918 et le 22 août 1921. D'après la convention d'armistice de Belgrade (convention militaire) de 13 novembre 1918 les forces armées hongroises devaient se retirer derrière la ligne de démarcation. La ligne de démarcation fixée par l'Entente s'étendait du cours supérieur de Nagy-Szamos jusqu'à Marosvásárhely, de Marosvásárhely le long de la Maros jusqu'à Szeged, et de Szeged jusqu'au nord de la ligne Szabadka-Baja-Pécs. Selon le traité l'administration hongroise de la ville autonome de Pécs est restée en place pendant les trois années d'occupation bien que la puissance occupante se soit fortement mêlée dans l'administration de la ville.²⁵⁵

Pendant l'occupation le conseil municipal de Pécs n'a pas été autorisé à se réunir, on a tenu la dernière assemblée le 3 décembre 1918, quelques semaines après le commencement de l'occupation. En remplaçant les commissions de l'ancien conseil municipal se réunissaient régulièrement et on y a invité même les représentants de la classe ouvrière. Il y avait de nouvelles commissions fondées, par exemple en mai 1920 à la proposition de la commission du budget le conseil municipal a créé une commission pour l'évaluation de l'impôt spécial en temps de disette « dans l'espoir d'une approbation ultérieure du conseil municipal ».

Le 4 juin 1920 le traité de Trianon a laissé la partie plus grande du comitat de Baranya pour la Hongrie et la partie plus petite située au sud-est qui s'appelle le « Triangle de Baranya » pour le Royaume de Serbie-Croatie-Slovénie. L'état Slave du Sud a essayé de retarder la remise des territoires occupés dont la cause principale était le charbon de Mecsek et pour cela il a coopéré même avec les socialistes évadés de la Hongrie. C'était dans ces circonstances que les élections spéciales étant illégales d'après les lois de la Hongrie, nommées élections municipales ont eu lieu le 29 et 30 août 1920. Le nouveau conseil municipal de 100 membres se réunit régulièrement, mais les mesures du pouvoir socialiste de Béla Linder et le service unilatéral des envahisseurs, la prise en charge des réfugiés, l'augmentation des salaires des employés municipaux et les dépenses sociales provoquaient de graves perturbations financières dans la ville.²⁵⁶

Le conseil municipal entre 1921 et 1929

Le 22 août 1921 la ville a été libérée de l'occupation serbe. Le maire Andor Nendtvich a repris ses fonctions le 23 août 1921 après onze mois d'exil.²⁵⁷ Les anciens fonctionnaires sont revenus et ils ont agi provisoirement au nom du conseil municipal. Le 27 septembre 1921 le gouverneur Miklós Horthy a nommé Ferenc Fischer (à partir de 1929 Keresztes-Fischer) « főispán »²⁵⁸ du

²⁵⁴ Nagy, I. G. (2022a): 29-32.

²⁵⁵ Szűts, E. (1991): 17.

²⁵⁶ Nagy, I. G. (2022b): 51 : 54.

²⁵⁷ *Napi Hírek*, 23.08.1921 (12. kiad.); Nendtvich Andor Pécs lakóihoz. *Dunántúl*, 09.11. 1922 2.

²⁵⁸ Főispán: fonctionnaire supérieur placé à la tête du comitat hongrois, par ses attributions, il diffère sensiblement du préfet français. Sauvageot, A. (1942): 371.

comitat de Baranya et de la ville libre royale de Pécs.²⁵⁹ Le mandat spécial du lieutenant général Károly Bádoki Soós concernant l'évacuation de Baranya a pris fin le 13 octobre 1921.²⁶⁰ C'était à la mi-octobre que l'administration a commencé à fonctionner habituellement. Après la libération de l'occupation serbe la première assemblée générale de l'ancien conseil municipal s'est tenue le 7 novembre 1921. En automne 1921 le décret Friedrich (n° 3886/1919. ME.) a été appliqué à Pécs²⁶¹ comme deux ans plus tôt en Hongrie. C'est-à-dire le conseil municipal a commencé son travail avec les membres du 30 octobre 1918 qui aurait du être 114. En 1921 aux assemblées du conseil municipal ce n'était que 83 membres du conseil municipal qui se sont effectivement présentés de sorte qu'il y avait encore des absents même en dehors des 25 membres absents justifiés : neuf membres élus et sept « virilistes » étaient décédés, quatre membres élus et trois « virilistes » avaient déménagé ailleurs, un membre élu et un viriliste était durablement malade.²⁶²

Dans les années 1920 à Pécs quatre grandes tendances politiques ont joué un rôle important: le parti gouvernemental, le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie, les socialistes chrétiens et les libéraux. À partir de 1922 c'était le Parti de l'Unité (Keresztény-Keresztyén Földműves, Kiszgazda, Polgári Párt) et le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie qui étaient assez forts pour faire entrer leurs candidats au Parlement.²⁶³ Le Parti de l'Unité n'avait pas de membres fixes et enregistrés, il fonctionnait essentiellement comme parti électoral. Son président local était József Littke²⁶⁴ qui était membre « viriliste » du conseil municipal. La section de Pécs du Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie qui était parti populaire comptait de nombreux membres enregistrés. À partir du 23 avril 1922 son secrétaire local, György Dick ayant des talents d'organisateur dirigeait l'organisation du parti avec succès.

Parmi les chefs du parti socialiste chrétien c'était István Komócsy²⁶⁵ et Béla Ruzsinszky²⁶⁶ maître charpentier qui ont été membres élus du conseil municipal. L'un des chefs du parti libéral Emil Baumann²⁶⁷ était membre « viriliste » du conseil municipal. Il a gagné un mandat aux élections parlementaires de 1921 et il est devenu député pour un très court instant.²⁶⁸ Mais on ne peut parler que de la sympathie individuelle des certains membres du conseil municipale, puisque l'opposition libérale ne se formait pas une force organisée.

L'occupation serbe n'est pas passée sans laisser de traces. La ville a continué à porter le stigmate de "Pécs la rouge" car à cause du règne socialiste de Béla Linder et de la proclamation de la République serbo-hongroise de Baranya-Baja, Pécs n'était pas devenu préféré par les autorités centrales.²⁶⁹

C'est à cause de cela que le conseil municipal a jugé important d'exprimer des remerciements à ceux qui se sont opposés aux occupants et de stigmatiser la conduite de ceux qui ont collaboré avec eux. À l'assemblée du 22 décembre 1921 après le rapport du maire Andor Nendtvich qui

²⁵⁹ Nagy, I. G. (2007): 97, 119-120, 130, 144-145.

²⁶⁰ *Napi Hírek*, 1921. október 15. (11. kiad.).

²⁶¹ Püski, L. (2022): 6-13.

²⁶² HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs kgy. jkv., IV. 1404. Pécs Város Igazoló Választmányának iratai, 1918–1921

²⁶³ Paksy, Z. (1999): 219-240.

²⁶⁴ József Littke (le 15 octobre 1872 Pécs- 16 mars 1937 Pécs) fabricant de champagne.

²⁶⁵ István Komócsy (le 4 août 1865 Szekszárd- le 5 juillet 1926 Pécs) prêtre catholique et professeur d'université.

²⁶⁶ Béla Ruzsinszky maître charpentier.

²⁶⁷ Emil Baumann (1881 Zombor- le 14 février 1948 Pécs) directeur du brasserie.

²⁶⁸ Paksy, Z. (1999): 227-231.

²⁶⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2011): 77.

avait analysé les trois années d'occupation serbe, on les a mentionnés nommément. Certains membres du conseil municipal de 1918 figuraient parmi les collaborateurs dominants comme par exemple l'avocat Gyula Hajdu, l'aubergiste József Pécs et l'avocat Gábor Schwarcz qui avaient émigré en Yougoslavie pour esquiver les responsabilités. On a stigmatisé même les 75 membres du « conseil municipal » socialiste illégitime de 1920.²⁷⁰

Le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie a perdu ses représentants au conseil municipal car les politiciens compromis susmentionnés s'étaient enfuis, József Szabó secrétaire du parti de Pécs était mort en 1919 et les anciens représentants sociaux-démocrates petits bourgeois (Ignác Blázsovics petit propriétaire, Mátyás Kis Gadó agriculteur et György Suvákovics junior petit propriétaire) avaient changé d'opinion politique.²⁷¹

Le renouvellement du conseil municipal a été empêché en partie par l'absence et la contradiction des règles de droit, en partie par l'opposition de l'élite politique locale à Pécs aussi bien que dans tout le pays de la Hongrie. Tenir des élections générales du conseil municipal n'était pas permis d'abord par la loi VI de 1915, puis - après une année d'exlexion – par les lois et décrets du gouvernement Bethlen. Toutefois il n'y aurait eu aucun obstacle juridique ni tenir des élections partielles en vertu de l'article 33 de loi XXI de 1886 qui était en vigueur, ni renouveler annuel des membres du conseil municipal.

Il semblait être l'option la plus simple de renouveler les membres « virilistes » du conseil municipal auquel il n'aurait fallu tenir aucune élection. Après la libération de l'occupation serbe c'était la liste des membres « virilistes » du conseil municipal de l'année 1918 qui restait toujours valable et le maire a appelé les membres suppléants de 1918 pour combler les places vacantes. Toutefois, ce n'est que l'imposition de l'année 1924 qu'on a établi une nouvelle liste des virilistes. C'était donc le 20 février 1925 que les nouveaux membres « virilistes » ont pris place dans la salle du conseil pour la première fois depuis 1918.²⁷² Deux tiers des 57 places « virilistes » ont été renouvelés par les 38 nouveaux membres.²⁷³

En ce qui concerne la question des élections partielles aucune décision n'en a pas été prise à Pécs pendant longtemps bien qu'il y en ait eu des exemples dans des autres villes autonomes depuis 1920. En 1921-1922 la presse sociale-démocrate (*Munkás*) a recommandé la tenue des élections partielles. En 1926 c'étaient certains membres du conseil municipal qui l'ont demandée surtout parce que d'une part c'était près de la moitié des places des membres élus du conseil municipal qui étaient vacantes. D'autre part il était bien douteuse si les membres ayant été élus depuis si longtemps jouissent encore de la confiance des électeurs. Le nombre des places vacantes des membres élus en 1926 était 23 dont 19 personnes étaient décédées, une personne y a renoncé et trois personnes avaient émigré. En 1927 deux membres sont décédés, un membre y a renoncé et en 1929 encore une personne est décédée.

Le maire et les fonctionnaires ont donné l'image de se soumettre à la volonté du conseil municipal bien qu'en réalité ils ne veulent pas tenir des élections partielles, il était beaucoup

²⁷⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs kgy. jkv. 2/1921. (december 22.); Törvényhatósági választások. *Munkás*, 1921. december 17. 1.

²⁷¹ Aux élections municipales de 1929 György Suvákovics était le candidat de la liste dite officielle de l'Association des partis civiques et ouvriers de Pécs dans la circonscription IX.

²⁷² La cause du retard de la préparation de la liste des « virilistes » était qu'on n'a pas encore terminé la répartition des taxes d'État. Pécs szab. kir. város költségelőirányzatának. *Pécsi Lapok*, 1922. november 9. 2.

²⁷³ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1404. Pécs Város Igazoló Választmányának iratai, 1918–1925.

plus facile de gérer la ville avec un conseil municipal incomplet. À partir de 1927 négligeant les règles juridiques et les exigences des décisions de justice le maire et les fonctionnaires ont réussi à convaincre le conseil municipal de ne pas organiser d'élection partielle invoquant le droit administratif attendu et la nécessité de ménager l'argent des citoyens. La raison de ce sabotage était qu'aucun des deux corps n'avait intérêt à changer le statu quo qui convenait même au pouvoir central jusqu'en 1929.²⁷⁴

Le conseil municipal établi par la loi administrative de 1929

La composition et le fonctionnement du conseil municipal ont été modifiés par la loi XXX de 1929 sur l'organisation de l'administration publique. La loi précédée par de longues disputes était un compromis entre le gouvernement et les villes autonomes et aussi les comitats d'après laquelle c'étaient sous cinq titres différents qu'on pouvait devenir membre du conseil municipal.

1. Les membres élus parmi les gens payant le plus d'impôt les « virilistes ». Le virilisme brut a disparu, les membres « virilistes » du conseil étaient choisis d'un nombre qui était six fois autant que les membres à élire.
2. Les membres élus parmi tous les électeurs par tous les électeurs.
3. Les représentants des services techniques et des groupes d'intérêts sociaux.
 - a) ceux du professionnalisme (fonctionnaires) b) ceux des confessions c) ceux des groupes d'intérêts (chambres).
4. Les membres héréditaires (personnes ayant eu un mérite particulier dans la vie publique).
5. Les membres d'office (hauts fonctionnaires).

La proportion des membres viriliste du conseil municipal a été réduite de 50 % à un tiers, et la proportion des membres élus du conseil municipal a également été réduite de 50 % à un tiers. Le troisième tiers a été partagé entre les représentants des groupes d'intérêt, les membres héréditaires qui ne pouvait représenter que 5 % du conseil et puis les membres d'office.²⁷⁵

Conformément à la loi le conseil municipal de la ville de Pécs a compté 139 places :

- 1) Le nombre des places élus parmi les citoyens payant le plus d'impôt les « virilistes » était de 48.
2. Le nombre des places élus parmi tous les électeurs était de 48.
 - 3.a. Le nombre des représentants du professionnalisme était de 7 : le préfet de police du district, le directeur des finances, l'inspecteur de l'économie, le président de l'université Erzsébet de Pécs, l'inspecteur de l'enseignement, le vétérinaire municipal, le chef de la caisse d'assurance sociale (OTI).
 - 3.b. Le nombre des représentants des confessions était de 4 : le curé de la paroisse de la ville intérieure, celui du faubourg Szigeti (de l'ordre des frères mineurs), celui du faubourg Budai et

²⁷⁴ Nagy, I. G. (2022b): 56 : 68.

²⁷⁵ Csizmadia, A. (1976): 377-378., 385. Mike, Gy. (1931): 607-609.

celui de Gyárvaros. Cette solution était clairement préjudiciable aux gens ayant la religion calviniste, luthérienne et juive puisque leurs pasteurs, ministres ne faisaient pas partie du conseil.

3.c. Le nombre des représentants d'intérêts était de 13 : Chambre des avocats, Chambre notarié, Chambre des ingénieurs, Association médicale nationale, Commission agricole, conseil de l'Ordre de Vitéz, Caisse d'assurance (OTI) et six représentants de la Chambre de commerce et d'industrie de Pécs élus par eux-mêmes. Le nombre des représentants des services techniques et des groupes d'intérêts sociaux au total a fait 24.

4. Le nombre des places héréditaires c'est-à-dire des personnes ayant des mérites dans la vie publique était de 6.

5. Les membres qui l'étaient en issue de leur qualité officielle, les 13 haut fonctionnaires de la ville: le maire, le président de la chambre des tutelles (conseiller municipal), les trois conseillers municipaux, l'administrateur adjoint, les deux assesseurs de la chambre des tutelles, le processeur général, le médecin-chef, le directeur général de la comptabilité, le chef de l'office d'ingénieur, et celui des eaux et des forêts. (Tableau 2)

Tableau 2

La composition du conseil municipal de la ville de Pécs selon la loi XXX de 1929²⁷⁶

Membres du conseil municipal	Nombre (personne)	Pourcentage
1. Élus parmi les 288 « virilistes »	48	34,5
2. Élus parmi tous les électeurs	48	34,5
3.a. Représantants du professionalism	7	5,0
3.b. Représantants des confessions	4	2,9
3.c. Représantants d'intérêts	13	9,4
4. Membres héréditaires	6	4,3
5. Membres d'offices	13	9,5
Au total	139	100,0

Dans la majorité des dix villes autonomes (Baja, Győr, Miskolc, Pécs, Sopron, Székesfehérvár) le nombre des places était au dessous de 140 membres, il n'y avait que quatre villes ayant le territoire plus grand où ce nombre était audessus de 170, c'étaient Debrecen, Hódmezővásárhely, Kecskemét, Szeged. (Tableau 3)

Tableau 3

Le nombre des membres du conseil municipal des villes autonomes en 1929²⁷⁷

Nom de la ville autonome	Nombre des membres du conseil municipal (personne)
Baja	138
Debrecen	206
Győr	140

²⁷⁶ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1404. Pécs Város Igazoló Választmányának iratai 1929.

²⁷⁷ Mike, Gy. (1931): 598.

Hódmezővásárhely	174
Kecskemét	172
Miskolc	139
Pécs	139
Sopron	138
Szeged	205
Székesfehérvár	140
Au total	1591

Les mandats des membres élus du conseil municipal étaient valables pour 10 ans, et on a décidé tous les cinq ans de la moitié des places. On a tenu en 1929 et en 1934 des élections générales. Aux élections municipales de 1929 quatre représentants et deux représentants suppléants par circonscription ont été élus soit 48 représentants et 24 représentants suppléants au total dans les douze circonscriptions.

La proportion de la participation était d'environ 80%. C'était dans les circonscriptions de la ville intérieure (IV-VII) peuplées de bourgeois et de classes moyennes où l'intention de la participation a été plus faible puisque la victoire du parti de la ville („Polgári és Munkáspártok Szövetsége”) ne faisait aucune doute. Dans le faubourg Budai peuplé des classes ouvrières, agricoles et petites bourgeoises il y avait une lutte plus ardente.²⁷⁸ (Tableau 4)

Tableau 4

Nombre des électeurs et la proportion de la participation à l'élection municipale de 1929²⁷⁹

Circonscription	Nombre des électeurs (personne)	Nombre des votants (personne)	Pourcentage (%)
I.	1595	1268	79,5
II.	1399	1170	83,6
III.	1854	1470	79,3
IV.	1668	1109	66,5
V.	1032	774	75,0
VI.	1125	831	73,9
VII.	11490	1098	73,7
VIII.	1183	889	75,1
IX.	1731	1526	88,2
X.	1580	1271	80,4
XI.	1811	1499	82,8
XII.	1909	1583	82,9
Au total	18377	14488	78,8

Le conseil municipal de Pécs ayant une nouvelle composition a tenu son assemblée constitutive le 18 novembre 1929. Le parti de la ville (le parti civique du travail de Pécs) a continué à dominer dans le principal organe de la ville autonome même après 1929.

²⁷⁸ Paksy, Z. (1999): 219-240.

²⁷⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1404. Pécs Város Igazoló Választmányának iratai 1934.

À la fin de l'année 1934 la moitié des mandats des places élus étant arrivée à échéance. Le 30 décembre 1934 à l'élection municipale on a comblé 24 places par l'élection donc deux représentants ordinaires et deux représentants suppléants par circonscription. Trois partis se sont présentés aux élections: le parti de la ville, le parti d'opposition civile („Független Polgári és Munkáspárt”) et le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie. (Tableau 5)

Tableau 5

Représentants des partis à l'élection municipale en 1934

Circonscription	Parti de la ville (personnes)	D'opposition civile (personnes)	Parti Social- démocrate de la Hongrie(personnes)
I.	4	4	-
II.	4	-	4
III.	4	4	4
IV.	4	-	-
V.	4	4	-
VI.	4	-	4
VII.	4	4	-
VIII.	4	4	-
IX.	4	4	4
X.	4	4	4
XI.	4	-	4
XII.	4	-	4
Au total	48	28	28

Dans la circonscription IX le quatrième candidat d'opposition civile Ernő Linder, rédacteur en chef, a été désigné même par le parti de la ville. Il est regrettable que le parti d'opposition civique et celui de sociale-démocrate dans les circonscriptions III, IX et X aient présenté des candidats à part car la division des forces a conduit à la défaite. À l'élection le parti de la ville a remporté 20 sur 24 places.

Le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie a remporté deux places, János Esztergályos député et le secrétaire du parti József Tolnai ont été élus au conseil municipal. Bien que le Parti Social-démocrate de la Hongrie ait également gagné l'élection dans la circonscription XI, celle-ci a été annulée par le comité certificatif à sa session du 20 février 1935. János Esztergályos et ses

compagnons ont fait appel contre cette décision, mais le Tribunal Administratif l'a débouté et une nouvelle élection a été décrétée pour le 19 avril 1936.²⁸⁰

L'opposition civile a subi une défaite désastreuse aux élections municipales. Le parti l'a attribué à la fraude électorale. La vérité c'est que les électeurs ont été nourris, transportés aux urnes et même influencés par tous les partis à la manière habituelle de l'époque. À l'assemblée du 25 avril 1934 les irrégularités électorales ont été critiquées par Viktor Perr, président du parti agrarien de Pécs, membre du conseil municipal. D'après lui, le conseil municipal était tombée aux mains des intérêts bancaires et leurs débiteurs et à celles des fonctionnaires. Il était contre la disparition du parti d'opposition civil au point de vue de la politique municipale. Il tenait particulièrement regrettable que le membre ancien du conseil Antal I. Czirják, ait été exclu. En examinant la composition du conseil municipal il a constaté que le conseil était composé d'une part d'intérêts bancaires avec leurs débiteurs et d'autre part les fonctionnaires qui ne pouvaient pas être considérés indépendants. D'après lui l'élection n'avait pas été secrète et son souhait le plus ardent était que la prochaine élection – qui aurait lieu bientôt comme on l'espère - ne se déroulerait pas selon le système actuel.²⁸¹

En parlant "intérêt bancaire" on entend surtout Ernő Visnya, le puissant directeur de la Caisse d'épargne de Pécs.

La loi administrative de 1929 a modifié la composition sociale des membres des conseils municipaux. C'était István Kajtár qui l'a examinée à Pécs. Les fonctionnaires ne figurent pas dans l'analyse cela signifie 20 personnes en 1909 et en 1925 et 13 personnes en 1929. Le nombre des membres appartenant aux couches sociales supérieures telles que fabricants, indépendants, banquiers, les propriétaires fonciers et industriels-entrepreneurs a diminué de quelques pour cent. Mais le nombre des membres appartenant aux professions libérales tels que les médecins, les avocats a diminué de plus de 10%. Le nombre des députés appartenant à la classe des employés de bureau a augmenté d'environ 15%. À partir de 1929 la représentation des confessions (prêtres, pasteurs) et des ouvriers (travailleurs agricoles) a également accru. (Tableau 6)

Tableau 6

Composition sociale du conseil municipal de Pécs entre 1909 et 1929²⁸²

Groupe social	1909 (%)	1925 (%)	1929 (%)
Fabricants, directeurs généraux	10,9	12,6	8,8
Privés	8,2	17,9	2,4
Banquiers	2,7	2,1	2,4
Propriétaires fonciers	0,9	-	2,4
Couches supérieures au total	22,7	32,6	16,0
Commerçants	10,9	11,6	11,2
Industriels-entrepreneurs	21,8	12,6	18,4
Industrie, commerce au total	32,7	24,2	29,6
Avocats	18,1	14,7	8,0
Médecins	3,6	3,1	0,8

²⁸⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs város kgy. jkv. 8/1936. (március 10.)

²⁸¹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs város kgy. jkv. 64/1934. (április 25.)

²⁸² Csizmadia, A. (1976): 386.

Ingénieurs	1,8	4,2	4,0
Professions libérales au total	26,3	26,3	13,6
Hauts fonctionnaires	0,9	4,2	16,8
Fonctionnaires retraités	4,5	4,2	1,6
Professeurs, instituteurs	3,6	-	4,0
Fonctionnaires au total	12,6	12,6	28,0
Prêtres, pasteurs	2,7	-	6,4
Ouvriers, travailleurs agricoles	-	-	1,6
Autres professions	3,0	4,2	4,8
Au total	100,0	100,0	100,0

Gyula Mike a présenté la statistique des professions des membres de l'assemblée générale de comitat et du conseil municipal des dix villes autonomes en 1930. La proportion des services publics et professions libérales était partout très élevée, elle a dépassé les 30%, mais Pécs ayant 45,2% fait partie des quatre premières villes, il n'y avait que Sopron, Debrecen et Kecskemét qui l'avaient précédée. Dans les villes la proportion des groupes de profession de la mine, hautes fourneaux, industrie, commerce, crédit, transport est très haute, Pécs en avait 47,4%. (Tableau 7)

Tableau 7

Répartition professionnelle des membres du conseil municipal des villes autonomes en 1930 (personnes)²⁸³

²⁸³ Mike, Gy. (1931): 604-605.

Catégories des professions	Baja	Debrecen	Győr	Hódmező- vásárhely	Kecskemét	Miskolc	Pécs	Sopron	Szeged	Székesfehérvár	Au total
1.Agriculture											
Petits propriétaires	5	13	2	63	16	2	2	3	30	19	155
Propriétaires moyens	6	26	-	19	24	3	1	-	2	2	83
Grands propriétaires	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
Fermiers	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	4
Fonctionnaires	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Employés	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	6
Au total	13	42	4	83	41	5	6	5	35	21	255
Pourcentage	9,7	20,9	3,0	49,1	24,0	3,7	4,4	3,7	17,8	15,9	16,5
2.Mines et hauts fourneaux											
Fonctionnaires	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Au total							2				2
Pourcentage							1,5				0,1
3.Industrie											
Indépendants	34	14	30	14	18	16	29	31	27	27	240
Fonctionnaires	1	3	3	1	-	2	5	1	2	-	18
Employés	5	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	3	-	13
Au total	40	18	33	15	19	21	34	32	32	27	271
Pourcentage	29,9	8,9	24,5	8,9	11,1	15,7	25,2	23,5	16,2	20,4	17,6
4.Commerce et crédit											
Indépendants	11	8	18	12	5	22	15	14	20	12	137
Fonctionnaires	8	10	7	3	6	5	4	2	7	9	61
Au total	19	18	25	15	11	27	19	16	27	21	198
Pourcentage	14,2	8,9	18,5	8,9	6,4	20,1	14,1	11,8	13,7	15,9	12,9
5.Transport											
Indépendants	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
Fonctionnaires	-	7	4	-	-	10	7	3	5	3	39
Employés	-	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	8
Au total	-	10	6	-	-	10	9	5	5	5	50
Pourcentage	-	5,0	4,4	-	-	7,5	6,6	3,7	2,5	3,8	3,2
6.Services publics, professions libérales											
Indépendants	18	37	16	14	31	24	15	19	35	16	225
Fonctionnaires	32	57	41	38	55	35	46	44	51	37	436
Au total	50	84	57	52	86	59	61	63	86	53	661
Pourcentage	37,3	46,9	42,2	30,8	50,3	44,0	45,2	46,3	43,7	40,2	42,8
7.Retraités, rentiers											
Indépendants	4	4	2	1	-	2	2	4	3	1	23
Fonctionnaires	6	14	8	3	14	10	2	9	9	3	78
Employés	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	4
Au total	11	18	10	4	14	12	4	15	12	5	105
Pourcentage	8,2	8,9	7,4	2,3	8,2	9,0	3,0	11,0	6,1	3,8	6,8
8.Autres professions et inconnus											
Indépendants	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Au total	1	1									2

Pourcentage	0,7	0,5									0,1
Membres du conseil municipal											
Au total	134	201	135	169	171	134	135	136	197	132	1544
Pourcentage	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Ce n'est que les 96 membres payant le plus d'impôt les « virilistes » et les membres élus parmi tous les électeurs dont la religion est connue. Hélas, la distribution religieuse de tous les membres du conseil municipal n'est pas connue, on ne peut pas donc en prendre des conséquences. Ce qui est certain c'est que la plupart des membres du conseil était les catholiques romains et puis le groupe deuxième le plus nombreux était les « Juifs ». Au cas des « Juifs » les groupes des contemporains étaient acceptés sans avoir examiné les points de vue de ces catégories. (Tableau 8)

Tableau 8 Composition religieuse des membres payant le plus d'impôt, les « virilistes » et des membres élus parmi tous les électeurs

Religion	Élus parmi tous les électeurs (personnes)	Élus parmi les « virilistes » (personnes)	Au total (Personnes)	Pourcentage (%)
Catholiques romains	42	33	75	78,1
Catholiques grecs	1	-	1	1,0
Luthériens	2	2	4	4,2
Calvinistes	-	1	1	1,0
„Juifs”	3	12	15	15,7
Au total	48	48	96	100,0

En 1929 sur la liste des 48 membres payant le plus d'impôt il y avait 16 « Juifs » dont 12 ont été élus. La proportion était pareille en 1934 il y avait 18 « Juifs » parmi les 48 membres payant le plus d'impôts, on en a élu 10. Il se relève que la proportion des membres « Juifs » s'est diminuée considérablement par rapport au virilisme brut.²⁸⁴

Les « Juifs » étaient exclus du conseil municipal de proche en proche par les lois honteuses portant statut des Juifs. À l'issue du second statut des Juifs (loi XIX de 1939 sur la restriction de l'occupation publique et économique des Juifs) le comité certificatif a exclu Lipót Pauncz, Adolf Pauncz Jr, Ármin Sárkány, Ede Gombos, Sándor Róth, Róbert Engel, Zsigmond Deutsch, Ármin György, István Werner et József Greiner.²⁸⁵ György Ármin et Róbert Engel ont fait appel contre cette décision.²⁸⁶ La plainte a été rejetée par le Tribunal Administratif c'est pourquoi Róbert Engel a renoncé à sa place du conseil municipal le 1^{er} mars 1940.²⁸⁷ Le troisième statut des Juifs (loi XV de 1941 qui a complété et a modifié la loi XXXI de 1894 sur le droit du mariage et les dispositions nécessaires à l'égard de la protection des races) a

²⁸⁴ Schweitzer, G. (2005) : 101.

²⁸⁵ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1407. c. Pécs city burg. ir. A-24-13693/1940.

²⁸⁶ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1407. g. Pécs city burg. ir. E-158/1940.

²⁸⁷ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1407. g. Pécs city burg. ir. E-28-75.169/1941.

augmenté le nombre des personnes étant considérées comme juives.²⁸⁸ À l'issue de cette loi on a exclu du conseil municipal le 31 décembre 1941 Győző Balázs, Miklós Boros, Gyula Fürst, Ármin György, Emil Radnai, Mór Schwarcz, Gyula Tausz et Zoltán Wallerstein.²⁸⁹

Synthèse

C'était jusqu'à 1929 qu'il n'y avait pas eu d'élections municipales à Pécs, puisque la direction de la ville (le maire et les fonctionnaires) avait l'intérêt de prolonger l'élection pour éviter la possibilité que le Parti Social-démocrate de Hongrie obtienne des mandats. En effet le parti a réussi à en remporter à l'élection de 1929 et de 1934, mais c'était le parti de la ville qui était dominant. À partir de 1939 les élections municipales étaient ajournées pour cause de guerre, prolongeant les mandats des membres et en ayant privé les « Juifs ».

Sources

HU-MNL-BaVL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Baranya Vármegyei Levéltára

Pécs kgy. jkv. = HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1402. a. Pécs Város Törvényhatósági Bizottsága közgyűlési jegyzőkönyvei

HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1404. Pécs Város Igazoló Választmányának iratai

Pécs város polg. ir. = HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1407. Pécs város polgármesterének iratai

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²⁸⁸ Les définitions ci-dessus ont élargi le champ des personnes considérées comme « juives » par rapport du second statut des Juifs introduit deux ans auparavant. Ce statut a fait exception aux « Juifs » baptisés depuis longtemps et pour les enfants chrétiens des juifs baptisés, ainsi que à ceux qui avaient eu quelque mérite (héros de la première guerre mondiale, veuves et orphelins de guerre, personnes ayant lutté contre les révolutions de 1918-19, champions olympiques, professeurs d'université, hauts fonctionnaires, prêtres chrétiens). La loi XV de 1941 ne tient plus compte de ces exceptions. Dans les années qui ont suivi l'adoption de la loi des Juifs entrée en vigueur le 8 août 1941 il y avait de nombreux statuts restreignant les droits des « Juifs » et ils se sont basés sur les règles susmentionnées pour déterminer qui était soumis aux mesures restrictives.

²⁸⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. 1407. 1. Pécs city burg. ir. Rapport du maire de la ville de Pécs, 23 janvier 1942.

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Zoltán Kaposi

From Trade to Agribusiness. Kálmán Nádosy's Entrepreneurial Career in Southern Transdanubia During the Era of Dual Monarchy

Abstract

The Hungarian agricultural sector developed significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was the time when the Western technologies and innovations were introduced to the domestic agriculture. However, it was important that trained professionals were working on the domestic large estates of whom had extensive knowledge of the Western manufacturing operations and were up to date on agricultural practices. Our study shows a case like this. Kálmán Nádosy (1832–1913) was coming from a middle-class family. In 1861 he – together with his brother István – leased the bankrupted estate of Szentlőrinc owned by the Prince Esterházy family. While leasing the estate he modernised its operations. His marriage with Mária Jeszenszky helped him to socially integrate into the community of landowners in Somogy and Baranya Counties. Nádosy played a leading role in many business organisation and he was the founder of many of them. After the leasing contract ran out he acquired a part of Helesfa village from the prince, north of Szentlőrinc. Later he also acquired lands in Tótkeresztúr and Görösgal from the heirs of Gusztáv Biedermann. By the end of the nineteenth century his estate comprised more than 2400 hectares of land.²⁹⁰ He achieved results in viticulture, winemaking, livestock management and forestry. He won numerous street and trade fair awards. He was a great supporter of the Southern Transdanubian Lutheran Church where he worked as a leader for a long time; in the meantime, he also donated to schools and churches.

Keynotes: manor, entrepreneur, Southern Transdanubia, development, innovation

Introduction

The Hungarian agriculture sector developed quickly in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the start in the Reform Era mostly the years between 1850 and 1873 brought quick growth and the golden ages of agriculture, and after the breakdown of the 1880s intensive farming gained popularity. This was the period when domestic medium and large estates turned to the markets more often, and owners reorganised their properties in rational and profit oriented ways.²⁹¹ However, not only the traditional aristocratic class participated in this process, but other people coming from different industries. In our study we examine a case like this, when heirs of a successful textile merchant from Budapest appeared in Southern Transdanubia, where they invested in large leasehold estates and succeeded. Later one of them acquired 2475 hectares of estate and practised exemplary land management. Our paper also relates to the old question

²⁹⁰ In the paper I use hectare (ha) to measure agricultural area. In Hungary katasztrális hold (kh) was used to measure different areas until the end of the 1960s. 1 kh is equal to 0,575 ha.

²⁹¹ Orosz, I. (1989): 821-831.

in theory of Economics that deals with the origin of the Hungarian entrepreneur class, and the role of merchant capital in the development of other industries. In the social and economic analysis of The Nádosy family, we try to answer the following questions: 1 How quality farming was possible on a large leasehold estate; 2 How could a successful tenant become a wealthy land owner of medium size property in Somogy and Baranya Counties in the Dual Monarchy Era; 3 How his work was related to his ever-expanding public activity

Leased large estates in the Southern Transdanubian region

As capitalist market mechanisms grew stronger, it also became clear that the administration of the Hungarian large estates, the merchant and investment activity related to it was more and more problematic without specific knowledge. It was no accident that the number of leases on Hungarian large estates grew quickly in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.²⁹² The 20-30 year long leases were fixed income for the land owners. Along with tenants, there often came a new business oriented land administration which took steps towards the introduction of intensive farming. The public opinion on the activity of tenants – often because of the latent or open antisemitism – was overwhelmingly negative. In the public's view tenant farming was equivalent of destruction and plundering of the land that owners suffered due to foreigners. We must emphasise though that all of leased estates which we know in Southern Transdanubia were usually well operating farms. Very famous families engaging in wide range of social activities well beyond tenancy appeared in the area. We only mention a few of them. Well-known was Henrik Meller, who first leased the estate of Vasvár, and later the estate of Csurgó from Prince Tasziló Festetics' entail.²⁹³ Meller moved to Csurgó in 1908 where he had a castle built. He supported the local high school, the Church and the erection of the Kossuth statue. His livestock was famous far and wide and in the 1930s his large-scale farm was among the twelve best awarded farms due to its meat pig breeding programme.²⁹⁴ He administered the estate until his death in 1935. The 8056 hectares Estate of Siklós was leased by Károly Kremzír, Lipót Khón and Adolf Khón.²⁹⁵ Later Kremzír leased the estate of Barcs from Count Széchenyi and in 1866 he also bought a part of it, namely the Belcsa-puszta land, where he had a castle and a distillery with enormous capacity built. Samu Kántorjánosi Mándy leased the humongous estate of Alsólendva and Lenti from the Esterházy family and acquired the estate of Szentlőrinc in 1891. The growing wealth of the tenant is illustrated by the fact that he also bought the estate of Simongát, which was once the land of Count Hunyadi, later land of Sina, and finally the possession of Prince Ypsilanti.²⁹⁶ Mándy lived in the castle of Szentlőrinc, later became member of parliament, and sat on many parliamentary committees along with being board member in numerous banks and corporations. Factories and corporations appeared among tenants too. In the series of leased large estates was the estate of Szentlőrinc owned by Prince Esterházy Family which was leased in 1861 by Kálmán and István Nádosy.

²⁹² See Puskás, J. (1962)

²⁹³ See Gazdacímtár (1911)

²⁹⁴ <http://www.csurgo.hu/hu/hirek/1-hirek/369-hazak-es-lakoik-a-meller-kastely>

²⁹⁵ Czeininger, T. (2001): 22.

²⁹⁶ Parlamenti Almanach (1926): 320–321.

The Nádosy Family: origin and rise

The Nádosy Family was originally from Trencsén County under the name Tersztyánszky. (Their name appears in various forms: as Trsztyánszky and Tersztyánszky too. Tersztye means reed bed – nádas - in Hungarian, hence the family's nobileitary particle: nádasi.) They were once members of the landed gentry but later became only commoners and the family underwent a rapid social adaptation. Many of them operated as merchants and tradesmen in Győr, but family members were found in the administration of Transdanubian and Upper Hungarian counties. The rise of one side of the family is related to merchant István Nádosy (1794-1866) who moved from Győr to the quickly developing Pest in the 1820s, and opened a textile (baize) store which later became a successful business. In 1840 he earned the right to use the nobileitary particle "Nádasi". He was the friend of Széchenyi and Kossuth; organiser and board member of Pest Craftsmen's Corporation. He was also involved heavily in charity: he was regarded as a great patron of the Lutheran Church. His wife was from the Lutheran Purgly Family from Józsa, and their marriage produced thirteen children.²⁹⁷

István Nádosy administered his merchant business and then left it on his children. As a result of the division of family wealth the eldest son György, became the manager of the store at Pest while István Jr. and Kálmán moved to Southern Transdanubia in 1861 where they leased the 6186 hectares estate of Baranya-Szentlőrinc (located between Pécs and Szigetvár) for twenty-nine years.²⁹⁸ This could have taken place because the mismanagement of the twenty-nine estate complex of Prince Esterházy was close to bankruptcy in the early 1860s. The estate complex was placed under receivership between 1861-65 and different receivers prepared numerous proposals to increase income and repay debts. Between 1861 and 1865 many estates were permitted to be sold, and in the meantime, estates were leased in order to secure significant long-term revenues. Naturally, mostly those estates and lands were sold which performed well and costed more than yielded. In this period the Estate of Léva, Ipolypásztó, Buják, Végles, Szádvár, Biccse, Sztrecsény, Derecske and Kisvárda were sold, as a result, the previously enormous 393875 hectares princely estate complex shrank down to 268313 hectares.²⁹⁹ This opportunity was seized by the Nádosy brothers, who made the lease agreement in 1861. (We have an unconfirmed source, which states that István Nádosy Sr. secured the agreement, but gave the contract to his sons.) The Nádosy brothers used to reside in Szentlőrinc first, but a few years later they had a manor built in Helesfa on the northern side of the estate. Among them István was a well-known agriculture expert who published multiple articles in the 1850-60s in journals like *Gazdasági Lapok*, *Falusi Gazda* and *Kerti Gazdaság*.³⁰⁰

Among with the Estate of Szentlőrinc, István and Kálmán Nádosy together with their in-laws, István and Béla Karczagh leased the estates of the Prince Batthyány Entail in 1871 too. (The wife of István Nádosy was Hermina Karczagh.) The owner of the entail - Prince Fülöp Batthyány - died in 1870 and the new heir, Prince Gusztáv Batthyány - who lived in London permanently – did not intend to have his property fragmented; therefore, he rather had all the four estates (Körmend, Kanizsa, Ludbreg and Inta) - altogether 16113 hectares - leased. The lease was for twenty-five years. Based on the inventory made at that time, the leased

²⁹⁷ Vasárnapi Újság 19.06.1864. 1–2.

