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Noble Migration and Travel Across Central Europe in the Early Modern Period

Introduction

Ildikó Horn
Special editor of the block

The study of noble migration in early modern Europe has emerged as a critical and increasingly relevant area of historical inquiry, offering new insights into the political, social, and cultural dynamics that shaped the continent during a period of profound transformation. Historically, the focus has been on large-scale population movements driven by war, religious persecution, and economic necessity, with less attention given to the voluntary or forced migration of elites. However, recent scholarship has shifted towards understanding the mobility of the aristocracy as an integral factor in the development of regional and transnational power structures, the spread of cultural practices, and the reshaping of local societies. This collection of studies contributes to this growing body of work, highlighting the intricate role noble migration played in the early modern period and its long-term impact on European history.

Noble migration was not a peripheral phenomenon; it was a central aspect of European politics and society. Aristocrats moved across borders for a variety of reasons—whether to escape political persecution, seek military or administrative positions, forge marital alliances, or expand their economic and political influence. These migrations were often facilitated by networks of patronage and kinship, allowing elites to adapt and integrate into new environments. The fluidity of noble status, combined with the permeability of early modern borders, enabled the aristocracy to remain a dominant force, even as they navigated the changing political landscapes of Europe.

The six studies included in this thematic section each offer a unique perspective on noble migration, focusing on different regions and contexts within early modern Europe. Together, they provide a comprehensive picture of how noble families and individuals engaged in migration as both a response to and a strategy for navigating the complexities of power, identity, and status.

In the first study of this thematic section, Caroline Le Mao provides a critical analysis of how the themes of travel and migration were perceived and represented in early modern French noble and intellectual circles, as well as the broader social attitudes towards elite mobility. The analysis is based on Delaporte's eighteenth-century *Voyageur François*, a vivid, compiled, fictional travel guide aiming to introduce Hungary and other European and Middle Eastern regions to the French audience. This work is particularly relevant to research on noble emigration, as it reveals what information French nobles deemed important about regions that could potentially become destinations for their own travels or connections. The text also illustrates how aristocratic circles, often filled with stereotypes and prejudices, equipped themselves with cultural orientation and knowledge of new regions—a crucial factor when they sought to settle or build relationships in culturally distinct environments.

Ferenc Tóth's study offers an example of military career migration by focusing on the analysis of Jean-Louis de Rabutin's memoirs, showing how these were edited, commented on, and published by his relative, the Duke de Ligne, in the late eighteenth century. These writings also serve as valuable sources for the history of noble migration, as Rabutin himself exemplifies an aristocrat who found service opportunities in political settings foreign to his homeland. The memoirs highlight the importance of noble loyalty and military merit, particularly in a period when nobles were compelled to reinterpret their identities across various European empires, regardless of political allegiance.

Clément Monseigne's study of Horace Saint-Paul, a British noble who served in the Austrian army during the Seven Years' War, provides an excellent example of how noble migration facilitated stalled military careers. Exiled after a duel, Saint-Paul joined the Austrian forces, using transnational service as a means of survival and career advancement. This analysis emphasizes the role of cross-border aristocratic networks that enabled nobles like Saint-Paul to transition between different courts and armies, demonstrating how noble migration often allowed for rapid military promotion and adaptation within foreign elites. Saint-Paul's career highlights a period in European history where patriotism and cosmopolitanism coexisted, and his story demonstrates how European elites leveraged their noble status to gain influence across borders while sustaining transnational ties. His service in the Austrian army connected him to a broad diplomatic and military network, showing how warfare provided new opportunities for nobles to secure positions and build careers across Europe's courts, enhancing their influence on an international scale.

The third case study in this thematic section, by Michel Figeac, examines the life of Helena Potocka, a Polish noblewoman whose extensive travels across Europe reflect the broader patterns of aristocratic mobility. Her movements between Poland, France, Austria, and Ukraine highlight how noblewomen, too, played critical roles

in maintaining and expanding aristocratic networks through marriage, diplomacy, and cultural patronage. Potocka's story offers a valuable perspective on the gendered dimensions of noble migration, demonstrating how female elites navigated the political and social expectations of their class while crossing geographic and cultural boundaries.

Tibor Monostori's contribution examines the life of Martin Somogyi, a Hungarian orphan who served in the Spanish Habsburg court in Brussels for forty years during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, achieving a rare noble rank for a Hungarian in the Low Countries. Somogyi's career exemplifies noble mobility; he acquired estates in Flanders and Moravia, undertook diplomatic missions in Central Europe, and became influential through connections between the Habsburg courts. The study highlights the role of noble migration in preserving social status and prestige, illustrating how noble families adapted to the rapidly changing geopolitical landscape and shifting political alliances within the Spanish Habsburg Empire.

The concluding piece in this thematic section explores elite migration in the Transylvanian Principality, examining how political pressures from the Ottoman and Habsburg empires shaped noble mobility and the composition of Transylvania's elite between 1556 and 1586. Utilizing a prosopographical database, the study reveals that nearly sixty percent of the Transylvanian elite were newcomers—migrant nobles fleeing Ottoman conquests or dissatisfied with Habsburg rule. These migrant nobles, attracted by the opportunities for peace, political advancement, and military roles, often held smaller estates and faced significant obstacles in integrating into established aristocratic circles. The analysis underscores the role of kinship and marriage strategies, showing that the old elite's reluctance to form dynastic ties with the new arrivals hindered social mobility. Only about thirty percent of new noble families retained their elite status across multiple generations, underscoring the fragility and high turnover within Transylvania's noble class in this period.

Together, these studies emphasize the importance of viewing noble migration not simply as a reaction to external pressures but as a proactive strategy employed by elites to maintain or enhance their social, political, and economic standing. They reveal the interconnectedness of European aristocratic families and highlight how mobility was a fundamental characteristic of noble life in early modern Europe. This collection contributes to a deeper understanding of how elites navigated the complexities of power across borders, and how their movements shaped the political and cultural landscape of the time.

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Mobility in the European Aristocracy during the Age of Enlightenment

The Example of Princess Helena Potocka

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Abstract. Helena Potocka offers a wonderful case study because she was a perfect representative of the high European aristocracy under French influence. Educated in a Parisian religious house, she had the culture of the young girls of the nobility of Versailles. Her matrimonial alliance with the son of the Prince de Ligne poses the problem of matrimonial strategies. Helena was both a free and rebellious spirit who believed in her ability to build her happiness with the side she chose. This is why she left Charles de Ligne; she thought she had discovered her soul mate with Vincent Potocki, but in reality, it must have been a lifelong quest. The Potocki couple are then torn between the financial resources of distant Ukraine, where the immense properties that finance them are located, and Parisian social life.

Potocki's very particular family situation triggered incessant mobility throughout his life, but this mobility had very varied motivations and was one of the main characteristics of the high European aristocracy, which had the financial means to travel to all parts of Europe. The international circulations of the aristocracy produced, within this social group, a growing cosmopolitanism: in fact, the aristocrats of the various nations of Europe rubbed shoulders and mixed more and more in the various spaces of sociability that were theirs. This worldly cosmopolitanism led to the progressive diffusion within this elite of common modes of consumption, behavior, and thought—in short, an aristocratic European Habitus.

Keywords: aristocracy, elites, circulation-travel, mobility-cosmopolitanism, material culture

Current historiography of the nobility places particular emphasis on the mobility of the very high nobility, as demonstrated by the very recent colloquium held in Le Mans entitled *Noblesses en exil: les migrations nobiliaires entre la France et l'Europe du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle.*[1] In a Europe that was a marquetry of states, the overwhelming

1 Bourquin et al., ed., *Noblesses en exil.*

majority of whose populations were rural and static, aristocratic movements were an active factor, perhaps the decisive factor, in the emergence of a first form of continental unification. By dint of movement and exchange, a small social elite transformed Europe: courts, elite residences, and learned institutions became increasingly similar in nature and function. Practices that had initially circulated among the European aristocracy began to spread to the people. In the food sector, for example, we can sometimes track products, recipes, and culinary behaviours that, once adopted by the elite, eventually spread to wider sections of society,[2] as in the case of exotic foods such as tea, coffee, sugar, and chocolate… Similarly, the spread of French cuisine underwent a preliminary phase within the aristocracy before moving to lower social strata. We may also point out that, in the urban landscape, Vauxhalls or pleasure gardens have an aristocratic origin, nourished by international transfers. In this context, the example of Princess Helena Potocka is exemplary.[3] Born in 1763 in Vilnius (Wilno), Lithuania, she was orphaned in the year of her birth and so was raised by her uncle, the bishop of Vilnius, Monseigneur Massalski, who in 1771 decided to entrust her education to a Parisian institution, the Abbaye-aux-Bois on rue de Sèvres, which trained the young girls of the Versailles nobility. Thus began a European journey that took her to Paris for seven years before her first husband, the son of the Prince de Ligne, came to take her away to the famous Château de Beloeil, but also to Brussels, sometimes to Paris in the 1780s, and of course to Vienna at the time of the Brabant revolution. This was followed by a return to her native Warsaw and a meeting with Vincent Potocki, Grand Chamberlain to the King of Poland, who took her to his lands in Galicia, where she spent several years, not forgetting trips to Russia and Holland in 1802. In 1806, she moved back to Paris on the Chaussée d'Antin, and in 1811, the couple acquired the Château de Saint-Ouen, north of the city near Saint-Denis. This new double residence did not prevent a series of toing and froing between France and Ukraine, caused as much by land management as by the adventures of a fickle husband. It was in October 1815 that the princess was laid to rest at Père Lachaise, bringing to an end a life of whirlwinds and passion during which she had travelled to the ends of Europe. An extensive correspondence, comprising thousands of letters and now preserved in Kraków's Wawel Castle,[4] provides an insight into the material conditions of the journeys and the consequences of this European mobility.

2 We refer here to the works of our colleague Professor Jaroslaw Dumanowski of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun.

3 For more information, see: Figeac, *Helena Potocka*.

4 Wawel Castle Archive, Kraków, AKPol. This is where the original of her school diary is kept.

Estates in the four corners of Europe according to the fortunes of life

Helena's initial estate: the Massalski family

As Helena had no immediate family other than her uncle, who had made the long journey from Lithuania, it was decided that her wedding ceremony with the Prince de Ligne would take place in the institution that had provided her training at Abbaye-aux-Bois. On 25 July 1779, the marriage contract was signed in Versailles in the presence of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who put their prestigious initials at the bottom of the deed. The princess's dowry was on a par with that of the great families of Central Europe, consisting of the land with its castle at Mogylani, south of Kraków, a palace in the nearby city, and another in the capital, Warsaw. Prince Radziwill owed the Massalskis 1.8 million florins from Helena's mother's outstanding inheritance. He relinquished three considerable pieces of land as interest, and the income from these lands was divided equally between Helena and her brother, who was soon to die without an heir. Finally, the Prince-Bishop undertook to provide and guarantee the princess, from the day of her marriage, a net income of 60,000 pounds per annum paid in Paris and to pay for the young couple's stay there, thus confirming the city's special status in the Line galaxy. The magnates' fortunes resided, above all, in immense landholdings that included dozens, if not hundreds, of villages. This group of high nobility was obviously very small, but thanks to the large estates in the hands of its representatives, it played a very important role in economic and political life.[5] These large estates were made up of several neighboring villages, each with its *folwarki*—that is, farms based on serf labour. Each *folwark* had its own buildings, farm implements, servants, and steward and was, therefore, technically a separate and entirely distinct farm. Above all the stewards in each folwark, there was often a general steward. His functions in the economic organization of the seigneurial reserve were very varied. In some cases, the general steward merely laid down the most general provisions concerning the operation of the various branches of the rural economy. In other cases, however, the general steward was the actual steward of all seigneurial holdings located on the estate. Since the mid-seventeenth century, the economic concentration of seigneurial farms progressed as a consequence of the concentration of noble property that occurred after the wars that ravaged Poland in the mid-seventeenth century. This latifundiary organization was much less stable than might have been expected, as it varied according to the rhythm of inheritances and marriages. Helena's possessions were thus scattered at both ends of the country, from the Kraków region in southwestern Little Poland to the northeastern tip of Lithuania, the traditional territory of the Massalski family, a sign of the ubiquity so characteristic of great families.

5 Rutkowski, "Le régime agraire en Pologne," 68–70.

The ubiquitous nobility of the de Ligne family

The ubiquity of the great families of the European nobility is also to be found in the Ligne family, historical circumstances having accentuated this characteristic since, following the Treaty of Utrecht, the Spanish Netherlands had become Austrian. The Ligne was, therefore, a family whose patrimonial heart was in Walloon country, while its political heart was in Vienna. "His biographers call him Prince Charming, the Enchanter of Europe, Prince Rose, Prince Chéri, the Prince of French Europe. No doubt, the last qualifier is the most appropriate in today's historical context."[6] This is how Roland Mortier presented Helena's father-in-law in an article in which he made him the archetypal European prince of the Enlightenment. He was born in Brussels in May 1735 into one of the country's leading noble families, which enabled him to become not only Prince de Ligne and of the Holy Roman Empire, Baron of Beloeil, Sovereign of Fagnolles, Lord of Baudour in Belgian Hainaut, but also Grandee of Spain and Knight of the Golden Fleece. He was Governor and Grand Bailiff of Hainaut but had been in Austrian service since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 returned the Southern Netherlands to the Habsburgs of Austria. At the start of her marriage, Helena had to divide her time between the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, Brussels, and the family's eponymous castle, according to the city/countryside rhythm that was typical of all great noble families. Even if Helena had taken with her a bitter nostalgia for Paris, the Belgian capital was at the time a bright and lively place. The year was divided between Brussels and Beloeil, and from spring to summer, social life moved to the heart of Hainaut. The old *château* was a rectangular fortified building protected by a moat and a round tower at each corner. This basic structure has survived to the present day, although the facades and interior have been extensively modified over the centuries. Respecting the main symbols of the fortified castle was a way of ensuring feudal continuity. The towers and moats, although devoid of any military significance, remained signs of seigneurial power. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fortified *château* was transformed into a luxurious country house in the French style.