²⁹⁸ Nyulászyné Straub, É. (1976): Appendix.

²⁹⁹ See Nyulászyné Straub, É. (1976)

³⁰⁰ Szinnyei Merse, P. (1903): <https://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/index.htm>

estates consisted of good manors and significant livestock.³⁰¹ However, an unexpected event disturbed the uprising career. The elder brother, the forty-eight years old István Nádosy Jr. died unexpectedly in 1876, and since his elder son was not of age, Kálmán could not manage the two leases together; therefore, Kálmán Nádosy ended his tenancy of the Entail of Batthyány and administered the Estate of Szentlőrinc only.

Kálmán Nádosy and the administration of the lease in Szentlőrinc

Kálmán Nádosy (1832–1913) became a renowned farmer and an expert in agriculture in Baranya and Somogy Counties, who engaged in wide range of economic activities in the third part of the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that he had no business education – unlike his brother. Kálmán original intended to be a soldier, he was trained in artillery school, became a captain in the hussar regiment, but was given medical discharge due to his broken leg and ended up being an entrepreneur. As it was described in an article later: “he switched his sword to sickle”.³⁰² His marriage helped his social integration into the Southern Transdanubian society. He married in 1866: his wife was Mária Jeszenszky (1844-1920) who came from a landed gentry family of Bükkösd and Megyefa estate near the Estate of Szentlőrinc.³⁰³ They had three sons and four daughters. The family planned to remain in the area for a long time (illustrated by the twenty-nine year-long lease agreement). By marrying off their children the Nádosy family got related to most of the local landed gentry families including the Jeszenszky, Fornszek, Thassy, Krammerer, Folly and Kacsokovics families. Nádosy consciously had their sons taught. He knew precisely that high level of education and professional degrees were requirements to economic progress. Amongst his sons, Elek studied at a business academy in Germany, Imre became a jurist in Budapest, while Kálmán’s niece István (III.) studied at a business academy too in Hohenheim, Germany.³⁰⁴

The Nádosy brothers were obviously motivated by the agricultural boom of the 1850s: in those two decades prior to the crash of 1873 there was a significant demand for agricultural product in the Habsburg Empire. The Estate of Szentlőrinc had particularly good potentials. Its centre, Szentlőrinc functioning as a district seat while being a market town, situated halfway between Pécs and Szigetvár on a rather busy road going to the west. But it was even more important that the Pécs-Barcs Railway had a station in the market town (opened in 1868), which provided access to Déli Vasút (Southern Railways) in the dynamically developing town, Barcs.³⁰⁵ It was just as important that in 1881–82 the Kelenföld (Budapest) – Szentlőrinc line was opened, which gave direct access to the nation’s capital not only to the tradesmen, but to other entrepreneurs.³⁰⁶ The population of Szentlőrinc was 1250 in the mid-1860s,³⁰⁷ but it almost doubled (2554) at the turn of the century.³⁰⁸ The lands belonging to the estate were located

³⁰¹ HU-MNL-OL P 1313. Fasc. 138. 1871. Fasc. 139. Nr. 374.; Nr. 535–549; 374.; HU-MNL-VaVL VII–1/d/bb. Fasc.17. III. 26/117/1882.

³⁰² Vasárnapi Újság 1888. Nr. 33. 538.

³⁰³ Sonkoly, K. (1995): 199-254.

³⁰⁴ Based on the written statement of Péter Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay

³⁰⁵ See Szabó, M. (2021)

³⁰⁶ Erdősi, F. (1986): 393-398.

³⁰⁷ Fényes, E. (1866): 39.

³⁰⁸ Népszámlálás (1900): Band 2. 186.

alongside seventeen villages, all of those situated in a fifteen kilometer radius, only Istvándi was thirty kilometres away from Szentlőrinc.³⁰⁹ The estate was relatively small among the Prince Esterházy Entail's lands in Southern Transdanubia, considering that the Estate of Lendva being around 36254 hectares, the Estate of Kaposvár was 23018 hectares and the Estate of Dombóvár with Ozora were around 56971 hectares.³¹⁰ The estate was mostly south of the Mecsek hills, therefore it was exposed to heavy rainfalls and floods running down from the Mecsek and Zselic Hills, which required the construction of significant amount of floodgates and damming. In 1866 the estate comprised of 2868 hectares of ploughland, 431 hectares of meadows and 2270 hectares of forests.³¹¹ The economic-geographical aspects were suitable for all sort of cultivation since there were high quality ploughlands, meadows alongside the Bükkösd stream, and vast areas of forests on the western slopes of the Mecsek Hills. Contrary to the common practice, the forests were part of the lease too.

As a result of significant improvements and investments, Kálmán Nádosy developed the estate into a demonstration farm. The profitability of the estate kept increasing which is illustrated by the continuously increasing lease price: in 1866 it was only 40000 Forints; however, at the end of the 1890s it rose to 86000 Forints.³¹² The tenant was an ambitious, energetic entrepreneur seeking and implementing innovations. Taking advantage of the agricultural boom lasting until the early 1880s, he achieved remarkable result in many industries. We would like to point out two of these. Nádosy made considerable achievements in viticulture and wine-making. The wines he nominated to markets or trade fairs were excellent. His products reached even the most remote areas with the help of Országos Közpince. According to the catalogue of National Exhibitions of 1885 the wines of Nádosy which were sold in bottles had stamps on them, showing their place of origin as Helyesfa (contemporary name of the village Helesfa). These wines won medals at trade fairs in Vienna, London, Calcutta, Paris, etc...³¹³ It is important that they were not only taking care of their own wines, but encouraged local winemakers to produce quality wines too. This is well illustrated by having twenty-four wine producer from Baranya County present their wines in 1879 at the national trade fair, "most of them are from Helyesfa (simple peasants) whom were inspired by Mr. Nádosy to participate at the trade fair".³¹⁴ Since the mid-1880s Baranya County was reached by the Phylloxera epidemic, which spread through the region in a few years. As a result, most of the vineyards had to be terminated and then replanted with new vine species. Kálmán Nádosy was leading in the restoration work: his own sixteen hectares of vineyard had visible results thanks to the conscious use of pesticides.³¹⁵

His other outstanding activity is observable in the field of animal husbandry. His long-lasting achievements were cattle and horse keeping endeavours. With his brother, István they founded the English, half-blood stud and the breeding programme was personally directed by Kálmán Nádosy. The foundation of the stud was given by horses bought from studs of Kladrubi, Lipica and Szigetvár (previously Czindery), but horses coming from Somogy and Tolna Counties were added too, which were further improved by famous English thoroughbred stallions. Their offsprings produced forty-two foals per year in the middle of the 1880s. The aim was to achieve

³⁰⁹ HU-MNL-OL S 16. Nr. 0520.

³¹⁰ Kaposi, Z. (2014): 246.

³¹¹ Nyulászyné Straub, É. (1976): Appendix 3.

³¹² Nyulászyné Straub, É. (1976): Appendix 9.; HU-MNL-OL S 16. Nr. 0520.

³¹³ Kiállítási Katalógus (1885)

³¹⁴ Pécsi Figyelő 21.06.1879. 2.

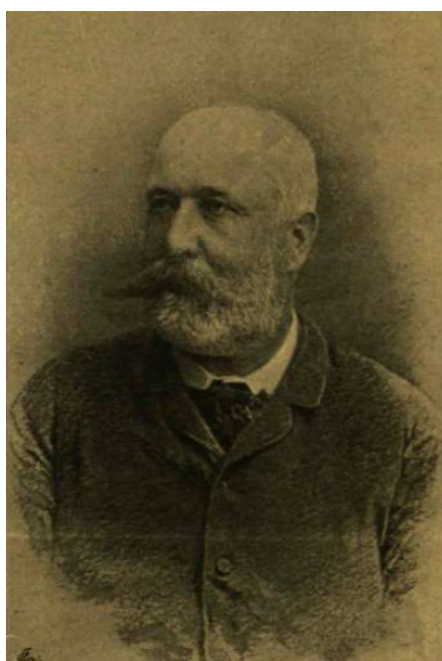
³¹⁵ See Borászati Lapok 12.09.1897. 562.

easy to handle, strong-boned stallions along the workhorses used for pulling carriages and ploughs – these horses were market in large numbers.³¹⁶

Purchasing land and farming independently

At the time when the Esterházy lease ran out (1891) Nádosy was sixty-one years old. It was an interesting feature of the contemporary business philosophy that he searched for peace and for the possibility of a financially secure, peaceful old age. Obviously, to achieve this a former large estate leaser had to own a land of his own. We know numerous cases of European and Hungarian entrepreneurs, who invested in secure assets – mostly buying lands or large estates – after a long, risky business career.³¹⁷

Figure 1 Kálmán Nádosy



Source: Vasárnapi Újság 1 August 1888

In case of Nádosy it was possible to have the potential land in an area that he already knew well, and that he previously administered. Nádosy moved to Budapest in 1891 for a short time.³¹⁸ This was most likely necessary because his brother, who managed the textile store died, and it is likely that there were questions regarding the inheritance. He later returned and purchased land from Prince Esterházy in Helesfa. This was possible because the Estate of Szentlőrinc was not part of the entail - meaning that different piece of the entail could be sold freely; in addition, the new tenant did not intend to lease the whole estate. After this, he could purchase from the Estate of Mozsgó owned by the widow of Gusztáv Biedermann.³¹⁹ In 1892 he bought the lands of Tótkeresztúr (Almáskeresztúr today) not far from Helesfa in Somogy

³¹⁶ Vadász- és Verseny-Lap, 25.06.1885. 276.

³¹⁷ See: Kaposi, Z. (2019/b)

³¹⁸ Pécsi Figyelő 16.05.1891.

³¹⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2019/a): 138.

County. Later on he also acquired a part of Görösgal-puszta in Somogy County, an administrative part of Kis-tamási, which was possibly pieced together with other small land parcels. He could do that relatively easily, because on this side of the country (Kistamási, Molvány, Nemeske, Görösgal, etc...) owners kept coming and going since most of the area were comprised of small and medium sized lands (maximum few hundreds of hectares), often quickly sold by their owners.³²⁰ Together the Helesfa and Görösgal lands were 2434 hectares, which was way larger than the neighbouring owners' lands combined.³²¹

Figure 2 Manor house of the Nádosy family in Görösgal



Source: MVV. Somogy (1914): 143.

Kálmán Nádosy had an 815 hectares estate in Helesfa. The settlement laid on the southern slopes of the Mecsek Hills; therefore, it was no surprise that it consisted of 727 hectares of forest and 67 hectares of ploughland.³²² Forests were versatile sources of income at that time through up to date forest management that included timber extraction and sales, but hunting opportunities could give a lot to the owner too. The love of nature and its conservation can be observed in the work of Nádosy, and numerous examples of it are still visible today. One example is the well in the village of Gyűrűfű dedicated to God, and the memorial stone next to it which was placed there by the Nádosys. It is written on the stone: “Strider should thirst find you here, in these vast forests, stop here at the Well of God, and relieve your thirst you shall under this tough beech. Take your canteen into your hands and praise your poor Hungarian homeland. Wine warms up, water vitalises, but wine has a price, while water is provided by nature free of charge 1862.”³²³

The peculiarity of the estate was the twenty hectares park of the castle which had special plants in it. The Nádosy brothers mostly lived in Szentlőrinc but in 1864 they had the manor house built in Helesfa on the hilltop far away from the village (Nádosy-telep).³²⁴ This one floor, nine rooms building with whitewashed walls was the place where Kálmán Nádosy lived at the turn of the century. The manor house was the focal point of gatherings and social events. The white

³²⁰ See Kaposi, Z. (2019/a)

³²¹ *Gazdacímtár* (1897): 73. and 109.

³²² *Gazdacímtár* (1897): 73.

³²³ <http://baranyatermeszetbarat.hu/index.php/lexikon/58-del-zselic-lexikona>

³²⁴ *Nemzeti Újság* 27.05.1928. 10.

marble lion statue erected to the memory of their father created by István Ferenczy was placed in the park in 1876.³²⁵ The other speciality was Nádósy's own sixteen hectares vinery and winery. (It worth mentioning that his brother's son, István (III.) had his own 40-46 hectares vineyard in Helesfa which he administered in the 1890s.)

The Görösgál centred estate was 1619 hectares in 1895. This estate was used by Kálmán Nádósy together with his son Elek, who later inherited most of it. The conditions here were more favourable for agriculture: they grew crops on 463 hectares. They employed thirty servants permanently on the estate. There were 97 hectares of meadows and 71 hectares of pastures for raising animals while the vast 956 hectares of forests covered fifty-nine percent of the estate. Thought it was not uncommon on the Southern Transdanubian lands to have large proportion of forests. The unique feature of the Görösgál estate was the animal husbandry: in 1895 there were 190 cattle, 57 horses and 343 pigs.³²⁶ Their markets were Szigetvár and Pécs. This obviously required investments: intensive animal farming created a need for brick buildings and silos, while taking care of so many swine assumed large pig farms. In the late 1890s, the elderly Kálmán Nádósy involved his son Elek Nádósy more and more into the administration of his estate.

Expansion of public activities

Kálmán Nádósy's social integration was aided greatly that he expanded his public activity in Baranya and Somogy Counties. This is shown by buying a house in Pécs with his wife in 1877 for 28000 Forints: the house (located at 12 Széchenyi Square) was previously owned by the Országh family from Dezsér, their former neighbour.³²⁷ This was necessary, because his work mostly tied him to the dynamically developing city, which was a city with county rights but also the centre of Baranya County. Nádósy was the member of Baranya County council for a long time, and in 1887 (while being a tenant at Szentlőrinc) he was second largest tax payer.

He played an important role in the Baranyavármegyei Gazdasági Egyesület (Baranya County Economic Association) which was founded in 1872. At first, Nádósy was vice president, and between 1877 and 1892 he was the president of the entity. In 1875 they started publishing the *Gazdasági Néplap* (Economic Paper for People) which was edited by Béni Liebbald and printed by Ferenc Taizs. After the death of István in 1876, Kálmán Nádósy kept doing the work alone until 1892.³²⁸ He advocated for changing the one-sided plough-based agriculture and the application of new methods. The ploughing matches he organised were well-known in the county, where small-scale farmers could learn modern farming methods. He was the president of Baranya County Horsebreeding Association. While he administered his estate, he also published a few professional articles in domestic journals. Nádósy was also a founding member of National Forest Association.³²⁹ He was inherently interested in expanding his merchandise activity. Therefore, in 1894 he offered 10000 Forints on the first meeting of the future company that was formed to construct the Szigetvár-Kaposvár railway line.³³⁰ This amount was obviously mostly symbolic compared to the gigantic landowners' (Biedermann, Széchenyi,

³²⁵ Pusztai, L. (1981): 292-293.

³²⁶ *Gazdacímtár* (1897): 109.

³²⁷ See Madas, J. (1977)

³²⁸ *Pécsi Figyelő* 03.04.1896. 5.

³²⁹ *Erdészeti Lapok* 03.1913.

³³⁰ Erdősi, F. (1983): 223.

etc...) pledged amounts, but no more could be expected from a landowner of medium size with a few thousand hectares of land.

The first industrial expo of Pécs was held in 1888, which also served as the national one. The idea of the expo went back to the circles of Baranya County Economic Association and Pécs Chamber of Industry and Commerce. The first was presided by Kálmán Nádosy, and the latter by Károly Zárny; they together did the most for hosting the expo. Nádosy was the president of the 1888 Pécs National Expo Executive Committee.³³¹ The expo was preceded by considerable organisational efforts. There were 923 participants. The distinguishing feature of the expo was that in line with contemporary European exhibitions the prominent participants built nice, fairy tale-like, and easy-to build and remove pavilions with the intention of creating a magical charm for the visitors. It is a fact that there were 3000 visitors on the first day.³³² According to the national practice medals were awarded – mostly won by entrepreneurs from Pécs. Though the lack of wine products due to the phylloxera epidemic casted a shadow on the event, altogether, the Pécs exhibition was successful.³³³

Nádosy recognised that at the end of the nineteenth century there was an increasing need for deepening the vertical connections of agriculture and to connect it to other industries. This was made possible by a unique economic feature of the Southern Transdanubia region. Both alongside the Dráva River and in Slavonia pig farming was the number one income source of the population for a long time. Pig farming spread quickly in Hungary in the second part of the nineteenth century, this was the “mangalica era”. It is well illustrated that in 1870 there were 124756 pigs in Baranya County, while in 1884 there were 131260.³³⁴ Those businesses that dealt with buying up, fattening and saling swine could raise their profits. The largest merchandising company dealing with swine came to life in Kőbánya, while merchants from Sopron sold hundreds of thousands of Transdanubian pigs in Austria and Germany. The entrepreneurs from Baranya and Pécs wanted to have their share of this enormous pie, especially after railways were constructed providing access to the most important markets.

Pig farming in the downtown was banned by the city council of Pécs on the 17th March 1879. As a result, raising and processing pigs were pushed to the outer parts of the 25000 soul settlement. After this, the idea of a large pig fattening company inside the city was conceived. After gaining the necessary administrative permits the Szontagh and Partners Pécs Swine Advances Company was founded in 1884, with twenty participants including Kálmán Nádosy. The pig farm kept growing in size and increasing number of investments (pens, steam mil, high performance artesian well, etc...) made it possible to raise more animals. To preserve competitiveness, advance and expand, the business had to be reorganised as a public company. The limited partnership business became the Pécs Swine Fattening and Goods Store publicly traded company in 1890.³³⁵ Kálmán Nádosy as the founder and president took the lion’s share in managing the company. The business became successful: in 1884-1908 it generated a profit of 382952 Kronas, while paying an average yearly dividend rate of 4.5%.³³⁶ The company’s assets kept growing. The business sold 1500-2000 pigs per year in Germany in the 1890s, but

³³¹ Vasárnapi Újság 12.08.1888. (Nr. 33.) 1–2.

³³² Bezerédy, Gy. (1996): 37.

³³³ Bezerédy, Gy. (1996): 38-39.

³³⁴ Várady, F. (1896): 552.

³³⁵ Sertéshizláló (1909): 38.

³³⁶ Sertéshizláló (1909): 47.

after the tightening German import regulations Austria remained the main foreign market.³³⁷ Nádosy wrote the first twenty-five years of the company in 1909, which was published as a book. (The management of the company ordered a portrait of him after his death and kept the painting in the room of the board of directors.)

His social involvements aided his integration into the Southern Transdanubia society. Like his father and his elder brother he supported the Lutheran Church. He was the secular head of the Augustan Confession Lutheran Church's Pécs parish in 1876-1901.³³⁸ During his tenure he helped the church both financially and managerially. His social activities were crowned with two awards: in 1879 the king awarded Kálmán Nádosy, member of the judicial committee the Imperial Order of Franz Joseph Knight's Cross for his achievement in the field of economics.³³⁹ In 1889 he was given the title "royal counsellor" in recognition of his public activity.³⁴⁰

The inheritance and its fate

At the turn of the century the almost seventy years old Kálmán Nádosy retired and he lived in Helesfa in his single floor, twelve room manor house with his wife and his older unmarried sister Ida,³⁴¹ but he kept managing the Görösgal estate with his son; therefore, he sometimes stayed in his old baroque style manor house. Kálmán Nádosy died in 1913 in his Görösgal manor house.³⁴² Naturally, there was little chance to keep his estate together since Kálmán Nádosy had seven children and numerous grandchildren. In addition, there was the question of István's (II.) descendants, since Kálmán bought lands in the 1890s together with his brother and his niece István (III.). Based on our limited sources a rather complicated inheritance problem arose, but the core of it was the separation of inheritance claims of descendants of István (II.) and Kálmán.

One of these problems concerned Helesfa, where a manor house was built in the early 1890s, most likely for the descendants of István (II.). This implies that this land was shared. Later István (III.) sold his share. What remained for Kálmán's descendants was the previously mentioned vineyard with a manor house and the park. After Kálmán's death his share of the estate was inherited by his widow and after her death in 1920 it passed on Kálmán's older sister, Ida. In 1923 Imre Nádosy - the second son Kálmán Nádosy - inherited that part of the estate, and he later became the Commissioner of Budapest Police. Imre Nádosy inherited the house on Széchenyi Square after 1913, which he quickly sold in 1917. The second part of Imre's estate was administered by his elder brother Elek, since Imre lived in the capital.³⁴³ The heirs intended to lease out the 1035 hectares estate at Tótkeresztúr in 1914, and they repeatedly advertised it before WW I. However, there was most likely no interest for it; therefore, its ownership was reorganised too.³⁴⁴ Most of this estate became the property of Mária Nádosy, daughter of Kálmán Nádosy born in 1868. Mária's husband was Ferenc Kammerer, a landed gentry and later

³³⁷ Ágh, T. (1894): 240.

³³⁸ Baldauf, G. (1926): 43–45.

³³⁹ Pécsi Figyelő 15.11.1879. 2.

³⁴⁰ BFL. K 20. Nr. 69151. 1889.

³⁴¹ Based on the written statement of Péter Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay.

³⁴² Pécsi Napló 02.03.1913.

³⁴³ Pécsi Napló 06.01.1926.; Dunántúl 02.03.1913.

³⁴⁴ Köztelek 09.05.1914.

the estate belonged to the Kammerers. There was a manor house at Tótkeresztúr (Elek-major) which still exists today. In addition, Elek Nádosy inherited 70 hectares of land from the Tótkeresztúr estate near Almamellék. Furthermore, Kálmán Nádosy's two grandchildren (children of Kálmán Jr. born in 1876) Dóra and Kálmán (III.) who were not of age before the war, inherited 110 hectares near Almamellék and 192 hectares near Mozsgó.³⁴⁵

Out of Kálmán Nádosy's sons only Elek followed his economically successful father's footsteps. Most of Görösgal became his property which meant a whole good quality land. In the middle of the 1920s after the Nagyatádi Land Reforms, which diminished property sizes, the estate consisted of 469 hectares of land, which was made up of 311 hectares of ploughland and 108 hectares of meadows.³⁴⁶ It is obvious that he mostly grew crops and raised animals. Elek Nádosy was the member of the judicial committee of the county and he became member of parliament in 1928 for Szigetvár constituency.³⁴⁷ The other heirs were not successful in business. Commissioner Imre Nádosy - after he was released from prison due to his involvement in the Frank counterfeit scheme - did not intend to deal with farming or politics, and he spent the rest of his life with film distribution and other activities. On the other side of the family István (III.) Nádosy (1854-1926) leased a land in Slavonia after his tenure ended, and later he farmed on the land of his wife (Zsuzsanna Fornszek) at Boldogasszonyfa.³⁴⁸ He left this land on his son in 1910 and moved to Pécs where he died in 1927. His son István (IV.) inherited the estate at Boldogasszonyfa, which later went into bankruptcy, while Margit received the manor house and the vineyard at Helesfa. She married in 1910: her husband became Tibor Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay, and the couple had the manor house rebuilt to its current form prior to WW I.³⁴⁹

Summary

As the previously mentioned cases showed us entrepreneurial lives could take really interesting trajectories. Kálmán Nádosy came from a merchant family in Pest, became a large estate leaser together with his brother, and after being a tenant farmer for thirty years he ended up being a wealthy and renowned agricultural expert and landowner of medium size estate. There are multiple examples showing that the arrival of newcoming entrepreneurs benefited the Southern Transdanubia agriculture through bringing rational thinking and profit-oriented attitudes, which changed the local environment fundamentally. Nádosy is associated with quality farming, high level of organisational skills paired with his altruism, and strong connection to his identity and his church. Through his decades-long work he contributed greatly to the development of the agriculture of Somogy and Baranya Counties.

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³⁴⁵ See *Gazdacímtár* (1911), *Gazdacímtár* (1925).

³⁴⁶ *Gazdacímtár* (1925): 283.

³⁴⁷ *Dunántúl* 01.09.1934.; *Kis Újság* 09.03.1928.

³⁴⁸ *Pécsi Napló* 21.07.1926.; *Újság* 21.07.1926.

³⁴⁹ Based on the written statement of Péter Mattyasovszky-Zsolnay.

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Réka Horeczki

The Role of Cultural Heritage in the Development of Small Towns in Burgenland

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To examine the factors that influence the innovative and sustainable use of cultural heritage in small towns and the contribution of cultural heritage protection to the development of small towns.

Applied methods. Literature review including the history of small town in Burgenland and the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage. We involved sources from monographies, census records and own experiences of study trips. The research framework is Burgenland's small towns.

Outcomes. The study highlights the specificity of the concept of cultural heritage in Central-Europe, in which the economic-socio-environmental classification of theories is also valid. The opportunity for culture-based development of small towns in Burgenland is presented as an opportunity, requiring an integrated approach: the strategic use of cultural resources in development is presented as an economic potential.

Keywords: Burgenland, small town, cultural heritage, development

Introduction

Europe has been facing the challenge of an ageing society, labour migration and depopulation for several years now. The demographic crisis threatens Central-Europe in particular, with population decline affecting not only rural areas but also cities³⁵⁰. The problem of shrinking cities is expected to multiply the number of small towns in the long term³⁵¹. In addition to the economic and social consequences of all these impacts, there are also strong environmental and cultural effects. We are living in an age of recession, and the Covid-19 period has redefined many social and welfare issues. Rural areas and small towns, which were the centres of these areas, have been re-valued, in many ways as an alternative to metropolitan life. The changed interpretative framework has refocused attention on smaller towns, on the inequalities that are usually hidden in comparison with big cities. Preserving the cultural heritage of a dwindling (disappearing) rural society could be a priority and could even play a role in stimulating the local economy.

The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals³⁵² (SDGs) focus on 17 key priorities for the coming decades. This framework of global targets focuses primarily on the problems of developing countries, including social problems. From 2015 onwards, attention will be more

³⁵⁰ Enyedi, Gy. (2012), Csurgó, B. – Megyesi, B. (2016)

³⁵¹ Jelinek, Cs. – Virág, T. (2020)

³⁵² <https://sdgs.un.org/>

focused on the problems of developed countries, with a stronger role for environmental aspects. However, it is noticeable that the 169 sub-objectives and the 231 indicators assigned to them do not include any recommendations on the protection of cultural heritage. They have been included as a supplementary element, non-binding instrument, in response to recommendations from nation states. It is described as promoting intercultural understanding, tolerance and mutual respect; recognising natural and cultural diversity and that all cultures and civilisations can contribute to sustainable development. This includes the protection of cultural heritage in Objective 11 (Making cities and other human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable) and the local culture in goal 12 (Developing sustainable consumption and production).

A review of EU legislation shows that the issue of cultural heritage was addressed as early as 1972, taking into account the UNESCO recommendations: “whereas the cultural heritage is a major element of the identity and historical development of the peoples of Europe”³⁵³. A European Parliament resolution published in 2006 explains the contribution of cultural heritage to integration, the need for common protection measures, the vulnerability of rural areas and provides for financial support as an incentive. The Treaty of Lisbon is said to have made the Union more efficient, with a clear separation of powers between the Community and the Member States³⁵⁴, and to have set up a European Agenda for Culture, in which cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue have become a means of efficiency³⁵⁵. Declaring that cultural policies should promote social inclusion, encouraging cooperation and the sharing of experience and good practice between actors and levels in different fields³⁵⁶. In 2018, the new Agenda for Culture for the EU was adopted³⁵⁷. The development of the cultural sector is organised around three strategic objectives - economic, social, and external dimensions - to strengthen social cohesion and well-being. It should be stressed that Community resources thus create opportunities to promote learning in each country, to support cultural participation and to support the acquisition of skills required by the creative industries.

The cultural heritage in rural areas

In my research, I focused on culture as a site-specific and spatially dependent factor. The concept of heritage has emerged as a central element in the humanities and social sciences in recent decades. The theoretical framework for cultural heritage: can explore several aspects of cultural heritage as a factor for economic development and as a resource. It is important to keep in mind that cultural heritage is more than just material culture such as buildings, monuments and tools. Both tangible artefacts and intangible elements compose our cultural heritage. This framework naturally extends to consideration of how cultural heritage impacts on local development, both in terms of urban sustainability and, especially, in social and economic aspects. However, studies on this relationship have traditionally encountered difficulties in precisely defining the role heritage factors have played in local or territorial regeneration. This

³⁵³ EUR-LEX 2006/2050

³⁵⁴ Kecskés, L. (2011)

³⁵⁵ European Commission (2007)

³⁵⁶ Council of the European Union 2010/C 324/03

³⁵⁷ European Commission (2018)

arises because, while it is common practice to commodify them and transform them into cultural or tourist resources, their impacts on creating brand images for territories, promoting local identities or, simply, their contributions to local or regional economic development, are rarely visible. The concept of cultural heritage is now used not only to protect built heritage but also to build identity at different levels of society³⁵⁸. Specific cultural value is most often used in the tourism sector³⁵⁹. In the literature on cultural heritage³⁶⁰, three main broad concepts appear: economic, ecological, environmental, and social (picture 1.). If a region/settlement has a unique cultural value, it can be presented in the tourism market, thus contributing to employment growth. The cultural heritage of a region or a city or a small town can shape its identity, character, and image. Tourism is most often linked to the economic dimension of cultural heritage and is expected to be profitable, creating and transferring value that can make the area competitive. The competitiveness of countries is increasingly determined by their invisible, specific, unique ideals: cultural heritage, which are now being taken into account by foreign investors. The social dimension of cultural heritage includes two main elements: history (economic history) and community. It is the community that is the main bearer and custodian of this heritage, so the social capital of the community, the heritage groups, is extremely valuable. Heritage conservation is both an experience for tourists and generates other impacts for the local population³⁶¹. The role of historical heritage can also be reflected, for example, in the culture of education or culture.

Picture 1 Keywords related to cultural heritage



Source: own editing based on 263 studies found on matarka.hu between 2010-2020

The acceleration of urbanisation, economic development, changes in the social fabric, wars and natural disasters (still ongoing), the damage, destruction and reconstruction of historic buildings and neighbourhoods are all losses. The traces of the architecture, settlement structure and way of life of the past, still visible today, are being valorised and are becoming part of the cultural heritage. There are a number of threats that can arise from the management of cultural heritage: for example, gentrification, i.e. society's inability or unwillingness to embrace this new type of

³⁵⁸ Erdősi, P. – Sonkoly, G. (2004)

³⁵⁹ Gonda, T. (2016)

³⁶⁰ Riegl, A. (1996), Máté, Zs. (1999), Lővei P. (2020)

³⁶¹ Del Espino Hidalgo, B. – Horeczki, R. (2022)

wealth. The intergenerational balance may be upset as to who will benefit and whether cultural diversity can be sustained alongside economic benefits³⁶².

The bridge between rural and urban: small towns in Burgenland

The development and expansion of the city-network is also the result of historical traditions, with most of the oppida, the agricultural towns in the region having been given the status of small towns. So, we can see the proportion of the urbanisation in Central-Europe is nearly half of the population. Suburbanisation and urban sprawl are becoming more pronounced around rapidly developing regional centres. Post-socialist urbanisation is characterised by a decline in the population of cities and their peri-urban areas, while urban sprawl is accelerating. The main challenge is the shrinking cities and empty villages - because population decline and disappearance also means traditions disappearance, too. The number of small towns in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was constantly changing; this was largely influenced by the development of the agrartowns (oppida), the 1871 and 1886 town laws. The changes after the Treaty of Trianon and the socialist industrialisation were not aimed primarily at small towns. History is an important factor influencing the development of small towns, with the employment profile, the composition of society and the availability of local resources generating growth. Regional and national changes also have a significant impact on the life of small towns. Small towns that have achieved their status in areas of urban deprivation play a more important role, especially in the south of Burgenland. In addition to the basic infrastructure, various urban functions have emerged in these municipalities, and society has also benefited from their urbanisation, in addition to the economic advantages.

In my previous research³⁶³, I have used different methodological approaches to present an interdisciplinary approach to the concept of the small town, which is characterised by constant counterpoint. I have highlighted that it carries a positive connotation when it is identified as the centre of the countryside, along the lines of rural romanticism and cultural identity; and a negative one when it is treated as backward, peripheral, inferior. I have argued that the small town cannot be clearly delimited by population size, as it is both a settlement size category and a functional and settlement hierarchical category.

Austria's provinces are extremely diverse, their development influenced by both natural conditions and political and historical influences; in terms of tradition and historical continuity, internal dividing lines sometimes act as stronger boundaries than external ones³⁶⁴. The province is characterised by a combination of an ageing population and increasing immigration, typically with below average levels of tertiary education, which is associated with a loss of local values (community knowledge). The province represents 3.3% of the country's population and 8.1% of its municipalities³⁶⁵. The size of the settlements within the province is not homogeneous, mainly shaped by natural conditions. Smaller settlements can be found in the mountain and hill areas. The northern areas are characterised by a higher average population, in line with the flatland conditions. The territorial unit, created in 1921 by political will, had no major metropolis or sub-centre. Its two free royal cities (Eisenstadt: 3073 inhabitants in 1910 and

³⁶² Del Espino Hidalgo, B. – Horeczki, R. (2022)

³⁶³ Horeczki, R. – Egyed, I. (2021)

³⁶⁴ Palkó, K. (2009): 208.

³⁶⁵ Statistik Austria (2018)

Rust: 1535 inhabitants) were among the smallest towns in the Empire. Eisenstadt, the most populous municipality in the province, became its seat in 1925. The designation of district seats was also based primarily on population. It was characterised by an urban settlement structure and relative backwardness within the country. Between the two world wars, four municipalities were granted urban status (Mattersburg and Neusiedl am See (1926), Pinkafeld (1937), Oberwart (1939). From the 1980s onwards, Vienna's suburbanisation area also began to grow, which had a positive impact on the province. Tourism has become a prominent economic sector in the province, which has also raised the standard of living in the area. There are 13 municipalities with urban status in the region, but only the provincial capital (Eisenstadt) has a population of more than 10,000. One fifth of the provincial population lives in these small towns.

Summary

In essence, cultural heritage is one of the cornerstones of European identity, and its content is extremely rich and extensive. It includes the architectural monuments of towns and villages, the value of cultural landscapes, the historic centres of large cities, etc., which form the backdrop to everyday life and enrich people's lives. The creative management of this heritage can contribute to Europe's global competitiveness and provide a new model for small towns and cities (the model of culture-based small town development). Most development documents consider cultural heritage as a development tool, a specific resource, and it is often included in development priorities, objectives, plans and policies. Indeed, at the highest level, cultural heritage is one of the three development principles of the European Spatial Development Perspective. Its preservation and strategic application will remain a key area for the future.

So in the next phase of the research I will find some examples for culture-based small town development in Austria and especially in Burgenland. The results of this project have helped a lot with good examples, solutions and innovations. Especially in the case of settlement located on the border, there is an opportunity for strategic and integrated use of cultural resources in development plans. However, innovative and sustainable strategies can particularly contribute to strengthening the socio-economic fabric of vulnerable but heritage-rich territories through nurturing employment opportunities, the training of qualified personnel, bolstering the service sector and rooting younger populations, among other eventual outcomes.

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Tamás Pintér

Fathers and Sons on Separate Path. The Rise and Fall of the Kajdacsy Family in Baranya

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To present in detail the lives and career paths of the male members of the Kajdacsy family, and to correct the errors in the literature so far, to shade their conclusions, and at the same time examine the causes of the rise and fall of the family.

Applied methods. Preparation of the collective biography of the Kajdacsys. The examined persons belonged to the Baranya branch of the family, any additional branches were only supplementary. Four generations were investigated, from their appearance in Baranya until their extinction. The research relied on archival sources and private correspondence. In addition to all this, the examination of the church registers and the press is of particular importance.

Outcomes. The Kajdacsy family can rightly be called one of the most successful families in Baranya during the 18–19th centuries. The success of the family can be measured not in the acquisition of property, but in the attainment of various offices. Two factors were necessary for this: good personal qualities and a usable network of contacts. These can be detected in all family members, so we must find a different reason for the personal rise and the beginning of the downfall. Generational differences also played a role in the decline of the family, but the main reasons for this are found in the personalities of the individuals and their own desires.

Keywords: Kajdacsys, Baranya County, local elite, generational differences, officer corps

Introduction

The Kajdacsy family from Baranya is not unknown to researchers dealing with the 18th and 19th centuries. The members of the family were key figures in several counties and regularly appeared in parliaments. Despite this, the entire life history of the family members is less well known, and in several cases incorrect data is provided. In the first part of my essay, I attempted to present the lives of the family members in detail. The Tolna branch appears in my research, but I tried to concentrate on the Baranya branch.³⁶⁶ The main field of activity of the family members of the Baranya branch was the County officer corps. The offices of the officer corps could be obtained in two ways: either they were elected at the renewal of the office (restoration), or they were appointed to some office by the leader of the County, the *supremus comes*. As a result, in the second part of my thesis, I focused on the reasons for the rise of the family and the winning of offices, examining the marriages of the family and the relationship of the family members with the current *supremus comes*. In the last part of my work, I looked

³⁶⁶ See the origin and other branches of the family: Madarászné, K. Á. (2016): 103–109.

for the reasons for the fall of the family, where I tried to find a point of view that I think appears relatively rarely in similar research: the relationship between family members, fathers and sons.

The return to Baranya County: the first generation

The Kajdacsy de Kajdacs family probably came from South Transdanubia, as it took its name from the Kajdacs settlement in Tolna County. After the expulsion of the Turks and the re-establishment of the counties, Sigismund Kajdacsy's name can be found for the first time in the assemblies of Tolna County in the 1730s, who moved from Ebergőc in Moson County to the southern part of the country.³⁶⁷

Béla Pálmány placed the birth of Sigismund Kajdacsy on February 26, 1710 (to Pálmány, his name was Alexander Sigismund Kajdacsy), who was born in Keszöcés/Vojka as the son of Stephan Kajdacsy and Elisabeth Nagy.³⁶⁸ Stephan Kajdacsy and Elisabeth Nagy indeed had a son at the indicated time, but he only bore the name Alexander,³⁶⁹ so we do not know the exact date of Sigismund's birth.

Sigismund Kajdacsy already performed at the restoration of Tolna held on the 15th September, 1732: he tried to win the post of judex nobilium of the Simontornya district (no one voted for him), and he also ran for the post of judex nobilium in the Völgység district (here he received 10 votes, but the post was won by Sigismund Daróczy with 12 votes).³⁷⁰ The results of the restoration show that Sigismund Kajdacsy may have had a serious presence in Tolna County as early as 1732, so he must have been in the area for some time. On the occasion of the 1736 Baranya County restoration, he was elected judex nobilium of Siklós, and from 1742 he is already among the Baranya table judices.³⁷¹

The reason for Sigismund Kajdacsy's move to Baranya has remained in question until now. The most obvious idea might be his marriage: according to Henrik Kéri, Sigismund Kajdacsy and Eva Julianna Rizáts married in 1733,³⁷² however, this does not explain why he had such support at the restoration of Tolna already in 1732.

Sigismund Kajdacsy married³⁷³ Eva Julianna Rizáts (Pápa, March 8, 1716.³⁷⁴ – Börsöny-Bonyhád, May 22, 1780.³⁷⁵), who was the daughter of John Rizáts and Anna Maria Somogyi. Anna Maria Somogyi survived John Rizáts, her second husband was Francis Kun (1692 – Bonyhád, 1730³⁷⁶) the landlord of Hidas, and from this marriage four more daughters (Clara, Theresia, Agnes and Rosalia) were born. After the death of Anna Maria Somogyi (around 1728),

³⁶⁷ Horváth, Á. (1974): 149.

³⁶⁸ Pálmány, B. (2019): 720.

³⁶⁹ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KS5N-F2W>. (last visited: January 22, 2023.)

³⁷⁰ Horváth, Á. (1974): 149.

³⁷¹ Videcz, F. (1999): 40.

³⁷² Kéri, H. (2000): 338.

³⁷³ According to Pálmány, his wife is Katalin Anna Worth. Pálmány, B. (2019): 720. It is certainly incorrect data.

³⁷⁴ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X2ZS-P7G>. (last visited: January 22, 2023.)

³⁷⁵ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS64-ZST6-B?i=77&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023.)

³⁷⁶ Kéri, H. (2000): 338.

Francis Kun, as the guardian of the orphans, managed the affairs of the estate in Hidas until his death in 1730, then the guardianship duties fell to the grandfather, Adam Somogyi.³⁷⁷

However, Adam Somogyi was the vice comes of the County of Veszprém, so he resigned from the guardianship in 1734 and entrusted the fate of the Kun orphans (the four girls) and the fortune to the husband of his eldest granddaughter, Eva Julianna Rizáts. Sigismund Kajdacsy proved to be a ‘bad manager’: from 1738, Emerick Pinczés, the official of the Szekszárd Abbey, became the guardian of the Kun orphans, ‘*since Kajdacsy treated the orphans property as his own and did not account for the income*’.³⁷⁸

The time of Sigismund Kajdacsy's death is unknown,³⁷⁹ but we do know that he was no longer alive in 1761, it was then that the will of Eva Julianna Rizáts, who was already a widow, was written. The will lists their three children: Francis, Antony (I.) and Theresia.³⁸⁰ Apart from them, Pál Angyal wrote about four other minor children in 1767, but did not write down their names,³⁸¹ and they are not listed in Eva Julianna Rizáts' will. We know that there was a Theresia Kajdacsy, born around 1748 (died as a widow in Pécs, October 1, 1827³⁸²). She was still a minor when the will was written, so she may be one of the 4 children mentioned by Angyal.

The second generation: at the top of the counties

The second generation of the family was already born in Southern Transdanubia and, like Sigismund Kajdacsy, became a defining part of the County's elites. Stephan Francis Kajdacsy (Bonyhád, August 21, 1733³⁸³ – Bonyhád, October 29, 1798³⁸⁴) was the first-born son of Sigismund Kajdacsy and Eva Julianna Rizáts, and the founder of the Tolna branch of the family. In 1749, he enrolled in the first liberal arts class of the Buda Jesuit Academy.³⁸⁵ After his studies, he returned to Tolna, where he was later elected vice comes in 1775, and parliamentary

³⁷⁷ Adam Somogyi was the captain of Pápa, in 1699 he was a judex nobilium, and from 1713 he was vicecomes of Veszprém. In the Parliament of 1715, he was an envoy of Veszprém County. Kéri, H. (2000): 324–325.

³⁷⁸ Kéri, H. (2000): 329.

³⁷⁹ According to Ferenc Videcz, Sigismund Kajdacsy died on October 1, 1757: Videcz, F. (1999): 40.; Henrik Kéri questioned this and dated it to 1751. Kéri, H. (2000): 338.

³⁸⁰ For the will see: Ódor, I. (1991): 183–184.

³⁸¹ Angyal, P. (1911a): 101.

³⁸² The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C33S-SSTV-4?i=51&cat=427391> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

³⁸³ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-6G9M-W?i=28&cc=1743180> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

³⁸⁴ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS64-ZSY7-Q?i=139&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

³⁸⁵ Varga, J. (2022): 137.

envoy in 1792. His first wife was Catharina Perczel,³⁸⁶ his second wife was Judith Cséfalvay.³⁸⁷ Among their children, Francis (II.) returned to the County of Moson, while their daughters, Elisabeth and Josepha, married into families with considerable authority and influence in the region, the Perczel and Somssich families.

Francis' sister, Theresia Kajdacsy (Bonyhád, January 13, 1736³⁸⁸ – around 1768), married John Kardos, chief notary of Baranya on July 11, 1756, in Bonyhád.³⁸⁹ John Kardos was elected as the vice comes of Baranya in 1776,³⁹⁰ and later he also became a royal advisor.³⁹¹

The Baranya branch of the family, as well as its authority and tradition, was continued by the third child, Antony (I.) Kajdacsy (Domolospuszta, around 1745 – Szigetvár, July 19, 1811³⁹²) in the Baranya County office. Like his brother, he continued his studies at the Buda Jesuit Academy (from 1759),³⁹³ then, at the restoration held on the 5th January, 1773, he was elected *judex nobilium* of the Hegyhát district,³⁹⁴ from 1777, he was placed in the Mohács district.³⁹⁵ On January 2, 1787, baron Joseph Splényi appointed him substitute vice comes,³⁹⁶ and at the renewal held on the 7th April, 1790, he was elected vice comes.³⁹⁷ He held the County's first office until his death on July 19, 1811,³⁹⁸ making him the third-longest-serving vice comes in the County.³⁹⁹ He was elected as an envoy of the Baranya County to the parliament of 1790/91, and then became the commander of the crown guard banner of Baranya County. On the occasion of the parliament, emperor Leopold II. inaugurated him as 'a knight with the golden spur.'⁴⁰⁰ His exceptional talent and unwavering trust of the County nobility is indicated by the fact that he was elected a parliamentary envoy a total of 7 times,⁴⁰¹ which was an unprecedented

³⁸⁶ Catharina Perczel de Bonyhád born in Tamási, on 17th November, 1743., as the daughter of Joseph and Catharina Gaál: The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCYP-5DT> (last visited: January 22, 2023.). She died in Cikó at the age of 26 on 12th March, 1769.: The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS64-ZST6-G?i=36&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023.). She married to Francis Kajdacsy at Bonyhád, on 28th December 1765.: The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSVW-MSTN-G?i=32&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023.) They had two daughters, but both died in childhood.

³⁸⁷ Judith Cséfalvay de Cséfalva born in Simontornya, on 23rd April, 1751. as the daughter of Francis and Theresia Posgay: The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCYP-LS7> (last visited: January 22, 2023.). She died in Börsöny, on 11th April, 1804.: The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS64-ZSYQ-J?i=150&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023.). She married to Francis Kajdacsy at Pincehely, on 3rd February, 1771: The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:939J-FKXD-2?i=342&cc=1743180&cat=438248> (last visited: January 22, 2023.)

³⁸⁸ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:V4JY-336> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

³⁸⁹ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSVW-MSY6-C?i=15&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

³⁹⁰ Angyal, P. (1911b): 139.

³⁹¹ Angyal, P. (1913b): 115.

³⁹² HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1336/1811.

³⁹³ Varga, J. (2022): 170.

³⁹⁴ Angyal, P. (1911b): 136–137.

³⁹⁵ Ódor, I. (1995): 27.

³⁹⁶ Angyal, P. (1913a): 71.

³⁹⁷ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 167/1790.

³⁹⁸ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1336/1811.

³⁹⁹ Borsy, J. (2014): 114.

⁴⁰⁰ Ódor, I. (2014): 75.

⁴⁰¹ He was one of the envoys of Baranya at the Parliaments of 1790/91.; 1792.; 1796.; 1802.; 1805.; 1807. and 1808.

achievement in the pre-reform-era Baranya County. He married Josepha Hojcsy (Pécs, May 20, 1748⁴⁰²– Pécs, October 1, 1827⁴⁰³) in Pécs, July 25, 1768,⁴⁰⁴ the daughter of Michael Hojcsy, who was vice comes of Baranya between 1761 and 1786.⁴⁰⁵

The third generation, the beginning of the decline?

The sons of Antony (I.) Kajdacsy and Josepha Hojcsy, Michael and Antony (II.) represent the third generation of the family in the Baranya officer corps.

There are many contradictions regarding Michael Kajdacsy. It is certain that a Michael Kajdacsy was born in 1769, as the son of Antony (I.) Kajdacsy and Josepha Hojcsy, brother of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy. This date of birth suggests that he is the Michael who enrolled in the first liberal arts class of the Pécs Royal Academy of Law in 1785, the second liberal arts class in 1786, the first law class in 1787, and the second law class in 1788.⁴⁰⁶

In the sources, a Michael Kajdacsy appears, who entered the ecclesiastical field. According to the Pécs Episcopal Seminary, he was born in 1774 and began his theological training in 1792. He was consecrated in 1797. According to the Bonyhád death registers, he died on the 5th May, 1843, at the age of 69, which corresponds to his birth in 1774. Iván Nagy declared a clear match between the brother of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy and the later priest, and this is also confirmed by archival sources: a noble census of 1809 clearly stated that Antony (I.)'s elder son Michael, his younger brother Antony (II.). This is further confirmed by Michael Kajdacsy's letter addressed to Antony (III.) Kajdacsy on February 15, 1834, in which he addresses him as 'My brother Antony' and notes that Antony 'never comes to me, he doesn't tell me anything, as if I'm not his relative'. The letter also provides evidence that Antony (III.) handed over a part of the Domolos estate to Michael after his father's death. The fraternal relationship is also strengthened by the fact that in 1838, after the death of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy, his younger sister's appointed guardian, Imre Spies advocated the sale of a house in Hidas, however, this was not possible without the permission of Michael Kajdacsy as: 'half of it belongs to the ordained priest Michael Kajdacsy'.

So when did Michael born? As we can see, according to sources Antony (II.)'s brother Michael was born in 1769, while the ordained priest was born in 1774. Considering the children of Antony (I.) Kajdacsy and Josepha Hojcsy, there is a mathematical chance that a boy named Michael was born between September 1773 and May 1775, however, such an entry is not found in the Pécs or Hidas (and Bonyhád) registers. The children to be born on the Tolna branch of the Kajdacsy family (from the marriage of Francis and Judith Cséfalvay): Anna Maria Clara Kajdacsy (Pincehely, January 16, 1774⁴⁰⁷ – Bonyhád, March 22, 1858) and Francis Georg

⁴⁰² The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-YSY6-828?i=480&cc=1743180> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁰³ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C33S-SSTV-4?i=51&cat=427391> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁰⁴ PEL III. 102. Pécs-Central, register of married persons (1757–1787), year 1768, page 78.

⁴⁰⁵ Andreczky, J. (1909): 36.

⁴⁰⁶ Szögi, L. (2016): 75.

⁴⁰⁷ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCYZ-J4X> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

Kajdacsy (Görbő, March 12, 1775⁴⁰⁸ – Pincehely, August 17, 1777⁴⁰⁹) excluded the birth of a person named Michael in the period between 1774 and 1775. Since I have not been able to find a birth certificate for a Michael Kajdacsy born between 1774 and 1775, I have accepted the 1769 birth.

Michael Kajdacsy had a relatively short career in the officer corps. On January 16, 1792, the *supremus comes* appointed him secondary subnotary, but he declined the office with gratitude.⁴¹⁰ At the same time, he agreed to be appointed as an honorary jurassor by the *supremus comes* on April 28, 1794,⁴¹¹ and then as a jurassor of the Pécs district on February 27, 1795.⁴¹² It is not known exactly how long he held this position, what is certain, however, is that on April 28, 1796, the *supremus comes* appointed a new jurassor of Pécs, so by then he had already resigned from his office.⁴¹³ He was ordained a priest in 1797.⁴¹⁴ Michael Kajdacsy finally died in Bonyhád, on May 5, 1843, according to the registers, at the age of 69.⁴¹⁵ Due to his profession, he did not start a family.

Antony (II.) Kajdacsy is clearly the most successful member of the third generation (Pécs, May 27, 1779⁴¹⁶ – Pest, December 1, 1830⁴¹⁷). He began his higher education studies in Pécs from 1794, then on December 10, 1798 he became a jurat of the Royal Board. He passed the bar exam on March 21, 1800, and became a lawyer when he was almost 21 years old.⁴¹⁸ On the 24th September of the same year, Peter Végh *supremus comes* appointed him to secondary subnotary,⁴¹⁹ then on the 6th April, 1802, to first subnotary.⁴²⁰ At the renewal held on the 13th June, 1803, he was elected *judex nobilium* of the Hegyhát district.⁴²¹ On September 12, 1810, he was defeated in the *substitutus vice comes* election, but he was able to keep his office as *judex nobilium*.⁴²² After his father's death, the election of the County fell to him, so he became one of Baranya's envoy to the parliament in 1811/12. At the restoration held on the 20th May, 1813, he was elected *substitutus vice comes*.⁴²³ He held the office of *substitutus vice comes* for 17 years until his death, but it is part of the overall picture that between 1813 and 1832 no restoration was held in Baranya (where he could have been replaced), so it was solely the decision of the *supremus comes* that he remained in office for such a long time. In 1815, a royal

⁴⁰⁸ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCY8-83R> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁰⁹ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:6N33-1JQT> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴¹⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 49/1792.

⁴¹¹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 392/1794.

⁴¹² HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 181,182,183/1795.

⁴¹³ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 534/1796.

⁴¹⁴ Szögi, L. (2016): 53.

⁴¹⁵ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS64-ZST1-N?i=288&cat=434136> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴¹⁶ PEL III. 102. Pécs-Central, baptism registers (1778–1787) year 1779, page 28.

⁴¹⁷ The report of his co-envoy, Leopold Répás about the death of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy: HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 144/1831.

⁴¹⁸ Szögi, L. (2016): 93. és Pálmány, B. (2011): 972.

⁴¹⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1197/1800.

⁴²⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 507/1802.

⁴²¹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 946/1803.

⁴²² HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 2146._{1/2}/1810.

⁴²³ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1017/1813.

commissioner came to Baranya to put an end to official abuses,⁴²⁴ who suspended him from office in 1818 due to the complaints against him.⁴²⁵ In 1824, the County finally reinstated him in his seat as *substitutus vice comes*, although the investigation against him has not yet been concluded.⁴²⁶ In 1825, he was again elected as a parliamentary envoy,⁴²⁷ his activities were described as such in a secret police report: *'A very good-natured man, [...] One of the most excellent individuals'*.⁴²⁸

Of course, those opposed to the government did not appreciate his functioning in such a positive way. In October 1825, Antony Deák stated that the opposition did not really fear Kajdacsy: *'he has less sense than the others, and he's also under commission [investigation – P. T.], maybe he's afraid of what he might have been told, that if he tries too hard, he might have problems'*.⁴²⁹ The nobles of Somogy County expressed their frustration regarding the fact that Kajdacsy *'exposes himself for the sake of the government'* and they directly told Baranya to call back the *'unpatriotic envoys'*.⁴³⁰ According to the words of Stephan Széchenyi *'Der ist servil'* and *'Spricht matt gegen Nagy – Sagt Dummheiten'*,⁴³¹ Francis Kölcsey called him *'mean-spirited'*.⁴³² The government of Wien certainly appreciated the work of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy on the diet, because in April 1829 he was appointed a councilor of the Council of Governors, so he left Baranya.⁴³³ Despite all of this, in August 1830, in his absence, he was again elected Baranya's envoy to the Parliament.⁴³⁴

Antony (II.) Kajdacsy died in Bratislava during the parliament, he suffered a stroke on the 1st December, 1830.⁴³⁵ The circumstances of his death caused quite a stir, because (according to Kazinczy) he died in the company of a *'pretty éταίρα'* [prostitute – P. T.].⁴³⁶ The inheritance of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy (in addition to the scandal) was a large amount of debt, which eventually led to the financial decline of the family. The division between his heirs was probably completed

⁴²⁴ The first royal commissioner was Peter Balogh de Ócsa, *supremus comes* of Zólyom. HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1553/1815. Balogh died soon after the suspension of Kajdacsy (October 16, 1818), and Antony Adamovich took his place as the new royal commissioner (January 28, 1819): HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 57/1819.; At the same time, Adamovich was related to the Kajdacsy family (and probably didn't want to get involved in such a delicate case either), so he asked the County to set up a committee to investigate the case, and Adamovich withdrew himself from the committee's work. HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 463/1819.; Adamovich was finally released at his own request, and in 1820, Baron John Malonyai took his place: HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 770/1820.

⁴²⁵ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 2/1818.

⁴²⁶ The investigation was concluded in 1834, by which time Antony (II.) Kajdacsy had already passed away. According to the Council of Governors's letter dated March 14, 1834 under number 6900. (6900/1834), Antony Kajdacsy, the *substitutus vicecomes* at that time *'arbitrarily threw the price of a total of 780 banknotes around the bridges into only seven localities'*, therefore, *'the nobles of Baranya are ordered to pay this sum from the house treasury to the audiences of the seven localities in question'*. HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1294/1836. From the results of the investigation, it can be seen that the accusation related to a rather "minor" case, and its suspension only served as a deterrent.

⁴²⁷ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1678/1825.

⁴²⁸ Pálmány, B. (2011): 972.

⁴²⁹ Antony Deák' letter to Joseph Ozterhueber, Bratislava, December 6, 1830. Cited by: Molnár, A. (2019): 67.

⁴³⁰ Balázs Kovács, S. (2014): 426.

⁴³¹ „He is servile" and "answered bluntly, telling nonsense to [Paul – P. T.] Nagy". Vizsota, Gy. (1926): 627–628.

⁴³² Fenyő, I. (1975): 783.

⁴³³ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1655/1830.

⁴³⁴ Pálmány, B. (2011): 972.

⁴³⁵ The report of his co-envoy, Leopold Répás about the death of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy: HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 144/1831.

⁴³⁶ Francis Kazinczy's letter to John Somosy. 14 January 1831. See: Váczy, J. (1911): 452.

by the end of the 1830s,⁴³⁷ but the County made a decision even in 1844 regarding the bankruptcy proceedings of the late Antony (II.) Kajdacsy.⁴³⁸

The fourth generation, the disappearance of the family

Antony (II.) Kajdacsy had two recognized sons: Antony (III.) and Sigismund (around 1808 – Pécs, August 22, 1819).⁴³⁹ Taking into account the official careers of the two previous Antonies, relatively high expectations were born of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy, in his later story, Sándor Baksay simply called him *'the morning star of Baranya'*.⁴⁴⁰

Antony (III.) Kajdacsy was born in Sásd on March 20, 1807, as the natural son of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy and Theresia Vészits out of wedlock.⁴⁴¹ His brother, Sigismund, was also born out of wedlock, but later the children were recognized as legitimate by the parents.⁴⁴²

We have little reliable information about the schools of Antony (III.): according to Pálmány, he attended the first liberal arts class of the Royal Academy of Law in Győr in the academic year 1823/24, then he was a volunteer with the 1st hussar regiment for a year (1823).⁴⁴³ On the other hand, his name can indeed be found among the students of the Royal Academy of Law in Győr, but it is indicated in 1822 in the first-year liberal arts class.⁴⁴⁴ We can also find him in the 1821 rosters of the Royal Academy of Law in Zagreb as a student of the first humanities class.⁴⁴⁵

In relation to his career in the office, the professional works that elaborate on his life are rather narrow. According to Béla Németh, he was chosen to replace Joseph Siskovics as an envoy (who resigned in 1834), because of his father and grandfathers. In 1840, he left his office as chief notary, then he *'entered the acting career and, losing his fortune due to his father's debt, he completely disappeared and the family also died out.'*⁴⁴⁶ The Pálmány-collection took over Bona's data, according to which: *'From 1839, he was the chief notary, and from 1845, the police commissioner of Baranya County.'*⁴⁴⁷ Based on research by Imre Ódor, Kajdacsy began his career as a jurassor in Siklós (1829–31), in 1832, he was an envoy of the Parliament, and from 1836 he was the judex nobilium of Szentlőrinc, then from 1840 he was the chief notary of the County.⁴⁴⁸ After that, he left his office and became an actor.⁴⁴⁹

According to the regestas of the noble general assembly of Baranya County, the official career of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy can be outlined as follows: supremus comes Stephan Végh appointed

⁴³⁷ Julianna Kajdacsy received property on Hidas, while Antony (III.) ceded a part of the Domolosi estate to Michael Kajdacsy HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 19. e. Papers of Antony Kajdacsy, jurassor of Siklós, then judex nobilium of Szentlőrinc (1794–1839). Note 8. Miscellaneous letters of Antony Kajdacsy judex nobilium of Szentlőrinc, 1832–1837.

⁴³⁸ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1859 és 1865/1844.

⁴³⁹ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C33S-SST6-S?i=41&cat=427391> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁴⁰ Budapesti Hírlap December 25, 1890, Vol. 10, No. 353, 19–20.

⁴⁴¹ PEL III. 114. Sásd, mixed registry (baptized, married 1799–1832), year 1807, page 45.

⁴⁴² PEL III. 107. Pécs Cathedral, register of married persons (1782–1832), year 1811, page 79.

⁴⁴³ Pálmány, B. (2011): 973.

⁴⁴⁴ Juhász, R. I. (2017): 334.

⁴⁴⁵ Durovics, A. – Szögi, L. (2019): 301.

⁴⁴⁶ Németh, B. (1897): 665. and 669.

⁴⁴⁷ Bona, G. (1999): 146. and Pálmány, B. (2011): 973.

⁴⁴⁸ Ódor, I. (1997): 100.

⁴⁴⁹ Ódor, I. (1991): 178.

him honorary subnotary in 1828,⁴⁵⁰ then on January 8, 1829, at the age of 22, he got the office jurassor of Siklós, also with the appointment of Végh,⁴⁵¹ which he held until 1832. At the restoration on the 7th May, 1832, he was elected vice judex nobilium of Szentlőrinc,⁴⁵² and at the restoration of 1836, his office was confirmed.⁴⁵³ In the meantime, in 1835 he took the place of Joseph Siskovics, who resigned⁴⁵⁴ as Baranya's envoy to the Parliament. Regarding his envoy's operation, most literature notes that the County chose him because of his father's work, saying that he will also take a stand with the government: but the young Antony (III.) became a follower of Luise Kossuth.⁴⁵⁵ On November 14, 1837, Pankratz Somssich appointed him judex nobilium of Szentlőrinc,⁴⁵⁶ then, at the restoration held on 21st May, 1839, he became the chief notary (also with the appointment of Somssich).⁴⁵⁷ On November 24, 1840, his office was declared vacant, saying that he had not been contacted for half a year.⁴⁵⁸ In 1842, we can meet him as a tabule judex, while in 1843 he was already a police commissioner.⁴⁵⁹ He worked as police commissioner until 1848, and on May 5, 1848, he was appointed honorary vicejudex nobilium.⁴⁶⁰ On June 12, 1848, the County recommended him to the ranks of the volunteer army as a lieutenant.⁴⁶¹

As we can see, most historians agree that Antony (III.) abandoned the family tradition, became an actor, and the family died out with him. Regarding his marriage, we can see that, like his ancestors, he chose a partner from among the local elite families: on the 13th March 1831, in Bükkösd,⁴⁶² he married Clementin Jeszenszky [in full name: Clementin Anna Aloysia Sophia] (Ibafa, August 7, 1814⁴⁶³ – Pécs, August 9, 1900⁴⁶⁴). They had two children: Joseph Ladislau John Kajdacsy (Pécs, February 5, 1832⁴⁶⁵ – Hidas, October 2, 1832) and Angelica Theresia Kajdacsy (born Pécs, March 13, 1836⁴⁶⁶), however, both died young.

There is again a consensus regarding the death of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy: he was forced to emigrate after the War of Independence and died in Sulina, Romania, in 1860.⁴⁶⁷ Later on, however, we will see that the biography of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy needs further clarification,

⁴⁵⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1744/1828.

⁴⁵¹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 79/1829.

⁴⁵² HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1002/1832.

⁴⁵³ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1806/1836.

⁴⁵⁴ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 441/1835.

⁴⁵⁵ Antony (III.) Kajdacsy about Kossuth: *"Also for that successful man who, by spreading the word of our country and the public with manly steadfastness, made such a gap in prejudices that the advancing age will widen with haste, but arbitrary power cannot close."* Quotes: Kosáry, D. (1946): 127.

⁴⁵⁶ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 2711/1837.

⁴⁵⁷ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1751/1839.

⁴⁵⁸ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 3794/1840.

⁴⁵⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1217/1843.

⁴⁶⁰ Jelenkor January 27, 1848, Vol. 17, No. 12, 47.

⁴⁶¹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1327/1848.

⁴⁶² The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C33S-SSXR-7?i=99&cat=424765> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁶³ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:V4VW-75Z> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁶⁴ Pécsi Közlöny August 12, 1900, Vol. 8, No. 65, 3.

⁴⁶⁵ PEL III. 107. Pécs-Cathedral, baptism registers (1782–1832) year 1832, page 258.

⁴⁶⁶ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X8HD-XBS> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁴⁶⁷ Bona, G. (1999): 146. and Pálmány, B. (2011): 973.

and the findings in the literature so far do not fully cover and distort reality, and in some cases absolutely false information was provided.

As we noted earlier, Antony (III.) Kajdacsy participated in the War of Independence of 1848–1849, and by the summer of 1849, he had become Richard Guyon's assistant officer at the Bácska corps.⁴⁶⁸ On June 23, 1849, the later martyr, Joseph Nagysándor promoted him to the 3rd class of the military merit badge. After the fall of the War of Independence, he was conscripted into the 4th Imperial Hussar Regiment in November 1849, and was dismissed in July 1850. He later emigrated to Turkey.⁴⁶⁹

It should be noted that in 1851 a police officer named Antony Kajdacsy was appointed in Csongrád County to reduce the exponentially increasing number of outlaw attacks, but the manhunts yielded few results.⁴⁷⁰ Although there is no proof of a match, due to the previous office match and the fact that we do not know exactly when he emigrated, we cannot rule out that he tried to return to the police commissioner's office.

What we can know for sure is that on December 10, 1854, Kajdacsy was elected as a member of the five-member permanent committee (presbytery) of the Eastern Hungarian Protestant congregation,⁴⁷¹ which is somewhat surprising, because Kajdacsy was a Roman Catholic until this point. György Csorba noted that during his emigration *'he often visits Paris as well'*⁴⁷². The letter Emerick Henszlmann sent to Francis Pulszky from Paris to London (June 2, 1854) could have been written during one of these stays in Paris.⁴⁷³ According to a letter sent on November 2, 1854, Kajdacsy had already been in Istanbul (Galata) for 10 days, and from the word 'again' we can conclude that he could commute between the two cities. According to the report from Istanbul, Kajdacsy had already spoken French and Turkish.⁴⁷⁴

During his emigration, Antony Kajdacsy also participated in battles of the *Risorgimento*. In March 1861, he set out from Galac (Galați, Romania) as the commander of a 150-man standing volunteer corps.⁴⁷⁵ His superiors must have been satisfied with his work,⁴⁷⁶ since his name came up in the list of rewarding officers who *'proved themselves worthy'*.⁴⁷⁷

After the fighting in Italy, Kajdacsy returned to the Balkans, but few sources remain about his activities and places of residence. From his letters to Stephan Türr, we know that he was in Istanbul (Pera) on August 6, 1862, and in Galac again on November 13, 1863.⁴⁷⁸ The general amnesty in 1867 gave the opportunity for him to return home. According to the coverage of the Pécsi Lapok on July 18, 1867, *'Kajdacsy turkish basa'* from Vidin arrived at the Nádor hotel in Pécs.⁴⁷⁹ He did not stay in Baranya at that time, he returned again to Pécs from Vidin on November 10.⁴⁸⁰ It can be assumed that after this he settled again in the County, on December

⁴⁶⁸ Albert, G. (1999): 277.

⁴⁶⁹ Bona, G. (1999): 146.

⁴⁷⁰ Szabó, F. (1959): 61–62.

⁴⁷¹ Protestáns egyházi és iskolai lapok November 28, 1866, Vol. 9, No. 43, 1373–1374.

⁴⁷² Csorba, Gy. (1999): 375.

⁴⁷³ Szentesi, E. (2016): 313.

⁴⁷⁴ Szentesi, E. (2016): 326–329.

⁴⁷⁵ Szegedi Híradó, April 7, 1861, Vol. 3, No. 27, 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Kajdacsy himself reports on their activities: Hölgfutár July 30, 1861, Vol. 12, No. 91, 727.

⁴⁷⁷ Lukács, L. (1986): 100. Note 8.

⁴⁷⁸ Borsi-K, B. (1993), 302–303. Note 157.

⁴⁷⁹ Pécsi Lapok July 18, 1867, Vol. 1, No. 32, 128.

⁴⁸⁰ Pécsi Lapok October 10, 1867, Vol. 1, No. 56, 224.

30, 1867, as a resident of Siklós, he donated to the construction of a memorial column designed for the martyrs of Arad.⁴⁸¹

All signs indicate that Kajdacsy made an attempt to return to his life before emigration, he even spoke at the County assembly held on January 7, 1868.⁴⁸² Although he did not return to the officer corps, he was able to take up his former office of police commissioner again. This is confirmed by Paul Osváth's reminiscences, perhaps the most important of my sources after 1849: *'In 1868, all legal authorities were invited to send a representative to a meeting of police officers to be held in Budapest'* and they elected *'former envoy of the parliament Antony Kajdacsy* [emphasis from me – P.T.] *our fellow police commissioner* ' as deputy chairman of the meeting.⁴⁸³ This is the only contemporary record that shows a clear match between Antony (III.) Kajdacsy who emigrated after 1849 and who returned in 1867. After that, Kajdacsy's career plunged into obscurity again, I found another mention of him from 1878, when he was awarded the title of honorary vicejudex nobilium.⁴⁸⁴

As I alluded to earlier, the erroneous claim that Antony (III.) Kajdacsy died in 1860 in Sulina, Romania, appeared in some of the literature.⁴⁸⁵ This suggestion started from the work of Sándor Szalczer, who actually stated it based on the notes of John Pap: *'Captain Kajdacsy; died in Sulina.'*⁴⁸⁶ However, in Szalczer's work, he did not refer to Antony (III.) Kajdacsy, but to a certain Joseph Kajdacsy in several places,⁴⁸⁷ therefore, referring his data as the death of Antony Kajdacsy is a clear mistake.

But when did the last Baranya descendant of the family actually die? To get closer to the exact date of death, it may be worth examining contemporary references to his wife. In relation to Clementine Jeszenszky, the relevant question in this case is when did they start referring to her as a widow, when can the date be set when her husband's death was already public knowledge. It is certain that she died as a widow in 1900.⁴⁸⁸ It was possible to identify notes about Clementine Jeszenszky in the contemporary press from 1859,⁴⁸⁹ 1866,⁴⁹⁰ 1867,⁴⁹¹ and from 1879.⁴⁹² In none of the listed cases was she referred to as a widow, so her husband was either still alive or they were unaware of his death.

In 1881, the Pécsi Figyelő reported that Antony Kajdacsy died at the age of 80 on March 7, 1881 in Vajszló, Baranya.⁴⁹³ The same death, according to the reformed death registers of Vajszló, the district police commissioner Antony Kajdacsy died on March 7, 1881, at the age of 82 in terminal illness, and was buried on March 10.⁴⁹⁴ According to Sándor Baksay, Antony

481 A Honvéd December 30, 1867, Vol. 1, No. 22, 7.

482 Pécsi Lapok January 9, 1868, Vol. 2, No. 3, 10.

483 Osváth, P. (1905): 130.

484 Pécsi Figyelő January 5, 1878, Vol. 6, No. 1. 2.

485 Bona, G. (1999): 146. and Pálmány, B. (2011): 973.

486 Szalczer, S. (1893): 354.

487 Szalczer, S. (1893): 340–341., 387. és 390.

488 Pécsi Közlöny August 12, 1900, Vol. 8, No. 65, 3.

489 Budapesti Hírlap July 13, 1859, No. 167, 4.

490 The obituary of the widow of Stephan Tallián de vizek: <https://dspace.oszk.hu/handle/20.500.12346/509841> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

491 Kalauz May 27, 1867, Vol. 3, No. 34, 271.

492 Pécsi Figyelő December 13, 1879, Vol. 7, No. 50, 3.

493 Pécsi Figyelő March 12, 1881, Vol. 9, No. 11, 3.

494 BREL C, 119. a. Vajszló mixed registers (1856–1994), register of the dead: 1858–1887.year 1881, page 18.

Kajdacsy died at old age, he lived more than 80 years.⁴⁹⁵ All three sources contradict Kajdacsy's official birth certificate, since Antony (III.) was born in 1807, therefore he was only 74 years old in 1881. It is important to note, however, that Baksay was unable to determine the time of Antony (III.)'s birth and indicated 1800 or 1807 as a possible date of birth, so it can be assumed that the contemporary Baksay did not know the exact date of birth. With the death of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy, the Kajdacsy family became extinct. His wife died 9 years later, on August 9, 1900, in Pécs, thus the previously influential family disappeared from the history of Baranya.

Factors of the rise of the family

Examining the life histories of the family members, it can be stated that the first generation, Sigismund Kajdacsy, was able to achieve serious results in acquiring property: from his marriage with Eva Julianna Risács came the property, which, when distributed among their children, ensured a stable background for the Tolna and Baranya branches of the family, both in terms of property, residence, and prestige. The later generations of the family did not excel in this field, instead they considered a different path, the acquisition of positions in the County officer corps (and the prestige and salaries that came with them) as their first priority.

The individual ambitions of the family members certainly played a role in the acquisition of officer corps, and it cannot be denied that they all had outstanding talent. It should also be noted that each family member made excellent use of the positions of power and inheritance of the generations before them: both Michael and Antony (II.) entered the officer corps when their father was at his prime. Antony (II.) won the election for the office of *judex nobilium* at the age of 24 (which is incredibly young) at the exact same restoration (1803), when his father confirmed his office of *vice comes* for the second time. We can see the exact same method in case of the entrance of Antony (III.), who got his first office, when his father was the second most important officer (*substitutus vice comes*) of the County.

The attainment of an office due to the merits of the fathers is best seen in the acquisition of the parliamentary envoy's office: between 1790–1836, the Kajdacsy dynasty always gave one of the envoys of Baranya. Antony (I.) represented the County seven times, after his death Antony (II.) took over this position. Even the scandalous death of Antony (II.) was not enough of a loss of prestige to prevent his son Antony (III.) from winning this commission, in fact, he was elected precisely because the nobles of the County hoped that he would follow his father's policies,⁴⁹⁶ as it happened anno with Antony (II.) after his father's death.⁴⁹⁷

Relationship building

In addition to the inherited symbolic capital, the ambition of the family members, and the individual abilities, it is clear that the family's relationship system also contributed significantly to the rise and the winning of various offices. Among the family's relationship-building strategies, we can distinguish formal and informal relationship systems. Both forms functioned

⁴⁹⁵ Budapesti Hírlap December 25, 1890, Vol.10, No. 353, 19–20.

⁴⁹⁶ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 441/1835.

⁴⁹⁷ Németh, B. (1897): 650.

as extremely complicated and complex systems, and as a result, I would only explain one aspect of them in this thesis. One of the most important points of the informal contact system used to obtain office was the relationship with the current supremus comes. The reason for this is clear: the authority of the supremus comes was to appoint certain offices, while the most important vice comes office was chosen by the orders from among the persons nominated by the supremus comes. In the election of representatives to the Parliament, although the orders elect independently in principle, the opinion of the supremus comes proved to be a decisive factor in this matter as well.

The relationship between Antony (I.) and Peter Végh (supremus comes between 1790 and 1807) was fruitful for the Kajdacsy family. Peter Végh only visited the County once a year, therefore he needed a vice comes, who reliably directed the officers in his absence. The result of mutual reliance was that the sons of Antony (I.) all won official ranks with the appointment of Peter Végh, which Antony (I.) reciprocated with loud voices and a stable County.⁴⁹⁸

After the death of Peter Végh (1807) and Antony (I.) Kajdacsy (1811), their sons came to the fore. The son of Peter Végh, Stephan became supremus comes of Baranya in 1807, and Antony (II.) Kajdacsy became substitutus vice comes in 1813. We can clearly see in the regestas, that Stephan he did not choose Kajdacsy as his main confidant, but another influential noble, Joseph Mihálovich. Mihálovich became vice comes in 1813, and he had the trust of Stephan Végh to such an extent that the supremus comes did not call for another restauration for almost 20 years, until 1832 – where he could have been replaced. Mihálovich's favoritism against Kajdacsy was also visible during election to the parliamentary envoy in 1825, when Stephan Végh asked personally Mihálovich to be the envoy, because he ‘has great confidence’ in him. However, Mihálovich did not accept the assignment, instead he recommended Kajdacsy, who was finally accepted by both of the nobles and Stephan Végh.⁴⁹⁹ However, we cannot say that Antony (II.) had lost the trust of Stephan Végh, since when Kajdacsy was suspended from office in 1818,⁵⁰⁰ in the end, he was not removed, even though the supremus comes would have had the opportunity to do so. In the end, Antony (II.) remained in office, even he was elected envoy, when he had already moved to Buda a year ago.

The relationship with the supremus comes was finally ‘neutralized’ by the time of Antony (III.), in 1836, a new supremus comes of Baranya was installed, Pankratz Somssich. The following year, Antony (III.) moved up the ranks with the appointment of Somssich,⁵⁰¹ then in 1839 he also won the office of chief notary with the appointment of the supremus comes.⁵⁰² At the same time, we must also note that when Antony (III.) (like his father) did not stay at his ‘workplace’, he was deprived of his office because of this.⁵⁰³ In the case of Pankratz Somssich, we can no longer perceive favoritism similar to previous generations, and his relationship with Antony (III.) can be said to be average.