The Prince also had luxurious residences in the political capital of the Empire, Vienna. The townhouse was located on the Mölkerbastei, and it was, in fact, made up of two adjoining houses. An engraving on the street outside reveals a sober, classical four-storey façade. Charles Joseph had also bought a country estate near Vienna, which he preferred and cared for the most. Helena found herself swept up in the whirlwind of the Viennese capital's pleasures. She was admitted to the society of the Upper Belvedere Palace, that magnificent Baroque residence on the outskirts of Vienna built by Eugene of Savoy at the turn of the century.

6 Mortier, "Charles-Joseph de Ligne," 225–38.

The contribution of her second husband, Vincent Potocki

Helena's second marriage in 1793 to Vincent Potocki brought her into contact with the Count's estates in Galicia, in present-day Ukraine. He owned the castles of Niemirów and Kowalówka. Vincent Potocki's vast estates justified his frequent absences, as they required him to make periodic trips to Dubno or Brody in Galicia. He owned vast tracts of land around the town of Brody. In 1704, the town became part of the Potocki family's ownership. In 1734, the Brody fortress was destroyed by Russian troops, then rebuilt by Stanislas Potocki in the Baroque style typical of the region. When Poland was partitioned for the first time in 1772, the town fell under the control of the Habsburg monarchy. The Polish territories in Western Ukraine thus annexed by Austria took the official name of 'Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.' In 1779, the border town of Brody was declared a free trade zone, following the example of the ports of Trieste and Fiume. Once again, Brody became one of the main centres of trade between Central and Eastern Europe, generating extremely profitable revenues for the Potocki family, who were the masters of the area, as it was here that Austria, Prussia, France, and Italy traded with the Levant. During Napoleon I's continental blockade, the smuggling of colonial goods flourished. In 1812, Vincent Potocki was forced by the Austrian government to demolish the city's fortifications. This special status helped to attract Jewish merchants and craftsmen, who in the nineteenth century made up 80 percent of the population, to whom the Count rented the farms associated with the inns, brandies, and salt. After the loss of Kowalówka in 1807, the Potockis moved into a small residence, as the old castle was too large.

Added to this dispersal of estates was the attraction of Paris, a veritable European capital. To satisfy her taste for Parisian life, Helena's two successive husbands had acquired a hotel on the Chaussée d'Antin, which became her main residence during the Empire. Naturally, this meant frequent travels across Europe, which the Princess recounts in her correspondence.

Travel conditions

The problem of distance

When Vincent Potocki separated from his wife under various pretexts, she continued to correspond with her husband, giving us a very detailed account of the travels and making us aware of the problem of distance, which contributed so much to the isolation of the Count's Ukrainian estates. For someone who had experienced the hustle and bustle and sociability of the big capitals, Kowalówka, which she loved dearly, and Brody were the ends of the world. She never travelled alone, as she had

a small escort at her disposal, consisting of Lozzi, her husband's steward, a secretary, four lackeys, two postilions, four maids, a maid of honour, and four Cossacks charged with ensuring the convoy's safety.

It was early winter, and the main problem was, of course, the state of the roads, which were easier to drive on when the ground froze at night, avoiding mud and potholes:

> "What cold, what frost, it's unheard of, all the car doors were frozen this morning so that we couldn't open or close them, and to top it all off, my people had the skill to break a window, so it's unbelievable what I'm suffering, I'm waiting until I get to Mittau to have it mended. I left Fromberg this morning at eight o'clock and arrived in Mielki for dinner, where I had the unexpected joy of finding an excellent fireplace and a Polish-speaking innkeeper who has been the delight of Lozzi. […] You have no idea of the villainy of Lozzi. I don't have a teapot or a kettle because he said we couldn't find any. All so as not to spend, I live on borrowed money all the way. So I'm planning to have Jau buy what I need in Mittau. To the first guide who led us, he gave 20 gros for three miles, and he'd rather we lost our way or stopped every quarter of an hour than pay anything."[7]

Very lucid about the shortcomings of her environment, she does not really seem to care because the most important thing for her is to arrive, and she lives in her car as if in a 'bubble', oblivious to the outside world:

> "I've finished *The Countess of Tackenburg,* and I'm reading *Herman*. I have a real passion for German literature, and I hope that thanks to emigrants, we won't be short of translations. […] Whether in the inn or in the car, I'm absorbed in the letters I write you or in reading, and I take no part in anything that's going on around me. I'm here in an abominable hole; it looks like a cut-throat [establishment]."

The carriage she used for traveling was a comfortable sedan, a much lighter vehicle than the coach that had been invented in 1600 in the capital of Prussia. The great innovation of the eighteenth century was the improvement in the quality of the springs, which made journeys more bearable. On arrival in Paris, she would often report how tired her vehicle was, but in town, she would swap the heavy sedan for a fast convertible. In winter, the extent of the snow cover would sometimes necessitate leaving the sedan for the sleigh:

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7 All the quotations below have been taken from the digitized correspondence: AKPot 3274, 1802–1816.

> "I warn you that I'm dying of fear of these sledges. I'm used to traveling on wheels and I'm afraid of new things, and it's really a new thing to go sledding in the snow."

The difficulties with circulation, the scarcity of stopover facilities and the vast distances involved are all factors that need to be constantly taken into consideration to better understand daily life and the difficulties of long journeys. For a family of high aristocracy who frequented European capitals, living on Ukrainian soil was problematic.

The problem of stopping off

Indeed, inns were often squalid places, and we come across this cliché from the Polish travelogue about a squalid inn run by Jews:

> "Vincent, forgive me for all these sad thoughts, but if you knew what an abominable Jew's inn I'm in, you'd say there's plenty to disgust you with the country."

The stopover at the inn was one of the topoi of this type of literature. Like his fellows, Bigot de Morogues, the Sulkowskis' tutor, complains about the mediocrity of the inns.

> "To think of having dinner there would have been madness, so we had everything we needed. I was revolted to find here the same uncleanliness as when we arrived from Lissa to Warsaw: lice, geese, pigs, chickens, and Jews."[8]

Aside from the brutality of the formula, this is not a very original statement. Many French travelers reported that inns in Poland were run by Jews[9] and that comfort was limited. In his report, the Marquis de Fougières wrote that "these same Jews are the only ones who run inns in Poland… It is even quite common to live in the same lodgings as the chickens, cows, pigs and all the animals of the house". Similar remarks were made by Hubert Vautrin and Méhée de La Touche.[10] These inns posed a sanitary problem, and we cannot suspect any lack of objectivity on Helena's part, for a few days later, she congratulated herself on her stay in another establishment, which was the occasion for a remarkable sociological testimony:

> "Here I am, halfway to Mittau […]. I always look forward to this moment with great importance. In the inn where I slept, there was a patriarchal Jewish family reminiscent of the ancient times of the Bible: an old

8 BnF NAF 11351, f° 4.

9 Tollet, *Histoire des Juifs en Pologne*.

10 Vautrin, *L'Observateur en Pologne,* 188; Méhée de La Touche, *Mémoires particulier,* 14.

> white-haired father, sick and sitting in an armchair, his wife, as old as he was, wore a white apron, looked clean and my maids told me that she [put] a roast goose and some cakes on a table in front of her husband, which looked very good because it was the Sabbath; around the table were the two sons and their wives and at least ten grandchildren who were given a handful of hazelnuts […] as I had a pretty good room, we didn't bother them and they ate their meal in front of our people who say it's rare to see Jews so clean."

Travelers in the modern era, therefore, found a wide variety of places to eat, depending on their budget and social status and where they went.

The problem of borders

Returning from the Ukraine in the spring of 1811, she left Wrocław (Breslau) in early April, but here again, crossing into Germany was no easy matter, especially the border crossing, of which her account provides a good insight into customs formalities—in this case, at the Saxon exit between Dresden and Frankfurt.

> "A great adventure happened to me, the last favor Douazan wanted to do me on leaving Frankfurt. I told Douazan to go ahead with the post car to retain my lodgings, but above all not to gossip at customs and not to say that I had nothing against the prescriptions, because depending on how they behaved, I would declare or not, I wasn't very worried, my tablecloth, my toile, my percale remained in Dresden, where I was told that there was a treaty between the Emperor and the King of Saxony that entrances paid very little […], the firm that sold [the items to] me makes large shipments, so the transport won't cost me much either, and I left them my purchases that they must send me. So I arrive at customs, a clerk comes up to me and says: »Madame, we wouldn't have searched the car of someone like you, but your courier has contraband of the most prohibited kind in his suitcase, which obliges us to make the most exact visit of your car and we ask you to come down.« I went to the office and saw Douazan, pale and frightened, and all his belongings lining the room. There were some shawls and English cloths that the customs officers told me I couldn't even get into if I paid, so I made up my mind on the spot. I said, »These effects don't belong to me and I'm not making any claims, but before you search my car, I want to make a declaration in writing.« I was given pen and paper and wrote »I declare that I have some unframed paintings, some old Saxon porcelain as curiosities, some French porcelain cups for my use on such a long journey, various curiosities and jewellery, a bronze lamp which is a night

> light, a clock which I always use on my journeys in countries where there are no clocks. 3 or 4 furs, which I need as I'm from a country where they're usually worn, and a lot of books for my use, as I've been traveling for three months. The rest are my clothes, among which is an old, worn black shawl. I declare that I have no new shawls, muslin, or linen, and if there are any, they do not belong to me. If, among my belongings, there are things that pay duties as I am unaware of, I will pay them.« Having left this declaration, I went to my inn and left them my car. They opened everything, but my declaration was so well done that they found nothing prohibited, which made them very sceptical. They sent me back my car, my maid and Gibert, whom I had left after three hours, without taking anything and having nothing to pay. They decided that since I had declared everything myself, the paintings didn't [need to be paid for], the curiosities were only of imaginative value and weren't numerous enough to be taxed, and that the rest were things I needed for a long journey in countries where you can't find anything. So I didn't spend a penny, but Douazan's belongings, confiscated without return because he said he had nothing, were not even allowed to be sent back to Frankfurt; they'll be burnt, they say. He says it's a packet of goods given to him in Brody and that he didn't know what was in it, but what imprudence to take a packet without knowing what it is, well, he's punished for it as well as those who entrusted him with their interests; if my bad star hadn't inspired me to send it forward, I'm sure they wouldn't have opened my car, but it has a suitcase which is enormous and looks like a trunk, that gave rise to suspicions."

In a delicate situation, she showed all her composure. This incident shows just how draconian customs barriers were in economic terms, with a veritable hunt for textiles that were either prohibited or heavily taxed. The police formalities applied to individuals may seem lax, but customs formalities applied to goods were systematic. In fact, they were often the true sign of the change in sovereignty: on land, even more than pillars or milestones, it was the customs offices that marked border crossings.

Last trip to Ukraine

Crossing Europe in the wrong season

Helena remained without the slightest news of her husband, whose silence between May and mid-July 1814 became increasingly burdensome due to the uncertainty of international relations. To the burden of absence, she had to add increasingly distressing financial difficulties, as the primary objective of the trip was indeed for her

to procure the funds she needed to keep up with the ever-expensive Parisian lifestyle. It turned out that postal difficulties were the only reason for this silence, as the letters that had been held up in the depths of Europe finally reached their addressees in a flurry at the beginning of August. Obtaining the necessary cash had always been a real problem, but the international situation had deteriorated to such an extent that creditors seemed to be laying siege to the Hôtel de la Chaussée d'Antin and the Château de Saint-Ouen. She was even forced to pledge her finest jewels to the Mont-de-Piété to obtain the necessary liquidity and avoid foreclosure.

In the end, Vincent Potocki released the money, and she decided to leave, despite the bad season ahead and health that seemed much more fragile, even if we can draw nothing concrete from the simple allusions in these letters: "The care of my health occupies me very little at the moment, I think only of accomplishing my journey and I don't care if I end up with it." Or again on September 6: "I cannot imagine that my health can withstand so many sorrows that I am obliged to confine and that I cannot entrust to anyone." In fact, everything here is said in terms of self-analysis. She made exactly the same observations when she took part in scenes of joy or gladness, such as related to the return of the restored king, and the phrases slipped to Vincent to tell him that his absence casts a shadow of sadness are not just stylistic formulae.

Unable to stand it any longer, on 30 September, after taking stock of her financial status for Vincent, she rushed off in her carriage:

> "I'm leaving today my dear Vincent, I'm bringing with me all my accounts and you will see and judge how I have administered your finances. I leave Badens, Cavaignac, and Lamaze, who are equally devoted to us, at the head of our affairs, and the latter two have given me the most touching proof of this. You can boldly send your funds, either to my address, or to that of Monsieur de Badens, you can be sure that your orders will be carried out to the letter, they know everything. You had announced 140,000 francs, I only received 120,900; however, I have paid and beyond, everything you ordered, I have repaid the 20,000 francs that Swartz and Munster had lent me on my simple bill, but I have not been able to release my jewels which remain committed for the sum of 29,000 francs."

Her intentions were clear:

> "I will be in Ukraine as in a place of passage, I will increase your expenses very little, I will see the people you see, I will live as you live and I will necessarily decrease your expenses in Paris… I would rather give up Paris than stay there alone. I'll share your fate, whatever it may be, and I'll be happier than I am; every occupation, every pleasure we can provide each

> other will be a pleasure, instead of all the joys and amusements Paris can give, poisoned by the devouring worries, the bitter sorrows your distance causes me."