The family's formal relationship system is represented by the marriages of family members. In the case of Sigismund Kajdacsy, we have already mentioned that through his marriage he acquired property in the counties of Tolna and Baranya, while almost all members of the second

⁴⁹⁸ Németh, B. (1897): 628.

⁴⁹⁹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1678/1825.

⁵⁰⁰ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 2/1818.

⁵⁰¹ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 2711/1837.

⁵⁰² HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 1751/1839.

⁵⁰³ HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 1. a. 3794/1840.

generation were able to marry into the local County elite families: in both of Francis's marriages, the daughters of Tolna landowner families, Antony (I.) married the daughter of the current vice comes of Baranya, Theresia married the chief notary of the County, who later also won the office of vice comes. In the case of marriages organized by the second generation, serious differences can already be observed between the two branches of the family. Francis's daughters (Elisabeth and Josepha) married into two influential families, the Perczel family from Tolna and the Somssich family from Somogy. On the contrary, a completely different way can be seen in the cases of Antony (I.)'s children. The firstborn son, Michael became a priest, Julianna stayed maiden until her death. As we will see, the marriages of Antony (II.) were a bit problematic, we will examine these later. Antony (III.) married Clementin Jeszenszky, also a daughter of a local elite family. Overall, it can be stated that the family was able to develop a successful and fruitful marriage-based alliance system.

About the Somssich – Kajdacsy double-marriage

The literature dealing with the family almost always highlights the Kajdacsy-Somssich double-marriage as one of the cornerstones of cross-County relationship building, which was aimed at securing and consolidating already acquired positions.

According to Imre Ódor: *'Antony Kajdacsy and Joseph Siskovics both married the daughters of Joseph Somssich, Anna, and Barbara, while Nicolaus Somssich with Josepha Kajdacsy's hand, ensured the "reciprocity".'*⁵⁰⁴ The same can be read in the paper written by Zoltán Kaposi: *'The marriage relationship between the two middle-class families is interesting. The sister of Nicolaus, Anna Somssich (1785-1807) was the wife of Antony (I.) Kajdacsy, the son of the vice comes of Baranya County. At the same time, Nicolaus Somssich's wife was Josepha Kajdacsy (1789-1860), the sister of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy.'*⁵⁰⁵

Several contradictions can be discovered regarding the marriages. In the work of Márton Szluha, Anna Somssich was the wife of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy,⁵⁰⁶ while one of Imre Ódor's contradictions is that in one study he wrote that Antony (II.) wed Clementine Jeszenszky, then in the same study, Anna Somssich was considered to be the wife of Antony (II.).⁵⁰⁷

But did such a double-marriage really happen? Certainly not in the form that the two quotes suggest. Josepha Kajdacsy and Antony (II.) Kajdacsy were not siblings, but cousins: Josepha belonged to the Tolna branch of the family (also, she was born in Börsöny, not in 1789, but on the 8th March 1790, as the daughter of Francis Kajdacsy and Judith Cséfalvay).⁵⁰⁸ This did not negate the bilateral relationship, it only highlighted its strength.

The other half of the double marriage is related to the wedding of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy and Anna Somssich. It is certain that Antony (II.) Kajdacsy married Theresia Vészits in 1811, with whom they already had two children. The registers make it clear that this was already the second marriage of Antony Kajdacsy, his children were born after the death of his first legal wife, but

⁵⁰⁴ Ódor, I. (2014): 78.

⁵⁰⁵ Kaposi, Z. (2014): 21. Note 28.

⁵⁰⁶ Szluha, M. (2003): 573.

⁵⁰⁷ Ódor, I. (2014): 77–78.

⁵⁰⁸ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:V4JY-WHY> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

the first wife's name was not recorded.⁵⁰⁹ Some of the literature identified Anna Somssich as the mother of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy,⁵¹⁰ but as we saw earlier, Antony (III.) was already born from Theresia Vészits. However, the Antony Kajdacsy - Anna Somssich marriage was not disproved by this. During my research, I tried to look through the registers of the locations connected to Antony (II.) Kajdacsy (Pécs, Hidas, Börsöny, Szigetvár, Bükkösd, from 1803 Sásd and Mágocs), but I was unable to find a source regarding the marriage or his first wife. As a result, I focused my research on the person of Anna Somssich.

A significant part of the literature is tight-lipped about Anna Somssich, as we will see later, in most cases they do not even give her a year, or if they do, they put her life between 1785 and 1807. However, before we move on to the examination of these two years, I see it as appropriate to examine the historiography of the double-marriage. Iván Nagy wrote down his data in 'Following a family communication',⁵¹¹ while Béla Kempelen only gave his sources in general terms.⁵¹² Like them, the *Siebmacher Wappenbuch* only contains names.⁵¹³ Lajosné Véssey also described the fact of the marriage,⁵¹⁴ and in the family trees of Somssich Pongrác, only the name of Antony Kajdacsy can be read.⁵¹⁵ Imre Ódor also wrote about a double-marriage without a specific data.⁵¹⁶

In my literature collection, the *Pálmány-collection* was the first to provide the years 1785-1807 in 2011, referring to Iván Nagy and Márton Szluha.⁵¹⁷ This is interesting because neither Nagy nor Szluha gave a year, in fact, Szluha directly considered Anna Somssich to be the wife of Antony (III.) and not Antony (II.).⁵¹⁸ It also raises questions that the *Pálmány-collection* designates Anna Somssich as the mother of Antony (III.) Kajdacsy, but gives the exact date of birth: however, if this source had really been used, it would have become clear that the mother of Antony (III.) was Theresia Vészits. I believe that Pálmány's dates come from the database of the *genealogy.euweb* website, which was referred to in several cases in the volume.⁵¹⁹ The only problem with this is that this website does not provide its sources either.

The same years were given by Gábor Imre Nagy (referring to Iván Nagy and János Gudenus)⁵²⁰ and also by Zoltán Kaposi (referring to Ódor).⁵²¹ However, it is also worth noting that in Zoltán

⁵⁰⁹ „Sua occasione coram proactactis Testibus Idem Dominus Antonius Kajdacsy eam quoque declarationem fecit: quod duas proles masculas Antonium nempe, et Sigismundum, quos post decessum legitimae Uxorae suae, extra matrimonium cum praedicta Theresia Vészits susceperat, atque progenuerat, pro veris, naturalibus, atque indubitatis suis filiis recognoseat, ac per nunc celebratum cum Theresia Vészits matrimonium legitimet ac cohonestet: imo pro legitimis, ac veris suis successoribus agnoscat, indubitanter teneat, atque declaret.” PEL III. 107. Pécs-Cathedral, register of married persons (1782–1832) year 1811, page 79.; The register can be seen in the Familysearch database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSV4-RZMX?i=45&cat=427391> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁵¹⁰ Bona, G. (1999): 146.; Pálmány, B. (2011): 973. és Kaposi, Z. (2014): 21.

⁵¹¹ Nagy, I. (1868): 302. Note 1.

⁵¹² Kempelen, B. (1915): 416.

⁵¹³ Witting, J. B. (1918): 160.

⁵¹⁴ Véssey, L. (1944): 26.

⁵¹⁵ Somssich, P. (1991): 175.

⁵¹⁶ Ódor, I. (1997): 105. and Ódor, I. (2014): 77–78.

⁵¹⁷ Pálmány, B. (2011): 973.

⁵¹⁸ Szluha, M. (2003): 573.

⁵¹⁹ Genealogy.euweb's database: <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/somssich.html> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁵²⁰ Nagy, I. G. (2007): 148.: We have already talked about Iván Nagy, and Anna Somssich does not appear in the cited work of János Gudenus either. Gudenus, J. J. (1998): 331., 337., 339–342.

⁵²¹ Kaposi, Z. (2014): 21. Note 28.

Kaposi's early studies,⁵²² in which he examined the rise of the Somssich family, neither Anna Somssich nor the double-marriage appeared: although Anna is supposed to be the younger sister of Nicolaus and Pankratz (whose lives he presented in detail), he only described the marriage of Nicolaus Somssich and Josepha Kajdacsy.⁵²³

As I have already mentioned, the two years provided earlier probably need to be clarified. In connection with his date of birth, there is a chance that the date 1785 corresponds to reality: among the children of Joseph Somssich and Maria Ürményi, Nicolaus Somssich was born on the 13th December 1784,⁵²⁴ while Benjamin Somssich on the 20th July 1786.⁵²⁵ So if Anna Somssich was born in 1785, there was only a mathematical chance of this happening in September 1785. The birth certificate is not listed in the registers of Sárd (where all her siblings were born), but this does not mean that it was not recorded elsewhere. Regarding her death, we must certainly clarify the date of 1807, because we know from the marriage of Antony (II.) that he fathered Antony (III.) after the death of his legal wife, so his first wife died before the summer of 1806.

In relation to Anna Somssich, there is a lack of resources. We do not know exactly when and where she was born, when she married, and when, where and why she died. The 'deadlock' is clear: on the one hand, we cannot prove that Anna Somssich never lived – that would be impossible. On the other hand, no one had shown any primary source as to when she was born, died and married to Kajdacsy – there is only the literature and secondary sources, and as we have seen, these contain contradictions and errors.

It is therefore certain that there was one marriage between the Kajdacsy-Somssich families (between Nicolaus Somssich and Josepha Kajdacsy), but the other one has so far been neither proven nor disproved. We still have a chance, to prove that Antony (II.) and Anna Somssich were married indeed – in this case, the thesis of the double marriage is real, and the literature was right – but for this, we must find source. At the same time, we also have a chance to prove that they were never married: if we could find the register of Antony (II.)'s first marriage. In summary, I think that until we find a reliable, primary source on the marriage of Antony (II.) Kajdacsy and Anna Somssich, it is worth talking about the bilateral relationship between the families with caution.

Causes of the downfall

The literature traditionally linked the cause of the family's decline to Antony (III.)'s behavior. However, in my opinion, this judgment is one-sided and unfair. It is a fact that the Baranya branch of the family died out with Antony (III.), and he was the only one excluded from the officer corps. However, this does not mean that he alone was responsible for the 'downfall' of the family. I think we have to look for the reasons for this in the relationship between the generations.

⁵²² Kaposi, Z. (1999) and Kaposi, Z. (2002)

⁵²³ Kaposi, Z. (1999): 209. and Kaposi, Z. (2002): 77.

⁵²⁴ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X8YZ-5MN> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

⁵²⁵ The register can be seen in the *Familysearch* database: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X8YZ-TVY> (last visited: January 22, 2023)

The relationship between the generations: Antony (I.) and his sons

We do not know for sure whether the Antony (I.) ‘forced’ his sons to follow the family traditions and build a future for themselves in the County service. However, we can draw conclusions from the events of the regestas. In the absence of sources, we cannot know what the personal relationship between Antony (I.) and Michael was like. However, it is certain that Michael did not ask for these appointments – because he himself rejected them almost immediately. It also seems improbable that the *supremus* comes ‘just’ appointed him, without consulting Antony (I.).

Antony (I.)'s relationship with his other son, Antony (II.) could not have been smooth either. I mentioned earlier that there is an ‘exception’ among the family's marriages: the marriage of Antony Kajdacsy and Theresia Vészits. This marriage did not bring property, political capital, or votes in elections. We know that they had two children before their marriage, so we can conclude that it was a love marriage. But why didn't they get married earlier? We know that at the time of the birth of their first son, Antony (II.) was already a widower, 28 years old, and held one of the County's esteemed, serious offices. It is revealing that Antony (II.) and Theresia Vészits got married (on the 23rd July 1811) 4 days after Antony (I.)'s death (19th July 1811). It can be assumed that Antony (I.) was against this marriage of his son, so they ‘had to wait’ for Antony (I.)'s death. It is also revealing that Antony (II.) mourned his father for such a short time, and how big a role fathers had in the lives of adults.

The preferences of Antony (III.)

In the absence of sources, we do not know in detail what Antony (III.)'s relationship with the third generation and its members was like. We know that Antony (III.) and his uncle Michael were on rather bad terms.⁵²⁶ We also know what Antony (III.) inherited from his father: financial difficulties and a huge loss of prestige. Despite all of this, we see that Antony (III.)'s career was not hindered by these, he moved higher and higher. His rise lasted until he was expelled from the officer corps. I mentioned earlier that the literature explains this by saying that Antony (III.) wanted to be an actor, and he became one.

The basis of the suggestion that Antony (III.) Kajdacsy became an actor can be formed by a document from 1854, in which County chief Eduard Cseh informed the mayor of Pécs about the arrest of an actor named Antony Kajdacsy.⁵²⁷ The ‘actor’ line was further strengthened by examining the history of Pécs theater before 1840. On July 20, 1839, the County assembly adopted a resolution according to which ‘we decided to support the National Actors' Society, which exists in Pécs and is under the wings of the nobility.’⁵²⁸ The nobility of Baranya decided to organize the first Hungarian Theater in Pécs, and a committee was formed to carry out the preparations, which also took care of the funds received from public donations. Chief notary

⁵²⁶ Michael Kajdacsy's letter to Antony (III.) Kajdacsy, February 15, 1834. Location: HU-MNL-BaVL IV. 19. e. Papers of Antony Kajdacsy, jurassor of Siklós, then *judex nobilium* of Szentlőrinc (1794–1839). Note 8. Miscellaneous letters of Antony Kajdacsy *judex nobilium* of Szentlőrinc, 1832–1837.

⁵²⁷“The comedian of noble birth who deserved a better fate was arrested in December 1853. His offense was that he did not declare his debt of 1,000. forints”. Quotes: Kerényi, F. (1992): 102.

⁵²⁸ Márfi, A. (1995): 439.

Kajdacsy and board judge became the chairman of the permanent committee managing the monetary fund. The board of the National Casino in Pécs undertook the management of the contracted theater company: the board consisted of 7 people, its presidents were Emerick Mihálovich and Antony (III.) Kajdacsy.⁵²⁹ Thus, Antony (III.) Kajdacsy undoubtedly had a connection to theater in Pécs, although we cannot prove whether he personally acted as an actor in specific plays.

In the case of Antony (III.), it can be seen that he did not wish to continue the family tradition: it is important to emphasize that he left the office of chief notary ‘voluntarily’, since he could ‘thank’ it solely to his own behavior that he was deprived of the position. He is somewhat similar to Michael in this. We also know that in the next part of Antony's life he worked as a police commissioner. He achieved serious success in this and gained great popularity: his work was surrounded by public satisfaction, his figure often appeared in the columns of contemporary press products.⁵³⁰ However, we must emphasize that whether he was an actor or not, and in vain he was ‘just’ a police commissioner, he never lost so much authority and respect that his figure would have been ‘unacceptable’ for the office corps, since he was appointed as an honorary vice *judex nobilium*.

It can also be a telling fact, that he did not want to return there even after his return from emigration. He was 60 years old at this time, former member of parliament, respected police commissioner, hero of the War of Independence of 1848–1849, the emigration and the Italian wars – everything would have been given to return to the officer corps, if he wanted to. Instead, he resumed his former position as police commissioner.

Based on all of this, I believe that Antony (III.) did not leave the officer corps due to a lack of ability or opportunity, but of his own free will, due to his own preferences – simply, like Michael, he wanted to do something else. The only difference is that, while in the case of Michael, the generation that followed him was able to continue the family tradition, after Antony (III.) there was no new generation.

Conclusion

The primary reasons for the rise of the family were the good relationship networks (both formal and informal) and the individual qualities of the family members. With regard to their relationship capital, it can be seen that they were well used to obtain office, and through their

⁵²⁹ Márfi, A. (1995): 25.

⁵³⁰ In the *Nemzeti Ujság* (National Gazette) the following story can be read from 1844: "Personal and property security has been restored in our County since our new police commissioner Antony Kajdacsy managed to capture the 4 individuals of the group of robbers I mentioned last time after an armed confrontation." *Nemzeti Ujság* December 21, 1844, Vol. 39, No. 100, 413.; Another story from 1845: "This way we take the opportunity to report some other news to the worthy audience. In our border, not so long ago, the noble Baranya County police officer Antony Kajdacsi captured four famous robbers who escaped through us. The upright official encouraged these evildoers day and night - sacrificing his life for several days - until his amazing skill managed to capture them [...]. We have to admit that we have not known such a precise and skillful official; that's why we salute this worthy champion of public security, who earned the gratitude of many thousands by saving them from the terrors of these evildoers." *Nemzeti Ujság* March 14, 1845, Vol. 40, No. 42, 167.; and also the *Nemzeti Ujság* reports on the bandits settling in the Bács County, when it notes: "For some time, the vagabonds of Baranya believe they can invent a safer haven in our County; it seems they know that the famous Kajdacsy does not live in our County". *Nemzeti Ujság* November 30, 1845, Vol. 40, No. 172, 691.

marriages they came into close contact with significant families in the region – even the Somssich family of Somogy, but the details of this require further research. However, these marriages were present in every generation, so we cannot say that their absence caused the downfall of the family.

In my opinion, the downfall was caused by the differences between generations and the individual desires of family members. So far, this is not a new finding, as previous literature also came to this conclusion: the downfall of the family was caused by the fault of Antony (III). As we have seen, there is some truth in this. Antony (III.) really left the officer corps voluntarily and did not want to return there, although we can see from his life that he had the chance to do so – he defied family tradition, if you will.

However, it can create a false impression if we only blame one generation for the reasons for the downfall of the entire family: on the one hand, Michael arbitrarily withdrew from the officer corps, did not produce offspring and did not continue the family tradition; on the other hand, Antony (II.)'s financial and women's affairs meant a huge blow to the family both in terms of material and symbolic power and prestige. Therefore, not only Antony (III), but also the generation before him can be 'blamed' for the downfall of the family.

I hope that my research contributed to getting to know a family that had a significant impact on the life of an entire County for more than a century. However, the work is far from finished, and the history of the Kajdacsy family needs nuance in several cases.

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Borbála Rózsa Zsindely

Besonderheiten der Mühlenindustrie in Völgység zwischen 1885 und 1939**Abstract**

The purpose of the study: The study is about the small mills of the Völgység region on the border of Baranya and Tolna between 1885 and 1939. The study is a description as the research is still in its early stages and it focuses on the former mills of the Vízvölgy, concretely on five settlements along the Völgységi stream.

Applied methods: The study examines the characteristics of the region's milling industry from the aspects of both natural geography and technical development. The mills of the era by each settlement are described based on technical and historical analysis and those working water mills are highlighted, which were unique in their time. The main sources were archival material from the period of the area's water management and the cultural engineers' description and drawings.

Outcomes: The study closes with summary of the main social-historical conclusions about the former small mills of the Vízvölgy from the point of view of the communities concerned.

Keywords: Völgység, Völgység stream, water mill, water management, water law, cultural engineers

1. Einführung

Die Völgység und dessen Teilgebiet die Vízvölgy⁵³¹ war eine spezielle, technisch sich schnell entwickelnde Region der ländlichen Mühlenindustrie. Szászvár und in der Umgebung liegende Dörfer – Magyaregregy, Kárász, Vékény und Máza – gehören und gehörten zur Vízvölgy. In der von mir untersuchten Periode man von einem blühenden-mühlenindustriellen Leben in dieser Gegend sprechen. Im folgenden Artikel geht es um den oberen Bereich des Völgységi-Baches. Der Bach erreicht auf der nördlichen Seite des Mecsek-Gebirges das Tal, also das Wasser fließt breiten Flussbett Richtung Osten. Deshalb ist dieser obere Bereich des Baches für den Bau von Mühlkanal-Systemen und damit im engen Zusammenhang für das Betreiben vieler Wasserräder geeignet.

Im Vízvölgy lebten in der untersuchten Zeit Ungarn, Deutsche, schlawische Bevölkerung und Juden.⁵³² Wegen der Anwesenheit der deutschen Bevölkerung wurde dieses Gebiet als Teil der *Schwäbischen Türkei* definiert.⁵³³ Jede Nationalität, die hier lebte, kam irgendwie in Beziehung mit dem regionalen mühlenindustriellen Leben, weil ein jeder seine Getreide zu mahlen hatte. Aber es muss unbedingt beachtet werden, dass die Begrenzung der Völgység nicht eine einfache

⁵³¹ Diesen Raum nennt die Schriftstellerin Gizella Dénes Boldogasszony-Tal. In: FÜZES 1997. 5. und Magyar Katolikus Lexikon: Gizella Dénes

⁵³² Bodor, Á. (2007)

⁵³³ Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon

Aufgabe ist, weil „*die geographische Region nicht mit der ethnischen identisch ist, und auch von verwaltungsmäßigen Einheiten divergiert.*“⁵³⁴ Aus ethnischer Sicht gehört Völgység zur Landschaftseinheit Sárköz.⁵³⁵

In meiner Studie stelle ich vor, welche Besonderheiten in der Region der Vízvölgy zwischen 1885 und 1939 die Lage, Funktion und Mahltechnik von Mühlen beeinflussten und Mühlen zu anderen industriellen Arbeiten beitrugen. Ich gehe auch darauf ein, wie die historischen und politischen Ereignisse der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts die Geschichte dieser Mühlen beeinflussten. Die Geschichte der Mühlen endete formal spätestens mit der Zurückziehung der Wasserrecht-Zulassungen (spätestens in den 1960-er Jahren), aber diese war nur noch ein bürokratisches Ereignis, weil die Mühlen zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits nicht mehr in Betrieb waren.

2. Völgységi- Bach als landschaftformende Kraft

Der Völgységi-Bach entspringt an der nördlichen Seite des Mecsek im Takanyó-Tal, fließt an der nördlichen Seite des Gebirges Richtung Osten und erreicht bei Sióagárd das Sió-Sárvíz Wassersystem. Der Wasserstand des Baches ist nicht zu hoch, er schwankte in der betroffenen Periode zwischen 1-1,5 Meter.⁵³⁶ Aus Messungen des 19. Jahrhunderts wissen wir, dass der Bach bei Bonyhád 0,45 m³/sec. Wasserdurchfluss hatte.⁵³⁷

Das Einzugsgebiet des Baches nennen wir Völgység und in diesem Gebiet wurde verwaltungsmäßig der Völgységer-Bezirk organisiert, der aber heute nicht mehr existiert, weil wegen mehrfachen Komitatgrenzwechsel einige Dörfer zum Komitat Baranya, andere zum Komitat Tolna gehören.⁵³⁸ Aber man kann sagen, dass die Forscher zwei Völgység definieren konnten. Eines ist der sogenannte *Kis-Völgység*, der zum Komitat Baranya gehörende Dörfer beinhaltet, und zur *Nagy-Völgység* gehörten die Siedlungen in dem Komitat Tolna. Nach dem Konzept der Forscher könnten die zwei Völgységs zusammen, die heute als *történeti-Völgység* genannte Region bilden.⁵³⁹ Die Dörfer aus dem Komitat Tolna gehören zum Bonyhádi-Bezirk und die Dörfer ab Vízvölgy die Fließrichtung folgend (Magyaregregy, Kárász, Vékény,⁵⁴⁰ Szászvár und Máza⁵⁴¹) gehören zum Komlóer-Bezirk.⁵⁴² Der Völgység, als Region gehört zur Tolnaer-Hügellandschaft, zusammen mit Hegyhát und mit der Szekszárdi-Hügellandschaft.⁵⁴³

⁵³⁴ Szóts, Z. (2007): 170.

⁵³⁵ Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon

⁵³⁶ Die durchschnittliche Wasserausbeute ist belegbar durch die archive Dokumente der Mühlen, weil in die technische Beschreibungen oft steht, wie viel Kubikmeter Wasser die Müller durch die Mühlenkanäle zu den Wasserrädern führten.

⁵³⁷ Dóka (1992): 45.

⁵³⁸ siehe früher (oben Fußnote: 4.) zitierter Text von Szóts, Z.

⁵³⁹ Máté, G. (2013): 21.

⁵⁴⁰ Vékény gehört heute verwaltungsmäßig zur Kárász, aber, weil der Ort das Thema meiner Arbeit gehört, nannte ich den ~~die~~ Name des Dorfes.

⁵⁴¹ In dieser Arbeit beschäftige ich mich nur mit diesen Dörfer, mit den anderen zu Völgység gehörende Dörfer nicht.

⁵⁴² KSH. Jahrgang 2012. Jahrbuch

⁵⁴³ Dóka (1983): 381.

Völgység wird charakterisiert von „Lößhügeln und durch erodierte Zeugenbergen.“⁵⁴⁴ „Die Hügel werden durch breiten Täler voneinander getrennt, wo in denen Löß angelagert wurde.“⁵⁴⁵ Es geht um eine Region, wo in der die Hügel das Wetter und dessen Veränderung beeinflussen.⁵⁴⁶ „Der Niederschlag ist zwischen 600-700 mm pro Jahr, bei Sommergewittern wird manchmal auch 50 mm (Niederschlag) gemessen.“⁵⁴⁷ Der Bach kann wegen der Sedimenthaltigkeit der Böden deren „Wasserdurchlässigkeit und Speicherfähigkeit“⁵⁴⁸ nicht reißend genannt werden.⁵⁴⁹ Wegen der geringeren Fließgeschwindigkeit des Wassers führt der Bach Sedimente (Sand) mit sich,⁵⁵⁰ deshalb musste das Bachbett regelmäßig gesäubert werden.⁵⁵¹

Es ist wichtig hervorzuheben, dass am Völgységi-Bach, nicht weit von Magyaregregy, zu dem Máré-Burg gehörenden Besitz schon um Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts Mühlen existierten.⁵⁵² Dass in der Region schon in diesen früheren Zeiten Mühlen existierten, ist Beweis dafür, dass „über gute Voraussetzungen verfügende Bäche im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit auch einen großen wirtschaftlichen Wert darstellen.“⁵⁵³

Um die Jahrhundertwende des 18-19. Jahrhunderts wuchsen die Ansprüche an das Mehl und diese mussten die Mühlen bedienen. Um höherqualitatives Mehl herstellen zu können, war der beste Mühlentyp die in der Region verbreitete mit überschlächtigem Rad arbeitende Kanalmühle. Das bedeutete, dass das Wasser aus dem Bach durch lange Mühlgräben zur den Mühlen hin geführt wurde. „Die Mühlengräben liefen parallel mit dem Bach, am Rock der Hügellandschaft, hielten eine definierte Höhe über dem Meeresspiegel, dann sanken sie mehrere Meter in der Größe des Rads gemessen) als sie zur Grundhöhe Mühlrad, erreichten ab. Die Gräben banden im Tal liegende Mühlen in der Reihe zueinander.“⁵⁵⁴ Mit dem Ausbau des Graben-Systems kam eine Art von künstlich ausgebautem „überwachten System zustande, in dem neben den Wasserdämmen des Mühlgrabens Gräben (Hochwasserentlastung) gebaut wurden, die Verwendung des Wassers hing auch mit den Regeln des Grundherrens (später der Komitatsverwaltung) zusammen, die die Wassermengen regulierten, die zum Mühlrad geleitet wurden.“⁵⁵⁵ Die Kulturingenieure waren feste Protagonisten der amtlichen Regelung und die Vertreter der Inspektoren.

3. Die Wassernutzungsrechte und die Rolle der Kulturingenieure

„Der erste Regulierungsplan...(des Völgységi-Baches)... wurde 1904 fertig.“⁵⁵⁶ Die Regulierungs-Arbeiten wurden von den Arbeitern des Kulturingenieur-Büros erledigt. Es hatte

⁵⁴⁴ Ebd.

⁵⁴⁵ Ebd.

⁵⁴⁶ Ebd.

⁵⁴⁷ Ebd.

⁵⁴⁸ Ebd.

⁵⁴⁹ Ebd.

⁵⁵⁰ Ebd.

⁵⁵¹ Ebd.

⁵⁵² K. Németh, A.– Máté, G. (2014): 47.

⁵⁵³ Ebd.

⁵⁵⁴ Ebd. 59.

⁵⁵⁵ Ebd.

⁵⁵⁶ Ebd. 387.

eine sehr wichtige Rolle bei der technischen Vermessung der Mühlen, und in der Planung der Graben-Ausstattung. Denn „*das Wassernutzungsrecht von 1885 sagte aus, dass um allen Wasserarbeiten, die fremden Interessen betreffen, eine vorherige amtliche Erlaubnis gegeben werden musste.*“⁵⁵⁷ Den Preis der Arbeiten hat die Dorfbehörde der Siedlungen als Steuer von den betroffenen Besitzern,⁵⁵⁸ so von den Müllern eingeholt.⁵⁵⁹ Die Rolle der Kulturingenieure steigerte sich nach 1885, weil für die Erteilung des Wassernutzungsrechtes alle Wassermühlen vermessen werden mussten. Eigentlich kann man nur nach 1885 über mühlenindustriellen Dokumente reden, weil zur Erteilung des Wassernutzungsrechtes ~~war~~ im Fall der Mühlen die früher schon mahlen notwendig war, dass die Dorfbehörde die Existenz der Mühle bestätigt. In diesen Papieren stand immer ein angenähertes Datum, über dem Bestand der Mühle.

Nach 1885 änderten sich die Betriebsbedingungen der Mühlen. „Jeder Wasserverbrauch musste zu Kontrollzwecken gemeldet werden, und der stellvertretende Landvogt erteilte eine Genehmigung für den weiteren Betrieb oder die neue Wassernutzung. Für dieses Verfahren musste der Eigentümer einen Plan und eine technische Beschreibung des Bauwerks anfertigen lassen“⁵⁶⁰ Bei Bachmühlen⁵⁶¹ wurde der Zustand der Mühle im Rahmen des Genehmigungsverfahrens vom Büro des Kulturingenieurs bewertet.⁵⁶² „In der Vergangenheit unterschied sich das Wasserrecht von Region zu Region, von Herrschaft zu Herrschaft oder von Stadt zu Stadt, was auch dem Gewohnheitsrecht innerhalb des lokalen Rechtsrahmens einen viel größeren Spielraum gab.“⁵⁶³ Nach 1885 wurde „die Höhe des Dammes und die Abmessungen der Kanäle von diesem Amt zum Zeitpunkt der Genehmigung festgelegt. Das Genehmigungsverfahren bezog sich nicht auf die Gebäude und Anlagen, sondern nur auf die wasserbaulichen Aspekte.“⁵⁶⁴

Am Ende des Verfahrens erteilte der stellvertretende Vizegespan den Mühlenbesitzern die wasserrechtlichen Genehmigungen. Es ist jedoch wichtig zu erwähnen, dass die Komitatsverwaltung klar erkannte, dass das Verfahren zur Erteilung der Genehmigungen langwierig sein würde, so dass die meisten Mühlen nach einer einfachen Mitteilung weiterarbeiten durften, bis das Genehmigungsverfahren selbst abgeschlossen wurde. Die staatliche Verordnung wurde 1885 erlassen, aber *„eine große Anzahl von Mühlenbesitzern meldete ihre Mühlen erst 1895 offiziell an.“*⁵⁶⁵

Die Grabensysteme, das Werk von Kulturingenieuren, verbanden die Mühlen in der Gegend besser als alles andere. Ausreichend Wasser war für den Betrieb aller Wassermühlen unerlässlich. Die genaue Wassermenge, die "entnommen" werden durfte, wurde in den technischen Spezifikationen, die der Genehmigung beigelegt waren, genau festgelegt.⁵⁶⁶ Der Bach mit all seinen Eigenschaften war der Hauptgrund für die Errichtung der Mühlen. Die Landgewinnungsprojekte (Wasserregulierung) am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts erreichten auch

⁵⁵⁷ Fejér, L. (2001): 135.

⁵⁵⁸ In Archiven erhaltene Materialien der Mühlen unterstützen, was Klára Dóka in ihrer zitierten Studie behauptet.

⁵⁵⁹ Ebd. 388.

⁵⁶⁰ Dóka (1992): 47.

⁵⁶¹ Eine Art Wassermühle, die das Wasser von Bächen zum Antrieb ihrer Räder nutzte. Das Wasser wurde über Kanäle aus dem Bach abgeleitet. Eine andere Art von Wassermühle ist die Schiffsmühle.

⁵⁶² Dóka (1992): 47.

⁵⁶³ Máté, G. (2014): 475.

⁵⁶⁴ Ebd.

⁵⁶⁵ Ebd.

⁵⁶⁶ Es gab ein komplexes System von Definitionen, auf das ich hier nicht näher eingehen werde.

das Vízvölgy, so dass vermehrt Getreide gelagert werden musste. Es lohnte sich also, eine Mühle zu bauen und zu betreiben, denn es gab eine garantierte Nachfrage nach Mahlwerken.

4. Charakteristika der Geschichte der Vízvölgyer Mühlen

Der untersuchte Zeitraum beginnt mit der Ära der industriellen Gesetzgebung, in der Zeit des prosperierenden Dualismus. Der Erste Weltkrieg beendete jedoch das traditionelle System, wonach Ungarn landwirtschaftliche Produkte herstellte, während die österreichischen Gebiete für die industriellen Aktivitäten zuständig waren. Die Mühlenindustrie gehört zwar zum Agrarsektor, bildet aber eine Ausnahme, da es sich um eine kleine Industrie mit erneuerbaren Energien (in diesem Fall hauptsächlich Wasserkraft) handelt, die nicht nur von den Wassererträgen, sondern auch von der Menge des in einem bestimmten Jahr geernteten Getreides abhängig war. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg besetzten die Serben, die nach Ungarn kamen, das Vízvölgy gar nicht. Für das Gebiet war weiterhin die Müllervereinigung Ungarns zuständig. Eine 1921 erlassene Zwangsquotenverordnung betraf auch die hier tätigen Mühlen. In der Zeit der Weltwirtschaftskrise wurden viele Mühlen in der Region stillgelegt, es fehlten die Mittel für eine Modernisierung, und die nicht modernisierten Mühlen waren nicht mehr rentabel zu betreiben. Müller gehörten zur politisch und sozial einflussreichen Schicht der Horthy-Ära, die eine wichtige Rolle bei der Erholung von der Wirtschaftskrise spielten. Nach Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkriegs wurden die noch in Betrieb befindlichen Mühlen in die Kriegswirtschaft einbezogen.

5. Technische Entwicklung

In der Vízvölgy nutzten die dort errichteten Mühlen die Antriebskraft des Völgységi-Baches, der an den Nordhängen des Mecsek herunterfließt. Aufgrund des Wasserreichtums der Region *"gibt es im Tal eine große Anzahl von Wassermühlen."*⁵⁶⁷ *"Diese Mühlen wurden in dem Gewässersystem des Völgységi-Baches gebaut und nutzten die natürlichen Möglichkeiten aus."*⁵⁶⁸ *„Das Wassersystem der Völgység eignete sich vor allem für den Bau von kleinen Mühlen, d.h. von Mühlen mit einem Rad.“*⁵⁶⁹ In der Gegend gab es so viele Mühlen, dass fast alle Einwohner ihr Getreide in ihren eigenen Gemeinden mahlen konnten. Es ist erwähnenswert, dass das Gebiet das erste im Land war, das die freiwillige Erbschaft⁵⁷⁰ einführte, was vermutlich in den 1830-er Jahren einen großen Unternehmergeist weckte.

Die meisten Mühlen der Region mahlen mit einem Rad, "was bedeutete, dass das Mahlen mit ein paar Steinen durchgeführt wurde."⁵⁷¹ *„Diese Mühlen waren nur gelegentlich zum Mahlen von Getreide ausgestattet, meist wurden sie zum sogenannten Bauernmahlen verwendet.“*⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁷ Kárpátiné (1991): 237.

⁵⁶⁸ Ebd.

⁵⁶⁹ Ebd 238.

⁵⁷⁰ Magyar Katolikus Lexikon; und „der Landtag von 1839-40 nahm die freiwillige Erbfolge an“ Mozaikok a levéltár történetéből

⁵⁷¹ Ebd.

⁵⁷² Ebd.

„Das Mehl wurde nicht von der Kleie getrennt, das machte der Besteller.“⁵⁷³ „Die zwei- und dreirädrigen Mühlen produzierten eine bessere Mehlqualität. Hier wurde das zu mahlende Getreide immer wieder überschüttet, und die Mühlsteine wurden immer feiner gestellt. Sie benötigten jedoch mehr Wasserkraft für ihren Betrieb.“⁵⁷⁴

Die technologisch fortschrittlichste, zweirädrige Wasser- und später Dampfmaschine der Region gehörte Márton Kühnel aus Kárász.⁵⁷⁵ Nach dem derzeitigen Stand meiner Forschungen über das Mühlwesen in der Region mahlte in der Vízvölgy noch eine Dampfmaschine, die Sziget-Mühle in Szászvár, die nach den Recherchen des Lokalhistorikers Károly Szokoly⁵⁷⁶ im Jahr 1913 abbrannte.⁵⁷⁷ Vor dem Brand war sie jedoch mit einem mittelschlächtigen Mühlrad ausgestattet, einer in diesem Gebiet äußerst seltenen Technik zur Wasserableitung.⁵⁷⁸ Nach dem Brand wurde die Mühle als Wassermühle mit einem Oberschlächtigen Rad wiederaufgebaut.⁵⁷⁹

Es ist jedoch wichtig zu wissen, dass es im Vízvölgy nicht nur Zweiradmühlen, sondern auch Einradmühlen gab, die in der Region als potyogó oder kotyogó bekannt waren.⁵⁸⁰ Sie heißen so, weil das Getreide, wenn es in den sogenannten "kleinen Rumpffzeug" nach dem Trichter, der Mund der Mühle ist, fällt, ein charakteristisches Klappern von sich gibt. Nach dem Verlassen des Trichters werden die Körner zu den Mühlsteinen transportiert, wo der eigentliche Mahlvorgang beginnt. *"Der Begriff wurde noch im 20. Jahrhundert auf dem Lande verwendet, denn die Müller des Tals nannten die alten, ausschließlich mit Wasser betriebenen Schleifsteinmühlen (nicht Walzenmühlen) 'kotyogó'"*⁵⁸¹

Das Mahlen erfolgte durch Mühlen mit kurzen Gräben an den höher fließenden Bächen. Diese Mühlräder benötigten wenig Wasser zum Drehen, und ein konstanter Wasserstrom reichte aus, um sie in Gang zu halten. Diese Mühlen hatten bis zum 18. Jahrhundert keine Dämme.⁵⁸² *"Eine solche Lösung, die bereits Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts als fortschrittlich galt, wurde in der Szabó-Mühle in Kárász angewandt, deren Eigentum bis zu ihrem Verkauf der Gemeinde Kárász gehörte und die deshalb lange Zeit Pap-Mühle genannt wurde."*⁵⁸³ Das Tal des Völgységi-Baches war, wie bereits erwähnt, für den Bau von langen Gräben geeignet. Als die Nachfrage nach Mühlen an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert zunahm, wurde der Bau von langen Gräben zu einer absoluten Notwendigkeit.⁵⁸⁴ Deshalb ist es wichtig die Erosion und die Nutzungsmöglichkeiten von Wasser im genannten Gebiet zu untersuchen, da das Wasser das gesamte Potenzial der Mühlen in diesem Gebiet bestimmt hat.⁵⁸⁵

Außer der vorher erwähnten Rad- und Grabenarten mussten eine Reihe von Bedingungen erfüllt werden, damit das Gebiet zu einer Art "Mühlenindustriellem-Paradies" werden konnte. In der

⁵⁷³ Ebd.

⁵⁷⁴ Ebd.

⁵⁷⁵ XXVI.1. Mühle von Márton Kühnel

⁵⁷⁶ Ich möchte mich bei Ihnen für ihre professionelle Unterstützung und Hilfe bedanken.

⁵⁷⁷ Der Autor bezieht sich hier auf Seite 4 des Pécsi Napló vom 20. März 1913.

⁵⁷⁸ XXVI. 15. 590. und 689. Frau Resz János geb. Teréz Grill, Ábris Grósz und später István Sziget und seine Frau Magdolna Dohner waren Mühlenbesitzer derselben Mühle, die in Szászvár stand und deren Name in der Region Sziget-Mühle war.

⁵⁷⁹ XXVI. 15. 590. und 689.

⁵⁸⁰ K. Németh, A.– Máté, G. (2014): 57. Die Autoren beziehen sich auf ein Interview mit einem Augenzeugen.

⁵⁸¹ Ebd.

⁵⁸² Ebd. 58.

⁵⁸³ Ebd.

⁵⁸⁴ Ebd.

⁵⁸⁵ Ebd.

vorliegenden Studie möchte ich mich jedoch auf die Besonderheit des Gebiets, die fünf⁵⁸⁶ Dörfer,⁵⁸⁷ konzentrieren, und dazu ist es notwendig, die Arten von Rädern und Gräben kurz zu skizzieren. Daher werde ich mich nun den Mühlen der einzelnen Dörfer zuwenden. Von den vielen Mühlen möchte ich diejenigen hervorheben, die aus irgendeinem Grund eine Ausnahme darstellen und sich in ihrer Geschichte oder einem Teil davon von den anderen Mühlen im Vízvölgy unterscheiden.

6. Die Verbreitung der Kleinmühlen am Völgységi-Bach

Die Mühlen im untersuchten Gebiet sollten in der Fließrichtung des Baches vermessen werden. Denn obwohl diese Mühlen aufgrund des Wohnsitzes und der Zugehörigkeit ihrer Besitzer rechtlich nicht immer zu demselben Dorf gehörten, verband das Wasser die Mühlen miteinander. Die Rolle der verwaltungsmäßigen Grenzen ist in einem solchen Kontext also eher marginal. Und sei es nur, weil ein Bewohner des einen Dorfes eine Mühle an einem Ort betrieb, der zu einem anderen Dorf gehörte. Folgt man also dem Völgységi-Bach von der Quelle nach Norden und dann nach Osten, so findet man insgesamt 21⁵⁸⁸ Mühlen bis Máza.⁵⁸⁹ Heute sind diese Mühlen im besten Fall nur noch Gebäude, im schlimmsten Fall ist ihr ehemaliger Standort nicht bekannt.⁵⁹⁰

Sucht man jedoch anhand des Archivmaterials aus dem untersuchten Zeitraum nach einer Antwort auf die Frage, welche besonderen Ereignisse, Prozesse, persönliche Veränderungen usw. diese Mühlen beeinflusst haben, so findet man in der Geschichte dieser Mühlen eine überraschende Anzahl von sozial und technologisch interessanten Phänomenen. Ich werde nun die Geschichten der Mühlen in fünf dieser Gemeinden näher beschreiben.

7. Wechselnde Mühlenbesitzer in Magyaregry

Der Völgységi-Bach erreicht zuerst Magyaregry. Im untersuchten Zeitraum mahlten hier 5 Mühlen. Vermutlich hatten sie alle ein Rad, von denen es sowohl Räder mit Über- als auch mit Untersetzung gab. Interessant ist es, dass es bereits im 14. Jahrhundert in der Nähe der heutigen Standorte Mühlen gab, und dass eine Schwierigkeit bei der Erforschung der Geschichte der Mühlen in der Siedlung darin bestand, dass jede Mühle viele verschiedene Namen trug, meist nach dem Namen des aktuellen Besitzers, aber die Mühlen hatten auch andere Namen. Die

⁵⁸⁶ Magyaregry, Kárász, Vékény, Szászvár és Máza

⁵⁸⁷ Das sechste Dorf wäre Császta, das heute zu Szászvár gehört, und dessen Mühlen ich zu den Szászvärer Mühlen gezählt habe, weil es schwierig ist, sie nach ihrem Standort zu unterscheiden. Sobald es mir gelungen ist, die genaue Lage aller Mühlen in Szászvár zu ermitteln, werde ich die Mühlen in Császta nach meinen Plänen getrennt behandeln.

⁵⁸⁸ Die Zahl 21 ist in diesem Zusammenhang nicht ganz sicher, denn ich habe Mühlen gefunden, die in der Literatur erwähnt werden, aber ich konnte anhand der Archivalien noch nicht feststellen, zu welchem (Akt von Dokumenten sie gehören. In dieser Zeit (zwischen 1885 und 1939) gab es sicherlich 20 Mühlen in der Region, die 21. wäre die Krajcár-Mühle in Magyaregry. Die Eigentümer und Einzelheiten dieser Mühle sind mir noch nicht vollständig bekannt, aber es handelt sich mit Sicherheit um eine einmal bestehende Mühle.

⁵⁸⁹ Wenn wir annehmen, dass das Vízvölgy bis nach Máza reicht.

⁵⁹⁰ zum Beispiel Krajcár-Mühle aus Magyaregry

Namen des Eigentümers in Verbindung mit den Mühlen zu bringen, ist eine sehr schwierige Aufgabe, da es nicht genügend Quellen gibt. In den Archivdokumenten wird jedoch fast immer nur der Name des Eigentümers genannt, die anderen Namen der Mühlen werden sehr selten erwähnt. Zu dieser Erscheinung sind Beispiele die Kápolna-Mühle und die Krajcár-Mühle aus Magyaregry. Es ist sicher, dass diese beiden Mühlen am südlichen Rand des Dorfes nebeneinander standen und dass die Kápolna-Mühle wahrscheinlich in der Nähe der örtlichen Kapelle oder Kirche lag. Letzteres vermute ich aus dem Namen, und sicher, dass die Krajcár-Mühle für kurze Zeit im Besitz der Arnold-Familie war. Nach den Recherchen von Miklós Fűzes konnte es sich Fűlöp Arnold nicht leisten seine Söhne auf ein Gymnasium zu schicken, also erlernten sie einen Beruf und wurden Müllergehilfen *„Ihr Vater kaufte für sie die sogenannte Krajcár-Mühle in Magyaregry... (Hervorhebung von mir ZS. B. R.) Doch die Mühle erfüllte ihre Hoffnungen nicht, und so wechselten die Jungen erneut den Beruf.“*⁵⁹¹

Als man Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts begann die Bäche in diesem Gebiet zu regulieren, führte der daraus resultierende Rückgang des Wasserdurchflusses zwangsläufig zum Ende einiger Mühlen.⁵⁹² Unter den Mühlen von Magyaregry stellten die „Kápolna, die Krajcár und die Tóthfűlöp“⁵⁹³ Mühlen ihren Betrieb als Folge eines historischen Ereignisses ein. Ihr Niedergang erfolgte in den 1920-er Jahren, und der vielleicht wichtigste Grund für ihren Niedergang war, dass sie nicht modernisiert wurden.⁵⁹⁴ Der Name „Tóthfűlöp“⁵⁹⁵ als Mühlenname ist nur schon deshalb interessant, weil ihr erster Besitzer Tóth Fűlöp war,⁵⁹⁶ aber die Umgangssprache führte den Namen zusammen. Ich vermute, dass dies geschehen sein konnte, weil es neben Fűlöp Tóth fast gleichzeitig zwei weitere Mühlenbesitzer mit dem Nachnamen Tóth in Vízvölgy gab. Einer davon war der Besitzer der Tóth-Mühle Ferdinánd Tóth aus Vékény.⁵⁹⁷ Diese Mühle hatte zwei oberschlächtige Räder.⁵⁹⁸ Heute ist diese Mühle im Besitz eines holländischen Ehepaars, und ein rekonstruiertes unterschlächtiges Rad an der Hauswand erinnert an die Mühle, die auch heute noch in Betrieb sein könnte.⁵⁹⁹ Bis 2021 gab es im Garten der Mühle einen Campingplatz, der jetzt leider geschlossen ist. Eigentlich war die dritte Tóth-Mühle in Vízvölgy die Mühle von Ferenc Tóth⁶⁰⁰ in Szászvár. Diese Mühle hatte zwei oberschlächtige Räder und zwei Paare Mühlsteine und arbeitete mit einer Walze.⁶⁰¹ Es ist Ironie der Geschichte, dass der westliche Nachbar der Mühle von Ferenc Tóth die Mühle von Ferdinánd Tóth aus Vékény war.

⁵⁹¹ Fűzes, M. (1997): 166.

⁵⁹² K. Németh, A. – Máté, G. (2014): 62.

⁵⁹³ Ebd.

⁵⁹⁴ Ebd.

⁵⁹⁵ Meine Hypothese ist, dass sich hinter der Verwendung des Namens auch ein sprachliches Phänomen verbirgt, die so genannte Zusammenrückung

⁵⁹⁶ XXVI.3. Die Mühle von Fűlöp Tóth

⁵⁹⁷ XXVI.6. Die Mühle von Fűlöp Tóth und dessen Partners

⁵⁹⁸ Ebd.

⁵⁹⁹ Während meiner Feldforschung im Herbst 2022 konnte ich mit einem der derzeitigen Eigentümer der Mühle sprechen, der mir diese Informationen gab. Ich habe auch das rekonstruierte unterschlächtige Rad und einige Teile der ehemaligen Maschinen gesehen.

⁶⁰⁰ XXVI./7. Die Mühle von Tóth Ferenc

⁶⁰¹ Ebd.

8. Der Misserfolg eines erfolgreichen Mühlenbesitzers in Kárász und eine zurückerhaltene Mühle

Wenn wir dem Völgységi-Bach weiter nach Osten folgen, ist das nächste Dorf Kárász. Im untersuchten Zeitraum mahlten in dem Ort sechs Mühlen. Von denen gehört die Mühle von Márton Kühnel, die Fábrics-Mühle und die Szabó-Mühle zu den belegten in der untersuchten Periode. In Kárász variiert die Anzahl und Art der in den Mühlen verwendeten Räder. Den Quellen zufolge war die Kühnel-Mühle die technologisch fortschrittlichste. Sie war auch ein Sägewerk, und die Wassermühle wurde in eine Dampfmühle umgewandelt. Der Eigentümer Márton Kühnel erwarb auch Bergbaurechte und förderte die für den Betrieb der Dampfmühle benötigte Kohle in seinem eigenen Bergwerk. Später, im Jahr 1904,⁶⁰² wurde hier die erste Vogelkäfigfabrik des Landes gegründet, die sich ebenfalls gut entwickelte.⁶⁰³ Die persönliche Tragödie des Eigentümers besteht darin, dass unabhängig davon, welche Entwicklungsarbeiten oder -pläne er in Angriff nahm, immer ein größeres Problem auftrat (z. B. Krise, Verstaatlichung) und seine Ideen und Pläne nicht mehr tragfähig waren und nicht umgesetzt werden konnten.

Eine der Nachbarmühlen der Kühnel-Mühle war die Szabó-Mühle, die früher als Pap-Mühle bekannt war. Diese Mühle steht auf einer Insel in der Mitte des Dorfes. Der Bach oder die von ihm abzweigenden Mühlgräben befanden sich einst auf beiden Seiten des Gartens. Auf der anderen Seite der Mühlgräben liegt die so genannte Pap-Wiese, die ebenfalls nach dem ehemaligen Kirchgrundstück benannt ist. Die Mühle wurde 1914 von István Szabó und seiner Frau Mária Tudweiler von der örtlichen römisch-katholischen Kirchengemeinde gekauft. Die für die Wasserrechtsgenehmigungen erforderliche technische Überprüfung und die offizielle Umschreibung der Wasserrechtsgenehmigung wurden jedoch aufgrund der Kriegssituation mehrfach verschoben. Der Verkaufs- und Kaufprozess wurde schließlich im April 1918 abgeschlossen.⁶⁰⁴ Die Mühle ist etwas ganz Besonderes, nicht nur in dem untersuchten Gebiet, sondern auch in einem größeren Zusammenhang. Die Nachkommen von István Szabó sind nach langen und komplizierten Entwicklungen nun die alleinigen Eigentümer der Mühle, des Gartens und des Grundstückes.⁶⁰⁵ Die meisten Geräte der Mühle sind noch vorhanden, und nach geringfügigen Renovierungsarbeiten könnte sie weiterhin als Mühle betrieben werden. Diese Tatsache macht den Wert der Mühle in der heutigen Welt, die immer mehr auf die Nutzung natürlicher Energie angewiesen ist, unschätzbar.

Der Völgységi-Bach fließt nach Kárász in Richtung Osten und erreicht Vékény. Zwischen den beiden Dörfern lag die Hucker-Mühle, die heute ein Bauernhof ist. Die andere Mühle in Vékény habe ich schon erwähnt, Ferdinánd Tóth war der frühere Besitzer, und nach Angaben des Besitzers mahlte⁶⁰⁶ die Mühle Mais.⁶⁰⁷ Interessant ist, dass beide Mühlen in Vékény ursprünglich mit Oberschlächtigen Rädern ausgestattet waren.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰² Füzes, M. (1997): 159-165.

⁶⁰³ XXVI.1. Die Mühle von Márton Kühnel

⁶⁰⁴ XXVI/2. Die Mühle der römisch-katholischen Kirchengemeinde und István Szabó

⁶⁰⁵ Ich habe diese Mühle im Herbst 2022 im Rahmen meiner Feldforschung besucht und möchte mich bei Katalin Szabó, der Eigentümerin der Mühle, für die Gelegenheit und die Führung bedanken.

⁶⁰⁶ XXVI.6. Die Mühle von Fülöp Tóth und dessen Partnern

⁶⁰⁷ Ich habe jedoch in den Archiven keinen Hinweis auf das Mahlen von Mais gefunden, aber es ist möglich, dass die Mühle einst die einzige in der Gegend war, die Mais mahlte.

⁶⁰⁸ Ebd. und XXVI. 5. Die Mühle von István Fekete und dessen Nachfolger Ádám Hucker

9. Die gesellschaftliche Lage der Mühlenbesitzer in Szászvár

Nach Vékény erreicht der Bach Szászvár, die größte Siedlung in der Vízvölgy. Hier mahlten die meisten Mühlen der damaligen Zeit, insgesamt sieben. Die meisten Mühlen in Szászvár hatten zwei Räder. Ich vermute, dass diese Tatsache ein Hinweis auf die finanzielle Situation der Besitzer ist, denn selbst der Einbau eines Rades war keine billige Investition. Diese Annahme wird durch die Tatsache unterstützt, dass mehrere Mühlenbesitzer beträchtliche Geldbeträge für die Renovierung der katholischen Kirche spendeten.⁶⁰⁹ Die große Zahl der Mühlen kann auch ein Hinweis auf die geografischen Merkmale des Tals sein, das ein breiteres Tal ist. Dies bedeutete, dass es Platz für mehr Gräben und einen ausreichenden Wasserfluss gab, um so viele Mühlräder zu bewegen. In Szászvár gab es auch ein mittelschlächtiges Rad,⁶¹⁰ das ist eine Seltenheit in der gesamten Geschichte der ländlichen ungarischen Mühlenindustrie.

Es ist auch wichtig zu erwähnen, dass mehrere der Mühlen in Szászvár im Zentrum der Stadt lagen. Andere Mühlen mahlten an den Grenzen der Siedlungen (Császta war damals noch ein selbstständiges Dorf). Die Mühlen an den Grenzen waren schwieriger zu erreichen, aber die Dorfbehörden und die Eigentümer sorgten gemeinsam für die ordnungsgemäße Instandhaltung der Straßen und Brücken. István Rozs ein Mühlenbesitzer aus Szászvár klagte die Dorfbehörde wegen des schlechten Zustandes der Brücke vor seiner Mühle. Später führte er auch einen Prozess wegen des Zustandes der Straße, die durch den Hof seiner Mühle führte, der die Dorfbehörde an ein.⁶¹¹ Dies deutet darauf hin, dass die Tatsache, dass sich eine Mühle nicht im zentralen, inneren Teil einer Siedlung befand, nicht bedeutete, dass sie dem Verkehr auswich.

Die Besitzer der Mühlen in Szászvár gehörten zur Elite-Schicht der Siedlung, mehrere von ihnen waren Mitglieder des Dorfrats, und Ábris Grósz war der Chefingenieur des nahe gelegenen Bergwerks.⁶¹² Eine weitere Besonderheit der Mühlen in der Siedlung ist, dass einer der Besitzer der Mühlen in Vízvölgy jüdische Herkunft hatte. Der erste Besitzer der Flerkó-Mühle, János Flerkó, wurde von Dr. József Kreiner abgelöst.⁶¹³ Dr. József Kreiner, ein aus Bonyhád stammender Arzt, war ein angesehener lokaler Arzt, der trotz seiner jüdischen Religion ebenfalls für die Renovierung der Kirche spendete⁶¹⁴ und auch als Arzt in seiner Gegend tätig war und eine Selbsthilfegruppe organisierte.⁶¹⁵

10. Mühlen aus Máza in drei verschiedenen Situation

Im Untersuchungszeitraum war Máza (und ist es heute wieder) eine eigenständige Siedlung östlich von Szászvár. Den Angaben zufolge mahlten in der Siedlung drei Mühlen. Das Besondere an ihnen ist, dass sie auf der Grundlage der überlieferten Dokumente drei verschiedene Mühlenschicksale offenbaren. Die Geschichte der Mühle von György

⁶⁰⁹ Patton, G. und auch Károly Szokoly schreiben über diese Spenden.

⁶¹⁰ XXVI. 15. und 689. Frau Resz János geb. Teréz Grill, Ábris Grósz und später István Sziget und seine Frau Magdolna Dohner waren Besitzer derselben Mühle, die in Szászvár stand und deren Name in der Region Sziget-Mühle war.

⁶¹¹ XXVI. 8. Die Mühle von András Hoffler, später István Rozs dieselben Mühle und SZOKOLY 2017. 100.

⁶¹² Ebd. 35.

⁶¹³ XXVI.10. Die Mühle von Familie Flerkó und später von Dr. József Kreiner

⁶¹⁴ Patton, G.

⁶¹⁵ Bukovszky, J. (1940.)

Hartmann⁶¹⁶ fügt sich perfekt in die Geschichte der Mühlen in der Region ein. Sie wurde in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Betrieb genommen, wurde begutachtet und bewilligt aber es ist nicht bekannt, wann sie den Betrieb einstellte. Schließlich wurde 1967 nur einer nicht mahelnden Mühle die Lizenz entzogen.⁶¹⁷

Die Geschichte der Mühle von Frau József Hóhner⁶¹⁸ ist interessant, weil die Mühle während ihres gesamten Bestehens im Besitz einer Frau war. In diesem Fall gibt es mehrere Möglichkeiten. Entweder ist es möglich dass József Hóhner sein Lebenswerk, seine Mühle, seiner Frau widmete, wie es damals üblich war, und so wird auch der Name von Margit Brauner in der Konzessionsurkunde erwähnt. Oder es ist möglich, dass József Hóhner zu dem Zeitpunkt als die Mühle zertifiziert wurde, nicht mehr lebte und möglicherweise einen Sohn hatte, der noch minderjährig war und dessen Name nicht in der Lizenz angegeben werden konnte, so dass die Mühle auf den Namen seiner Mutter lief. Die dritte Möglichkeit ist eher unwahrscheinlich, nämlich dass Frau József Hóhner die tatsächliche Eigentümerin war. Ich wage diese Behauptung, weil der Beruf des Müllers in dieser Zeit kein Frauenberuf war, es ist aber auch möglich, dass Frau József Hóhner die Eigentümerin war, dass aber ein Pächter oder ein von ihr angestellter Müller die eigentliche Müllerarbeit erledigte. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, sind weitere Untersuchungen erforderlich, aber es ist sicher, dass die Namen von Frauen als Mühlenbesitzerinnen in den Dokumenten sehr selten sind. Wenn dies der Fall ist, dann ist eine der vier oben genannten Möglichkeiten die Antwort auf die Frage.

Die dritte von mir untersuchte Mühle in Máza war die Schrott-Mühle, auch bekannt als Magyar-Mühle.⁶¹⁹ Diese Mühle arbeitete mit zwei obenschlächtigen Rädern. Die Besonderheit ist, dass die Mühle vom Vater auf den Sohn weitergegeben wurde, wie es damals Gewohnheit war. Nach dem Tod von János Schrott übernahm sein Sohn József Schrott im Jahr 1895 die Leitung der Mühle.⁶²⁰ Die Müller und Mühlenbesitzer waren sehr darauf bedacht, dass ihre Mühlen nach ihrem Tod in sichere Hände kamen. Sie versuchten ihr Wissen so gut sie konnten an ihre Söhne weiterzugeben. Das war sehr wichtig, denn zu Beginn der Ära gab es keine Ausbildung für Müller, so dass sie das Wissen selbst an die nächsten Generationen weitergeben mussten.

11. Zusammenfassung

Die Mühlen von Vízvölgy bieten ein interessantes Bild aus technischer, sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Sicht. Technisch gesehen gibt es mehrere Arten von Rädern (oberschlächtig, unterschlächtig und mittelschlächtig). Die Anzahl der Räder und das Vorhandensein der seltenen, aber immer noch vorhandenen Walzen- oder Dampfmaschinen sind ein Hinweis auf die kontinuierliche technische Entwicklung des Gebiets. Die Mühlenbesitzer gehörten zur Elite-Schicht der Siedlungen und waren oft Mitglieder der Dorfbehörde oder Personen mit öffentlichem Rang. Sie hatten ein Mitspracherecht bei Entscheidungen, die ihre Dörfer betrafen.

⁶¹⁶ XXVI./18. und 6. Die Mühle von György Hartmann

⁶¹⁷ Ebd.

⁶¹⁸ Die Mühlen galten damals als Industriegebiet, das Frauen und Kinder nicht einmal betreten durften. Dafür gab es auch Gründe der Unfallverhütung.

⁶¹⁹ XXVI.26. Die Mühle von Schrott, Die Magyar-Mühle

⁶²⁰ Ebd.

Sie alle versuchten das Beste aus ihren wirtschaftlichen Möglichkeiten zu machen, und das war oft die Ursache für ihren Absturz.

Einige der Mühlen sind heute nicht einmal mehr als Ruinen zu sehen, während andere noch als Ruinen und in den Spuren ehemaliger Gräben und Schleusen erhalten sind. Andere, etwas glücklichere Mühlengebäude wurden für andere Zwecke genutzt, mit mehr oder weniger Erfolg. Auch die Szabó-Mühle in Kárász sollte in diesem Zusammenhang nicht vergessen werden. Sie befindet sich noch immer im Besitz der Nachkommen ihrer früheren Besitzer und wird von diesen als letztes Zeugnis der örtlichen Mühlenindustrie für künftige Generationen erhalten und geschützt.

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Gergely Gyórfi

Nationalisation of the Jewish Medical Practices, Chambers and Pharmacies in Kaposvár after the German Occupation

Abstract

The purpose of the study. The history of the Jews, who lived in Kaposvár, is well documented. Several monographies have been already written about their history and currently there are more researches are taking place. The historians have already written comprehensive history of the local Jewish community and naturally the German occupations and the events of the following months have not avoided the attention of the historiographers. My study also focuses on this epoch, but investigates other aspects, than the previous researchers. My essay describes nationalization of the Jewish medical practices, chambers and pharmacies in Kaposvár after the German occupation, furthermore it presents the circumstances of the dispossession and its effects on the health care and the local jurisdiction of the town. The study pays special attention to the operative laws and investigates practical execution of them.

Applied methods. The study fundamentally bases on archival sources, which are found in the local archives (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Somogy Megyei Levéltára). I applied the documents, which were issued by Capital and County Government Vice-commissioner's (alispán in Hungarian language and local government. Naturally I used beyond the primary sources, relevant monographies and studies. The study begins with presentation of the historical background, so gives a hand to the reader to get knows the brief history of that era and can orientate better. In my essay thematic scheme prevails, so history of the Jewish medical practices, chambers and pharmacies are introduced in separate chapters.

Outcomes. By my study the reader gives a comprehensive overview about history of the Jewish medical practices, chambers and pharmacies, which were functioning when the German army arrived. My essay tells about the decrees, which were introduced after the occupation, and concerned Jewish people, who worked in just now mentioned profession. Furthermore its presents these decrees' effect to the town's health care and the local jurisdiction, so can be knowledgeable, that did these anti-Semitic directions make an any damages, and if the answer is yes, how big was these losses and what did the local governors to consolidate the system.

Keywords: Kaposvár, Jewry, israelite, jew, medical practice, chambers, pharmacy, deprivatisation, confiscation process, nationalization

The historical background

In the 1930's Hungary built up tight connection with far-right states, included both the fascist Italy and the Nazi Germany, then at the end of the decade committed oneself to collaboration with the Third Reich. In this diplomatic connection the Great Depression and the Gömbös-era's foreign policy played important role, which led to one-sided Italian and German orientation. Another decisive factor in birth of the dependence was Germany's expansive politics in Eastern Europe. The Third Reich shown increasingly interest in this region and became more and more

aggressive. The clear-cut sign of German influence and one of the most important parts of Germany's expansion in the region was Anschluss in the spring of 1938. After Austria's annexation the Hungarian government – was ambitious of revision – had to realise, that the recapture of the territory – which was lost after the World War I. by Treaty of Trianon – could be possible only with cooperation with Germany. The collaboration with the Third Reich led to get stronger the far-right politics and latent anti-Semitism was got visible.⁶²¹

From 1938 in Hungary the number of anti-Semitic laws and decrees significantly grew, which was caused obviously by the German influence. The Hungarian Jews could live in better living conditions despite the serious discriminatory measures than the Jews, who lived in the neighbouring countries in the region. In Slovakia, Romania and Croatia there were already hold bloody pogroms in the first period of the war, as long as in 1942 deportation of the Jewish citizens was started. In the Polish and Russian territories – which were occupied by Germans – the local Israelite inhabitants' setting to ghettos and deportation of them was already started in 1939. Contrarily, in Hungary bulk of Jews were not threatened by danger until the March of 1944, when German troops occupied the country. Apart from the deportation in Körösmező and atrocities in Újvidék – in which approximately 20 000 Jewish citizens were killed – there were not measures, which concerned the entire native Jewish diaspora and could be danger to their life.⁶²²

The Hungarian society were not opposed to the anti-Semitism laws and decrees, which introduced because of cooperation with far-right states and the German occupation, moreover Israelite community also accepted them. The reason of the Jewish's moderate reaction was explainable with their trust in the Hungarian State. The members of the Jewish minority – although they had to face serious indignity and their economic potential were hindered - could not imagine that the government made an attempt to their physical destruction. The Jewish citizens hoped, they could overlive the war, so they tried to cooperate with *the Kingdom of Hungary*. By the way they had not got real opportunity to resistance or make a demonstration. The Hungarian people showed passive attitude and they tried to cooperate with different governmental bodies, because they hoped, that they could get the Jew's properties, but the effect of the anti-Semitic propaganda was also very strong. Police forces counted widely on bulk of civil people's assistance, namely the majority of the non-Jewish people not only shut their eyes to measures, which hit their Israelite fellow citizens, but they tried to help – mainly with reports – competent authorities' work as well. The Christian citizen's behaviour was motivated by personal revenge in lots of situation, but they also knew, that if they got previous Jewish properties, they could live on higher living standards and could reach certain existence without they should make more serious effort.⁶²³ „*From this time a great part of the Hungarian society became accustomed to the fact that it is not only possible to establish an existence through work and enterprise, but also by taking someone else's already established existence and then denouncing him, questioning his grandparents, throwing him out of his job, claiming his business, possibly interning him, and taking possession of his existence.*” – summarized István Bibó – who was a notable Hungarian lawyer, politician and political theorist in the 20th century

621 Gergely, J. (1997): 205–208.

622 Romsics, I. (2019) 345.

623 Karsai, L. (2005): 140.

– *who also researched* the anti-Semitism's affection to social and economic life in Hungary.⁶²⁴ Naturally his diagnose also concerned medical practices, chambers and pharmacies, their arrestment offered opportunity to Christian rivals to take their former property, praxis's and pharmacies, beyond reduced concurrence, so Christian professionals got really good chance to built up a more certain existence and a better life.

Elimination of the medical practices

The elimination of the doctors – who lived in Kaposvár – was started in the first part of April by the Capital and County Government Vice-commissioner's (alispán in Hungarian language) with the direction introduced on 31st March 1944, which based on the Prime Ministerial Decree no. 1210/1944. The new regulation declared that a person, who was regarded as Jewish henceforth is not employed as a public servant. According to the order Israelite citizens could not pass in to the public sector, so long as the Jews – who had got active labour relations – had to remove from their workplaces. Naturally the law concerned the doctors, who also worked as public servants, so their labour relations also had to end.⁶²⁵

In Somogy county the direction was also implemented – according to the mentioned decree of the Capital and County Government Vice-ispán – so the Jewish people's removal from the public sector.⁶²⁶ The decree's practical implement led to chaotic states, because of the lack of doctor's numerous patients did not get the necessary medical attendance. These problems were claimed fast and effective solution. Accordingly, county and town authorities put to survey of the number of Israelite doctors, who lived in Kaposvár. In the middle of May, the Capital and County Government *Vice-commissioner* ask the Chief Medical Officer to do a survey about the number of Israelites, so long as the town put to the local police to make a report about the number of the Jewish doctor's offices. According to the survey – which it was made by the local council – in Kaposvár from 57 doctors 25 was Jewish. Nearly half of the doctors – who practiced in the town – were held Jewish, punctually 44% of them was Israelite. In the light of these numbers, it was not strange at all that the implement of the decree led to collapse of the health care system in the town. The survey also reported the doctors' number, who currently made statute-labour. According to the report 5 former removed doctors made statute-labour at this time. The competent authorities in order to get the medical attendance smooth and calm again passed upon the removed doctor's call-up. The doctors – who started work newly – were employed in their previous workplace.⁶²⁷

Worthy of note the legal context of the statute-labour, which was introduced in 1939 by the defence law. The men, who were unemployable for effective military service had to achieve their duty by statute-labour. The law did not make any difference between Jewish and non-Jewish people, but the latterly 1942 c. XIV. made opportunity to the discrimination. In pursuance of the regulation the Jewish citizens could do justice to their duty by non-combatant

⁶²⁴ „Ettől kezdve szokták meg a magyar társadalom széles rétegei azt, hogy nemcsak munkával és vállalkozással lehet egzisztenciát alapítani, hanem úgy is, hogy valaki másnak a már kialakított egzisztenciáját kinézi magának, s aztán az illetőt feljel

enti, nagyszülőit kikutatja, állásából kidobhatja, üzletét kiigényli, őt magát esetleg internáltatja, egzisztenciáját pedig birtokba veszi.” Bibó, I. (2001): 50.

⁶²⁵ No. 1210/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 1. §.

⁶²⁶ HU-MNL-SVL IV. 405. b. 4154/1944.

⁶²⁷ HU-MNL-SVL V. 73. The reference number is not readable.

service for the Hungarian army. This duty mainly meant such a task, which had to be accomplished for the troops on the front, but it did not only contain strategic mission, but another sort of the duty as well as, for example medical works.⁶²⁸

Pál Stephaich, Capital and County Government *Vice-commissioner* made a new decree on 24 May, which aimed to guarantee function of the public health care in the city, and in the county. The decree declared, that Israelite doctor had to give their real estates and their offices to the Christians doctors, as long as their medical personalities– for example their x-ray and electrocardiograph machine; their other surgical instruments; and their medicaments too – had to be collected and surrendered to director of the hospital to 3th June at latest. The director had to take care professional storage of the instruments to the further measure.⁶²⁹

The crucial stage – which was evolved in the county –was typified very well by the Chief Medical Officer of Somogy County (megyei tisztifőorvos in Hungarian language) brief to the Capital and County Government *Vice-commissioner* on 28 June. The Chief Medical Officer reflected in his brief to the Prime Ministerial Decree no. 2250/1944, which was made some days ago, before 23 June. The mentioned decree declared, that Jewish doctors only treat other Jewish people. The regulations did not concern the case of first aid, and the home defence statute-labour (honvédelmi munkakötelezettség in Hungarian language) were also exceptions. The decree also said, that after the regulations came into effect Jewish doctor could not join to the medical associations, furthermore the Israelite doctors, who were registered formerly did not wear any position in the organisation and they were also deprived of the right to vote.⁶³⁰

The Chief Medical Officer revealed in his brief, that if the decree would be implemented, there would not be otolaryngologist in the county. Namely in Somogy county at this time there was only one specialist worked, Jenő Magyar, who was regarded as Jewish by laws. The Chief Medical Officer also worried about five pharmacies, which were closed because of former owner's move to ghetto.⁶³¹

The nationalisation of the pharmacies

By analyse of the anti-Semite laws – which influenced to the health care system – we must also pay attention to the nationalization of the pharmacies. The Jewish drugstores were brought under regulation on Prime Ministerial Decree no. 1370/1944, which was introduced on 14 April 1944. The decree declared that Ishmaelite people could not get licence to operate a personal pharmaceutical right (személyjogú gyógyszertár in Hungarian language) and they also could not get usufruct either, furthermore it was not allowed them, to get real right pharmaceutical right (reáljogú gyógyszertár in Hungarian language). However, the Jewish pharmacists had to operate their drugstore until the competent authorities give out new licence to operate the pharmacy for somebody else or assign official inspector (hatósági vezető in Hungarian language) to manage it. This measure was necessary so that in order to local inhabitants could obtain their medicines. In addition the Ishmaelite owner had to preserve devices and equipment

⁶²⁸ 1939 c. II. 230. §; 1942. c XIV. 3–5. §.

⁶²⁹ HU-MNL-SVL IV. 405. b. 11118/1944.; 11119/1944.

⁶³⁰ No. 2250/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 1. §; 3. §.

⁶³¹ HU-MNL-SVL IV. 405. b. 10757/1944.

of their drugstore and the material inventory – which was belonged to the pharmacy – could sell in normal quantity for current prices.⁶³²

Worthy of note is the Public Health Act 1876 – which was hallmarked by József Fodor – made binary structure. According to the Act personal and real pharmaceutical right could work in the country. Personal licence was obtained by application, but only the dispensing chemists had opportunity to apply for it. The licence belonged to a concrete person, and it was not possible to sold, alienated, or inherited it. The real-pharmaceutical-right pharmacy was ~~able to~~ saleable and lettable. The owner could be not only a druggist, but in case of the lack of necessary qualification he had to employ dispensing chemist.⁶³³

According to the regulation the Interior Ministry had to invite national applications to operate former Jewish personal-pharmaceutical-right pharmacies until 5 May 1944. The Ishmaelite's personal-pharmaceutical-rights were cancelled independently of the result of the application at latest 30 June 1944. The major had to assign an official inspector to coordinate the pharmacy. The Prime Ministerial Decree no. 1370/1944 said ~~next~~ the followings about the new licensee occupation: „*the new licensee have to take from the material inventory of the pharmacy for daily trade prices and its devices and equipment by the valuation, which was determined by Public Health Council's [Országos Közegészségügyi Tanács in Hungarian language] competent advisement with regard to the real circumstances.*”⁶³⁴ In the words of the decree the Interior Ministry had to declare the type of the payment and the deadline of it. The Interior Ministerial Decree no. 550/1944 was introduced on 3 June 1944.⁶³⁵ In Kaposvár it was possible to apply for one personal-pharmaceutical-rights drugstore, this was called Kígyó Gyógyszertár (Snake Pharmacy).⁶³⁶

The procedure in the case of the real-pharmaceutical-right pharmacies was completely different. The Interior Ministry had to assign an official inspector to the drugstore's management. The official inspector had to give effect to those measures, which was necessary for the pharmacy's calm and smooth functioning. Their salary was declared by the mayor, who in his decision had to take notice of the current salary in this profession.⁶³⁷ The decree concerned 4 real-pharmaceutical-right drugstores in Kaposvár.

We have not got another relevant information about the future of the local pharmacies, but the Chief Medical Officer mentioned brief let us to make a conclusion. The shift, which concerned the former Israelite drugstore was not trouble-free. The application process was really slow and the assignment of the official inspectors was also problematic. This situation evidently led to the concerned drugstores impermanent closure, which could rush local people into danger, who needed medicament. It could not determine, that how long ~~was~~ these drugstores was closed, but according to the available sources we can calculate more weeks. In pursuance of the Chief Medical Officer's brief – which he wrote on 28 June 1944 – the pharmacies were closed after the former owners had moved to the ghetto. According to the mayor, György Kaposváry Véték's

⁶³² No. 1370/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 1. §; 7. §.

⁶³³ Gecsei, L. (1986): 8.; 1876 c. XIV.

⁶³⁴ „az új engedélyes köteles a gyógyszertár anyagkészletét a napi kereskedelmi árakon, berendezését és felszerelését pedig az Országos Közegészségügyi Tanács megfelelő szaktanácsa által a tényleges viszonyok figyelembevételével megállapított becsértéken átvenni.” No. 1370/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 4. §.

⁶³⁵ No. 1370/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 3–4. §.

⁶³⁶ *Új-Somogy* 2 May 1944. 2.; No. 550/1944. Interior Ministerial Decree.

⁶³⁷ No. 1370/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 5. §.

direction „*the Jew, who was obligated wearing discriminatory signal*”⁶³⁸ had to move to the ghetto at latest 22 May 1944. Between the birth of the Chief Medical Officer’s brief and the deadline – which was determined by mayor’s direction – almost six weeks elapsed, so these pharmacies had to be closed for a month and a half at the lowest estimate.⁶³⁹

Oppression of the Jewish chambers

The oppression of the Jewish chambers also started with the Prime Ministerial Decree no. 1210/1944, which was declared the removal of the Jewish public servants. The decree said that Ishmaelite citizens could not be employed in the bar any longer, as well as the Jews – who was applied in the bar before implementing the decree – had to be removed until 31 May 1944 by the bar’s committee. The regulation also concerned the deputy lawyers (helyettes ügyvéd in Hungarian language) and clerks.⁶⁴⁰

Somogyi Újság – which was one of the two decisive local paper in the town between the two world wars – was interested in the practical implementation of the decree, so the employees of the newspaper publisher saw the president of Bar Association of Kaposvár, dr. István Boross about information of the implementation at the beginning of April. „*We have not made concrete measures referring to the member’s revision by Bar Association of Kaposvár yet, because we have waited for a direction from the attorney general. We have to implement members’ deletion to end of May, so we have not known exactly, that how many members we need to delete*” – the president informed the local paper.⁶⁴¹ According to Boross’s report the Bar had got 120 members. The president calculated on 50–60 people to remove, who had to be removed till the end of May. He mentioned a shocking number concerning deputy lawyers, in his estimation the Bar had got 20 deputy lawyers and 18 of them was Jewish, whom membership had to be cancelled to the deadline.⁶⁴² One week later another local paper, called *Új-Somogy* also made an interview with the president about this theme. Boross made the next statement: „*We do not implement the law immediately, the reason is, that we bear in mind the public’s interest, because there are such a lot of lawsuits in progress, which we have to give to their practices’ caretakers in the fullest detail by Jewish lawyers. In any case we debar the Jewish lawyers from the Bar within the deadline, which was declared by the law.*”⁶⁴³

Finally, the Bar Association decided on the expellable members on 30th April. The Israelite lawyers had got two weeks to appeal and after that the decision became final. In pursuance of the decisions 54 lawyers’, 5 deputy lawyers’ and 7 clerks’ membership were deleted in Somogy county. The bulk of the legal practitioners – about half of them – lived in Kaposvár. In the town 27 lawyers, 2 deputy lawyers and 3 clerks had to step out the Bar and had to finish their career.