All had been said…

European wanderings in pursuit of elusive happiness

Helena chose to pass through Vienna on her way to Brody, where she stayed in the suburbs, as the Austrian capital was so crowded with the cars of European diplomats who had moved there to redraw the borders of Europe following Napoleon's first abdication.

Helena came to Vienna to help settle a conflict in her daughter's marriage. It was a very special marriage, one that she played a crucial role in bringing about. It helped her to unite her two families: the Ligne and the Potocki. Sidonie was born of her marriage to Charles de Ligne, whom she divorced in 1788. Sidonia's husband, François, was the son of her second husband, Vincent Potocki, from her first marriage to Countess Anna Micielska.

She seems to recognize her own daughter's undeniable responsibility:

> "Sidonie had written me a letter in Paris in which she seemed repentant of her follies and despairing of having lost François's tenderness; the naturalness with which she expressed herself touched me, she told me that the worries one has brought upon oneself are also more difficult to bear; here, she seemed sad, humiliated, and I believe that if we can mend fences with François, it would be lasting, for she does regret the happiness she has lost, but François seems no longer to want to live with her. My delicacy seems to prevent me from pleading Sidonie's case, who is certainly very guilty, but in the end, she feels it, she cries, says she loves François and has been led astray; if he loves her as he told me, only you can still persuade him to let go and forgive. It seems that he wants you to be the arbiter of his conduct, and it's quite certain that whatever their destiny may be if they separate, even if it's the most brilliant on both sides, as soon as they're no longer together, it's not the same for us, and it's no longer you, it's no longer me."

The beautiful marriage the parents had achieved seemed to be in jeopardy, yet this Viennese psychodrama, which reflects the difficulty of making a soldier's long absences compatible with his wife's social life, seems to have had no lasting consequences. She left as soon as she had obtained her passport from the Tsar, without seeing the Lignes again, even though they had expressed their intention to meet. Did

she regret it afterward? It is not impossible, as it would have been an opportunity to see the Prince de Ligne one last time, who for decades had embodied the aristocracy of the Enlightenment. Confident in life and curious about everything, he had every intention of attending the Congress of European Diplomacy. His health deteriorated in early December. Was it because he had caught a chest cold at a ball, having gone out without a coat to escort home a man dressed in an elegant masquerade ball costume, and finished his career true to the legends about him? In any case, Vienna's best doctor, Malfatti, called to his bedside, could do nothing. "Doctor, do you think a field marshal's funeral would entertain the sovereigns? Then I'll devote myself." On the morning of 13 December 1814, he sat up in his bed and fell back to eternal sleep.

François and Sidonie, who were in Vienna, accompanied him to the Kahlenberg Hermitage in Wienerwald, where he had wished to be laid to rest. Three twenty-four-gun salutes greeted the departure of the cortege in the thick fog of the freezing hills. A host of princes, admirals, and ambassadors were present. Prince Auguste of Prussia, the Prince of Lorraine, Field Marshal Schwarzenberg, the Duc de Richelieu, the Duc de Saxe Weimar, and Eugène de Beauharnais all saluted him with their swords as the coffin passed. Thus went the embodiment of the Prince of the Enlightenment.[11]

Grief-stricken, François and Sidonie left for Brody to join Helena. Helena's feelings are not well documented, but while Sidonie was in deep mourning, she also decided to dress in black. Vincent stayed on for a while before resuming his tribulations in the four corners of Ukraine. In January, when she was in Niemirów, in a setting that must have brought back so many bad memories, in the middle of the snow and in appalling weather conditions, Helena suggested that her husband join her in Kiev, where he had an apartment:

> "There's no way, my dear Vincent, that we can stay here, apart from the inconceivable destitution, the deep solitude, the long evenings without seeing a living soul, plunges us into a melancholy that torments us for each other more than if we were alone to bear it; if on the third day, I can't resist it, what with the prospect of 5 or 6 weeks of such a life, the sad reflection that having gone to so much trouble to reach you, I'm leaving you, and that such a short space separates us that I can easily cross, yet the lack of communication means we're a thousand miles apart. All this makes me decide to leave. We won't increase our expenses in Kiev, since the house is already rented, we only need one room for Sidonie and me, they won't make an extra dish for us, and you won't have to pay for a separate kitchen like we have here."

11 For a detailed account of the funeral, see: Mansel, *Le prince de Ligne,* 270.

The weight awarded to economic considerations was truly indicative of difficulties, perhaps more complicated to resolve than with a simple dispatch from the St. Petersburg banker. Helena waited for spring to arrive, but with Vincent as elusive as ever, she decided to head back west. Her journey was a near-total fiasco. However, since 1 March, Napoleon had begun his reconquest of power, and by 20 March, he was in Paris. Cautious, she preferred to return to Vienna, where she stopped to await further developments, sending news of the European situation to Vincent in Brody. She preferred to remain in Vienna out of caution, but her French friends sent her reassuring news: "Things are very quiet in Paris, Napoleon has not had anyone shot or even arrested, he is wonderfully gentle and cajoles all parties." The Austrians were determined to put an end to Napoleon once and for all, but they would have to wait for the Russians to do so, as the idea was to overwhelm him by sheer numbers, as they had done during the French campaign. Initially staying at an inn, she soon gave up because of the cost and poor quality of the food, preferring to find an outlying residence.

She found this in Hietzing, which was right next to Schönbrunn Palace. In her opinion, it was closer to Vienna than Saint-Ouen was to Paris, so much so that her maid could easily take a carriage to the big city to run the necessary errands. The 3,000 florins for six months that the operation cost her was not exorbitant, as the residence boasted a small garden, a lovely view of the mountains, beautiful, well-furnished apartments with mahogany furniture and stables for ten horses and four carriages, as well as two underground kitchens. Describing this enticing setting, she eventually convinced Vincent to join her rather than live in the damp miasma of Brody. In particular, she was pleased to praise the quality of the food, confirming that he was a great gourmet:

> "Eugenie [her maid – M. F.] meddles in the cooking, she showed Zaiapzkoski how to make spinach, she makes it excellent, she'll teach him to cook all vegetables the French way, he gave us roast goslings which were the best thing in the world, they're no bigger than small chickens, we also have beautiful asparagus, beautiful lettuce, lambs that have just been born, all of which seems very good to me after having been fed cabbage, large meats and eternally thin capons."

She received her former brother-in-law Charles de Clary, who had come as an emissary to convince her to go and visit Christine de Ligne and the dowager princess, who were very offended by her intention not to go and keep them company so as not to 'renew unpleasant memories.' Indeed, this was to misunderstand Princess Helena, unwilling to rekindle old wounds, especially as she had not been there in October when the Prince was still alive. She finally took the road back in August 1815, by which time Napoleon's fate had long since been sealed, but once again,

she left her husband behind as he had to return to Brody to collect his seigneurial income. She took her time, passing through Regensburg and Nuremberg to admire the works of Dürer, once again giving free rein to her great artistic sensibility. On 7 September, she returned to Paris, almost a year after leaving.

A month and a half later, she left Saint-Ouen to return to Paris without complaint, but on 30 October, she was seized by horrible pains in her lower abdomen. Twelve hours later, she expired in the arms of her daughter Sidonie, taking with her a part of her mysteries. Was she a victim of this final journey across Europe, as the bumps in the road would have aggravated her condition? The autopsy report seems to suggest poorly treated peritonitis or perhaps a cancerous invasion of the lower abdomen.[12] In any case, the intrepid princess left the world at just fifty-two years of age.

Undeniably, Princess Helena embodied the French-speaking European nobility who flourished in Parisian high society, where she found herself so at home whenever she felt the need to break out of her solitude, whether moral or physical. The international circulations of the aristocracy produced a growing cosmopolitanism within this social group in the most factual sense of the term: in fact, aristocrats from all over Europe rubbed shoulders and mingled more and more in the various spaces of sociability that were theirs. This cosmopolitanism, which was fundamentally worldly, led to the gradual spread within this elite of common modes of consumption, behavior and thought—in short, a European aristocratic habitus. If we take the case of the Polish nobility, adherence to this model created a dividing line between the high aristocracy and the penniless, dependent nobility, who adhered to the values of Sarmatism. And let us not forget that Helena Potocka's orphan status facilitated her integration by giving her early independence. Surviving accounts of entertainment in aristocratic homes and salons suggest that, across the continent, men and women shared certain leisure activities specific to their social group, such as the art of conversation, literary games, theatrical society, and amateur concerts. This explains why emigrants during the revolution easily integrated into the nobility of other countries. This is clearly seen in how Helena welcomes her Baden friends[13] to Ukraine, where they were to become her clients and live with her in the Chaussée d'Antin hotel in Paris. The Russia of Helena's geographical origins is an excellent example of the international nature of the high nobility, which, although originally characterized by its geographical isolation and national particularities, had a strong presence in Paris, as Antoine Lilti shows,[14] and converted to a European model.

12 Figeac, *Helena Potocka,* 291.

13 An old noble family from the Aude region, ruined by the Revolution. They became close friends of the Princess and her clients whom she installed in the Chaussée d'Antin hotel.

14 Lilti, *Le monde des salons,* 143, ff.

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The *Voyageur François* in Hungary

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Abstract. In the forty-two volumes of *Voyageur François, ou la Connaissance de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde (1765–1795)*, Abbé Delaporte devoted a few pages to Hungary. Through fictitious letters, the polygrapher produced a compilation that provides a glimpse of what a French nobleman wishing to discover Hungary might know. This is what we propose to analyse, by considering his historical approach, which reveals his biases, by examining the picture he paints of Hungary's towns and countryside, and then by focusing on his presentation of Hungarian customs (peoples, languages, religion, etc.).

Keywords: voyage, Hungary, history, France, customs

"The immense collection of travels would form a large library, the reading of which would occupy a lifetime."[1] These are the words that open the preface to *Voyageur François, ou la Connaissance de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde (1765–1795)* by M. l'abbé Delaporte.[2] At this time, the travelogue was a favoured form of enquiry into foreign countries and peoples, shaped by the concerns of the Enlightenment. Historiographically, these travelogues have very often attracted historians' attention, who are interested in these accounts not only because of the factors involved (hazards of the journey, description of landscapes, etc.), but above all because of the foreigners' view of the land they travelled. This view sheds light on what the individual perceives as cultural differences.[3] The travelogue is a means of perceiving reactions to otherness (the way in which it is apprehended, the feeling of embodying 'civilisation' in the face of 'barbaric' nations, etc.). The foreign country is an ideal field for reflection, whether political, philosophical, economic, or other. Enlightened

1 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François,* 1765, tome 1, avertissement, n.p.

2 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François,* 1777, tome XXIII (available on Google Play). All translations are by the author.

3 On this topic, we can refer to Gohard-Radenkovic, "»L'altérité« dans les récits de voyage."

travellers were fascinated by the oscillation between opposing poles: barbarism vs. culture, luxury vs. misery, freedom vs. slavery. Hungary stimulated the traveller's reflections because it was a frontier of the European Enlightenment, which put to the test many of the certainties and ideas of the age, on the organisation of power, religious tolerance, territorial management, and the reading of the landscape. However, while for Poland the work of Michel Marty[4] can be drawn on, eighteenth-century Hungary has not aroused the same interest. Nevertheless, Catherine Horel's book[5] can be consulted, which studies some seventy travellers who passed through this territory in the nineteenth century. Of the rich material, this paper will focus on Delaporte's account.

This forty-two-volume collection is in fact less a record of actual travels than a compilation of accounts, which raises the question of sources. Delaporte admits to having drawn everything he knows about Transylvania, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia from a manuscript by Francis Rákóczi II. For Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Albania, he refers to "accounts of some travellers"[6] without naming them, but there is every reason to believe that he also drew on dictionaries and encyclopaedias, such as those by Moreri or Trévoux. Clorinda Donato shows that, among others, he used the *Encyclopédie de Paris (1751–1765)*, the *Encyclopédie d'Yverdon (1770–1780)*, and the Encyclopédie méthodique.[7]

The disclaimer at the head of the book explains Delaporte's project:

> "By carrying, in his travels, the torch of philosophy and observation, he draws useful knowledge, which he communicates to his fellow citizens. The laws, customs, habits, religion, governments, commerce, sciences, arts, and fashions […] of all the nations of the universe, beginning with the peoples of Asia, are the subject of his letters. He focuses his attention only on what seems to him to merit curiosity; and as his aim is to interest and to instruct, anything that does not produce these two effects does not seem to him worthy of his remarks."[8]

In fact, this is a didactic approach, borrowing the form of the letter and the travelogue, even if this fiction is poorly supported. The letters are supposedly addressed to a certain lady, whose name we do not know, and whom the author addresses at best at the beginning and end of the mission. In addition, he trims away everything that usually renders travelogues authentic:

4 Marty, *Voyageurs français*; Mervaud and Roberti, *Une infinie brutalité*.

5 Horel, *De l'exotisme à la modernité*.

6 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 102.

7 Donato, "Les récits de voyage source des articles d'encyclopédie au XVIIIe siècle."

8 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, tome 1, avertissement, VII–VIII.