⁶³⁸ „megkülönböztető jelzés viselésére köteles zsidó” HU-MNL-SVL V. 73. 9737/1944.

⁶³⁹ HU-MNL-SVL IV. 405. b. 10757/1944.; HU-MNL-SVL V. 73. 9737/1944.

⁶⁴⁰ No. 1210/1944. Prime Ministerial Decree 5–6. §.

⁶⁴¹ „Még konkrét intézkedéseket nem tettünk a kaposvári ügyvédi kamaránál [sic!] a tagrevízióra vonatkozóan, mert erre igazságügyminiszteri rendelkezést várunk. A tagtörléseket május végéig kell végrehajtanunk, így még pontosan nem is tudjuk, hogy hány tagunk kerül a rosta alá.” *Somogyi Újság* 8 April 1944. 5.

⁶⁴² *Somogyi Újság* 8 April 1944. 5.

⁶⁴³ „Hogy nem azonnal hajtjuk végre a törvényt, annak oka az, hogy a közönség érdekeit tartjuk szem előtt, mert hiszen sok olyan nagy per van folyamatban, amelyeket a zsidó ügyvédeknek az irodájuk gondnokának a legnagyobb részletességgel kell átadniuk. Mindenesetre a zsidó ügyvédeket a törvény által megszabott határidőn belül a törvény rendelkezéseinek megfelelően kizárjuk a Kamarából.” *Új-Somogy* 15 April 1944. 2.

The Bar entrusted the guardians with maintenance of the removed legal practitioners' office. Less people lost their job, than was estimated by the president. The Bar decided fairly late and named the members, who had to leave the association. Consequently, the local Jewish lawyers had a share in numerous legal transactions. Boross's pronouncement also give countenance to this assertion. Accordingly, the Bar tried to decide on the members' exclusion with necessary circumspection and tried to prepare Christian lawyers for their new duty, namely management of the lawsuits, which previous were coordinate by Ishmaelite lawyers.

We cannot determine with the lack of sources, that how much was the effect, which the oppression of the Jewish chambers effected to the local justice, but we can likely to say the change was not smooth. The clerks' dismissal could cause problems in the future.⁶⁴⁴

Summary

In Kaposvár the socialisation of the Jewish medical practices, chambers and pharmacies obviously was not trouble-free. Elimination of the Jewish doctors caused serious difficulty on area of health care, as long as oppression of the chambers could led to confusion in jurisdiction. The Jewish pharmacy was also closed, which could be a danger to local people's medicine supply. There is no doubt, the nationalisation, which was made by the government over against Jews, who worked in mentioned profession caused impermanent confusion. By the way this conclusion is true in the case of all anti-Jewish laws because these laws were executed fast and concerned mass of citizens, so they necessarily led to difficulties. I would also like to say these anti-Semite measures – which caused basically short-term problems – were not taken just ideology reason, without any rationality, but on the contrary, they seriously took notice of economic aspects. The Hungarian State could compensate his casualties by Jewish people's deprivation of law and confiscation process, as long as their citizens could make serious profit with acquisition of previous Jewish property, included both their real estate and personalities. Hungarians had to – for the profit, which was accountable in the economic sector – paid high price. They suffered irreparable damages in aspect of social, cultural and moral. The anti-Semite politics led to almost complete perish of the Hungarian Jewish diaspora, furthermore thousands of Hungarian citizens became accomplice in the largest genocide of the world-history.⁶⁴⁵

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⁶⁴⁴ *Somogyi Újság* 3 May 1944. 2.; 24 May 1944. 3.

⁶⁴⁵ Ungváry, K. (2002): 320.

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Réka Wilhelm

Boglárlelle, or 13 Years of Changes in the Era of Mass Tourism

Abstract

The aim of the study is to provide a comprehensive picture of the period between 1978 and 1991 when Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle were together, i.e., the development of Boglárlelle. Placing the period under study in context, it describes the economic changes of the two settlements over the centuries, the circumstances of their union and the process of their separation. Finally, it shows what kind of developments were made to bring tourism to Lelle and Boglár in line with modern market economy conditions after their separation in 1991. In order to answer my research question, I made secondary research using professional literature, press materials, archival sources and statistics to learn about the most important developments and economic changes in the settlement during the period of 13 years.

As a result of my research, I was able to present the important turning points of economic development of Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle, highlighting the changes in the 19th century when Boglár became the transport and trade centre of the area. Moreover, this time the development of spa culture also started in the region of the Balaton. I found that Boglár and Lelle had different economic roles in the region apart from tourism, thus the idea of their symbiotic development was established and seemed a valid argument for their union. However, while the aggregate numbers of the 13 years show progress, examining details the disparity between Boglár and Lelle becomes visible. My research has proven the validity of the concept of forced marriage for the period of Boglárlelle. Moreover, it is also confirmed by the new developments of the independent towns after their separation in 1991.

Keywords: Balaton, mass tourism, development, Boglárlelle, settlement-union

Introduction

In my previous research I have already examined the long-term economic development of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár, including the common Boglárlelle period. However, I believe that this period, as an example of merged settlements, is worthy of study in its own right. It is well known that in the socialist era, as part of the centralising efforts, independent municipalities were not only organised into joint councils retaining their legal autonomy, but often towns, lying next to each other, were merged.⁶⁴⁶ There are many examples for unions of settlements in Hungary. In 1951, today's Várpalota was born with the merger of Várpalota, Inota and Pét.⁶⁴⁷ Kazincbarcika was founded in 1947 with the union of Sajókazincz and Barcika, then 3 years later Berente was also merged into it. However, similar to Boglár and

⁶⁴⁶ Kanczlerné Veréb, M. – Körmendy, I. (2010): 6.

⁶⁴⁷ Tolnai Napló 23.10.1951; Pétfürdő (n. d.): <https://petfurdo.asp.lgov.hu/telepulestortenet>

Lelle, Berente became independent again in 1999.⁶⁴⁸ Due to territorial organization measures and modernization Gyomaendrőd was born with the merger of Gyoma and Endrőd in Békés County on the 1st of January in 1982.⁶⁴⁹ In the case of Boglár and Lelle it is an interesting fact that the struggles of their separation took place in the first years of the political, economic and social regime change in Hungary.

Several professional works have been written about the history of Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle. The settlement monograph of Lelle and Boglár, published in 1988, describes the centuries-long history of them up to the first period of the merger, but does not discuss the independence process of the towns or the effects of the separation.⁶⁵⁰ Also, there are studies describe the period of Boglárlelle, but most of them are written in a subjective style (by someone with strong ties to Boglár or Lelle). The memoir of Ambrus (2008) gives a detailed picture of the feelings of the people lived in Lelle in connection the separation. She also reveals many facts, such as the referendum and the hunger strike mentioned later, but overall, the work is characterised by a serious emotional overhear, understandably because of the grievances she has experienced. There are several descriptions showing the economic and social past, the development of one of the two settlements⁶⁵¹, but these works also show emotional (over)heating, or they do not give a detailed picture of the period of Boglárlelle. Some conclusions can be also seen according to the press materials about how the city administration at that time viewed the common period. These include the term forced marriage⁶⁵², its relevance this study aims to examine.

During my research, I am trying to give a detailed view of a period that has not been objectively analysed yet. I used the mentioned works to write my study, but I tried to concentrate on the facts, filtering out the emotional effects. By using contemporary articles, archival sources, statistics and legal sources I tried to give an overall picture of the period. I sought the answer to the following professional questions:

1. What could be expected from the merger of two settlements at that time, and what potential economic and other benefits could be expected?
2. How can the union of Boglár and Lelle in 1978 be justified by the common features of their past and economic development?
3. Does the development of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár after 1991 justify the correctness of the decision to separate, so the description of the period of 13 years as a forced marriage?

648 Mogyoróssy, P. (2014); Kismarton, Zs. (2020)

649 HU-MNL-BEML-XXXV. VB 642/75 1982.02.10

650 Andrásy, A. (1988); Honti, Sz. – Költő, L. – Németh, P. G. (1988); Kanyar, J. (1988); Magyar, K. (1988); T. Mérey, K. (1988); Takács, É. (1988); Tóth, P. (1988)

651 Horváth, I. (2015); Horváth, J. (1943); Paál, L. (2002)

652 Somogyi Hírlap 22.05.1993

The facilities and economic development of Boglár and Lelle

In order to understand the significance of the period of Boglárlelle and to place it in the development-process of the two today's town, Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle, it is essential to describe their history before 1978.

The settlements lying next to each other and having been physically melded for decades have different economic geography facilities. Balatonlelle used to be a marshy, boggy area, which was extensively drained to make it suitable for agriculture and to get its present form. However, the deepest point of marsh in Lelle has been a boggy area until today. The highest point in the administrative territory of the town is the top of Kishegy reaching about 300 meters height above sea level. This part of Lelle and the Gamási-hát on the border of the town are home for the viticulture of long history. In addition to Lake Balaton, Balatonlelle has an other important standing water, the fishpond system of Irmapuszta was established in the 1920s.⁶⁵³

In contrast, Balatonboglár lying on the west is situated in a hilly, downy landscape. Its situation and favourable climate have served the production of grapes and fruit for a long time.⁶⁵⁴ For centuries, agriculture was the dominant economic activity in this settlement, too, based on the vineyards and the arable land on the south of the hill of Boglár. The settlement also soon became the transport and thus the trade centre of the area: the roads from the south, coming from the centre of Kaposvár County, and the roads running under the southern shore of Lake Balaton met here.

Both of the towns are one of the oldest settlements in the region of the Balaton.⁶⁵⁵ In centuries b. C., people also lived in Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle.⁶⁵⁶ According to the first written memories of the latter settlement, we know the Hadút, also known as the Great Road, was one of the most significant routes in the country at that time, passed through its centre. The name of Lelle appeared at the foundation letter of Abbey of Tihany in 1055⁶⁵⁷, but the first written mention of Boglár was later, in the 11th century, when it was mentioned as the property of the Abbey.⁶⁵⁸ During the Turkish occupation both settlements emptied, and the area became marshy and uninhabited.⁶⁵⁹ After that, they became several times repopulated at different rates, since the beginning of the 18th century both of them have been inhabited again.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian economic developed fast, and simultaneously a significant social transformation went through.⁶⁶⁰ This era brought important changes in the history of Boglár and Lelle. The beginning was not easy as the south coast was looking pretty miserable. The south coast was still a marshy area at that time, so first it had to be drained and then embankments had to be built. The condition of the lake was already a major issue during the reign of Maria Theresa. Sámuel Mikoviny was responsible for the first draft, and in 1776, Sámuel Krieger made a hand-drawn map of Lake Balaton based on Mikoviny's ideas. However, these initiatives were not implemented due to conflicting interests, and landowners were not

⁶⁵³ Paál, L. (2002): 14-17.

⁶⁵⁴ Nádorfi, L. – Völgyesy, J. – Hubert, A. (1954)

⁶⁵⁵ Kardos, I. – Simalya V., F. (1907): 67., 75.

⁶⁵⁶ Honti, Sz. – Költő, L. – Németh, P. G. (1988)

⁶⁵⁷ Horváth, J. (1943)

⁶⁵⁸ Magyar, K. (1988): 51.

⁶⁵⁹ Magyar, K. (1988): 70.

⁶⁶⁰ Kaposi, Z. (2002)

interested in creating dry areas for some time, so they were in no hurry to take on the task of draining them.⁶⁶¹ The first successful steps were taken with the construction of the railway line: in 1863, the Sió Canal was opened, which succeeded in lowering the water level of the lake by 3 metres, thus drying up a large part of the southern shore. Later, in the 1870s and 1880s, further efforts were made to transform the South-Balaton region, including in the areas of Nagyberek, Lelle, Kis-Balaton and the Sió Canal.⁶⁶²

In 1847, a wooden pier was built in Boglár as the port of the first steamboat on Lake Balaton, the *Kisfaludy*, which confirmed the economic role of Boglár as the transport and trade centre of the neighbourhood. Then, in 1861, the railway line was opened which touched the both settlements, but initially it had stations only in Boglár, Szántód and Keszthely.⁶⁶³ By the 1910s the railway station of Balatonlelle was built, too⁶⁶⁴, then, by 1930 the upper station of the settlement was also completed.⁶⁶⁵

From the turn of the 1880s and 1990s, the bathing life of that time was replaced by a conscious need for leisure and leisure-related holiday fun available to the civil class, too.⁶⁶⁶ Thus, another significant change of the period in the settlements along Lake Balaton, including Lelle and Boglár, was the emergence of wealthier families from the capital and the countryside in the 1880s.⁶⁶⁷ The development of the studied settlements took part in the development process of the Balaton, in which the secular landowners, the Bishopric and the Chapter of Veszprém, as well as the Abbey of Tihany, played a major role, because they owned a part of the countryside and started the first modernisation.⁶⁶⁸

After draining and filling, local landowners began to parcel out their coastal land. Earl Imre Hunyadi was the first to build a summerhouse in Balatonberény in 1881-82, and then, following the example, the development of other southern coastal settlements also started, creating a new source of income for the manors and the rural peasantry. At first, the growing number of visitors was catered by large and medium-sized landowners in the coastal settlements. Thus, Lelle owed its development mainly to the Szalay- and Jankovich-families, while Boglár owed its development to the Bárány-, Körmendy- and later Gaál-families.⁶⁶⁹

The increasing role of the bathing life in the economic situation of settlements became a common trend. As time went on, the bathing associations of Lelle and Boglár, like those of the other settlements in the area, took on a major role in the development of a civil bathing life, beside the local landowners. The first association was founded in Balatonszentgyörgy in 1895, followed by similar associations in other settlements.⁶⁷⁰ In 1904, the bathing associations of Lelle and Boglár were founded⁶⁷¹, which changed the appearance of the settlements as a whole in parallel with the landowner developments. Agriculture was the main source of income for the settlements in the region of the Balaton, but by the first decades of the 20th century, tourism

⁶⁶¹ Halász, I. (2010)

⁶⁶² Halász, I. (2014)

⁶⁶³ Sági, K. (1988)

⁶⁶⁴ Paál, L. (2002)

⁶⁶⁵ Andrásy, A. (1988)

⁶⁶⁶ Katona, Cs. (2002)

⁶⁶⁷ Katus, L. (2004)

⁶⁶⁸ Halász, I. (2014)

⁶⁶⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2021)

⁶⁷⁰ Kanyar, J. (1983): 24.

⁶⁷¹ Paál, L. (2002)

became an increasingly important source of income. Overall, it is true that new social patterns emerged in the area of Lake Balaton, but at the same time the settlements became more regular. Two of the most important changes of the period were the decline of agriculture and the increasing role of services.⁶⁷²

After the Second World War, there was a major political, economic and social transformation in Hungary, which also affected the development of Lelle and Boglár. For a time, Lelle retained its agricultural character, while Boglár was already a more industrialised settlement.⁶⁷³ In the middle of the 20th century, the settlements started to develop again, but now with a focus on tourism and catering. The labor union holiday played a major role in the economies of Lelle and Boglár, the former settlement became one of the most popular tourist centres in the region.⁶⁷⁴ It was only in the 1960s when a significant industrial production started to develop in Lelle.⁶⁷⁵

The population of the two settlements showed an increasing tendency in the 20th century (1. Table), in which only the Second World War caused a fracture. At the beginning of the war, both settlements had a population of about 3000.⁶⁷⁶ In 1941, 2613 people lived in Lelle and Boglár had 2997 inhabitant. In contrast, eight years later, in 1949, the population of Lelle was 2970 and 2443 people lived in Boglár.⁶⁷⁷ In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of inhabitants rose rapidly, thus the common population of Lelle and Boglár exceeded the 10 thousands.⁶⁷⁸ It is visible that in the first eight decades of the 20th century the combined population of the two settlements more than tripled.

1. Table: Population trends in Balatonboglár and Balatonlelle between 1910 and 1980

	1910	1930	1941	1949	1970	1980
Balatonboglár	1522	2199	2997	2443	4047	10324
Balatonlelle	1452	2147	2613	2970	4129	

Source: Own editing (2022) based on Takács (1988) and Népszámlálás (1910), (1930), (1990)

The grape and wine production has always occupied an important place in the economic structure of Balatonboglár. In 1956, the State Farm of Balatonboglár was established on the estates taken away during the socialization process.⁶⁷⁹ At the beginning, only grape and fruit production and research were carried out on the farm, but in time processing and sales were also carried out.⁶⁸⁰ It quickly became one of the most advanced state farms in the country. In the first 10 years, it did not have any unprofitable year. During this time, the farm won several awards, including the title of Élüzem. One of the most famous Hungarian wine regions, Tokaj, a World Heritage Site, also owes its revival to the State Farm of Balatonboglár after the devastation of the peronospora epidemic in 1950: 300-300 thousands rooted grape cuttings were sent from Boglár to Tokaj in 1956-57, helping to renovate the wine region.⁶⁸¹ There was also a

⁶⁷² Kaposi, Z. (2019)

⁶⁷³ Népszámlálás (1950/a)

⁶⁷⁴ Takács, É. (1988)

⁶⁷⁵ Paál, L. (2002)

⁶⁷⁶ Mészárosné K., M. (1988)

⁶⁷⁷ Népszámlálás (1950/b)

⁶⁷⁸ Népszámlálás (1990)

⁶⁷⁹ Reóthy, F. (1989)

⁶⁸⁰ Podmaniczky, Sz. (2012)

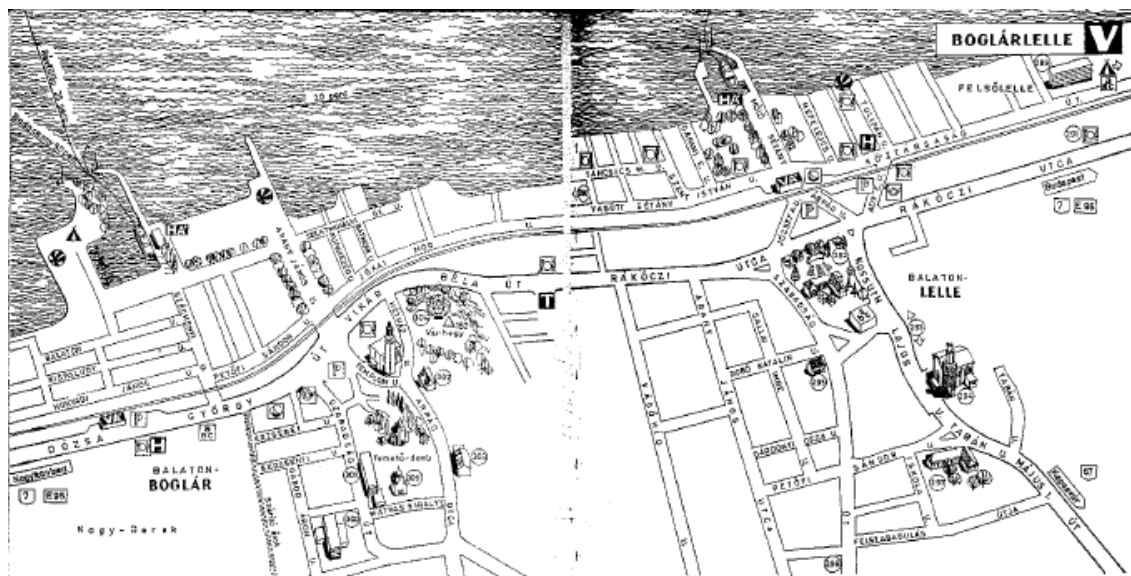
⁶⁸¹ Somogyi Néplap 03.10.1965.

laboratory on the farm where constantly new varieties were being experimented with. Grapes were preserved for the first time in 1965. In the first year, a total of 5 quintals of raisins were produced, and in 1967, 10 carriages of grapes were preserved.⁶⁸² A large part of the products was exported to the so-called 'people's democratic countries', while others were exported to the capitalist countries of the West.⁶⁸³

After the Second World War, the bathing associations in the region of the Balaton were dissolved, putting the bathing life on a new footing. A new clientele emerged, the era of the workers holiday began. The lakeside settlements were invited to participate in a so-called work competition, the aim of it was to develop bathing culture. Expectations included the creation of free beach baths, the development of bathing infrastructure, the formation of propaganda⁶⁸⁴, in other words, a development started that laid the foundations for mass tourism.

By the 1970s, mass tourism had developed in the Balaton region, based on social tourism. In addition, the importance of tourists from the countries of the KGST and from the former GDR, who, forced by the Iron Curtain, met their German relatives near Lake Balaton, increased.⁶⁸⁵ This development also included Lelle and Boglár, which began to get in connection and showed a common direction in the development of tourism. By 1978, the year of their union, they had grown together physically, as clearly visible on the map below (1. Figure).

3. Figure: A map from the end of the 1970s



Source: Zákonyi, F. (1980): 168–169.

⁶⁸² Somogyi Néplap 03.02.1967

⁶⁸³ Somogyi Néplap 02.02.1967

⁶⁸⁴ Kanyar, J. (1988)

⁶⁸⁵ Lengyel, M. (1995)

The reasons of the union and the developments of the common era

The question occurs to us: after all these years of independence, why Boglárlelle was born? What was the cohesive force linked Lelle and Boglár more than other similar tourism-focused settlements on the shores of Lake Balaton?

The idea of Boglárlelle was occurred several times before 1978, moreover, between the two World War the thought of so-called Nagyboglár was born, too. Oliver Gaál, who were the son of the respected Gaston Gaál, boosted the case of Nagyboglár when he parcelled his territory connecting the Jankovich-settlement and the centre of Boglár in 1935. At that time, on the east some parts of Boglár were already physically connected to Lelle, and on the western border the Jankovich-settlement was linked to Fonyódliget. This parcelling thus made it possible to create a united Nagyboglár, lying from Fonyódliget to Lelle, which, with Boglár as its centre, would have been a large and important future settlement on the shores of Lake Balaton. Due to the rapid land purchases, the three settlements - Fonyódliget, Boglár, Lelle - were soon physically united, but their administrative unification was never implemented.⁶⁸⁶ In a guidebook from the 1950s, it was alluded that the time would soon come when Boglár and Lelle would merge, not only physically along their borders, but also in terms of administration.⁶⁸⁷ The development plans made after the Second World War often treated the two settlements as one: a joint solution was planned for the water supply and sewage disposal of Lelle and Boglár. Lake Balaton, as a tourist centre, was a key element in the development of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár from the 1960s. Furthermore, they also had a similar role in the life of the southern shore of the Balaton, facing the same problems and often relying on each other to solve them (e.g. water and sewage disposal). Their administrative classification, their size and their settlement structure were the same. National networks such as railways, main road number 7, electricity and telephone networks also connected them. Lelle and Boglár were essentially distinguished by their natural geographical features and, partly as a result of it, by their different economic functions. Under these circumstances Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár were united into Boglárlelle on the 31st of December in 1978, following a decision of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic.⁶⁸⁸ The reason for the decision, as described above, was the unidirectional development of the settlements and their serious interdependence in certain areas of development.

However, was their union really necessary? After 1978, the resort character of Boglárlelle was established, significant social and economic changes took place. In addition to the intellectuals, the number of artisans, retailers and small-scale producers increased. The number of people working in industry was close to 30%, while the number of people working in farmer's co-operatives continuously decreased. However, the number of industrial and technical intellectuals, teachers and health workers did not change sufficiently to cope with the increased population. In the years following the merger, the number of inhabitants over 60 and the number of children under 14 increased at the same time. As mentioned above, in some sectors the local labour force was no longer sufficient to serve the population of the settlement, so workers from

⁶⁸⁶ Somogyi Ujság 17.09.1935

⁶⁸⁷ Takács, É. (1988): 380.

⁶⁸⁸ Takács, É. (1988)

the surrounding villages were also employed in Boglárlelle. This meant that the settlement and the employers had to face a new problem: the difficulties of commute and commuting workers.

The sewage system was (partially) upgraded in line with previous plans. Thus, by December 1979, in the merged settlement there were 19 km of sewage system and 85 km of plumbing at the disposal of the inhabitants and tourists. To improve transport, 12 km of paved roads and a further 16 km of constructed roads were completed. A number of new commercial and catering facilities were created. Furthermore, one of the biggest investments of the period of Boglárlelle was the construction of the shore protection project at the Balaton, which added 18 hectares of green areas suitable for beaching.⁶⁸⁹

The State Farm of Balatonboglár continuously developed during the period of 13 years. In the 1980s, it became the largest Hungarian wine exporter of the United States. The BB champagne is still one of the most consumed champagne in Hungary, and its production began in 1982.⁶⁹⁰ At that time, the farm of Boglár had 1050 hectares of vineyards, the largest in the country.⁶⁹¹ In the following year the farm made a huge profit, partly as a result of this and partly due to the continuous development over many years the state farm was declared an agricultural combine in 1984.⁶⁹² In the same year, the Balatonboglár Agricultural Combine was awarded the South-Balaton Wine Region as an honourable mention of its achievements. In the countryside, the number of small producers teamed into specialised groups also increased continuously.⁶⁹³ In 1985, the state farm, which by then became a combine, was operating in the borders of 16 settlements on a land of 3,700 hectares, with 1,700 employees. About 40% of it, 1500 hectares, was used for viticulture.⁶⁹⁴ The "Bonus Bonorum Borrend" was founded in 1986, whose signal wine was the "Boglári muskotály".⁶⁹⁵ In honour of the high level of grape and wine production in the settlement, in 1987, Boglárlelle was awarded the title of Town of Grapes and Wine by the International Association of Grapes and Wine Office.⁶⁹⁶

Following the merger, as a result of the developments, Boglárlelle became the second largest settlement on the south coast of the Balaton, and got the title of a town in 1986 (2. Figure), which both Lelle and Boglár were able to retain after their separation in 1991.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁸⁹ Takács, É. (1988): 394-396.

⁶⁹⁰ BB (n.d.): <https://bb.hu/tortenet>

⁶⁹¹ Buday-Sántha, A. (2007)

⁶⁹² HU-MNL-SVL XXXV. 1.b. 1984. 02.29

⁶⁹³ HU-MNL-SVL XXXV. 1.b. 1984.10

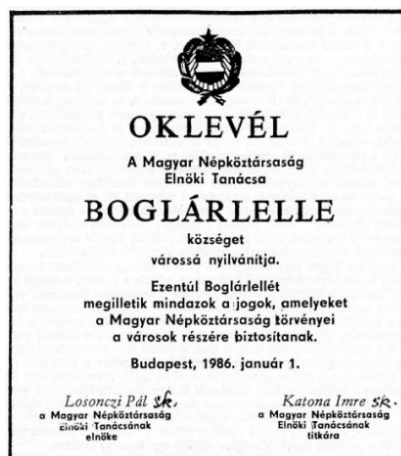
⁶⁹⁴ Békés Megyei Népiújság 30.09.1985

⁶⁹⁵ Podmaniczky, Sz. (2012)

⁶⁹⁶ BB (n.d.): <https://bb.hu/tortenet>

⁶⁹⁷ Kanyar, J. (1988)

4. Figure: Certificate justifying the town status of Boglárlelle



Source: Laczkó, A. (ed.) (1988): 500.

The population increased during the period of Boglárlelle. From a population of nearly 10,000 in the late 1970s, the town grew to a population of 11,034 by the time of the regime change.⁶⁹⁸ It is clear from the above that the settlement as a whole was developing over the 13 years, but if we separately look at the parts of Lelle and Boglár, we can see that there are significant differences. So, the growing numbers alone cannot prove that the merger in 1978 was the right decision for the two settlements.

The reasons of the separation and the first years spending in the new system

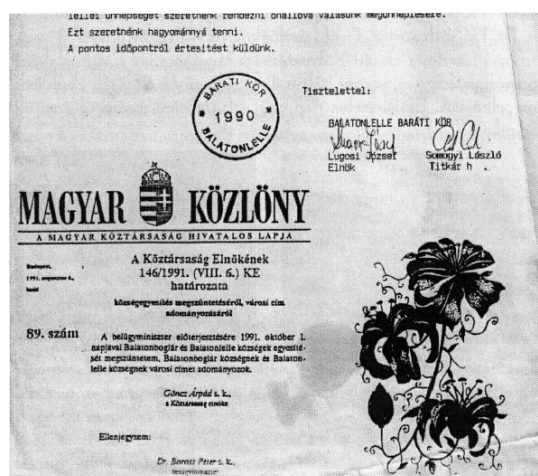
During the period of 13 years, there was a continuous discord in the administration of the settlement, which made it impossible to work together and led to increasingly serious problems. When examining the separation of Lelle and Boglár, one should not ignore the fact that it coincided with a change at national level, namely the regime change. At that time, a new political and economic system was being established. It means that it also put tourism on new foundations, which played a significant role in the life of Boglárlelle. Thus, the last decade of the 20th century Boglár and Lelle began with fighting each other and struggling to adapt to the new economic system (as one settlement in the first year of the decade).

In the separation of the two settlements, the role of Lelle Baráti Kör is undoubted, which initially consisted of local patriots, and then the number of its members rose by the joining of the population of Lelle. The inhabitant of Lelle initiated the cancellation of the „idyllic” situation of Boglárlelle. They felt that only Boglár as one part of the joint settlement was supported. They regretted that many of the improvements promised at the time of the merger did not been implemented or had only affected Boglár, but not Lelle. The establishment of a centre between the two towns, which was planned in 1978, was not implemented, thus almost all public institutions were located in the west part, so in Boglár. The development of health care remained at the planning stage. During a period of almost 13 years, the administrative boundaries were modified to the detriment of Lelle, and a number of areas reserved for public

⁶⁹⁸ Wilhelm, R. (2021)

aims were sold or leased. During this period, a total of 47 streets were drained, 41 of them were in the area of Boglár. Of the 69 streets affected by the new gas pipeline network, 27 were only in Lelle. In addition, the merged city administration abandoned a number of public areas and public buildings to nature. The members of the Lelle Baráti Kör also drew attention to that there are many vacant parcels in the area of Lelle, and their sale could support the budget of the town by substantial sums of money. They believed that the reason why the management of Boglárlelle, which members were largely from Boglár, had not pushed for the separation was that the more developed western part of the settlement would have lost this source of income in the privatisation process. The process of separation, which can hardly be called peaceful, or even a struggle, began already in 1990. On the 9th of December in 1990, a referendum was called on the separation of Boglárlelle, which the leaders of the town tried to manipulate in every possible way, but with a turnout of 53%, 1800 votes were cast in favour and 380 against. In other words, 83% of those who voted wanted separation, and only 17% voted in favour of maintaining Boglárlelle as it is. The numbers were very impressive, but not enough to justify separation, so the Friends decided to appeal to the Constitutional Court. In the course of the long legal battles, the inhabitant of Lelle, who were very committed to their case, used other means: on the 1st of July in 1991, a peaceful demonstration in front of the town hall turned into a hunger strike. They achieved their goal: they won the unanimous support of the Council of Representatives for the request for separation submitted earlier to the Ministry of the Interior, thus speeding up the process. As a result of the legal procedure, which took more than half a year after the referendum, the Minister of the Interior approved the separation on the 6th of August in 1991, and the two independent towns of Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár were re-established on the 1st of October (3. Figure). This marked the end of the era of Boglárlelle. The separation, which could not be described as peaceful, had effects on the relationship between the inhabitants of Boglár and Lelle for some time, for which the former Boglárlelle administration was blamed.⁶⁹⁹

5. Figure: Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár became again independent settlements



Source: Ambrus, J. (2008): 29.

⁶⁹⁹ Ambrus, J. (2008)

After 1991, both the Lelle and Boglár management worked to repair the damage caused by 13 years of joint management. In 1994, Miklós Németh, the then mayor of Boglár, also referred back to the period in Boglárlelle as the "forced marriage" of two settlements with different development.⁷⁰⁰

After the separation, the priority in both settlements, as in other settlements in the region of Lake Balaton, was to save the lake and restore its water quality. In addition, in Lelle, after 1991 first, public works were carried out to make up for the unfairly distributed developments of the era of Boglárlelle. While three quarters of Boglár, only about a quarter of Lelle was connected to the sewage disposal. In the first three years, 2.2 km of plumbing, 10.8 km of rainwater drainage and 6.5 km of new sewage disposal were constructed. The length of paved roads, pavements and gas pipelines were also increased. A number of public buildings were renovated and extended (e.g. school, clinic). In order to ensure safe transport, 1.6 km of street lighting was carried out and the cycle path system was extended by a section of 2.8 km.⁷⁰¹ These were all infrastructure improvements which the local government of Lelle considered to be essential for the town's vitality and which were intended to establish the tourism improvements that followed. During this period, a number of private investments were also made, all of which were already part of the tourism-oriented development.⁷⁰²

In the first half of the 1990s, in Boglár on the west of Vörösmarty Square the development of a town centre started with the construction of 2 or 3-storey residential and commercial buildings. As one of the first examples of tourism-oriented development, a landscaped square was also completed at this time, which was the start of the pedestrians only.⁷⁰³

The developments show that the separation had a positive impact on both settlements: in Lelle, modernisation was achieved that was essential for the development of a tourist town at the end of the 20th century. In Boglár, too, improvements were continued, now in a market-based economy. The facts therefore justify the characterisation of 'forced marriage' mentioned above for the period of 13 years and the correctness of the separation. It is interesting to note what did not work together, worked separately: the opportunity for independent development allowed Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár to follow a similar path in the 2000s, i.e. to organise their economies around tourism.

Conclusion

The primary aim of the mergers of settlements carried out as part of socialist centralisation was to share insufficient administrative resources between towns and villages. The potential advantage was seen in the complementary development and possible future symbiosis of settlements with different economic facilities.

Focusing on the main processes, the economic history of today's Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár was presented, showing that apart from the bathing life, they played different economic roles in the life of the region, so that at the time of their union, the two settlements could rightly be

⁷⁰⁰ Somogyi Hírlap 22.05.1993

⁷⁰¹ Ambrus, J. (2008): 46-49.

⁷⁰² Wilhelm, R. (2021)

⁷⁰³ Pór, P. (2018): 17.

thought to complement each other. It can be said that Lelle and Boglár had a history of common or complementary development that justified their merger, but in reality, it did not produce the expected results.

The economic indicators show progress over the period of 13 years, but if we look at the details, we can see that this growth has not been equal between Boglár and Lelle. This was continuously increasing the antagonism between the leaders of the settlements and led to dissension on economic and administrative issues. Thus, the term of forced marriage proves to be right, describing well the common period in the history of the two towns, Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár, from 1978 to 1991.

After the separation, in 1991, in both settlements the developments got under way, mainly in the tourism sector. By the beginning of the 21st century, in both Balatonlelle and Balatonboglár a tourism-oriented, small-town life was developed. The interesting part of the story is that what could not be done together was eventually done separately, but occasionally in cooperation between the two settlements. Our research shows that after their separation, Lelle and Boglár developed independently, yet in support of each other.

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Máté Szabó

Social Relations in the Region along the River Drava in the Age of Dualism

Abstract

In my research, I examine how the population lived in the area of the manors along the river of Drava, which I have already examined in terms of their economic and operational characteristics, changed and transformed during the era of dualism. This period was a specific and interesting period in Hungarian history in many ways, since, in addition to rapid economic development and population growth, serious social structural changes also took place. The study focuses on the population and social structure of the population living there. I point out that the population of the settlements along the Drava grew relatively quickly during this period, so it did not cause a problem that the inhabitants have migrated in masses, to the American continent or to the Slavonia region.) My study of the occupational structure established that the region changed slowly. This region largely preserved its traditional social model, which was largely based on peasant farming. Apart from some changes in Barcs and a few other settlements, agriculture remains the basic characteristic of the region.

Keywords: population, Drava, manor, dualism, society

Introduction

My study deals with what changes can be observed in the population of the Drava region during the age of dualism, when the growth of the Hungarian economy accelerated spectacularly and the Hungarian agriculture, including the management of the manors, was significantly transformed. Furthermore, if there are any, what differences can be shown between the population of each settlement. It is important to point out that in this study by "along the Drava" I refer to only the present-day Hungarian side, and within that mainly the coast of Somogy County, although there is no doubt that the owners of the Hungarian side at that time (Somssich, Jankovich, Schaumburg-Lippe, Draskovich, etc.) were often owners on the Croatian-Slavic side as well, and by definition their management was not separated into Hungarian and Croatian sides.⁷⁰⁴ This region was the home of large estates, where the manors occupied a large proportion of the area of the villages along the river. The management of these large estates and other effects of their operation strongly left their mark on the village society of the region.

If we look at the agricultural conditions of Somogy County based on the data from the end of the 19th century, we can see fundamental changes compared to the past. The large agricultural plants, and partly also the peasantry, were able to take advantage of the agrarian economic boom that appeared in the second half of the 19th century, and especially the increase in grain prices,

⁷⁰⁴ See: Kaposi, Z. (2020): 1-2. 1-24.

so that by the end of the century, half of the county's agriculturally utilized land was occupied by arable fields.

Table 1. The agriculturally utilized lands of Somogy county (1895, hectare)⁷⁰⁵

Field	Garden	Meadow	Vineyard	Pasture	Forest	Reeds, barren field
332.720	6297	57.171	10.813	65.399	137.186	54.593
Percentage (%)						
49,58	0,92	7,84	2,15	10,13	21,09	8,29

Source: Agricultural statistics, 1895. Volume 1; and based on data from Hirsch (1903).

The rise in grain prices lasted until the mid-1880s. The high demand and secure markets encouraged farmers to create more and more arable land through significant deforestation, draining swamps, regulating rivers, breaking up meadows and pastures and bringing them into cultivation. The era was also a period of mechanization and productivity increases on the large estates, the technical transformation was quite advanced (irons, steamers, iron harrows, seed drills, etc.), on the other hand, the pressure system still prevailed in peasant farming, which until then had not meant competitive farming.⁷⁰⁶ Due to overproduction in the world economy, towards the middle of the 1880s, the momentum of the development of grain production was broken, but this still remains the most significant branch of cultivation, as most parts of the grain fields was occupied by industrial and fodder crops, or other types of grains. The 1880s were also a turning point in viticulture, as the phylloxera epidemic appeared in Somogy, which caused many vines to be grubbed up, and replanting could only start a few years later, with different varieties. The region along the Drava was an agricultural one where there was hardly any significant industrial capacity, from this point of view only Barcs and Csurgó stood out on the countryside of Somogy. From an industrial point of view, the traditionally agricultural area, had also been dominated by the timber industry, based on large and high-quality forests, as well as the mill industry, which was important for manorial production, and some other food industry branches also stood out.

The population of the region along the Drava and its changes (1870-1910)

The population size and its density

Regarding the changes in the Hungarian population after the serf emancipation, we can find relatively accurate data from the 1851 and 1857 censuses, but for the assessment of the structure of the labour force, changes in the sectoral composition of wage workers can only be accurately identified for the last decades of dualism. The census of 1857 found a civilian population of 13.7 million in historical Hungary (including Croatia-Slavonia), but the first census of 1869,

⁷⁰⁵ In the study we use hectare.

⁷⁰⁶ See: Király, I. (1984)

carried out by the Hungarian Statistical Office, found 15.5 million people. According to the last census before World War I., by 1910 the total population had increased to 20.9 million.⁷⁰⁷

The annual population growth rate between 1857 and 1910 was 0,8%. The number of wage earners increased from 7.3 million to 8.9 million between 1869 and 1910 (their proportion therefore decreased from 47.2% to 42.9%). The faster rate of growth of dependents in an agrarian society – although it depended strongly on who the statistical enumeration considered to be a helping family member, or dependent – was primarily a consequence of the increased average age and rapid natural reproduction.⁷⁰⁸

The distribution of this rapidly growing population varies greatly. Population density depends partly on natural and partly on state and social conditions.⁷⁰⁹ Among these, the role of mountainous regions, flood plains, swamps and other limiting factors can be highlighted, as well as the consequences of uneven settlement following the Turkish occupation.

Figure 1. The population density of Hungary at the end of 1890



Source: https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/NEDA_1891_01/?pg=56&layout=s

Based on the map, we can see that the population density of the settlements in the region of the river Drava is roughly in line with the national average. (I also marked the location of the examined settlements with a red line on the map.) So, the question arises: what changed in the southern Transdanubian region? I numerically examined the population data for the years 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900 and found that these settlements were among the "developing" settlements in

⁷⁰⁷ Hanák, P. (1978): 403.

⁷⁰⁸ Kaposi, Z. (2002): 262-263.

⁷⁰⁹ Zombory, I. (1905): 18.

this period, because the population increased everywhere. However, the rate of growth varied greatly.⁷¹⁰

Table 2. Changes in the population of the settlements examined

Settlement	1869	1880	1890	1900	Change (%)
Barcs	2111	3080	4427	5388	255
Csokonya	1596	1792	1905	2082	130
Rinyaújlak	458	507	509	561	122
Visonta	1121	1020	958	957	85
Homokszentgyörgy	953	1132	1218	1382	145
Kálmánca	1229	1266	1191	1411	115
Darány	1698	1477	1443	1443	85
Komlósd	495	481	478	461	93
Pálfalu	459	623	879	1152	251
Péterhida	536	626	619	604	113
Somogytarnóca	n.d.	814	1163	1237	152
Szentes	769	421	585	709	92
Szulok	1841	1945	1996	1851	101
Lakócsa	1300	1312	1328	1211	93
Potony	489	612	700	760	155
Szentborbás	291	311	458	412	142
Tótujfalu	638	614	605	654	103
Drávatamási	651	627	606	596	92
Babócsa	1754	2251	2443	2622	149
Újnép	417	516	408	391	94
Heresznye	546	528	693	726	133
Kivadár	n.d.	450	395	497	110
Bélavár	640	652	766	753	118
Beleg	558	652	725	669	120
Vízvár	1204	1294	1471	1527	127
Alsok	815	821	821	803	99
Berzence	2686	2980	3594	3653	136
Csurgó	3017	3231	3672	3945	131
Órtilos	646	716	744	821	127
Porrogszentkirály	791	828	823	817	103
Udvarhely	1562	1646	1735	1885	121
Zákány	845	1018	1116	1206	143
Gyékényes	2052	2203	2205	2238	109
Surd	917	1042	1059	1043	114

⁷¹⁰ T. Mérey, K. (1990)

Kastélyosdombó	524	475	571	654	125
Altogether:	37190	41678	46095	48940	131

Source: Census (1880), Census (1890), Census (1900)

Based on the data in the table, it can be established that between 1869 and 1900, a significant increase in overall population can be observed regarding the 35 settlements that I examined. The population of the examined settlements increased from 37.190 to 48.940 inhabitants, so the growth rate of the settlements was 31%. In case of the largest settlement in the region, Barcs, outstanding data can be seen, as its population increased to 5388, two and a half times the initial number in 30 years. For the sake of comparison, I would like to mention that Nagyatád, which has a similar legal status, had 3441 inhabitants and Szigetvár had 5601 inhabitants at that time. In case of Barcs, the increase was clearly due to the boom in industrialization and trade, many people moved into the village. If we compare the population changes along the Drava with the county data, we can see that between 1869 and 1900 the total civil population of Somogy county increased from 287.555 to 344.194 inhabitants, so the growth rate was 19.69% in the examined period.

The process of the population migration

In the 19th century, almost all of Europe moved: around 43.6 million people left the continent, and half of them went to the USA.⁷¹¹ Hungary was also a part of this, from where approximately 1.5 million people left the country. Strong emigration processes in our country started in the last third of the 19th century. The most important centers of emigration were also the most significant emitting zones of internal migration, so above all, the five highland counties (Zemplén, Ung, Sáros, Szepes, Abaúj-Torna), where the presence of economic repulsive factors was the clearest. In addition to the rapid natural reproduction, the population density was relatively high compared to the scarce and poor soil, and in addition to the traditional and declining industries, no sectors were created that could absorb the surplus labor.⁷¹² Over 50% of immigrants to the United States were agricultural servants and day laborers.⁷¹³ This group of the agricultural population became dominant in the international migration at the turn of the century. Contemporaries also stated that in the years before World War II, labor export became Hungary's most important export item. There is some truth in this, even if we know that the majority of emigrants did not leave with the aim of staying abroad, but rather wanted to buy land at home, in most cases, with the money they earned abroad, and it should also be taken into account that about a third of the emigrants later returned home.

But in addition to emigration, internal migration has also become increasingly important. The birth place data of the censuses show that in 1910, 69% of the population could be found where they were born. There were actually three main directions of internal migration: migration from the mountains along the river valleys to the Great Plain, from villages to cities, and migration to the countryside (farms, steppes).⁷¹⁴ Villages formed the backbone of the settlement network

⁷¹¹ Berend, T. I. – Ránki, Gy. (1987): 24.

⁷¹² Kaposi, Z. (2002)

⁷¹³ Hanák, P. (1978): 413.

⁷¹⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2002)

throughout the era. It is always characteristic how the ratio and relationship between the villages and the wastelands and majorities connected to the great estates develops. It is noteworthy that the number of registered inhabitants of villages and majorities tripled between 1840 and 1865 in the area of Southern Transdanubia.⁷¹⁵

For the population of the area along the Drava, in addition to reaching the Western world, there was also the possibility of mobilization towards the Slavonian territories. This process was also embraced by the Hungarian state, since the “hungarianization” of the Slavonian region was an important political and cultural endeavor at the turn of the century. Several of the villages in Somogy county along the Drava were already part of Ormánság (Drávakeresztúr, Felsőszentmárton, Drávafok, etc.). It is an area that famously suffered a lot from the fact that during the several stages of the regulation of the river in the 19th century the additional lands gained were usually not opened up to the local peasantry, but were rather acquired by large landowners. This phenomenon naturally increased the value of the areas beyond the Drava in the eyes of the population on the Hungarian side.⁷¹⁶ At the same time, it appears from our data that the level of migration from this region was not massive either towards America or Slavonia during the examined period. Of course, there were exceptions. For example, Drávatamási, where the Thassy family had a medium-sized estate, lost 8.45% of its population during this examined period. This was mainly due to emigration from the settlement. We also know of a case where 300 farmers from Kiskanizsa decided to move beyond the Drava because of the difficulty of making a living.⁷¹⁷ At the same time, it is a fact that over time there was always migration along the two banks of the river, people went to Slavonia and back from there. The Hungarian, German and pro-Hungarian Croatian landowners living beyond the Drava settled servants from Hungary in their estates, whose labor power, expertise, economic knowledge and, last but not least, their discipline surpassed the descendants of the Croatian border guards. Among the large landowners who installed it, we can mention Count Mailáth, Count Draskovich, Count Eitz, Duke Odescalchi, Count Pejacsevich, Bésán Jankovieh and finally the Jankovich families of Pribérd and Vuchin.

The latter were among the pioneers in terms of installation. Since the enslavement of the Croatian villages was minimal, but at the same time they had considerable free land, the manors beyond the Drava with thousands of acres and small population welcomed servants from their estates in Somogy. Settlers from the counties of Somogy, Tolna, Baranya and Veszprém arrived in the village of Gacsiscse, which was the central location of one of the Jankovich estates, as early as 1843.⁷¹⁸ They also brought Hungarian settlers to the villages around the Cabuna manor in the years between 1857-1865, mainly from South-Transdanubia.⁷¹⁹ Újgrác was established in the 1850s by settlers from Somogy. Szokolovác can also be considered a Jankovich settlement, which was founded in 1865, where the Hungarian population arrived in 1867-1868, many of whom moved from Somogy. But many Hungarians also settled on the Jankovich estate in Daruvár and in the surrounding villages, such as: Pakrác, Filopovác, Lipik, Kiisza, Izidorháza and Dobrovács.⁷²⁰ Hungarians came to Belovár county mainly in the 1960s and 1970s. The

⁷¹⁵ T. Mérey, K. (1994)

⁷¹⁶ See: Kaposi, Z. (2002): 231.

⁷¹⁷ Barbarits, L. (1929): 70.; Kaposi, Z. (2014): 115.

⁷¹⁸ Margitai, J. (1936): 109.

⁷¹⁹ Same, 111.

⁷²⁰ Same, 272.

Hungarian servants of the Tüköry estate moved across the Drava from the counties of Somogy, Tolna and Baranya in the 1860s.⁷²¹

Nationality distribution of the population

In the course of historical development, Hungary became an area where a significant part of the population was considered a minority. Population migration can be detected in the Carpathian Basin from the time of the conquest to the present day. The changes following the expulsion of the Turks and the Tatars, the persecution of Protestants, the settlement of South Slavs, Romanians, Jews and other population groups, the settlement of Germans, the emigration after the defeat of the war of independence of 1848-49 in the 1860s, the Slavonian emigration from the sixties of the 19th century, and the American emigration from the last third of the century not only had demographic consequences, but also determined the national and ethnic map of the country and the county.⁷²²

In the counties of South Transdanubia, where there was a huge population decrease during the Turkish occupation, the settlement process took place in the 18th and 19th centuries and it was almost permanent and extremely dynamic. The Germans especially excelled in this area. From the beginning of the 18th century until the 1850s, the settlement of Germans, who were attracted to the county by the provision of discounts by large landowners, took place.⁷²³ The Czinderys brought German settlers from Tolna and Komárom counties to Némethad in 1739.⁷²⁴ The glass hut in Némethlukafa was founded by settlers from the Sudetenland, whose descendants later migrated to Slavonia. In the middle of the 18th century, German settlers arrived in Boldogasszonyfa, Nagyhárságy, Kishárságy, Szulok, Bószénfa and Szulimán.

On the southern borders of the county, you can see settlements inhabited mostly by Croats. Their ancestors fled here from the Turks even before the disaster of Mohács, and even after the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary, the direction of their migration remained. We do not find a significant number of Serbs in Somogy, but a significant number of Slovenians (Vends) settled in Tarany. Although the Drava geographically separated Croatia and Slavonia from Hungary, it also connected them as a waterway, providing both countries with the advantages of cheap and fast transportation. Ships brought the goods to the ports of Vízvár, Heresznye and Barcs, from where they were transported to the areas beyond the Drava via Sztára, Dörnye, Légrád and Kakonya. This commercial transit route functioned profitably in both directions.⁷²⁵

Table 3: Population of the settlements along the Drava by nationality (1900)

Settlement	Hungarian	German	Slovakian	Romanian	Croatian	Serbian	Other	Knows Hungarian
Barcs	3588	1433	16	131	166	2	60	5035
Csokonya	2070	8	1		1		2	2081

⁷²¹ See: Hegedűs, L. (1905)

⁷²² Rácz, I. (1980)

⁷²³ Vargha, K. (1979); Szita, L. (1979)

⁷²⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2012): 64.

⁷²⁵ Szili, F. (1991)

Visonta	951	6			1			958
Rinyaújlak	561							561
Homokszentgyörgy	1378	4					1	1383
Kálmánca	1395	7	2				11	1407
Darány	1439	8			1		1	1449
Komlósd	457			1	1		2	460
Pálfalu	785	315	1	34	14		3	1062
Péterhida	598				4		2	604
Somogytamóca	1185	33			10		9	1224
Szentes	676	8			2		25	706
Szulok	239	1615					1	1423
Lakócsa	327	9			876		3	945
Potony	173	2	1		584			587
Szentborbás	121	1			290			252
Tótujfalu	83			35	536			351
Drávatamási	594	2			1			596
Babócsa	2162	21			392		52	2536
Újnép	389				1		1	391
Heresznye	110	2			614			498
Bolhó	418	1			1400			1604
Bélavár	427	1			325			710
Beleg	663	2			4			669
Vízvár	591	8			930	1	1	1342
Alsok	802	1	1		1			805
Berzence	2826	19	1		815		4	3561
Csurgó	3862	38			48	1	6	3937
Kastélyosdombó	652						2	654
Altogether:	29522	3544	23	201	7019	4	184	37791
Proportion (%):	72,9	8,8	0,1	0,5	17,3	0,01	0,5	93,3

Source: Census (1900)

Based on the table, it can be concluded that – as expected – people belonging to the Hungarian nationality formed the largest group in the examined settlements. The total population of the settlements I examined was 37.791 people, of which 72,9% were of Hungarian nationality. The population of Kastélyosdombó, Kálmánca and Csokonya, for example, was almost 100% Hungarian. A significant proportion was represented by Croats and German-speaking people, who mainly settled in large numbers in the villages of the Lakócsa manor (Szentborbás, Potony, etc.) (Lakócsa is still an important Croatian ethnic center in the county), but also in western villages (Berzence, Vízvár, etc.). The majority of the Croatian population present in Somogy county lived in the villages along the Drava. Based on the statistics of 1900, 3.4% of the people living in the county were of Croatian nationality, while the proportion in the villages along the Drava was 17.3%. (In Bolhó and Lakócsa, the proportion of Croats was over 70%.)

Based on the statistics of 1900, 5.8% of the inhabitants of Somogy county were of German nationality. The most German village was Szulok, where 87.2% of the population said they were German, due to the previous settlements of the Széchényi. Szulok was a real Swabian

village, with all its farming and ethnographic characteristics. Its farming specialty was the traditional German grain production, animal husbandry, and grape and wine production, as well as tobacco cultivation.⁷²⁶

It is important to note that, in connection with the classification of nationalities, a significant number of the Jewish population was probably classified as belonging to the German nationality. In relation to the Germans, we can highlight the significance of the large village of Barcs, where a quarter of the population was German, and which was a very important commercial and industrial hub for the region. The region showed a diverse and colorful picture in terms of nationalities during the period under review. (It is important to note that statistical data for the settlements of Órtilos, Porrogszentkirály, Udvarhely, Zákány, Gyékényes and Surd were incomplete on the topic, so they are not included in the table.)

The distribution of professions among the population

The economic system of 19th-century Hungary was dominated by agriculture and rural characteristics.⁷²⁷ There is no doubt, however, that in the period before the bourgeois revolution the traditional serf, bourgeois, noble, and clerical classification were pretty clear. However, along with them we can already see an ever-increasing number of legally more difficult population classification, contract workers, seasonal workers, servants, wage earners, summer harvesters, so it was more difficult to fit social elements into the traditional feudal legal groups.⁷²⁸

In the second half of the 19th century, industry grew dynamically, and with it, urbanization and population migration also began. Where the population density was high in addition to land constraints, there was little or no opportunity to expand the peasant lands, which is why the flow towards the city soon began. At the same time, the population that remained in the area also increased, so in case of the village masses, the increase within households or the suppression of population growth remained. There was a very important restructuring process of intellectual groups, workers in the public service system, trade and credit, transport, mining, etc. since the rapid increase in the number of workers undoubtedly transformed the Hungarian society by the beginning of the 20th century.⁷²⁹

The transformation was fast, but it was territorially uneven. Fundamental questions could be how visible this transformation was in the settlements along the Drava. and what peculiarities can be observed in terms of the distribution of wage earners.

⁷²⁶ See: Ander, B. (2005): 39-84.

⁷²⁷ Hanák, P. (1978): 432.

⁷²⁸ Vörös, K. (1980)

⁷²⁹ Hanák, P. (1978); Kövér, Gy. (1998)

Table 4: The distribution of professions among the population of the examined settlements in 1900

Settlement	Total ernaling population	Agriculture	Pr.	Industry	Trade and credit	Trans port	Public service	Defense force	Day laborer	Housemaid	Other
Barcs	2286	647	11	619	224	303	117	8	91	177	89
Csokonya	1169	919	5	131	24	15	14			37	24
Visonta	636	595		24	5	1	3	1		7	
Rinyaújlak	324	296	2	18		2	3				3
Homokszentgyörgy	686	605	7	34	7	2	6	1		12	12
Kálmánca	640	515	5	46	6	1	8	4	21	19	15
Darány	914	753	2	68	20	20	6	6	31	7	1
Komlósd	199	180		9	3		4			3	
Pálfalu	449	255		95	37	17	11		2	20	12
Péterhida	238	203	8	16	5		3			3	
Somogytarnóca	451	344	7	37		12	7			38	6
Szentes	372	327	2	29	5		2	2	3	1	1
Szulok	1169	996		89	5		16	4	25	16	18
Lakócsa	494	396	6	43	5	2	8	4	14	14	2
Potony	372	361		6			2		1	2	
Szentborbás	224	214		4			1		1	3	1
Tótujfalu	208	151	3	29	1		4		14	4	2
Drávamási	260	160	3	59	4		3	1	23	6	1
Babócsa	1009	751	3	125	22	15	12	5	2	47	27
Újnép	253	239	2	8			2				2
Heresznye	255	187		14	3	1	2		41	6	1
Bolhó	762	702	3	33	5	2	5			6	6
Bélavár	290	244	1	27	3	7	4		1	1	2
Beleg	260	217	1	20	2	14	2			3	1
Vízvár	658	526	15	40	12	14	6	4	25	14	2
Alsok	432	383		25	2	1	7	2	1	6	5
Berzence	1469	1077	4	137	27	24	26	12	91	44	27
Csurgó	1695	666	23	434	77	68	112	10	39	152	114
Órtilos	279	252		14		6	2		1	4	
Porrogszentkirály	476	441	1	16	2	1	4	2	2	6	1
Udvarhely	1137	1073	7	32	6	2	3			7	7
Zákány	522	383		24	8	59	10	5		28	5
Gyékényes	1208	1003	4	62	11	41	8	1	52	19	7
Surd	592	553	3	15	1	1	8			8	3
Kastélyosdombó	310	250		24	3	2	6		8	11	6
Altogether:	22.698	16.864	128	2406	535	633	437	72	489	731	404
Its ratio compared to all		74,3	0,6	10,6	2,4	2,8	1,9	0,3	2,2	3,2	1,8

earners (%):											
Somogy county (%):		75,3	0,4	10,4	1,8	1,3	1,8	0,9	3,3	3,3	1,6

Source: Census (1900)

It can be seen that the proportion of people employed in agriculture was somewhat higher than the county average of 74.33% in almost all of the examined settlements, and values above 80% were shown in almost all cases regarding the 35 settlements. Exceptions were Barcs with 647 (28.3%) and Drávatamási with 160 (61.54%) persons earning their living in agriculture. The vast majority was, of course, village-dwelling peasant earners, but it is also important to note that the majority of permanent agricultural workers in Hungary was employed by large farms of more than 100 acres.⁷³⁰ This was also the case in the region. From the data of the agricultural holdings in the 1895 farm directory, as well as from the manor overview of 1914, it can be seen that quite a few manors operated in the region, in which the number of servants was very significant. In 1895, for example, 184 servants were employed in the Berzence estate of the Festetics and 123 in the estate of Count Géza Széchenyi in Csokonya, but even on the smaller, medium-sized estates we can see a significant number of agricultural employees.⁷³¹

It can also be seen that in some settlements there were quite a large number of people engaged in industry. From the point of view of industry, Barcs had outstanding data: the large village's industry provided significant and regular job opportunities for the population of the region. It was the dominant industrial, infrastructural and cultural center of the region during this period. As an example, among the most important plants in Barcs, we can mention the Eugén Smith and Partner Company, as a timber merchant and sawmill owner in Barcs, the French company Société d'improation de Chene based in Paris,⁷³² and the Engel Adolf from Pécs had a parquet factory there, too.⁷³³ Engel's wood industry enterprises were not only of local importance. At the regional level, it was one of the largest enterprises dealing with wood industry activities in and around Southern-Transdanubia.

The other village with significant industry was Csurgó, where the proportion of industrial workers was also high, 25.6%. The largest industrial company here was Wood and Stick Factory Ltd. It transferred its headquarters to Berzence in 1911. The factory produced raw cane handles, semi-finished and finished walking and umbrella sticks, walking sticks and shoe heels. At that time, 200 workers worked in the plant. Furthermore, this company took over Kreisler's rod factory in Berzence and the rod factory in Pakrác, which it sold to Slavonian Wood Industry Ltd. in 1908. We should highlight the small Pálfalu (Drávpálfalu, now part of Barcs), where the Kremsier family built the county's largest distillery on their property, first rented from the Széchenyies, and later purchased by them.⁷³⁴

Babócsa, the manor center of the Somssich's, Berzence, the estate center of the Festetics family, Szulok and Csokonya, among the already mentioned Széchenyi estates, also had significant number of industrialists.

⁷³⁰ Kolossa, T. (1962): 474.

⁷³¹ Gazdacímtár (1895): 100-101.

⁷³² T. Mérey, K. (2007): 142.

⁷³³ Engel, A. (2009)

⁷³⁴ Kaposi, Z. (2020): 4.

The process of marketization is also shown by the increase in the number of people working in transport. Since the railway was built in this area already in 1868 (Zákány – Barcs – Szigetvár – Pécs), a significant number of earners can be observed in the transport sector, also due to the larger stations. Barcs stands out in every aspect, as the 303 people there were interested not only in rail and road transport, but also in river transport. By the beginning of the 20th century, the settlement had become an important railway and shipping hub in the country as well. In addition, Darány as a railway center (Középrigóc) had an important role, and similarly, Csurgó, Zákány and Gyékényes employed a significant number of railway workers. In terms of traders, it was impossible to compete with the settlement of Barcs, the 224 people there accounted for 42% of the trade earners in the entire region.

Nevertheless, there was also a labor shortage in the region, especially in case of summer harvest work, seasonal workers were greatly needed. As a result of this lack of workers, the larger estates were forced to obtain the necessary labor from other regions. In most of the manors I examined, it is clear that there was not enough local labor during the peak periods. The foreign workers were mostly obtained from the counties of Nyitra, Trencsén, Hont, Bars, Nógrád, Tolna, Zala and Békés.⁷³⁵ The lack of labor was one of the reasons why some of the larger farms gave up intensive economic activity in order to get rid of the trouble and fatigue caused by the constantly unfavorable working conditions. However, the expensive labor force also had the consequence that, wherever possible, farmers were happy to use the cheaper hoeing, mowing, reaping and other gear tools and machines that replaced manual labor. The labor shortage was also reinforced by the increasingly challenging one-child system around this time, which could be observed in a significant part of the region along the river Drava.

Summary

It can be seen from the analysis that the population of the settlements along the Drava showed significant differences compared to other areas of the country, but even compared to the rest of the county. In this region, the structure of the economy that has developed over many centuries has not changed much, that is, agriculture has remained the dominant factor. There is no doubt that large-scale agricultural plants underwent significant development in this era, and large-scale changes occurred in their operational and production characteristics. But this hardly affected the occupational structure of the traditional villagers. In the examined settlements, we could hardly see signs of significant industry, commerce, and other traffic-related signs. At the same time, the population clearly increased, its population density increased, and this trend was not broken even by the small number of emigrants. No major ethnic conflicts arose in the region, since the vast majority of the population was Hungarian, and only in smaller areas did the Germans or the scattered Croats become dominant. At the same time, we see that the world along the river was not completely still: the labor demand of large agricultural plants, the slowly developing industry and other sectors, and external influences undoubtedly brought new colors to the life of the region.

⁷³⁵ Ujváry, I. (1914):

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Mónika Beáta Mozsgai

Migration of Hungarians in Europe (2010–2019)

Abstract

The purpose of the study. In my study, I examine the level of emigration from Hungary to the EU/EFTA member states in the period between 2010 and 2019, the demographic characteristics of emigrating Hungarian citizens, and their motivations for migration.

Applied methods. The rate of emigration and the examination of demographic characteristics were analyzed by statistical analysis, the motivation of migration was analyzed by a literature review, and by presenting the results of my own online questionnaire research.

Results. In 2019 about 490,000 Hungarian citizens lived in other EU/EFTA member states. Most of the emigrants are men in their 20s with secondary education. The most popular European destination for Hungarians is Germany. The emigration of Hungarians from our country has been continuously decreasing since the mid-2010s, as a result of which we can expect a positive migration balance from 2019. Hungarians were primarily motivated by economic and political reasons to emigrate in the 2010s.

Keywords: emigration, Hungary, migration, motivation, international migration

Introduction

Looking at the emigration history of Hungary over the past 150 years, we can talk about several major periods of emigration, the reasons behind which are not very colorful: they occurred for economic and/or political reasons. The first major wave started towards North America at the end of the 19th century and there were economic reasons behind it.⁷³⁶ The next larger emigration waves took place for political reasons in 1944/45, 1947, and then in 1956. The economic downturn following the regime change also brought an increase in emigration in the 1990s.⁷³⁷

Hungary joined the European Union in 2004, which created opportunities for free movement towards other EU countries. After that, the economic crisis that started in 2008 produced such conditions that at the beginning of the 2010s it was clear that the rate of emigration increased. The recession-induced exodus of Hungarians reached its peak in 2013, when more than 100,000 people left our country. Since 2014, Hungarians' desire to emigrate has been decreasing. The importance of the question is given by the fact that the majority of emigrants come from the social groups that mostly determine Hungary's demographic/educational/labor market in the future: young people, singles/singles, men and skilled/schooled people.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ Gulyás, A. (2020)

⁷³⁷ Juhász, J. (1993): 49.

⁷³⁸ Sík, E. – Szeitl, B. (2016): 555.

The emigration that contributed to Hungary's labor shortage was the most significant in the construction industry, the manufacturing industry, the catering industry, and the health sector.⁷³⁹

As far as the literature on the issue is concerned - although research into the phenomenon of migration began at the end of the 1800s - for social scientists migration became a prominent subject of investigation after the Second World War. Researches made at that time were mostly concerned with the cultural differences between immigrants and natives, the paths of assimilation, chain migration networks supporting immigrants, and the role of social and cultural capital in limiting and controlling the process.⁷⁴⁰ International migration research, which has been increasing since the beginning of the 2000s, has primarily dealt with the magnitude of emigration, the demographic characteristics of emigrants, and the economic and labor market effects of emigration. After joining the EU, migration policy and the question of the integration of immigrants became more and more popular. In addition, some studies have been published in recent years on the migration potential of young people and medical students. On the other hand, little research has been done on the nature and explanation of return migration, on the model of domestic emigration, and empirical knowledge based on international comparisons is negligible.⁷⁴¹ We also lack the knowledge regarding the brain drain and brain waste phenomenon affecting Hungarians.

In my study, I am looking for answers to the following questions. What was the rate of emigration and remigration of Hungarians in the 2010s? How did the number of Hungarians living in individual European countries change? What are the demographic characteristics of international migrants? To which European country did most Hungarians emigrate? What factors motivated the Hungarians to emigrate? What is the reason for remigration? Can the phenomenon of brain drain be observed in Hungary?

To answer my research questions, I primarily used data from online statistical databases. Eurostat was used as a source of statistical data to examine the demographic characteristics of emigrants. The rate of emigration was determined on the basis of data from the KSH, mirror statistics, individual national statistical offices (DESTATIS, Office for National Statistics, STATCUBE) and the HMRC. The motivation for migration was based on domestic research for the given period, my own questionnaire research conducted in 2022, and the results of the micro census conducted by the Central Statistical Office in 2016. I used SPSS statistical software to examine the relationship between income differences and emigration between Hungary and the main destination countries.

Emigration and return migration trends, destination countries

Number of Hungarians living abroad

According to data from the United Nations, the number of people born in Hungary⁷⁴² and living abroad (in Europe and beyond) was 513,000 in 2010 and 632,000 in 2019. In 2010, this

⁷³⁹ Hárs, Á. (2020)

⁷⁴⁰ Sík, E. (2011): 4.

⁷⁴¹ Hárs, Á. (2020): 116.

⁷⁴² Those born in Hungary include Hungarian and foreign citizens born here.

represented 5.1% of the entire domestic population, and in 2019, 6.5%. Based on mirror statistics, at the beginning of 2019 the number of Hungarian citizens living in the EU/EFTA member states was around 490,000, which represents an increase of 80,000 since 2015 and 280,000 since 2010.

The rate of migration

The measurement of emigration in Hungary faces difficulties, the reason for which is, among other things, that there is currently no strict registration system for emigrants in our country. Compared to domestic emigration data, we can get a more accurate - but still not precise - insight into the level of emigration based on mirror statistics. Below, the emigration data obtained from two different sources for the three main destination countries (Austria, United Kingdom, and Germany) are compared. As can be seen, the emigration data measured on the basis of mirror statistics show multiple values of the data of the Central Statistical Office. (Table 1) The two data series both correspond that they indicate a continuous decrease in emigration from the second half of the examined period. A striking difference is that, while the mirror statistics place the peak of the emigration wave in 2013, the domestic statistics place it in 2015.

Table 1 Comparison of the number of Hungarian citizens who immigrated to the three main destination countries based on emigration and immigration statistics 2010-2019

Hungarian citizens who immigrated to the three main destination countries (thousand)										
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
KSH	5.1	9.5	10.3	17.5	25.3	26.3	23.2	20.8	17.9	16.4
Mirror statistics	49.9	68.3	89.7	100.7	94.1	93.0	82.3	72.9	64.3	56.7

Source: KSH, Mirror statistics: German Federal Statistical Office-residential address register, United Kingdom: HMRC-registration of social insurance number, Austria: Federal Statistical Office.residential address registration

According to the data of the Central Statistical Office⁷⁴³, the number of emigrants increased drastically in 2011, the increase - albeit at a variable rate - lasted until 2013, and then the number of emigrants decreased continuously from 2014.

Due to the continuous decrease in the willingness of Hungarians to emigrate from 2014, the migration balance of Hungarian citizens born in Hungary turned positive in 2019. In this year, the number of Hungarians returned exceeded the number of those who left our country by 1,272. Accordingly, as of 2019, the net migration ratio is also positive (0.13%).

Due to the continuous decrease in emigration from 2014, as well as the large-scale return migration, the growth rate of the number of Hungarian citizens living in the member states of the European Union and EFTA is continuously decreasing. In the United Kingdom, the rate of growth moderated to such an extent while the number of returnees increased that by 2019 the

⁷⁴³ The KSH data do not reflect the true extent of emigration and return, as Hungarian citizens do not necessarily comply with their obligation to report health insurance policies established in other EU member states. In addition, emigrating Hungarians typically do not deregister from their residential address in Hungary.

number of Hungarians living there decreased by around 22 thousand people, from nearly 100 thousand people in 2018 to 78 thousand people. In Austria and Germany, although the number of Hungarian citizens continued to rise, the rate of growth also slowed down. The number of Hungarians living there has also increased in Switzerland and the Netherlands, which can be considered a popular destination for Hungarians, and Slovenia, Iceland, Norway, Romania and Denmark are the countries where the number of Hungarians increased greatly in the 2010s.

In the examined period, the number of Hungarian citizens living in the EU/EFTA member states increased continuously, albeit at an alternating pace, but - with the exception of a decrease of about 5,000 people from 2018 to 2019. "In the examined period, the number of Hungarian citizens living in the three main destination countries (Austria, Germany and the UK) (376,000 people) compared to the region is considered low. The largest number of Polish and Romanian citizens of working age (15-64) live in other EU/EFTA countries. In 2019, 1.9 million Polish and 2.8 million Romanian citizens lived in different European states.

If we compare the number of these international migrants to the domestic population of the given nation, Hungary (5%) ranks towards the end of the ranking of EU/EFTA member states, in the third tertiary of it, while countries with the most intensive emigration rate (Lichtenstein, Croatia, Luxembourg, Cyprus and Lithuania) this ratio is 21-28%.

Return migration

The continuous upward trend of the immigration of Hungarian citizens born in Hungary and the so-called returnees during the examined period was broken in 2018, when it stabilized at around 23,000 people per year.

The annual number of returning Hungarian citizens gradually increased between 2010 and 2018, from 1,575 to 23,401, and since 2018 has stagnated at around 23,000.

In the first half of the examined period, among the three most popular European destination countries, the largest proportion of Hungarians returned to Hungary from Austria. (23-65%) from 2014, the proportion of Hungarians returning home from all three destination countries shows a rising trend, to such an extent that from 2018, from the United Kingdom (by 52%), and from 2019, from Germany (by 4.4%) more people returned home than emigrated there in the given year. Part of the reason for this can be found in the drastic decrease in Hungarians' desire to emigrate.

The migration balance was negative in the examined period. The emigration loss was the highest in 2014, the number of Hungarians emigrating this year exceeded the number of returnees by 20,029. In 2019, the migration balance turned positive, this year we counted on a migration gain of 1,272 people.

In addition to the previously mentioned reasons, Hungary's improving economic situation and everyday livelihood opportunities can also be behind the increasing return migration to Hungary. The change in the average net income in Hungary, the change in purchasing power parity, and the change of utility costs (the consumer price index for water, heating and electricity

also decreased in Hungary, while the average prices in the European Union increased) in the examined period, it closely correlates with the number of returnees.⁷⁴⁴

„Old-new Hungarian citizens”

As for the immigration of Hungarian citizens born abroad, this population rose continuously in the first half of the examined period, thereby contributing to the reduction of the domestic population decline. The peak was in 2015, when 17,747 people arrived in our country.

From the year 2016, their number decreased continuously, until at the end of the period it reached the level of 10,000 people per year.

Regarding the repatriation of Hungarian citizens born abroad, 2011 was the year when we witnessed a drastic increase. At that time, their number rose from 60 in 2010 to 3,061 in 2011. Some of them were foreign-born immigrant Hungarian citizens who acquired Hungarian citizenship abroad (they were naturalized) and then moved to Hungary. The drastic increase in the number of immigrants in 2011 and the continuous increase in the following years, thus the improvement of the migration balance, were partially explained by the 1993 LV (Ápt.) on Hungarian citizenship resulted from the 2010 amendment of the Act⁷⁴⁵. Within this framework, the simplified naturalization procedure was introduced which facilitated the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship for Hungarians across the border. Pursuant to the law, "...a non-Hungarian citizen whose ancestor was a Hungarian citizen or whose ancestry in Hungary is probable, and who proves his knowledge of the Hungarian language, is eligible for preferential naturalization." Between 2011 and 2015, a total of 54,000 people established a residential address in Hungary after receiving Hungarian citizenship while living abroad.⁷⁴⁶ From 2017, the immigration of Hungarian citizens born abroad decreased and stabilized at around 10,000 people per year.

The most popular European destination countries for Hungarian citizens

According to UN data, Hungarians lived in 65 countries in 2019, 30 of which had a population of 1,000. From the beginning of the examined period, the distribution of the Hungarian population by destination country has changed somewhat. While 68% of them lived in a European country⁷⁴⁷ in 2010, in 2019 nearly three quarters (73%) of them lived in North America, while the proportion of people living in North America dropped from 24 to 20%.

⁷⁴⁴ Uhljár, P. (2022): 8.

⁷⁴⁵ As a result of the amendment to the law, in contrast to the previous provisions, in order to obtain Hungarian citizenship, it is not necessary to settle in Hungary, it is not necessary to take a citizenship test, or to prove residence and livelihood in Hungary.

⁷⁴⁶ Új magyar (2017)

⁷⁴⁷ According to UN data, the most popular European destination countries in order of Hungarian-born people living there in 2019 are: Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Sweden. Most popular destination countries outside Europe: United States, Canada, Australia and Israel.

The most popular European destinations for Hungarian citizens were Austria, the United Kingdom and Germany in the 2010s. (Table 2) During the examined period, 70-81% of Hungarian citizens migrating within Europe chose these three countries.

In addition to geographic proximity, the existence of migration networks may have played a role in this. At the beginning of the examined period, most Hungarians lived in the three main destination countries, so these networks were obviously the most extensive there. According to network theory, the existence and growth of migration networks reduces the cost and risk associated with migration, while simultaneously increasing the net benefit. And reducing cost and risk increases migration.⁷⁴⁸

Table 2 Flow and stock data based on data from mirror statistics of Hungarian citizens immigrating to the main destination countries

The number of Hungarian citizens who immigrated to the main destination countries (thousand)											
Data type	Host country	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Flow	Germany	29.3	41.1	54.8	59.0	57.3	56.4	49.8	46.1	41.9	35.0
	United Kingdom	14.2	17.9	21.8	26.8	22.3	22.2	19.2	13.7	9.8	9.7
	Austria	6.4	9.3	13.1	14.9	14.5	14.4	13.3	13.1	12.6	12.1
Stock	Germany	65.4	:	80.0	106.3	132.3	150.7	171.2	180.2	190.6	196.1
	United Kingdom	37.0	48.0	50.0	73.0	74.5	86.5	83.7	96.4	99.6	77.8
	Austria	23.3	25.6	29.8	37.0	46.3	54.9	63.6	70.6	77.1	82.7

Source:

Flow line data: German Federal Statistical Office residential address register, United Kingdom: HMRC social security number claimants, Austria: Austrian Statistical Office residential address register. (:) data not available.

Stock line data: Germany: Eurostat population, United Kingdom: Eurostat population; 2012, 2013: British Statistical Office annual population estimate, Austria: Austrian Statistical Office population

Judging by the mirror statistics, Germany was the main destination country for emigrating Hungarians throughout the period under review. The United Kingdom was in second place until 2017, when Austria took over its place in 2018. This is because the number of people migrating to the UK fell by 28% from 2017 to 2018.

In 2019, almost three quarters (74%) of Hungarians living in European countries lived in the three main destination countries - Germany (41%), United Kingdom (17%) and Austria (16%). Although the number of Hungarians living in the EEA member states increased to varying degrees, their number decreased by around 5,000 people from 2018 to 2019.