> "Neither the preparations for the journey, nor all those little accidents that necessarily happen are guessed at and assumed during a long journey; there is never any room for this in a more interesting narrative. It is not the traveller's story that is important to know, but the story of the countries he travelled."[9]

The success of the travelogue genre encouraged Abbé Delaporte to embark on this enterprise in 1765. He followed in the footsteps of Abbé Prévost,[10] but pointed out that this series had largely neglected old Europe in favour of the New World. He therefore proposes to devote himself to "all the part of the Old World where the most memorable events took place." Therefore, volume 23 opens with Hungary, which holds the author's attention for 150 pages and four letters. He claims to have written it in Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg, today in Slovakia) on 20 and 22 October, and on 15 and 25 November 1765. Here, the man has an extensive vision of what he calls 'Hungary.' Thus, letter CCLXXXVIII includes developments on Moldavia, Wallachia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The next letter begins with the town of Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau), followed by Nitra (Nyitra, Neutra) and Esztergom (Gran, Ostrihom), and the descent of the Danube takes him as far as Buda and Pest. He continues on to Kalocsa and Tolna, and finally includes Belgrade.[11] This gives him the opportunity to expand on the treaty of 1739, in which the French ambassador played an important role. He then goes on to Serbia and Timişoara (Temesvár, Temeswar) in the Banat region. Delaporte occasionally justifies his extensive approach by arguing that the territories mentioned were, at one time or another, under Hungarian rule. The town of Timişoara in the Banat, for example, enables him to evoke Slavonia and the territories where this 'esclavon' language is spoken, and to conclude that "this name [Banat] is today restricted to a small province which, after having had its own monarchs, was subjected to the kings of Hungary; and is currently ruled by the Queen Empress [Maria Theresa]."[12] Further on, he adds "two other countries which border Hungary and were formerly dependent on it are Croatia and Carniola." When not history, then it is the geographical proximity that serves as a pretext; this is the case, for example, with the description of Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Albania, which are always mentioned in the letters dedicated to Hungary.[13]

Abbé Delaporte had been using this type of writing since the beginning of his career, notably in the *Revue des feuilles de M. Fréron*, of which he was a contributor. Baptized in Belfort in 1714, the son of bourgeois merchants, Delaporte was educated

9 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, tome 1, avertissement, VIII.

10 See Prévost, *Histoire générale des Voyages*.

11 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 86.

12 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 93–94.

13 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 102, letter CCLXXXIX.

in Épinal[14] and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1731 but left it fifteen years later. He then found himself in Paris, without money but with a solid education and talent for writing. Grimm describes him as "employed by booksellers" to be engaged in "the art of making a fifth book out of three or four books." "He set up a book factory, occupying five or six printing machines at a time. He made newspapers, dictionaries, travelogues, and almanacs: he shortened long works and lengthened short ones." Delaporte's judgments were often harsh, but he was well known in Paris, frequently meeting Encyclopaedists like Diderot and d'Alembert. He was also received in the great houses of the minister Henri Bertin, the Duchesse de Würtemberg, and Mme de La Marck.

These elements warn us to take a cautious view of the *Voyageur français*: it is not an original work, but a compilation. The *Espion anglais* describes Delaporte as a "literary rag-picker," but says that "his style is at least decent."[15] If we consider the fact that Delaporte is simply repeating passages written by others and that he has no particular knowledge of Central Europe in general, we understand that he is probably incapable of discerning any errors in what he is repeating. The historian must therefore be particularly vigilant when using Delaporte's text. Certain points are interesting from a factual point of view, but so are the errors, because they show a poor knowledge of Hungary on the part of the author and his readers. So why should we deal with his work? Perhaps precisely because of this relative mediocrity. We hypothesize that the *Voyageur français* is a compendium of what a French nobleman wishing to discover Hungary might know, and that it might be fairly representative of the preparatory reading that a quality traveller did before setting out on his journey.

Despite the criticism that Delaporte received, this kind of compilation was fashionable in the second half of the eighteenth century. In addition, his book seems to have been fairly well distributed: it appears in the catalogues of several booksellers,[16] in Paris and Brussels, it is found in the catalogues of certain noble libraries, such as that of the Count of Artois, and we know that he was a frequent visitor to several great aristocratic houses in Paris.[17] Its price—three *livres tournois*—made it relatively affordable, even if its content tended to reserve it for the educated elite.

We also hypothesize that travelogues about Hungary, or those which devoted significant attention to it, were unfamiliar to French noble readers. As Yasmine Marcil points out, "many of these accounts were not successful, and were only advertised by a single newspaper. This is particularly true of works about Northern Europe

14 The following information is taken from Anna-Mare Chouillet's entry in the online dictionary of journalists: *Presse18*. http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/455-joseph-de-la-porte (accessed: 26 November 2024).

15 Ibidem.

16 See for example: *Catalogue de livres, provenans du fonds de M. Vincent.*

17 BnF département Arsenal, 4-NF-15191.

published in a foreign language. The periodical press mainly echoes stories published in French. As far as Europe is concerned, it is more interested in the countries of the south, particularly in works about Italy."[18] Undoubtedly, in addition to dictionary entries and articles in major periodicals, the nobility acquired their knowledge of this part of the world through compilations such as the *Voyageur français*.

How, then, could the *Voyageur français* allow French nobility an imaginary journey through Hungary?[19]

A historical approach that reveals the author's biases

Historical chronicle of eternal Hungary

The story is primarily that of Hungary's, with its history stretching back thousands of years. Delaporte's narrative is not linear; Hungarian history is evoked through the towns and regions he supposedly travels. In the manner of a tourist guide, he takes stock of the notable events in the places he passed through. He recalls the memory of Pannonia, the Roman conquest, the Huns,[20] the reign of King St. Stephen, and the frequent attacks of Ottoman troops,[21] but he has a particular appetite for the Roman presence.[22] He tracks it down in famous historical episodes,[23] in the names of certain provinces or towns—Severin, he informs us, is the third city in Wallachia and owes its name to Emperor Severus[24]—or in certain remains, such as the ruins of a bridge over the Danube.[25]

Wars, peace, and rebellions: Hungary, a land of conflict

The history of Hungary is also, and perhaps above all, that of the conflicts that took place on its territory. And yet, despite the scale of conflicts, they are not the main focus of the author's attention. When we compare his account with the reports preserved in the

18 Marcil, "Le lointain et l'ailleurs dans la presse périodique de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle," 22.

19 Roche, *Humeurs vagabondes,* chapter 3, "Le voyageur en chambre," 95–136.

20 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 35; Szabados, "Attila-ős, a sólyomforma madár és a fehér elefánt."

21 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 36, 37.

22 For a broader perspective, see: Brague, *Europe, la voie romaine*.

23 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 103–104 about the Roman origins of Dalmatia and its repression by Tiberius and Fermanicus.

24 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 56; Nicopolis is also said to have been founded by Trajan, 72.

25 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 56; see also the description of Zara, in Dalmatia, 105, which mentions the aqueduct built by Trajan.

archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we clearly see the differences in approach. The inventory of military forces is also very spotty. The author barely alludes to it when describing Transylvania, simply reminding us that whereas in the past more than 80,000 men could be mustered under arms, now only six or seven regiments could be summoned.[26] Similarly, campaigns and battles are mostly mentioned and explained in no more than just a few lines.[27] Crossing the plains of the region, we are reminded of the battle of Petrovaradin (Pétervárad, Péterwardein) and the 1716 battle of Prince Eugene of Savoy against Grand Vizier Ali.[28] There are a few long and passionate accounts, however, which would satisfy the nobility's taste for feats of arms, but it is clear that Delaporte writes primarily for the man of the Enlightenment.

While not the subject of any specific development, the confrontation with the "Turks"[29] marks the entire narrative. When passing through a city, Delaporte takes the opportunity to recall that it was under Ottoman domination, while the description of another refers to a famous battle. Only occasionally are these struggles interrupted by treaties. The Treaty of Belgrade is of particular interest, so much so that Delaporte devotes several pages to it; however, the Treaty of Karlowitz is barely mentioned when the author passes through the eponymous town and castle.

On the other hand, a number of rebellions are introduced at greater length. The first letter opens with a reference to a certain 'Nadasti',[30] actually Ferenc II Nádasdy. Delaporte clearly presents this rebel in a positive light. He develops his case in much detail, summarizing the pleas of the rebel nobles. Serin's letter to the Emperor[31] is a reminder of the noble privilege of taking up arms, the elective nature of kingship, and the stakes of the office of palatine, while the Count of Serin's letter to his wife,

26 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 39.

27 For a better identification of Delaporte's allusions, see: Póka and Tóth, "Chronologie;" Tóth (ed.), *Mil[le] ans d'histoire hongroise*; Bérenger, *La Hongrie des Habsbourg*; Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy.*

28 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 100.

29 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 102, Turkish conquest of Bosnia in the fifteenth century. Delaporte uses the word 'Turks' rather than 'Ottoman.' Fodor, "Hungary between East and West."

30 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 6. Ferenc Nádasdy or François Nadasti, Count of Forgatsch, (1623–1671) was one of the most active members of the league of Hungarian nobles against Austrian power in 1666. Unable to obtain the title of palatine from Emperor Leopold I of the Holy Roman Empire, he conspired: papers discovered in 1671 revealed his complicity in several plots. Therefore, he was executed.

31 Count Pierre de Serin or Péter Zrínyi. Péter Zrínyi was born in 1621 and died in 1671. His father and great-grandfather were banned from Croatia, which was then a kingdom united with Hungary. He was also banned from Croatia from 1665 to 1671. See: Vanel, *Histoire des Troubles De Hongrie*, vol. 1. On Zrínyi and Nádasdy, see: Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 86.

supposedly written on the eve of his death, presents the provisions of the Golden Bull of 1222[32] and the measures taken by Leopold after the conquest.[33] In contrast, and contrary to what one might expect, Francis Rákóczi[34] is dealt with rather briefly, and finds no favour in the author's eyes despite his alliance with France.[35] From this point on, Delaporte's work is a sort of record of the outstanding characters of the time.

Heroes and villains: Delaporte's pantheon

While most of the story is told in a factual style, it is easy to discern a number of positions. Unexpectedly, the 'Turkish' enemy is not presented in the darkest light. Not surprisingly, Delaporte consider them to be very enlightened when they call for arbitration by the King of France. On the occasion of the Treaty of Belgrade:

> "We see the Turks, who are supposed to be grossly ignorant, as enlightened about their interests, well-informed about the views and systems of other powers, and as skilful in their approaches and as refined in their politics as the best-educated nations."[36]

The first letter, on the other hand, is openly hostile to Vienna and the Emperor—a classic bias, even if, it must be emphasized, chronology is important. The Nádasdy episode is recounted through the pseudo-testimony of his descendants. They speak of the unfortunate Nádasdy, of a tender mother overwhelmed by grief, of disgrace, of misfortunes witnessed throughout Europe. We receive a biased version of the opposition between Nádasdy and the Count of Zrínyi to the Emperor Leopold.[37] Leopold's government is portrayed in a hostile light:

> "Leopold treated us [Hungarians] like a conquered people, sent us foreign troops, drew all the agents from the country, abolished the office of the palatine […]. The Council of Vienna thought it could do anything…"[38]

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32 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François,* 1777, 13. The Golden Bull that Andrew II of Hungary in the spring of 1222 is issued in order to constrain the royal power. The law established the rights of the Hungarian nobility, including the right to disobey the king when he acted contrary to law. The nobles and the Church were freed from all taxes and could not be forced to go to war outside Hungary and were not obligated to finance it.

33 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 16.

34 Francis Rákóczi II.

35 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 32–34.

36 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François,* 1777, 87.

37 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 7 and following. This passage should be read in conjunction with Claude Vanel's account of the event: Vanel, *Histoire des Troubles De Hongrie*, 86 and following.

38 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François,* 1777, 16.

With Maria Theresa, however, the tone changes. Where Leopold was reviled, Maria Theresa is praised, the abbot taking pleasure in portraying a cherished and adored queen who won the hearts of Hungarians.

> "This people, who had made incredible efforts and shed streams of blood to escape this domination, presented itself to the yoke that the new Queen wanted to impose on them. A moment of affability that their ancestors had almost never known made them forget two hundred years of hatred, sedition, and civil wars. The Austrian monarchs had been feared and hated; Maria Theresa was cherished and adored."[39]

Delaporte devotes several pages to the Empress, recounting with emotion her original link with the Hungarians and the benefits of her reign,[40] and when he evokes Emperor Charles VI, in his last letter, the panegyric turns to the most perfect sycophancy.[41] Nor is it surprising that throughout the story, Prince Eugene of Savoy[42] is regularly celebrated for his victories, while the other Austrian generals are confounded by anonymity and mediocrity. The capture of Timişoara, for example, is sung about. The abbot then takes care to detail the site of the city and its approaches in order to emphasize its impregnability, which highlights Eugene's action.[43]

Town and country in Hungary

Hungary's cities

Hungarian cities form the backbone of Delaporte's letters. He explores and presents Hungary by region, and then structures his narrative with a series of notes on the cities he 'passes through:' Bratislava, Tokaj, Buda, and Pest.[44]

The way the cities are described is typical of the texts of the period and reminiscent of dictionary entries. The city is situated in relation to administrative districts, major waterways, nearby towns, the main infrastructures is taken stock of, including the bridge, the enclosure, the public square, and notable buildings, before making a few institutional or 'ethnographic' remarks. The institutions it accommodates are identified, which often determine the city's rank within the country.

39 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 19.

40 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 27.

41 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 151.

42 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 102 for the reconquest of Bosnia.

43 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 100.

44 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 79.

Notable curiosities are listed, such as the tomb of Saint John Capistran in Ilok in Slavonia.[45] Fortifications are also systematically noted. Few towns lack a castle, citadel or fortress,[46] but most have fallen into disrepair and are used for non-military purposes. Often, the town's castle houses an administrative centre. The abbot deplores that these fortifications lack proper maintenance. For example, he notes that "Pressburg is surrounded by ditches which are neither wide enough nor deep enough to help in defence."[47] Buda also seems to have been neglected.

> "It was thought that the Christians would strengthen the fortification and make it an impenetrable bulwark against the Infidels. The Pope, it is said, had already contributed one hundred thousand ecus. We need this defence today more than ever, since we lost the important frontier town of Belgrade."[48]

However, the further east the author travels and the closer he gets to territories under Ottoman domination, the more frequent the mention of fortifications, even if their descriptions are sketchy.[49]

As an abbot and lover of *belles-lettres*, Delaporte often records the presence of universities, colleges, and libraries, even in the case of secondary towns, and indicates who runs them. Braşov, (Brassó, Kronstadt) on the Wallachian border has a Protestant college and library;[50] Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg),[51] has a Jesuit university,[52] a Calvinist and a Socinian college, as well as a printing house.[53] Similarly, Count Esterházy[54] entrusted the university he founded to the Jesuits in Trnava.[55] On the other hand, economic life in the towns is rarely discussed; at best, there are a few allusions to trade.

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45 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 99.

46 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 103 for the fortifications of Bagnaluc in Bosnia or Jaïcza. On these issues, see: Ágoston, "La frontière militaire ottomane en Hongrie."

47 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 25.

48 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 80–81.

49 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 76 ff, the town of Nyitra, Léopoldstald, and the island of Schut, 93 for Temesvár.

50 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 41.

51 Delaporte wrote "Coloswar, in German Clausenbourg" and then used the name "Clausenbourg."

52 Delaporte made a mistake here; there was only one Catholic university in the Kingdom of Hungary in Nagyszombat (Tyrnau, Trnava), but none in the Grand Principality of Transylvania.

53 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 39.

54 This is also a mistake. It was founded by Péter Pázmány, not Count Esterházy.

55 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 76; mention of the presence in this town a "seminary for all the clergy of Hungary."

The Hungarian countryside

Delaporte presents rural Hungary through the riches of the land.[56] More often than not, the presentation is disappointingly banal. For example, he describes the area around Bratislava in the following clichés:

> "The fertility of the area around Bratislava, and above all the delicacy of its wines, is praised… The fruit is delicious, the wheat abundant, the cattle are numerous, and the oxen of extraordinary size."[57]

The eleven Saxon-held counties in Transylvania are rich in wheat, wine, and pasture, as the country's water needs are provided by a large number of rivers.[58] Wax and honey are found in Wallachia.[59] Livestock breeding is regularly noted: from Wallachia prize horses, oxen, and wool cattle are sent to various parts of Europe.[60] Mining resources are also inventoried, such as the gold and silver deposits of Kremnica (Körmöcbánya, Kremnitz)[61] in Slovakia,[62] Wallachia[63] or Bosnia,[64] the iron of Hunedoara (Hunyad),[65] and the salt of Prešov (Eperjes),[66] whose exploitation he briefly describes. Occasionally, Delaporte is a little more verbose. The islands near Raguza (Dubrovnik) enchant the author with their limes, lemons, pomegranates, and "other excellent fruits which, together with the vines that cover the hills, offer a delightful sight everywhere."[67] Hot springs are also described with gusto. In Buda, "they retain such great heat that eggs can be cooked in less time than in water boiling on the fire… but what is most surprising is to see fish swimming at the bottom of this boiling water, from which both live fish and cooked eggs can be obtained."[68]

There are, however, two notable exceptions. One is his description of fishing in Carniola at Lake Cerknica. This is in fact an intermittent lake, giving rise to a

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56 For a broader overview, see: Wellmann, "Esquisse d'une histoire rurale de la Hongrie depuis la première moitié du xviie-xviiie siècles;" Wellmann, "Esquisse d'une histoire rurale de la Hongrie depuis la première moitié du xviiie siècle jusqu'au milieu du xixe siècle."

57 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 27–28.

58 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 40.

59 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 54.

60 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 52–53.

61 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 139 ff.

62 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 40.

63 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 53.

64 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 103; silver only.

65 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 44.

66 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 149.

67 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 108.

68 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 82.

highly efficient system of exploitation. Every year, from July onwards, the water flows through underground pipes. The men then descend naked into the lake, gradually catching all the fish in it, such as pike and tench. Once the lake is empty, the rushes are pulled out, leaving an excellent grass that is mowed after twenty days. Game, hares, wildcats and even bears are hunted here, and millet is sown and harvested before the water returns, around November.

But it is perhaps his description of the Tokaj vineyards[69] that is most stimulating. It reflects his perception of terroir, namely the characteristic aroma of the wine of a region: within the generic Tokaj designation, he distinguishes areas of different size and exposure, producing wines of very different qualities. He attributes these differences to three criteria: the way the grapes are grown, the quality of the soil, and the quality of the grapes. He picks out two grape varieties, Augster[70] and Muscadin, "because they have the smell and taste of nutmeg," and these bunches, harvested separately, are then partially dried in the sun or in an oven, then the detached grapes are pressed, and the liquid is racked after a year. This would be the most esteemed quality. A second category would be obtained without drying, but by pressing only the grains. There would be a third category, but it is hard to understand how it differs. The author also recounts the beliefs surrounding this nectar, since people "claim to have found very shiny gold atoms in the pips," as well as the practices and, in particular, the frauds that enable fake Tokaj to be made from lees, champagne wine, and Malaga. According to Delaporte, "this mixture produces the Tokaj served on most of our tables."

Delaporte's attention to these practices reflects his broader interest in Hungarian mores.

Hungarian customs: Hungary means diversity

Peoples and languages

The diversity of peoples living in Hungary is of great interest to travellers passing through. Delaporte's approach turns to enumerating the peoples present.[71] In Transylvania, Hungarians, Saxons and Seklers rub shoulders with Vlachs and

69 For a better understanding of the author's point, see: Figeac-Monthus, "Tokaj et Sauternes aux xviiie-xixe siècles;" Alkonyi, *Tokaj. The Wine of Freedom;* Haraszti, *Tokaj Wines*.

70 This is probably *Augster weiss*, a white grape variety, whereas *Augster blau*, also used in Hungary, is a black grape variety which produces a wine with low alcohol content. Information taken from the *VIVC database*.

71 For the summary Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 141. These presentations can be enlightened by reading Kann and David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands,* but the approaches of Robert John Weston Evans, "Confession and Nation in Early Modern Central Europe" and Aleksiun et al., eds, *Histoire de l'Europe du Centre-Est*, 337–484 are preferable.

Moldavians.[72] This plurality leads to a great diversity of languages.[73] "Four languages are spoken here: Hungarian, German, Slavonic, and Wallachian, which has an affinity with Italian and is formed from Latin and Slavonic. Latin is used not only by scholars and people of status, but by the people themselves, and in the courts of judicature."[74] Delaporte is fascinated by the fact that the names of towns are given in German and Hungarian, and he himself suggests some versions of names: Seben vs. Herman-stadt (today Sibiu),[75] and Pressbourg vs. Poson (today Bratislava).

A religious mosaic

This diversity of peoples and languages is associated with religious diversity. One might have expected more acrimony from an abbot, but Delaporte seems to be open-minded, as he is undeniably a worldly abbot of the Enlightenment. He lists the religions present, their respective strengths, their organization, and the privileges the authorities granted to each of them.[76] He notes that in Transylvania, the governor surrounds himself with advisors drawn from the Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, and Catholics, "for all religions are permitted in Transylvania; but Catholicism, though with fewer members than the Augsburg and Geneva Confessions, is dominant. There are also Greeks, Arians, Muslims, and Anabaptists."[77] The author does, however, acknowledge the progression of the Jesuits, but this does not elicit any positive or negative comment from him.[78] Religions may be diverse but, overall, they seem to be fairly well observed. It is relatively rare that the abbot addresses superstitions. Only for the Morlachs[79] does he declare the following:

> "These people are extremely superstitious and believe in goblins, sorcerers, magicians, and vampires. The old women pride themselves on knowing how to perform several charms, the most common of which is to divert

72 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 38, 41.

73 For example, Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 50, 93.

74 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 143.

75 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 41.

76 See in particular Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1765, 45–46, see also 50 on religions in Moldavia.

77 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 38.

78 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 39, 44. Referring to the Vlachs, he points out that "the Jesuits did their utmost to bring them over to our cult." See also Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 143, mentioning the Jesuits' assaults on Protestants "supported by all the imperial favour."

79 Even though we are far from Hungary, Delaporte justifies his description by the fact that, "in the last wars with France," the Morlachs rendered "such great services to the Queen of Hungary [that] it is a reason to make them better known."

> the milk of their neighbours' cows in order to obtain greater abundance; but there are other witches who have the power to break these enchantments; woe betide anyone who shows the slightest doubt about this."[80]

This approach leads us to examine the ethnographic character of Delaporte's text.

Delaporte as an ethnographer

Delaporte's presentation of peoples in modern times is shockingly full of commonplaces and uniform formulas. Moreover, his judgments are not devoid of condescension when judging foreign peoples. As Béatrice Nickel points out,[81] neither in travelogues nor in compilations is knowledge transmitted in an objective or neutral way. Instead, the way it is described is always marked by a certain ideology. For this reason, eighteenth-century travel writing must be seen in the context of the contemporary debate on what constitutes 'civilisation.' Delaporte's descriptions of the cultures encountered are objective only in their geographical details, but all his ethnographic information is highly subjective.

It is always an author's cultural reality that is used to explain the culture of the Other. French travellers are necessarily the products of European modes of perception and ways of thinking.[82] Moreover, travelogues are written to meet the expectations of French readers.[83] Delaporte is not entirely immune to these expectations. While he is respectful of the Jesuit and Protestant establishments growing and multiplying in the best cities, his presentation of certain regions of Transylvania borrows heavily from the register of barbarism. It is striking that these descriptions mainly concern territories far from the heart of Hungary, but the author somewhat artificially includes them in his letters about Hungary. "These peoples, whom some call Bulgarians, are descended from the ancient Scythians… Their morals are still coarse, and their language is close to that of the Hungarians, but the pronunciation is rougher." Similarly, in Moldavia, there is "the barbaric custom of seizing, for public service, anything that comes across […] without paying for anything. They take from peasants in the villages, from travellers on the main roads, even from foreigners on the road."[84] The abbot's attention is repeatedly drawn to women's customs. He devotes a long section to Morlachs women, their finery, matrimonial rituals,[85] and childbirth, producing an image that is minimum rustic:

80 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 127.

81 Nickel, "Les récits de voyage français du XVIII[e] siècle."

82 Osterhammel, "Distanzerfahrung. Darstellungsweisen des Fremden."

83 Hupfeld, *Zur Wahrnehmung und Darstellung des Fremden*; Zimmermann, "Texttypologische Überlegungen zum frühneuzeitlichen Reisebericht."

84 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 52–53, 72.

85 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 128.

> "Often they even give birth in the countryside, picking up their child themselves, washing it in the first stream they come across, carrying it home, and returning to their usual work the next day. These children are swaddled in wicked sheets, and thus for four months remain poorly cared for."[86]

These few extracts might lead us to believe that Delaporte views Hungary as a backward country, but this is not the case. A distinction is made between royal Hungary, with its 'civilized' mores—which is familiar to a Frenchman—and the outlying regions.

Some of his insights may be invaluable in grasping realities whose surviving traces are few and far between. Peasant housing, for example, is repeatedly described in detail. In Wallachia, "their houses, covered with the reeds that are found everywhere here, are built only of straw bound with fat earth."

> In Bulgaria, "the walls of their houses are made of nothing but earth, supported by a few crossbeams. The best ones have a kind of covered small portico, from which you enter a very narrow room, and from this one into another. The first has a large chimney in one corner, with a square flue up to two feet wide. As the rain easily enters, the fire is made with long pieces of wood. These houses usually have no windows, but two doors, one of which opens onto the portico, and the other to the side; and it is through this, or through the chimney, that the rooms receive a little daylight."[87]

These depictions, which became increasingly frequent in the eighteenth century, may carry a political meaning: by highlighting popular cultural values, Delaporte is opposing Habsburg domination.[88] In fact, does Delaporte not describe the great Hungarian families as increasingly allied with Austrian bloodlines?

How should we understand Delaporte's text today? There is no doubt that it is generally unreliable as a source of knowledge about Hungary in the modern period. We should remember that the writer is a Frenchman writing for fellow Frenchmen. Thus, he selects the elements related to the prism of his own reading grid and the prism of the interests of his readers. In addition, the text reflects many easily identifiable prejudices, such as hostility towards Vienna, even if the target seems to be Leopold and not Maria Theresa. Here again, the nationality of the author matters,

86 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 128.

87 Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François*, 1777, 70–71.

88 Lammel, "L'ethnographie en Hongrie;" Hoffmann, "Techniques agricoles dans le bassin des Carpates;" Sozan, *The History of Hungarian Ethnography*.

and the overthrow of the Covenants of 1756[89] is undoubtedly no stranger to this praiseworthy approach. Delaporte presents the prejudices of his contemporaries, and in the guise of barbarism he willingly paints the realities that are most foreign to him.

Does this mean that nothing should be retained from Delaporte's observations? In reality, the text is of interest when it is used for what it is. The book is representative of how to structure knowledge to map out an unfamiliar territory. It is fascinating to note similarities between the method of dictionaries of the time, such as that of Moréri, and Delaporte's text. They find links with ancient history, give summaries of the main historical episodes, mention remarkable monuments, and offer a synthetic approach to institutions and their functioning. These parallels reveal a shared intellectual pattern.

Therefore, *Le Voyageur François* is relevant not as historical source about Hungary in the eighteenth century. Instead, it allows us to perceive what the educated French elites may have known about Hungary in the modern era. In this case, the work of Abbé Delaporte is a compilation of various texts available to him. It therefore helps us grasp the ideas the French elites had of Hungary: a vision imbued with stereotypes, a vision oriented by French interests, whether intellectual or political, a partially erroneous vision. This vagueness is also due to the fact that for the French of the time, this geographical space was a very distant territory, and they had a very poor knowledge of its history.