The majority of Hungarians immigrating to the United Kingdom, around 90% of them live in England. Within the main destination countries, most Hungarians settled in the capital of the respective state (Berlin, Vienna and London). In addition, a large number of Hungarians live in England in the south-eastern (East-Sussex, Kent, Dartford and Surrey) and eastern counties (Essex, Basildon and Hertfordshire). Compared to other international immigrants, most Hungarians lived in Dartford and Tandridge in the south-eastern part of England, around 3.5% of all immigrants living here were Hungarian citizens in 2020. In Austria, the majority of Hungarians live in the provinces of Lower Austria, Upper Austria and Styria, including in the districts and cities of Baden, Linz and Graz. The province of Burgenland, where the majority of immigrants from the EU/EFTA member states are should be highlighted (in 2019, 31% of them, 6,039 people were Hungarian citizens). The majority of Hungarians living in Germany

⁷⁴⁸ Massey, D. S. (1993)

(36% in 2019, about 76,000 people) live in the province of Bayern (Bavaria). In addition, the provinces of Baden-Württemberg, North Rhine-Westphalia and Hessen are also popular among emigrating Hungarians.

Motivations for emigration and return migration

Behind the primary motivations of the emigration of Hungarians in the 2010s - as in the past 150 years - were economic and political reasons.

The research was conducted by Hárs (2020) in 2018-2019 among persons over the age of 18 who were born in Hungary and who had been living or working abroad for at least three months prior to the survey examined the emigration from Hungary. After researching the reason for the emigration, they came to the result presented below. The most important factor behind the emigration decision was economic and labor market effects, but factors related to quality of life also played a role. The vast majority of emigrants (65%) left our country because of the hope of a higher income. This reflects the neoclassical macroeconomic theory of international migration, according to which the cause of migration is to be found in wage differences.⁷⁴⁹ There is also a large number of those who decided to emigrate due to desperation, the lack and hopelessness of job opportunities in Hungary (40%), and the political atmosphere in Hungary (37%). Better opportunities for children's education and future (1/5), the experience of living abroad, sheer desire for adventure (20%), and finally, to a lesser extent, family reasons and fear of the future also played a role in the decision to migrate. Differences emerge according to educational level regarding the factors that motivate emigration. The hope of a higher income was important for all education groups. Those with basic education were mostly motivated to emigrate by the lack of job opportunities in Hungary, lack of prospects and family problems. Those with a secondary education were motivated by financial concerns, while graduates were typically motivated by non-financial considerations, such as the domestic political atmosphere, gaining experience abroad, and the hope of a better future for their children to make the decision to emigrate.

I reached a similar conclusion through the online questionnaire research I conducted in April 2022.⁷⁵⁰

The majority of respondents unanimously indicated the high level of domestic corruption, the political situation, and low salaries as the most motivating factors for their emigration. This may be related to the fact that the majority of those filling out the questionnaire have a higher education, among whom the political environment typically plays a significant role in the emigration decision process, according to other research results.

Siskáné Szilasi – Halász, in the framework of the 2016-2017 OTKA research in 2008, examined the process related to emigration. According to their results, the primary reason for emigration is economic. This is followed by decent working conditions and pay, the lack of jobs that provide opportunities for advancement, and insufficient working conditions. *"Politics that have deepened unbridgeable social fault lines over the decades, worsening corruption, susceptibility*

⁷⁴⁹ Massey, D.S. (1993): 433.

⁷⁵⁰ The questionnaire was filled out by 101 person, most of whom live in the United Kingdom, have a higher education, are over 18 years old and have lived in the island country for more than three years.

to compromise, a society of complaints, and the lack of civic self-awareness are all increasingly significant reasons for emigration." ⁷⁵¹

If the income differences between Hungary and the three main target countries are measured on the basis of the existing differences in GDP per capita measured at purchasing power parity, it can be concluded that Hungary falls behind the income level of the main target countries in the period under review. If we examine to what extent GDP per capita at purchasing power parity explains the migration rate relative to the population, it can be concluded that the correlation coefficient is significant, and its value indicates a close relationship.⁷⁵² This means that as the purchasing power parity GDP per capita increases, emigration decreases, while emigration increases as the economy turns down. In the case of the United Kingdom, the p value (-0.764) indicates a stronger-than-average negative relationship between the two variables. It should be noted that correlation does not mean that there is a causal relationship between the two variables. But it indicates that one affects the other, or that both are affected by a common causal factor. The results must of course be further tested.

The answer to the motivation of the return migration is provided by the results of the micro census⁷⁵³ conducted by KSH in the fall of 2016. According to that, Hungarians' remigration is mostly motivated by family reasons. There was a difference in the reason for returning home along the length of the stay abroad. The majority (almost half) of those who lived abroad for at least one year moved home for family reasons. An equal proportion of those living abroad for a short term (31% respectively) migrated back for family reasons, or because they believed that their goals had been fulfilled.

It is also characteristic that in the case of those with higher education, the return migration due to the fulfilment of the emigration goal is the highest, and that the members of groups with increasingly older and lower educational levels return home for family reasons in greater proportion.

Social composition of Hungarians living abroad

In 2019, 6% of the Hungarian working-age population lived in other EU/EFTA member states.

In the 2010s, the proportion of men among Hungarian migrants of working age (15-64 years) living in other EU/EFTA member states fluctuated between 47% and 52%. By 2018, the gender ratio had equalized. The gender distribution of emigrants differs from country to country. While Austria was characterized by a slight female surplus (52-53%), Germany was marked by a pronounced male surplus. Here, the proportion of Hungarian men fluctuated between 57-61%. As of 2015, the proportion of women is constantly increasing. In the United Kingdom, as in Germany, there is a male surplus. In the 2010s, the proportion of men requiring a social security number on the British Islands was 53%. The exception to this is the age group under 25 and over 44, where women represented a larger proportion.

⁷⁵¹ Siskáné Szilasi, B. – Halász, L. (2018): 75.

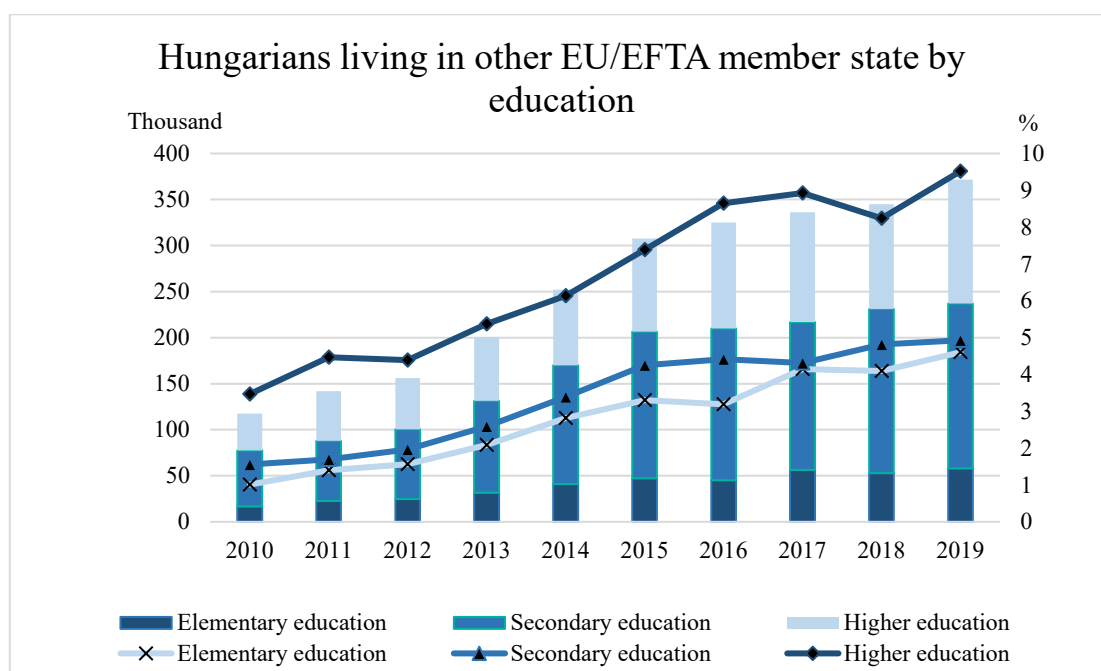
⁷⁵² The results should be treated with caution, given the small number of cases, there may be a possibility that the results presented above were due to accidental scattering of the data.

⁷⁵³ The sample consisted of 10% of Hungarian households. During the microcensus, around 440,000 households in 2,148 settlements in Hungary were included in the survey.

In the 2010s, the majority (43-54%) of Hungarian citizens of working age (15-64 years of age) who emigrated from Hungary were under 30 years of age. Overall, 68-75% of them were in their 20s and 30s, while 38-43% of the Hungarian population belonged to this category. The majority of people living in the main target countries Austria (55-62%) and Germany (52-58%) also belonged to the young (20-39) age group. In the United Kingdom, the proportion of the young age group is higher than the average, in the 2010s, 73% of those applying for a social security number (NINo) in the island country were between the ages of 18 and 34.

Regarding the education⁷⁵⁴ of Hungarian citizens of working age (15-64 years) living in other EU/EFTA countries, the majority of them (46-52%) had a secondary education in the examined period. (Figure1.) The proportion of graduates varied between 32-38%, while 14-17% had a basic education. In the same age group of the domestic population, these proportions differ somewhat, the proportion of those with primary education (20-25%) and secondary education (57-59%) is higher, while the proportion of graduates is lower (17-22%). This means that in terms of the educational level of the migrant population, a higher proportion of them have a diploma than those who stayed at home. In other words, those with a higher education are more mobile than those with a lower education.

Figure 6 Hungarians living in other EU/EFTA member states by education per thousand people and in proportion to groups with the same education in the domestic population



Source: EUROSTAT data [MIGR_POP1CTZ], [EDAT_LFS_9911], [EDAT_LFS_9912], [EDAT_LFS_9913] and own calculation

⁷⁵⁴ Based on the ISCED 2011 classification system. I used designations of 0-2: elementary, 3-4: secondary, and 5-8: higher education.

In 2019, 16% of people living in other EU/EFTA member states had basic education, 48% had secondary education, and 36% had higher education. In 2019, 4.6% of Hungarians of working age with primary education, 4.9% of those with secondary education, and 9.5% of those with higher education lived in other European countries.

This is also an outstanding value because in the 2010s, the number of Hungarian primary and secondary students continuously decreased, while the number of graduates increased. While only 1,140,000 people had a diploma in 2010, in 2019 there were already 1,423,000 people. In the case of Hungarian emigrants, the education ratio (the ratio of highly educated emigrants compared to all emigrants) is also exceptionally high compared to other countries in the region (0.34). Based on this, it can be concluded that the brain drain phenomenon can be observed in Hungary. According to the results of my research I conducted in the spring of 2022 among Hungarians living abroad, 46% of emigrants with a higher education who filled out the questionnaire did not work in a job corresponding to their education. Based on this, it is likely that, in addition to brain drain, the phenomenon of brain waste can be observed among emigrants as well as among those who stayed in the country.

Among graduate emigrants, the emigration of healthcare workers causes the largest problems for our country. Although the migration of healthcare professionals is a global phenomenon, the lack and nature of healthcare human resources varies from country to country. According to World Bank data, the number of physicians per 1,000 people in Hungary is below the European Union average. During the examined period, the number of jobs in health care industry remained below the number of jobs required for operation. In 2019, 8,124 positions necessary for operation remained unfilled. According to ENKK data in the early 2010s, the number of Hungarian physicians immigrating from our country increased, from 2012 to 2013 it decreased by 25% (from 940 to 705 people), and then from 2016, the proportion of physicians requiring an official certificate has been continuously decreasing. (The majority of them are women between the ages of 25 and 29.) The reason for this is presumably the introduction of the scholarship system of the Resident Support Program in 2011, as well as the wage adjustment for physicians, which began on September 1, 2016 and was implemented in four steps. It should be noted, however, that in the field of health care, leaving the workforce - caused by the wage structure, working environment and treatment - plays a greater role in the increase in the labor shortage than emigration. Considering that from 2010 to the end of the examined period, the number of Hungarian doctors requiring an official certificate decreased by about 50%, we can conclude that the motivation behind medical emigration to Hungary were primarily financial reasons.

Summary

Emigration is a global phenomenon, its beginning coincides with the beginning of human history. In 2019, about half a million Hungarians lived in other EU/EFTA member states. Based on domestic statistical data, the emigration of Hungarians from our country has been continuously decreasing since 2014, as a result of which we can count on a positive emigration balance from 2019. The emigration trend of Hungarians during the 2010s was essentially the same as the global trend. Most of the emigrants are men in their 20s with secondary education.

The composition of international migrants changed in terms of age during the period under review. While the proportion of those in their 20s and 30s decreased, the proportion of those under 20 and over 40 increased. The proportion of those with primary or higher education living in other EU/EFTA member states also increased, while that of those with secondary education decreased. Looking at the demographic composition of the Hungarian population living in other EU/EFTA member states, emigrants are on average younger and more educated than the sending population, and there are more men than women among them. Differences can be observed according to destination countries. In Germany there is a clear male surplus, while in Austria there is a female surplus. The emigration of people with higher education is significant and constantly increasing, which is a serious problem for Hungary. The most popular European destination for Hungarians is Germany. Hungarians were primarily motivated by economic and political reasons to emigrate in the 2010s. Emigration and income differences between sending and receiving countries show a close relationship. The reason for the return migration is primarily the family that stayed in Hungary.

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Tamás Nyári

The Impact of the Thermal Project on the Thermal Spa Culture of Southern Transdanubia

Abstract

The purpose of the study. To present what concepts existed for the utilization of the thermal resources of the Southern Transdanubian region, both at the national and county level. Next, examine the impact of the international Thermal Project, which started in the 1970s, on the spa culture of the region, primarily on the spa culture.

Applied methods. Primarily a literature review in the field of economic policy and spa history. I examined the literature on socialist economic policy and incorporated the results of my research into the information found there. The literature research was followed by the study of contemporary press and legislation. At the end of the systematic investigation, useful information was provided with relevant press reports and adequate source criticism. An important part of the research was archival research, in which national and county-level party documents and council documents were processed.

Outcomes. As a result of the party decree of 1957 and the ministerial decree of 1960, the pace of hydrocarbon research increased at the same time, as a result of which thermal wells were discovered one after the other, and the demand for the development of tourism appeared at the same time. Together, this resulted in the development of spa culture based on thermal wells being put on the agenda at the local, county and national levels. Starting in the 1960s, concepts appeared one after another for the use of thermal water for tourism purposes, to boost tourism and increase the country's foreign exchange earnings. The national water management framework plan was created, and county plans were created for the development of spas. By the 1970s, taking advantage of the milder political climate, the primary goal became the utilization of the country's thermal resources, and it initiated cooperation with the UN under the name Thermal Project. A joint management planning group was created, in which Hungarian and international specialists and numerous institutions of the country participated. After a lot of preparation and the creation of a schedule, the project died after the implementation of the first phase. The implementation of the big plan was thus left for the times after the regime change.

Keywords: MSZMP, council, spa, thermal source

Introduction

In Hungary, after the Second World War, in the economic sense, sovietization began with the nationalizations.⁷⁵⁵ This naturally affected the spas operating in the country, such as Nagyatád,⁷⁵⁶ Harkány and Sikonda,⁷⁵⁷ which were heavily damaged in Southern Transdanubia. We can say that the period of the first five-year plan (1950-54) was not favorable for development, either in relation to the development of spas or to the issue of tourism in general. The Rákosi regime, which was preparing for war, focused on large investments in the heavy and military industry, and wanted to build a country of iron and steel; therefore, it did not deal meaningfully with the matter of tourism or spa culture.⁷⁵⁸ Regarding the management of the nationalized spas, beyond the fact that they should be operated, there was no concept of any kind, and tourism exhausted in workers' holyday.⁷⁵⁹

In 1955, the National Tourist Board was established, and the following year⁷⁶⁰ 50,000 more foreign tourists arrived to Hungary. This increased the country's foreign exchange earnings, which enhanced the role of tourism. However, as a result of the revolution and the subsequent negative international response, the number of tourists from the West fell again in the second half of the 1950s. Therefore, in 1959 an analytical work was started and continued the following year, in which the party center investigated what opportunities for foreign currency incomes were in tourism.⁷⁶¹

Council of Ministers Resolution No. 3117/1960 was then issued on the development of tourism. Among the areas to be developed, they focused primarily on Budapest and the shores of Lake Balaton, but medical tourism is also mentioned. The decree states that the tourism development of spas is progressing slowly, only Harkány⁷⁶² is mentioned among the few listed examples. Among them were Nagyatád and Sikonda, which were night sanatoriums because of the decision of the National Economic Councils number 332/26/1952 NT.⁷⁶³

The decree of the Council of Ministers was preceded by the decision of the PB of the MSZMP on November 26, 1957, which required the further enhancement of hydrocarbon research. As a sort of by-product of the research, many thermal springs have come to light. Even before the decision, wells were found relatively often, but after 1957 the number of places discovered increased throughout the region. The most important:

- In Baranya County: Sellye (1962), Magyarhertelend (1965), Pettend and Szigetvár (1966)⁷⁶⁴ and Ellend (1972)⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁵⁵ Domonkos, E. (2019): 81-82.

⁷⁵⁶ Kanyar, J. (1970): 232-233.

⁷⁵⁷ HU-MNL-BaVL XXXV.1

⁷⁵⁸ Kaposi, Z. (2002): 350-351.

⁷⁵⁹ Nyári, T. (2022): 158.

⁷⁶⁰ Kovács, L. – Takács, J. (1966): 77.

⁷⁶¹ Rehák, G. (2009): 116.

⁷⁶² HU-MNL-OL-XIX-A-83-b

⁷⁶³ Nyári, T. (2021): 128.

⁷⁶⁴ Katona, K. (2015): 111-112.

⁷⁶⁵ Dunántúli Napló 19.04.1972.

- In Somogy County: Csokonyavisonta (1943), Igal (1947), Babócsa (1955), Buzsák-Csisztapuszta (1956), Szulok (1958) and Nagybajom (1965)
- In Tolna County: Dunaföldvár (1963), Tamási (1968) and Dombóvár-Gunaras (1972)⁷⁶⁶

Together, the two decisions resulted in discovering thermal springs and tourism based on them became more and more prominent both locally and nationally from the 1960s and onwards. The first national and - in parallel with that - the first local concepts were published. According to them, in the beginning these would not necessarily have only utilized the water of the thermal springs from a touristic and balneological point of view, but by the 1970s they had become the most important area of use. In my study, after presenting the antecedents, I examine the Thermal Project and its effects, looking for the answer to whether international cooperation brought a breakthrough in the development of the spa culture in Southern Transdanubia before 1990.

Local and Central Ideas before the Thermal Project

The 1960s was the period when the concepts started. The national water management framework plan was created, and the county concepts were published.

The government decree number 2001/1961 (I. 17.) ordered the preparation of the National Water Management Framework Plan, which was developed in coordination with the Water Planning Company (VIZITERV). The government approved the plan on October 28, 1965 which included actions for the following 20 years and worked with 1963 data.⁷⁶⁷

According to the data of the framework plan, in 1963 the thermal water sources produced 344,804 cubic meters of water in one day. 59% of these remained unused. In winter, less than half of the water used was utilized for medicinal or spa purposes. In the summer, during the swimming season, however, 74% of the water was used for the same purposes. The data also show that a significant part of the water used was utilised for residential hot water supply, building heating and was also used in agriculture. The latter accounted for the majority of the amount used in winter, so it is demonstrable that they thought differently about the use of thermal water at the governmental, and in many cases the local level than they do today:

Use of thermal water in 1963⁷⁶⁸

	winter		summer	
Medicine	52.201	15,10%	52.201	15,10%
Hygienic bath	11.208	3,20%	11.208	3,20%
Outdoor swimming pools	0	0,00%	93.066	26,90%

⁷⁶⁶ Katona, K. (2015): 111-112.

⁷⁶⁷ Keretterv (1965): 897.

⁷⁶⁸ Keretterv (1965): 897

Drinking water supply ⁷⁶⁹	38.155	11,00%	38.155	11,00%
Hot water supply	16.617	4,80%	16.617	4,80%
Building heating	12.282	3,50%	0	0,00%
Heating of greenhouses	12.398	3,50%	0	0,00%
Used	142,861	41,00%	211.247	61,00%
Unused	201.943	59,00%	133.557	39,00%
Altogether	344.804	100,00%	344.804	100,00%

In 1965, this road was considered passable. Until 1980, they counted on the increase of extracted thermal water, they expected that there would be about 24% more water. It was planned to reduce its 59% underutilization to 25%. The most interesting thing is what possibilities they considered to increase the use of thermal water. They calculated that they would use nearly 100,000 (99,877) cubic meters more thermal water in winter. Most of the used surplus would have been utilized to heat greenhouses, tripling the rate of use. Building heating would have benefitted from a similar proportion of growth as well as medicine. Overall, in winter non-bathing and medical uses would have accounted for 68% of the surplus.

According to the plans, in summer swimming pools and outdoor swimming pools would have benefitted from the excess use, so it can be said that during the planning phase the state was thinking about the industrial and residential use of thermal and medicinal waters, in addition to sports and entertainment. It can be clearly shown from the plans that spa tourism was one of the options, but utilization for outdoor swimming pools was considered more important:

Use of thermal water in 1980 ⁷⁷⁰

	winter		summer	
Medicine	72.787	17,10%	72.787	17,10%
Hygienic bath	22.270	5,20%	22.270	5,20%
Outdoor swimming pools	0	0,00%	156.038	36,50%
Drinking water supply	44.623	10,40%	44.623	10,40%
Hot water supply	24.692	5,80%	24.692	5,80%
Building heating	29.732	6,90%	0	0,00%
Heating of greenhouses	48.634	11,30%	0	0,00%
Used	242.738	56,80%	320.410	75,00%

⁷⁶⁹ The framework plan mentions complex utilization, but it does not say more than that the hot water must be routed through a separate line. It is not entirely clear what he means by drinking water supply. Keretterv (1965) p. 897

⁷⁷⁰ Keretterv (1965) p. 897.

Unused	185.017	43,20%	107.346	25,00%
Altogether	427.656	100,00%	427.656	100,00%

The plan did not recommend exclusively medicinal uses in Southern Transdanubia. In the other utilization category, development was foreseen in the settlements of Babócsa, Barcs, Igal and Kaposvár in Somogy County, and Siklós in Baranya County. Development was envisaged in Harkány and Sikonda in Baranya County, Csokonyavisonta and Nagyatád in Somogy County with complex utilization goals. Therefore, the local plans calculated with spa development, but not primarily for medical purposes.

In the same year, the first county-level concepts were developed. The executive committee of the Somogy County Council then seriously discussed the matter of thermal springs for the first time.⁷⁷¹ Several decisions were made in this regard, including the one where they decided to improve spas of Csokonyavisonta, Igal, Nagyatád⁷⁷² and Kaposvár. It was also at this time that a decision was made to establish a spa utilization association, whose task was to organize social support for spas. Just like the water management framework plan, the Somogy County concept also counted on the agricultural utilization of thermal water and ordered an examination into the possibility of this. In 1966 the plans were further expanded and a decision was made to enable the winterisation of Igal, as well as to connect Csokonyavisonta with a road.⁷⁷³

Although in 1965 the development of Csisztapuszta was not yet considered expedient, in 1970 plans were already made for its development. At the same time, it was also decided to establish a spa based on the thermal spring of the neighboring village of Táska, which, however, has not happened to this date.⁷⁷⁴

The long-term concept of Somogy was finally completed in 1974, the year of the Thermal Project. It was decided to eliminate infrastructural backwardness, to improve hygienic conditions, in some places to create them, to carry out the most urgent repairs and in some places, such as Igal, to renovate and modernize.⁷⁷⁵ As part of this, the three largest spas, Kaposvár, Csokonyavisonta and Igal were put under corporate management, as they wanted to bring in capital for the spas.⁷⁷⁶

In Baranya County, they began to deal more seriously with the issue of thermal spas a little later, despite the fact that the Harkány spa was already nationalized in 1949. Until 1967 only the operation of Harkány and the expansion of its capacity were on the agenda. In its case they often dealt with entirely secondary issues at the county level (for example, the purchase of flower pots⁷⁷⁷). At the same time, the other spas of the county hardly came into the sight of the county council, and in 1967 it was mostly only about the development of Harkány.

That year, on September 8, the external meeting of the executive committee of the Baranya County Council was held here, the topic being the health utilization of the medicinal water from

⁷⁷¹ Somogyi Néplap 22.4.1965.

⁷⁷² HU-MNL-SVL XXXV-1-b-18. 29.4.1969.

⁷⁷³ Somogyi Néplap 13.5.1966.

⁷⁷⁴ Somogyi Néplap 18.9.1970.

⁷⁷⁵ Lengyel, L. (1976):38.

⁷⁷⁶ Lengyel, L. (1976): 38-39.

⁷⁷⁷ 15-2/1962 VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

Harkány. The Ministry of Health was also represented at this meeting. During the long debate, harsh criticism was voiced by both the ministry and the council, pointing fingers at each other for the lack of developments in Harkány. The council complained about the lack of central support; and in response on behalf of the ministry, they said that they did not provide support because there was no development plan. The council defended itself by saying that the spa was taken over in a dilapidated state, and they were constantly renovating it, but instead of help, they only received criticism from the health authorities, as well as from the doctors themselves.⁷⁷⁸

The council really had no conscious concept other than to increase the number of hotel beds and meet the spas needs of the county, and the operation was not professional either. The medicinal water of Harkány was used both for healing purposes and for spas at the same time. In this debate, it was clearly stated how few outdoor swimming pools Baranya County had, although Siklós was also proposed as a resort, a hybrid spa-outdoor pool development plan was created. With a delay of several years, it was then that the decision was made to implement the 1960 government decision and to further increase hotel capacities.⁷⁷⁹ It was not until 1970 that the Baranya County Council began to seriously deal with thermal spas outside Harkány. In this year, they came up with a concept and based on that a spa would be built at the newly discovered Szigetvár thermal spring in 1966⁷⁸⁰ which could relieve Harkány.⁷⁸¹ At the same time, in addition to the proposal, they only dealt with the development of Harkány⁷⁸² until the new concept in 1972. It was then that the county's uniform spa development program⁷⁸³ was created, which was basically about investments in Pécs, as the outdoor pool situation in the city of Pécs was very bad, which also had an impact on swimming. At the same time, it prescribed spa development in several towns of the county, including Szigetvár.

The other county spas were hardly dealt with. Sikonda was mentioned only twice⁷⁸⁴ because the Ministry of Coal Mining⁷⁸⁵ and later its successors dealt with its operation. Money was once voted for Magyarhertelend,⁷⁸⁶ but later its development was classified as a mistake.⁷⁸⁷ We can only learn about the spas in Sellye and Pettend from the local newspaper,⁷⁸⁸ as well as about the unexploited spring in Ellend.⁷⁸⁹

In Tolna County, there was hardly any mention of the utilization of thermal water. The Tolna County Council only adopted its water management concept in 1979, but there was no

⁷⁷⁸ 18/1967. report HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁷⁹ 179/1967 VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a; 215/1967 VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁸⁰ Dunántúli Napló 11.06.1966.

⁷⁸¹ 10/1970. report HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁸² First of all, they prepared the declaration of Harkány as a spa. 73/1970. VB decree. HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a; 99/1971. VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a; 130/1972. VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁸³ Dunántúli Napló 07.06.1972.

⁷⁸⁴ 382/1964. VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a; 105/1965. VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁸⁵ The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic the 29. number of 1954, was established by a statutory decree instead of the Ministry of Heavy Industry. The first coal mining minister was Sándor Czottner. Országgyűlési irományok (1964): 246.; About its organization the 4054/II.17./1955. number decree of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic decided. HU-MNL-OL-XIX-A-83-b 4046-4085/1955.

⁷⁸⁶ 102-4/1961. VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁸⁷ 12/1970. report HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁷⁸⁸ Dunántúli Napló 20.12.1967.; Dunántúli Napló 05.08.1985.

⁷⁸⁹ Dunántúli Napló 19.04.1972.

substantive discussion of thermal sources. This concept⁷⁹⁰ also arose only after the Thermal Project.

Establishing UN-Hungarian Cooperation

The 29.§ of the II. law of 1970, the a 4th five-years plan stated: "The revenue from international tourism must be increased by more than one and a half times. The hotel capacity - depending on the category of facilities - should be increased by 6.5-8.5 thousand beds. Spas, as well as other tourism services, must also be significantly improved."⁷⁹¹ This law paved the way for the starting spa development process during the fourth five-year-plan (1971-75).

As a result of the easing international situation, the government expected the number of Western tourists to increase. It also expected foreign exchange income from this growth, which was important because of the deteriorating budget balance. In connection with the utilization of thermal waters, the utilization of geothermal energy in industry and agriculture was discussed, but there was no suitable technology for its implementation. Thus, the possibility of use for tourism purposes and the fourth five-year plan's tourism concept met, and the development of international cooperation could begin.

In relation to planning, they recognized the need for more comprehensive cooperation that also required international assistance, so in 1971 the Hungarian government requested support from the UN Development Fund. After the request for support, the UNDP/HUN/71/511 Regional Development Planning Project was established, which became known as the Thermal Project. The participation of the UN also resulted in the involvement of foreign experts, which was also suitable for attracting international interest. In addition, the UN also financed the designers' training trips abroad.⁷⁹²

The treaty between the UN and Hungary was signed on June 17, 1974,⁷⁹³ which resulted in administrative cooperation. Based on this, the UN provided assistance in the planning. The management of the project was based on dual administration. There was an international project manager delegated by the UN, and there was a Hungarian project director. Both held degrees in architecture. The office consisted of six employees, one of whom was a former engineer, two economists, two correspondents who spoke foreign languages, and a librarian acting as a chief rapporteur. Planning was the responsibility of the Urban Planning Science and Planning Institute (VÁTI), which created the Central Planning Department of the Thermal Project with a head of department, 11 designers and 5 other employees for the entirety of the project. VÁTI II-III-IV took part in the same work, his office had a total of 9 designers⁷⁹⁴

External bodies and their experts (17 people) and UN experts (7 people) participated in the planning. The external bodies were, among others, the Petroleum and Natural Gas Mining Industrial Research Laboratory, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Geographical Research

⁷⁹⁰ Tolna Megyei Népújság 01.01.1979.

⁷⁹¹ II. law of 1970 about the fourth five-year plan of the national economy

⁷⁹² Grove, D. (1977): 15-16.

⁷⁹³ Katona, K. (2015): 116.

⁷⁹⁴ Grove, D. (1977): 166-167.

Institute, the Water Planning Company and the Water Science Research Institute. Moreover, 17 people participated in the joint UN-Hungarian consultative panel, in addition to an operating permanent professional consultative council of 14 people.⁷⁹⁵

So it can be seen how the project was organized with a wide range of cooperation, how many institutions were involved, how great the administrative management and planning team were. And since this happened within an international framework, it was expected that it would have a positive impact on the spa culture of the country, including Southern Transdanubia.

The Development Schedule of the Thermal Project from the Perspective of Southern Transdanubia

The development schedule selected the spas to be developed in several steps. In the first step, they examined how many settlements have thermal water facilities at all. It turned out that about 70% of the country's settlements, a total of 2,240 settlements had them in some form. After, they examined which of these settlements were worth dealing with at all. The selection criteria included a pleasant environment, special local features, an existing thermal well and transportation aspects (it should not have been more than 15 kilometers from a main road). The list was also coordinated with the existing national settlement network development concept. Thus, in the end, 352 settlements were selected, which were categorized as having good facilities from the point of view of thermal tourism.⁷⁹⁶

In the second stage of the selection, thermal water, characteristics of the existing spas, natural values of the area, existing tourist facilities, infrastructure and demographic characteristics of the settlements were examined. Based on these, further investigations reduced the number to 161 settlements. These 161 settlements were divided into 4 main categories:⁷⁹⁷

- I. Spas of international and national importance
- II. Regional spas
- III. District spas
- IV. Local spas

Eight spas from South Transdanubia were classified in the IV, i.e. local category. Three of them from Baranya County: Pettend, Sellye, Szentlőrinc; five from Somogy County: Babócsa, Nagybajom, Nagykorpad, Szulok and Tarany. Nationally, 43 spas of local importance were listed, but all of them were left out of further plans. After their census, they were essentially no longer listed.

Seven out of fifty-eight category III (district level importance) settlements were located in South Transdanubia. Sikonda in Baranya County, Barcs, Kálmánca, Iharos, Mesztegnyő in Somogy County, Dunaföldvár and Tamási in Tolna County. Of the 26 spas of category II, i.e. regional category, 6 were from Southern Transdanubia: Csokonyavisonta, Igal, Kaposvár, Buzsák-Csistapuszta, Nagyatád and Dombóvár-Gunaras spa from Tolna County. These

⁷⁹⁵ Grove, D. (1977): 167-169.

⁷⁹⁶ Grove, D. (1977): 79-84.

⁷⁹⁷ Grove, D. (1977): 84-85.; List of spas: Grove, D. (1977): 88-93.; Developmental characteristics: Grove, D. (1977): 104.

category II and III spas were recommended by the project for later development, with the exception of four. One of these was the Dombóvár-Gunaras spa. However, regarding the others, we can say that in practice it meant that they wrote down their development characteristics, showing that they were aware of the development needed, but nothing else happened.

Spas of district level importance in Southern Transdanubia

Place	Tourism role				Nature						
					Type					Season	
	cure	trade union	foreign	transit	cure	thermal pool trainer	thermal pool	swimming pool	hygienic	summer	winter
Sikonda	X	X			X		X			X	
Barcs			X	X			X			X	
Kálmánca		X	X				X			X	X
Iharos			X				X			X	
Mesztegyő			X	X			X			X	
Dunaföldvár							X			X	X
Tamási		X					X			X	X

Place	Tourism role				Nature						
					Type					Season	
	cure	trade union	foreign	transit	cure	thermal pool trainer	thermal pool	swimming pool	hygienic	summer	winter
Csokonya-visonta		X	X	X			X			X	X
Igal	X	X	X				X			X	X
Kaposvár	X		X	X		X		X		X	X
Buzsák-Csisztapuszta							X			X	
Nagyatád	X			X			X			X	X
Dombóvár-Gunaras	X	X	X			X			X	X	X

Spas of regional importance in Southern Transdanubia

Four spas from the districts of Southern Transdanubia were assigned to category I. From Baranya County Harkány, Magyarhertelend and Szigetvár; from Somogy County Fonyód-Táska. In fact, the Thermal Project mainly dealt with the development of settlements of national and international importance and developed a concept. Nationally, only 26 of the 34 category I spas were recommended for development in the first phase. Together with these four category II spas, it represented 31 places.

Spas of international and national importance in Southern Transdanubia

Place	Tourism role				Nature						
					Type					Season	
	cure	trade union	foreign	transit	cure	thermal pool trainer	thermal pool	swimming pool	hygienic	summer	winter
Harkány	X	X	X	X	X		X			X	X
Magyarhertelend		X	X				X			X	X
Szigetvár	X		X	X		X		X		X	X
Fonyód-Táska	X	X	X			X	X			X	X

The first phase of the development lasted until the sixth five-year plan period, i.e. until 1985. The 31 settlements to be developed in the first round were categorized into three states based on their level of development. The most advanced to that date was state III, which meant an already established spa. The final goal to be reached was state IV.

Regarding Southern Transdanubia, Szigetvárt I, Dombóvár and Magyarhertelend II was categorized being in the developing stage. In all three cases, a 'c' category development group was designated, which meant that in all three cases, reaching one higher level of development was only a conditional goal. There was no central funding, only the need for local support initiatives was expressed.⁷⁹⁸

In other words, the Thermal Project narrowed the circle until finally Harkány was left as the only spa in South Transdanubia to be developed. A large-scale development was foreseen here. The real winner of the Thermal Project was the very first thermal spa in Baranya County.⁷⁹⁹

The Development of Harkány and the Thermal Project

In the long planning process, at the end of 1976, there was still no final decision⁸⁰⁰ regarding Harkány. The plans were finally completed by the fall of 1977, the designing phase of the Thermal Project has lasted until now. They wanted to develop Harkány into an international resort for the turn of the millennium. As part of this, they would have separated the recreational area and the medical area from the settlement. Road traffic would have been diverted to the site of the discontinued railway line,⁸⁰¹ and the main street would have been turned into a pedestrian zone.

In addition to all this, it was decided, that „A 6,000-person recreational spa and a 300-bed union hostel are being built, followed by another hotel, both with their own swimming pools. A boating lake, a kiosk, and an open-air stage are planned in the recreation area. The beach of the resort area will have 7-10,000 people, the business center of the resort center will be built here, with large parks, sports facilities, and a new camping site.”⁸⁰²

Developments began after 1977, as a result the hotel capacity was further expanded, and the Ministerial Decree no 3154/1978 was issued too.⁸⁰³ The sixth five-year plan prescribed further developments based on the results of the Thermal Project, and mentioned Harkány among the settlements to be developed.⁸⁰⁴ It is noteworthy, however, that after the plans for the Thermal Project were launched, the executive committee of the county council only dealt with the matter of the Harkány spa twice. For the first time in 1981, during the investment of the rheumatic hospital, 63 million HUF was voted,⁸⁰⁵ which is in line with the provisions of the sixth five-year plan, and according to them the developments must be carried out with the involvement of

⁷⁹⁸ Grove, D. (1977): 122.

⁷⁹⁹ Kaposi, Z. (2015): 70.

⁸⁰⁰ Dunántúli Napló 13.12.1975.

⁸⁰¹ 64/1975 VB decree HU-MNL-BaVL XXIII.2.a

⁸⁰² Dunántúli Napló 21.10.1977.

⁸⁰³ Katona, K. (2015): 117.

⁸⁰⁴ Czeglédi, J (1981): 47.

⁸⁰⁵ 72/1981. VB decree HU-MNL-BAVL XXIII.2.a

local funds. After that, they decided on the application to declare three wells as medicinal water.⁸⁰⁶

It seems that the Thermal Project provided the central assistance for the development of Harkány, thus replacing the county-level, often idea-like concepts that preceded it, with a conscious development. However, the plans were not fully realized until the end of the era. Although it can be said that Harkány was the only spa in the county that provided quality medical tourism, with its spa hospital, treatment department and outdoor swimming pools. However, hotel development and accessibility continued to cause problems, and the transformation of the main road into a pedestrian street was not carried out either.⁸⁰⁷

Summary

At the start of the Thermal Project, it raised high hopes for the development of thermal tourism. They organized the design group and built up its organization with great international and wide-ranging professional cooperation. The first phase was planned until 1977, which was partially implemented during the fifth and sixth five-year plans. However, the project was halted then, but the first phase of the planned developments was completed. The second phase did not take place for many reasons, one of them being the economic crisis that prevailed in the second half of the 1980s. Still, we can say that although the Thermal Project did not achieve a striking result, it did not decisively change the spa life of the country or South Transdanubia, but it can still be evaluated as useful, since improvements have been made. It is true that at that time it was only in Harkány, and not even there to a sufficient extent, but further developments took place, although only after the regime change.

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⁸⁰⁶ 21/1982. VB decree HU-MNL-BAVL XXIII.2.a

⁸⁰⁷ Császtai, J. (1989): 32.

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