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89 The overthrow of the Covenants of 1756 (in French, the *Renversement des Alliances*) is the diplomatic revolution of 1756, i.e., the new alliance between the two traditional rivals, the Habsburg Empire and the Kingdom of France.

différentes langues de toutes les nations connues, contenant ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable [...]. Paris: chez Didot, 1746–1759.
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Horace Saint-Paul

A Young British Nobleman in the Service of Austria during the Seven Years' War

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Abstract. This article examines the singular destiny of Horace Saint-Paul, a young British nobleman who served in the Imperial Army during the Seven Years' War. While the entry of foreign nobles into the service of another nation is not surprising in the modern era, the case of Saint-Paul is particularly interesting to study because of his lightning ascension through the ranks. He managed to rise to a senior position in the general staff without any military experience. His entry into the service of an army that was part of a coalition opposed to his homeland also raises questions about the complex relationship between patriotism and cosmopolitanism in the mid-eighteenth century. His example clearly illustrates the great adaptability of the nobility in the Age of Enlightenment, for whom the context of war provided significant opportunities to move around Europe.

Keywords: nobility, Seven Years' War, Horace Saint-Paul, international mobilities, Enlightenment

A young British nobleman forced into exile after winning a duel, who then enlisted in an enemy army during the Seven Years' War: this destiny, which brings to mind the famous character of Barry Lyndon, immortalized by Stanley Kubrick in a film, is indeed that of a man who actually existed in the Europe of the Enlightenment. Horace Saint-Paul was one of those military men who enlisted in the service of another monarch during the eighteenth century. The presence of foreign soldiers in European armies was a common phenomenon in the Age of Enlightenment. At the army level, there were foreign regiments such as the Swiss, Germans, and Hungarian hussars in the French Army. In the Austrian army, there were regiments representing the different peoples of the Empire: three Hungarian regiments and three Dutch regiments, as well as an Italian regiment, at the time of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748).[1] Command functions were also sometimes entrusted to

1 Duffy, *The Army of Maria Theresa*.

foreigners. In the French army, 49 of the 583 brigadiers appointed by King Louis XV before 1759 were foreigners.[2] The same trend was evident in the Imperial Army, in which there was a strong presence of officers of British origin since the Thirty Years' War, notably known for their involvement in the assassination of Albrecht of Wallenstein.[3] During the Age of Enlightenment, there were also several officers of Irish origin such as Ulysses von Browne and Franz Moritz Lacy, and many others who were decorated with the Order of Maria Theresa, created in 1757.[4]

Saint-Paul joined the service of Empress Maria Theresa at a time when Austria was involved in a global conflict. After initial skirmishes between the French and British in North America and the Atlantic, the Seven Years' War officially began in 1756 when England declared war on France on 17 May after the capture of Minorca, and Frederick II invaded Saxony on 29 August. Since the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, France and Austria had fought alongside against their common enemy: Prussia. However, the Treaty of Versailles of 1756 included a neutrality clause whereby Austria committed not to take part in the Franco–British conflict.[5] As a result, the former allies of the War of the Austrian Succession, although part of opposing coalitions, never faced each other during the Seven Years' War. In expanding to the colonies, this war became the first world conflict, as many historians now affirm.[6] Horace Saint-Paul's singular destiny provides an opportunity to examine the issues of international mobilities in a complex, even contradictory, ideological context. Indeed, the period of the Seven Years' War was characterised both by a strengthening of patriotism[7] and by cosmopolitanism, of which Saint-Paul is an eloquent example. The feeling of patriotism exacerbated during the Seven Years' War transformed the cultural and social significance of the nobility's mobility, particularly in the case of educational travel, suspected of weakening the sense of national belonging, as Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire notes.[8]

Saint-Paul's case illustrates the tight links between the nobility and international mobility in the eighteenth century. Several factors may explain this close connection: first, the propensity of the aristocracy to embrace a military career, which was a major factor of mobility, both within and between countries. But there was also a taste for adventure among the nobles, which led many of them to set off for

2 Corvisier, "Service militaire," 185–204.

3 Barker, "Armed Service and Nobility," 472–82.

4 Cavenagh, "Irish Knights of the Imperial," 95–105.

5 Black, "Essay and Reflection"; Dziembowski, *La guerre de Sept Ans*, 121.

6 Baugh, *The Global Seven Years' War*; Externbrink, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg*; Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg.*

7 Dziembowski, *Un nouveau patriotisme français*.

8 Beaurepaire, *Le mythe de l'Europe*, 210.

the islands of the West Indies in search of fortune.[9] In addition, many young nobles had already experienced the Grand Tour, a form of educational travel.[10] Through the dangers it exposed them to and their visits to former battlefields, this type of experience could also cultivate qualities useful for a military career, as Sarah Goldsmith has demonstrated.[11] The Age of Enlightenment also saw the development of a shared culture among the European nobility, particularly visible in material culture. Thus, it is interesting to wonder how these multiple identities interacted in times of war when they potentially came into conflict.

This question can be explored through the numerous papers left behind by the Saint-Paul family, which are now held in the Northumberland County Archives. The papers of Horace Saint-Paul, which are filed under references ZBU/B/2 and ZBU/B/3, include his correspondence with leading military figures of his time and several bound volumes. They contain the journals of his campaigns in Central Europe, which were written in French, an international language among the European elites during the Enlightenment. These diaries have been published in several editions: the first in 1914 by George Grey Butler,[12] with the original text in French, concerning the first two campaigns of the war (1756–1757). They were translated into English by Neil Cogswell,[13] who also published the following diaries about the last campaigns of Saint-Paul (1758–1760).[14] Horace Saint-Paul's diaries are not what might properly be called intimate diaries or personal writings.[15] They are not written in the first person, nor do they contain details of the author's private thoughts. They are factual chronicles of military operations, more akin to the battle relations published during the eighteenth century. They do provide, however, valuable details about the individual trajectory of a young nobleman across Europe during a war that is now regarded as the first global conflict by historians.

From Paul to Saint-Paul: exile in France and the adoption of a new identity

Horace Paul was born on 14 April 1729 into an eminent family of British nobility. He was the son of Robert Paul, a man of power and influence who rose to prominence in the 1710s. In 1715, the latter was appointed Comptroller General of the

9 De Cauna, *L'Eldorado des Aquitains*.

10 Black, *The British Abroad*.

11 Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger*.

12 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*.

13 Cogswell, *Horace St. Paul*.

14 Cogswell, *Olmütz to Torgau*.

15 On the use of personal writings in history, see: Bardet and Ruggiu, *Au plus près des coeurs*; Heehs, *Writing the Self*.

Accounts of the Customs, with a salary of 150 pounds a year,[16] a considerable sum given that an unskilled worker at the time earned less than 20 pounds.[17] In the same years, he joined the Royal Society and managed to forge links with the British aristocracy; he was particularly close to the Walpole family and, in fact, named his son after Horatio Walpole,[18] the brother of Robert Walpole, Prime Minister from 1721 to 1742. Horace Paul was, therefore, born into an advantageous social position. He held the title of Esquire, which placed him among the landed gentry, a group of British nobility that François-Joseph Ruggiu defines according to a number of criteria, including the exercise of political and administrative responsibilities at the local level and the possession of a large landed estate, which provided a substantial income.[19] In the 1730s, Robert Paul acquired the lands of Yeavering and Coupland,[20] located in the north of Northumberland, close to Scotland. This first acquisition was completed in 1753 when Robert Paul inherited the Ewart Park estate, which was then in the hands of his brother-in-law. Horace Paul's career path had already been mapped out in his youth, as he was destined for a career in the legal profession. He joined the honourable society of Gray's Inn on 4 July 1749,[21] one of London's four Inns of Court, professional associations for aspiring judges and barristers. This promising destiny was nevertheless hampered by a tragic affair.

On 24 May 1751, Horace Paul was in the company of his sisters and William Dalton, an esquire like him. That day, the group went to the home of a certain Mrs Green, who was, in fact, having a love affair with Dalton, which Horace Paul did not know. During the meeting, Mrs Green offered Horace Paul some snuff. The latter, who seemed to appreciate it, was invited by Mrs Green to keep the tin of tobacco. This made Dalton boil with jealousy, so he threw himself at Horace Paul and hit him. This reaction may seem somewhat disproportionate, but it should be borne in mind that snuff boxes in the eighteenth century had a strong emotional charge. They were objects linked to seduction and the passions of love.[22] When Horace Paul went to Dalton's house to debate the circumstances of the affair, a sword duel ensued between the two men inside the house. It led to the death of Dalton, who was barely twenty years old at the time.[23] Horace Paul's victory in this duel testifies not only to his opponent's inexperience but also to his own fencing experience, suggesting

16 "Warrant Books," 398.

17 Gilboy, *Wages in Eighteenth Century*.

18 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xix.

19 Ruggiu, "La gentry anglaise," 782.

20 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, cxxv.

21 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xiv.

22 Beaven and Martin, "The Stuff of Snuff."

23 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, xxxi–xxxv.

at least rudimentary training in this art prized by the nobility. The context of this duel contrasts sharply with the image generally associated with it, as depicted in *Barry Lyndon*, for example, involving a confrontation in the open air in the presence of witnesses. However, duelling between two protagonists behind closed doors was still a common occurrence in Great Britain at this time because of the official and unofficial condemnations of this practice.[24] Obviously, these circumstances did not work in Horace Paul's favour since, in the absence of witnesses, the line between murder and death in a duel became blurred. Horace Paul, therefore, preferred to flee to France, fearing that he would be condemned for the death of his rival. The choice of destination was not insignificant: a few years earlier, Horace Paul had already travelled to France. He had a fairly good knowledge of the language and had even managed to make a few contacts. Saint-Paul chose Touraine as his place of exile. He owned several setters there, which were recorded in a register. In 1754, he received permission from the Grand Veneur de France to hunt, with a document that was addressed specifically to "Monsieur de Saint-Paul."[25]

At the time of the duel and when he left Great Britain, the prefix 'Saint' was not yet part of his name. Both Horace Walpole and *The Gentlemen's Magazine* referred to the duel between Mr Dalton and Mr Paul.[26] The adoption of the name of Saint-Paul, as it appears in the hunting permit he was granted, was, in all likelihood, concluded at his own initiative. By becoming 'Monsieur de Saint-Paul', the gentleman in exile benefited from a name that sounded French and enabled him to integrate more easily into noble circles of sociability. The new name was also symbolically charged: Saint-Paul was also a soldier turned apostle of Christ, a symbol of conversion and closely linked to London and its cathedral. This name, adopted unofficially, was finally recognised in Great Britain only in 1767 by a decision of the House of Lords at the request of Judith Paul, Horace's mother.[27] This integration may also have been facilitated through hunting, an activity shared by the French and British nobility.[28] This practice also reflects skill in equestrian art, which was a strong social symbol and played a major role in travel and military activity.[29]

In 1756, Horace Saint-Paul went to Brussels, then to the Austrian Netherlands. There, he managed to meet Prince Charles de Lorraine, the Emperor's brother and Governor of the Low Countries. This meeting was facilitated by Saint-Paul's network, and in particular

24 Banks, *A Polite Exchange*, 116; Shoemaker, "The Taming of the Duel," 538.

25 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xix.

26 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, xxxv–xxxvi.

27 *Journal of the House of Lords*, 3–10.

28 On hunting as an aristocratic practice, see: Roche, *Histoire de la culture*; Salvadori, *La chasse*.

29 Roche, *Histoire de la culture équestre*.

by Solomon Dayrolle, the British Minister in Brussels.[30] Despite his emigration, Saint-Paul did not totally abandon his British networks. He continued to correspond with his father, and among his papers is a draft of a memoir intended for Robert Paul, which mentions a plan to purchase a cavalry company for the Imperial Army.[31] This project never materialised, however, as Saint-Paul was fortunate enough to be hired by Charles of Lorraine as *aide-de-camp*. This sudden appointment and meteoric rise may come as a surprise, especially as Horace Saint-Paul had no military experience or training. However, hunting was not entirely foreign to the art of war. According to the Chevalier de Folard, it even helped to shape a commander's outlook and judgement:

> "Nothing contributes more to training our eye than the exercise of hunting; for in addition to acquainting us with the country and its different kinds of situations, which are infinite and never the same, we also learn a thousand tricks and a thousand things relating to war through this beautiful exercise."[32]

More than Saint-Paul's inexperience, it was ultimately the rapidity with which he succeeded in integrating himself into the upper circles of the Empire's nobility that constitutes the most striking feature of his career. It was his stay in Brussels that enabled him to forge links with the high aristocracy of the Empire. When he left the city in 1756, he took with him several letters written by prominent figures: a letter from Prince Charles of Lorraine to Marshal Browne, as well as several others, including ones from Count Cobenzl, Count Callenberg, Solomon Dayrolle and Count Hohenzollern.[33] During his service in the Imperial Army, Saint-Paul also formed friendships with other members of the European nobility, such as Louis Bruno de Boisgelin, a French officer who also fought in Maria Theresa's army and with whom he exchanged several letters written in French, during the war.[34] The language of his diaries and the language of the elite was an indispensable tool of socialisation, enabling him to enter the highest circles of the Empire's nobility. On 20 July 1759, Horace Saint-Paul was elevated to the dignity of Count of the Holy Roman Empire for his service in the army by imperial diploma, a considerable honour, especially for someone who had only served three years in the army.[35]

Aside from Saint-Paul's military skills, it is also worth asking what motivated him to join the army. His early training and career do not seem to indicate any

30 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xx; Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, 10.

31 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xxii.

32 *Histoire de Polybe,* 221.

33 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xxi.

34 Cogswell, *1757–1759.*

35 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xi.

particular attraction to the martial arts. However, one might well ask to what extent his choice was also motivated by a taste for travel and adventure. The answer is not obvious, as Saint-Paul left little information on this subject. In any case, it is certain that his new career in the army led him to travel long distances on numerous occasions. This taste was shared by some of the European nobility of the Age of Enlightenment, whether they chose military careers, religious exile or sought fortune in the colonies.[36]

Military Service: a revelatory experience of shared identity among the nobility

If the military nobility is particularly concerned by mobility, it is primarily because war itself generates incessant movement, both within and between countries, as André Corvisier and Yann Lagadec have pointed out.[37] Saint-Paul's first major trip was from Brussels to Vienna with Charles of Lorraine in early 1757. The journey included no fewer than eighty stops, the most important of which were Frankfurt, Bruschal, Nuremberg and Iglau (Jihlava). This itinerary can be traced back to a document written in Saint-Paul's hand, entitled *Route de Poste que j'ai suivi de Bruxelles à Vienne*.[38] The very existence of this document testifies to the importance of the journey for the young nobleman. This document is distinct from Saint-Paul's own diary, which is presented as an impersonal chronicle written in a neutral, factual style. The itinerary he took the time to put down in writing is similar to the *carnet de route*, a particular type of personal writing that essentially records the stages of a journey. Although the information contained in this type of source may seem meagre, travel diaries are nonetheless personal writings that are intimately linked to their author. Saint-Paul's written itinerary follows the same logic: he uses the first-person singular, which is totally absent from his campaign diary. The travel diary is intimate, for it reflects the difficulties and fatigues of the journey that put the soldiers' bodies to the test. Just like the battles, the towns they passed through were significant and deserved to be remembered by Saint-Paul, as they were by many authors of campaign diaries.[39] It should not be forgotten that warfare in the Age of Enlightenment was essentially a matter of marching and travelling.[40] Officers nevertheless had the privilege of travelling on horseback, and Saint-Paul's practice of hunting suggests

36 Figeac, *Les noblesses en France*, 164–93.

37 Corvisier, "Service militaire," 185–204; Lagadec, "Guerre sur terre."

38 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, xxiv.

39 For a typology of military writings in the Early Modern era, see: Chagniot, *Guerre et société*, 313–34.

40 Duffy, *The Military Experience*, 118–22.

that he was well acquainted with the art of equitation, which was indispensable for an officer in wartime. In addition to their mounts, high-ranking soldiers could also be accompanied by a carriage and an entire crew. When Horace Saint-Paul set out on campaign in 1758, he was accompanied by:

> "A strong, light, Hungarian-style open coach that is long enough to hold a bed if necessary, 4 draught horses for the carriage, 2 pack horses or 2 mules, 3 saddle horses for me, 3 grooms' horses, 1 postilion for the 4 draught horses, 2 grooms for the 6 saddle horses, 1 mule driver for the pack horses, 1 runner or lackey, a valet."

The carriage also contained a whole range of travel necessities, which proved particularly tiresome to transport. For his part, Saint-Paul took with him:

> "A set of utensils for breakfast and toiletry, a few kitchen utensils. Tableware, table linen, a very small chest for a few uniforms and my clothes, a hat box […]. My portfolio and writing case, a few maps and a few books. A small canteen and another larger canteen for the pack horse or mule. A large bottle cellar that will hold a dozen flasks and that will be suspended behind or under the carriage to reduce the bumps, so that the wine is less spoilt on the way. […] A small case of 50 bottles of Burgundy wine. A supply of various types of writing paper, ink, etc. A fountain from Mr Lamy to filter the water. A cooker made in the French style, with a silver cooking machine. A large canteen, bigger than usual, to put on a pack horse."[41]

This list reveals two main categories of objects: those related to the service and functions performed by Saint-Paul in the general staff: the wallet and writing case are undoubtedly the most important. Then, there is a whole range of utensils and food supplies. Among these objects, the fountain he refers to is particularly interesting because it reflects a common difficulty faced by travellers and soldiers: obtaining supplies of sufficient quality water during their journeys.

> "Military troops & travelers are the most exposed to the danger of bad water, such as viscous marshes, or which have other even worse principles; those of rivers, troubled in winter by the rains, or by the melting of snow at the beginning of spring; those which are impregnated with bad principles coming from the dissolution of earth or vitriolic sands, & from stone or chalk quarries, through which they pass."[42]

The use of a portable fountain was a way of preserving both the taste of the water and the health of the user. However, the low flow rate of these instruments

41 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*.

42 Amy, *Nouvelles Fontaines*, 33.

did not allow for collective use; this travel fountain described by Amy could filter, at best, five pints of water in twenty-four hours. It is also worth noting the presence of bottles of Burgundy wine in Saint-Paul's baggage, which testifies to the spread of this method of preserving wine in the eighteenth century.[43]

The level of comfort he enjoyed during the campaign was comparable to that of senior officers and generals in the French army, who generally travelled with very heavy equipment.[44] The belongings carried by Saint-Paul during his military campaigns testify to his position in the military and social hierarchy. Even in exile, the young British nobleman managed to maintain a privileged social status, in all likelihood thanks to the financial support of his father.[45] Through his example, the nobility thus appears as a social status shared and recognised across borders in the Europe of the Enlightenment.

The experience of military campaigns in Central Europe in Saint-Paul's Journal

The Seven Years' War was a global conflict involving the French and British nations on several continents at the same time. However, from the soldier's point of view, the conflict was experienced within a well-defined geographical framework, and for Saint-Paul, this was Central Europe. His account of the Third Silesian War, which pitted the Austrians against the Prussians, focuses on this single area. His native Britain is never mentioned in the diary. While ignoring the diplomatic context and the overall situation of the conflict, he devotes much detail to the conduct of the battles he has the opportunity to observe. The forces involved and troop movements are precisely described, unlike the accounts of ordinary soldiers or officers who, in the heat of battle, often fail to get a clear, overall view of the action.[46] The style of writing reflects Saint-Paul's hierarchical position: his perception of events is guided by his status as a staff officer. Although he was perfectly familiar with the state of the troops and all the details of their organisation, his writing gives a very cold, factual view of the war. His journal is, therefore, very different from the correspondence and diaries kept by officers during the Seven Years' War. It is closer to the battle accounts that were intended to report on the state of operations to the secretaries of war. Saint-Paul's diary also includes numerous memoirs of operations and orders of battle. Sven Externbrink distinguishes three possible levels of reading military writings. They can

43 On this subject, see: Bouneau and Figeac, eds, *Le verre et le vin*.

44 "L'équipage d'un chef," 417–24.

45 Cogswell, *Olmütz to Torgau*, 18–19.

46 Chaline, *La bataille de la Montagne*, 181.

provide information on strategic aspects, life during a campaign, or finally, the experience of battle, a traumatic event that generally marks a break in the narrative.[47] It is undoubtedly the first aspect that constitutes the main interest of Horace Saint-Paul's diary. Not only does he accurately describe the movement of troops during battles and campaigns, but he also analyses the decisions taken at the operational level, criticising the Prussian and Austrian choices quite freely. He listed the mistakes made by the commanders of both armies at the start of the 1757 campaign:

> "1st fault in the army's too-delayed assembly. 2nd fault, the lack of promptness in assembling the quarters on Reichenberg and Trautenau. 3rd fault, the deliberations were too public; consequently detrimental to secrecy. 4th fault: the wrong decision not to stand between the Elbe and Moldau rivers, or not to go to the left bank when the Prussians were on the right bank. […] 5th fault of the Austrians in marching to Swigan, and great fault of the Prussians in remaining at Leütmeritz and Leypa in inaction, leaving Silesia and part of Lusatia uncovered."[48]

This freedom of speech is what makes Horace Saint-Paul's campaign diary so original. In its style, it is similar to institutional campaign reports, but in its content, it maintains a critical view of the facts, much like an officer's diary. This form of independence is obviously linked to Saint-Paul's singular destiny because he had no particular emotional ties with Austria, unlike his native Britain, to which he retained a sense of attachment.

Despite the absence of details about the author's personal experience of the events he relates, his diary nevertheless contains invaluable details about the fighting experience of soldiers in the Austrian army. Saint-Paul conceals his own emotions, but he does occasionally mention the way in which the collective emotions of his men were used to benefit their effectiveness and motivation in battle.[49] On 6 May 1757, when Field Marshal Browne received a fatal wound at the Battle of Prague:

> "It was tried to hide from the soldiers the misfortune that had befallen their general, but as this was impossible because they had witnessed it, they were exhorted to avenge him, which inspired them with new courage and made them advance with great bravery."[50]

This kind of harangue was frequent in the Age of Enlightenment and based the soldier's motivation on an appeal to his individual sense of honour, which was not

47 Externbrink, "»Ils se sont battus«," 195.

48 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 67–68.

49 As for the Enlightenment, the issue of motivation and morale has been well analysed in Berkovich, *Motivation in War*.

50 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 109.

simply a feature specific to the social and military elite but also solicited from the common soldier.[51] After this battle and during the months of May and June 1757, Saint-Paul was a protagonist and a witness of the siege of Prague, an episode that occupies a significant place in his diary. His description of the event provides information on the tactical issues at stake and how the siege was conducted. But it is also a very rich account of how the siege was experienced by the defenders of Prague.

A siege is an intense sensory and emotional experience in which the aim is to make the enemy yield as quickly as possible, either by starving him or, on the contrary, by putting up fierce resistance and resilience.[52] The rigours of the siege first appear in Saint-Paul's writings when they affect the officer corps. On 2 June 1758, he noted that:

> "For several days no more meat was distributed, not even to the Princes and generals, who had no other resource than the provisions they had taken the precaution of making."[53]

Only a few pages later, he begins to mention the difficulties of victualling the troops who were compelled to eat horses.[54] The consumption of this meat raised problems, and Saint-Paul noted the reluctance of the German regiments to eat it. It is interesting to point out that this same aversion to horsemeat was also present at the same time in New France, where the inhabitants, and by mimicry, the soldiers,[55] refused to eat the animal they considered to be "the friend of man."[56] Apart from the question of food supplies, the siege of Prague also exposed the civilian population to the intense bombardment and destruction that also marked the better-known episode of the siege of Quebec in 1759. At the beginning of June, the Marquis d'Eysne counted the number of cannon shots fired by the Prussians from two batteries in the space of twenty-four hours: 2,305 cannon shots, 683 bombs and 19 carcasses or firepots.[57] This intense bombardment did not fail to cause considerable destruction, and when it came to celebrating the end of the siege of Prague, Saint-Paul noted on 22 June that: "The *Te Deum* is sung in the Metropolitan Church of Saint-John at Hradschin, but it is so ruined that one cannot enter it because of the rubble."[58]

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51 Berkovich, "Fear, Honour and Emotional Control," 97–98; Guinier, *L'honneur du soldat*.

52 On siege warfare, see: Black, *Fortifications and Siegecraft*; Fischer-Kattner, *The World of the Siege*.

53 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 171.

54 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 173.

55 Séguin, "Le cheval et," 250–51.

56 Archambault, "La question des vivres," 25.

57 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 173.

58 Saint-Paul, *A Journal of the First Two Campaigns*, 196–97.

However, Saint-Paul's descriptions of the destructions caused by the siege are very spare, in contrast to the accounts of other officers, who often deplore the misfortunes of war, thus testifying to a mutation of sensibilities within the military nobility of the Age of Enlightenment.[59]

Conclusion

Because of structural changes in the Austrian General Staff, Saint-Paul's service in the Imperial Army ended in 1760. He remained in Austria until 1765 when he sent a memoir to the King of Great Britain requesting a royal pardon, which he succeeded in obtaining the same year.[60] For Saint-Paul, exile abroad and then entry into the service of a foreign monarch were loopholes that enabled him to escape justice, but deep down, he retained a desire to return to his homeland and serve his monarch. Despite a remarkable integration into the elite circles of the Empire and a place of choice in the military institution, the young nobleman preferred to take advantage of the royal pardon to return to Britain. He then took up diplomatic duties in Sweden and Paris.[61] The employment of military personnel in diplomatic functions was common practice in eighteenth-century Europe.[62] The particular case of Horace Saint-Paul confirms the porosity between these two functions prized by the military nobility, but it also reflects the former's lasting attachment to his country of origin. While the cosmopolitanism of the elite in Enlightenment Europe enabled him to achieve a dazzling and prestigious career abroad, the patriotism that might have animated him was not entirely extinguished. By choosing the imperial army, Saint-Paul actually avoided confronting his native country, as Austria, despite being allied with France, never opposed Great Britain during the Seven Years' War, and it was only Prussia that the young Briton had to fight during the conflict. The singular trajectory of Horace Saint-Paul thus illustrates how patriotism and cosmopolitanism, two apparently contradictory sentiments, could coexist among the European noble elites of the Age of Enlightenment, whose mobilities relied on a common social ethos shared across the borders.

59 Externbrink, "»Ils se sont battus«."

60 Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*, xxviii.

61 This part of his life has been well developed in Butler, *Colonel St. Paul*.

62 Black, *British Diplomats*, 44; in the French case, Claire Béchu has shown that of 179 French ambassadors appointed between 1715 and 1789, 67 percent had pursued a military career, see: "Les ambassadeurs français," 333.

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A Hungarian Orphan's Rare Courtly Career in the Spanish Monarchy

Martin Somogyi's Service at the Spanish Habsburg Court in Brussels, 1594–1631*

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Abstract. Martin Somogyi, a Hungarian orphan and nobleman spent nearly forty years in the service of the Habsburg dynasty, most of that time in Brussels, the capital of the Spanish Netherlands. Via the Dietrichstein and Cardona families, from his childhood he received extraordinary patronage and was a close confidant of several family members, while providing constant courtly services to them and to Albert and Isabella, archdukes and governors of the Spanish Netherlands. Ha became baron and estate owner in both Flanders and Moravia, and from Brussels he repeatedly went on diplomatic missions to Central Europe. Having spent thirty years as vice-captain of the governors' personal guards, his patrons including Archduke Albert requested a Spanish Order of Cavalry for him, but with no effect. By the 1620s, Somogyi's career reached its peak and his dissatisfaction was growing. Therefore, he requested from Dietrichstein his return to Central Europe, but again with no success. He died without male offspring, and his descendants still live in Belgium. Somogyi is also known for having sent to Central Europe one of the first issues of the second part of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

Keywords: Habsburg, Netherlands, court studies, Spanish Monarchy, early modern, Hungary

Introduction

At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Hungarian Martin Somogyi was a close confidant of the Austrian and Spanish archdukes and vice-captain of their bodyguards in Brussels.[1] He performed demanding diplomatic duties

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and received gifts and favours for his services. With the support of a powerful woman and a cardinal, the talents of this ordinary and, at the same time, unique person propelled him up the ranks.[2]

Internationally, his was a commonplace career, because during the reign of Albert and Isabella (1598–1633), the wealthy courts of Spain and the Low Countries were flooded by princes, counts, and noblemen from Burgundy and Germany, as well as from the far corners of Europe—including Poland and Bohemia, Italy and Spain, countries that were much more prosperous than the eastern territories of Europe.[3]

However, in Hungarian history Somogyi's career is unique, as there are no other Hungarian-born figures with a similar career in the Spanish Low Countries. Although in the Spanish Monarchy at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it was reaching its Golden Age, there were thousands of people who had fled the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary (mainly Hussars, around 500–2000 light cavalry soldiers, including Hussar colonels,[4] and a much smaller but significant number of galley slaves, approximately fifty persons,[5] prosecuted by the Spanish Inquisition), apart from Martin Somogyi, we only know of one Hungarian-born nobleman who travelled to the Iberian Peninsula, namely Miklós Pálffy.[6] In the 1560s, the latter spent several years in Madrid in the company of the Central European Habsburg archdukes who had been brought up in Spain, namely the future Emperor Rudolf II and Ernest, the future governor of the Spanish Netherlands.[7] We also know of ad hoc cases and shorter or less significant stays (study trips, peregrinations, and others).

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2 Albert VII, Archduke of Austria (1559–1621) was co-governor of the Spanish Low Countries with Princess Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) from 1598 until his death.

3 For this and the archdukes' regency in general, see: Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety*; Raeymaekers, *One Foot*.

4 Monostori, "Egy magyar arisztokrata."

5 Monostori and Smid, "Magyarok a spanyol."

6 Count Miklós Pálffy (II) (1552–1600), chief justice, general, the 'hero of Győr (Raab),' referring to the 1598 recapture of Győr from the Ottoman Empire. A fairly rich documentary record of Miklós Pálffy's Spanish Monarchy-related contacts in Slovakia has been preserved (more on this in another section), but very few pieces of information about what services he was providing during his stay in Spain. See also Fundárková and Pálffy, eds, *Pálfiovci v novoveku*; Almási, "Educating the Christian Prince."

7 Ernest of Austria (1553–1595), Governor of the Spanish Netherlands (1594–1595).

Through the mediation of the Habsburg branch in Central Europe, the Kingdom of Hungary established increasingly close political, economic, and cultural ties with the Spanish Habsburg Empire, but due to the geopolitical position of the country—in contrast to Poland and the Kingdom of Bohemia, from which far more nobles arrived in the Low Countries—the life of Martin Somogyi seems exceptional in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since the numbers and importance of noble migrations and journeys were lesser than the intensity of economic, military, and cultural relations.[8]

Somogyi's name appears in several papers in the international literature: in addition to the *Documenta Bohemica*, one of the most important source publications on the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648),[9] he appears in the works of prominent Czech, Spanish, and German-speaking scholars, such as Josef Polišenský,[10] José Eloy Hortal Muñoz,[11] and Dries Raeymaekers[12] on the Habsburg court in the Spanish Low Countries. Hortal Muñoz and Raeymaekers provide several detailed studies about the international landscape of career-building strategies in the contemporary Habsburg courts. Over the past decade, Czech scholarship has also scrutinized his life, but almost exclusively in relation to his correspondence with Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein,[13] the Moravian overlord.[14] In the course of our research, we have managed to identify a number of details in the archives of Madrid, Brussels, and Vienna that are not included in the source publications and the literature introduced above.

An orphan boy's trip to Brussels

Usually signing his name as Martin Somogÿ, Martin Somogyi's date and place of birth[15] are not known. In his correspondence, he repeatedly referred to his orphanhood and his extreme gratitude to the Dietrichstein family, at whose court he grew

8 Monostori, "Hungaria Hispanica." See also the various essays in "Eagles looking."

9 The *Documenta Bohemica* published excerpts from his letters in Spanish to Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, preserved in Brno, written between 1617 and 1631: MZA RAD, 1909.

10 Polišenský, "Hispania de 1614."

11 Hortal Muñoz, "La casa del archiduque Ernesto"; Hortal Muñoz, "The Household of Archduke Albert."

12 Raeymaekers, *One Foot*.

13 Franz von Dietrichstein (1570–1636) Archbishop of Olomouc, Governor of Moravia, and Cardinal.

14 Luska, "Las redes de información"; Nováková, "Comunicar novedades." Copies of some letters written by Dietrichstein to Somogyi have also survived: ÖStA HHStA StAbt Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz 19–17 (Mappe 359) and 20–17 (Mappe 383).

15 In the English literature: Martin de Somoghy.

up.[16] His appointment as baron in Vienna in 1620 refers to him as a nobleman of the Kingdom of Hungary.[17] At that time, there were half a dozen Somogyi families living in the Kingdom of Hungary. Márton (Martin) could not have been a descendant of the more numerous Dergh or Karcsa branch, but was probably from another Somogyi family. The members of this family were probably granted a noble charter in 1587.[18] We know of a Transylvanian Ambrosius Somogyi (Simigianus), a clerk of the Inner-Szolnok County of Transylvania between 1590 and 1606, who was also a historian.[19] However, as he was born in 1564, it is unlikely that his grandson should have been serving in a courtly position in 1594. Based on his name, the family may have fled from Somogy County—perhaps because of the Turkish conquest—to the shrinking Kingdom of Hungary, and perhaps even further, to Moravia. Further studies will have to clarify some of the unknown chapters of his life.

Martin Somogyi may have arrived in Brussels with a member of the Dietrichstein family, as a member of Ernest of Habsburg's entourage as governor of the Spanish Low Countries, probably in 1594, when the Archduke travelled from Vienna to Brussels. Ernest died unexpectedly in early 1595; the earliest source currently known about Martin Somogyi relates to this event. Two weeks after Ernest's death, Somogyi applied for admission to the court of the newly appointed Governor Albert (Ernest's brother) along with other courtiers.[20] According to the document, he first served Ernest as a page, and later as a *gentilhombre de la casa* (gentleman of the household), and requested promotion to Albert's immediate entourage (*gentilhombre de la boca,* gentleman of the king's table), the latter being a group of lower nobles under the direction of the Master of the Court. The aristocrats typically held chamberlain or other higher offices.

Somogyi, who was subsequently added to the list of those requesting transfer from the court of Ernest, was recommended to the court of Archduke Albert by a certain 'Mrs Dietrichstein en España' *(señora de Dietrichstein en España):* Margarita Folch de Cardona i Requesens (1535–1609).[21] The recommender was a guarantee for a positive evaluation: she had also promoted her own son, Maximilian von Dietrichstein, to one of the highest dignities *(sumiller de corps)*.

16 About orphanhood in the Central European Habsburg lands: Horn, *Nemesi árvák*.

17 ÖStA AVA Adel RAA 398.32.

18 Csergheő, *Der Adel von Ungarn*, vol. 4, 589.

19 Csergheő, *Der Adel von Ungarn*, vol. 4, 589; Nagy, *Magyarország családjai*, 294.

20 *Memoria de los criados del serenísimo archiduque Ernesto que por haber quedado desacomodados piden a Su Alteza se sirva de ellos*. Brussels, 5 March 1595 AGRB SEG, Varia 687, sf.

21 Maximilian von Dietrichstein (1569–1611) was Archduke Albert's Chamberlain (1595–1598).

Margarita Cardona was born into a noble Catalan family, her father was viceroy of Sardinia.[22] Later, in the service of Albert's mother, Maria of Habsburg, she became one of the most influential courtiers of the Holy Roman Empress and Queen of Hungary (wife of Emperor Maximilian II). In 1553, she married Adam von Dietrichstein, a high-ranking Habsburg court official, Grand Master of the Court (1576–1590), and diplomat from an Austro–Moravian noble family. Their son was the aforementioned Franz von Dietrichstein, born in Madrid in 1570, during his father's embassy in Spain. Margarita Cardona followed her mistress, Maria, who returned to Madrid after the death of her husband, Maximilian II (1576). The eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles V, she retained her influence, and the Empress Dowager was highly respected. Her son, the future Emperor Rudolf II, was brought up at the court of King Philip II of Spain, together with the aforementioned Ernest, partly under the tutelage of the Dietrichstein-Cardona family. In later years, the increasingly powerful clan gained key positions in the Spanish Habsburg court.[23] In the first decades of the seventeenth century, Franz von Dietrichstein was one of the most influential politicians of the Habsburg Monarchy in Central Europe: he was both president of the Habsburg Privy Council and cardinal protector of the Austrian hereditary provinces. He maintained active relations with the Spanish Monarchy until the end of his life, and necessarily, with all the political-diplomatic hubs of the Spanish Monarchy in Europe (Rome, Brussels, Vienna, Milan, etc.).[24]

The Pálffy family records held at the Slovak National Archives provide important information on the origins of Martin Somogyi.[25] Another son of Margarita de Cardona, Maximilian von Dietrichstein—through the Krusics family—wrote a letter to his relative, Baron Miklós Pálffy of Erdőd in 1598, in which he talks about Martin Somogyi. The Austro-Moravian aristocrat, who was Archduke Albert's chief chamberlain between 1595 and 1598, asked Pálffy for a detailed family lineage *(linaje)* in Latin. Maximilian von Dietrichstein, as the letter shows, thought that Somogyi was the nephew of 'Forcas Draquin' (Drághy Farkas?) and that Somogyi's father had served with Miklós Pálffy's wife (Maria Fugger). Given the integration of the Pálffy family into the Viennese court, Somogyi's relations with them might have helped him launch his career.[26] We also learn that Somogyi's sister (name unknown) was married to a Spanish nobleman (whose name is unfortunately not given either),

22 Maria of Habsburg (1528–1603), Archduchess of Austria and Infanta of Spain, Queen of Hungary (1563–1576), Empress of the Holy Roman Empire (1564–1576).

23 For the life of the Cardona family and Margarita, see: Cruz Medina, "Margarita de Cardona."

24 González Cuerva, "La forma de lo informal."

25 Pálffy, "A Pálffy család."

26 See also Fundarkova, "Význam vzdelania."

a member of the Order of Santiago.[27] In a letter from Mrs Cardona, we also read a somewhat contradictory account of the husband: in February 1601, she writes of Somogyi's (now) brother-in-law, who was staying with her in Spain, that he is the procurator general of the Order of Calatrava.[28]

Comet-like career, 1595–1607

During the first five or six years of his stay in Brussels, Martin Somogyi's career took a comet-like turn. The reason for this spectacular progress cannot be explained on the basis of our current knowledge. The rapid change was felt by the courtier himself, because when from the 1620s onwards, it was much more difficult for him to progress further, in his correspondence there is increasing emphasis on the fact that he was receiving less favour from Dietrichstein and the archdukes. At least that was how he perceived his stalled career, which he attributed to his being a foreigner *(extranjero)* and the difficulties that this caused.

In 1596, after the captain's death, Somogyi was appointed vice-captain *(teniente de guarda de archeros y alabarderos)* of both of his personal guards, the *alabarderos (alabarderos* or *halberdiers)* and the archers, the so-called *archeros (archeros* or *hartschiere),*[29] and for a short time he led both guards himself.[30] By this time, he had also been granted the title of *gentilhombre de la boca,* which he had claimed in 1595.[31] Eventually, he was appointed vice-captain of the *alabarderos*, a position he held until at least 1626, and in this position he earned the substantial sum of 1500 forints (544 ducats) a month.[32] Mrs Cardona also wanted him to become a chamberlain.

Martin Somogyi probably went to Spain at least on two occasions. The first time was in 1599, when he was in a selected group accompanying Albert from Brussels to the double wedding in Valencia. It was then that Albert married Isabella, and King

27 Maximilian von Dietrichstein to Miklós Pálffy. Nikolsburg [Mikulov], 25 June 1598. SNA AÚP Arm. I. Lad. 3. Fasc. 8, f. 29rv, here 29r.

28 Margarita de Cardona to Archduke Albert. Madrid, 2 February 1601. AGRB SEG, 533, f. 143r. This person is yet to be identified.

29 Raeymaekers, *One Foot*, 89. The captain was Pierre de Hennin-Liétard, Count of Boussu.

30 The *alabardiers* of the Spanish Netherlands' governors feature in multiple pieces of art. In a painting by the world-famous painter Jan Brueghel the Elder *(Banquete de bodas presidido por los Archiduques),* which depicts Albert and Isabella at a village wedding among their subjects, there are dozens of *alabardiers*. Martin Somogyi should almost certainly be depicted somewhere in this highly detailed work, but the supporting evidence is missing.

31 Hortal Muñoz, "The Household of Archduke Albert," 1038.

32 Raeymaekers, *One Foot*, 117, note 67.

Philip III of Spain married Margaret of Austria. From the latter marriage were born King Philip IV of Spain, and Anne, who gave birth to Louis XIV, the Sun King, and Mary Anne, the powerful and influential wife of Emperor Ferdinand III.[33]

Subsequently, Margarita de Cardona (from Spain) and Albert (from Brussels) launched a concerted campaign to persuade the Duke of Lerma, Philip III's first minister, to admit Somogyi to the Spanish Order of Cavalry, the Order of Calatrava.[34] This failed, however, and later failed again when Albert (after Lerma's death) tried in 1618.[35] In 1603, Somogyi travelled to the Duke of Jülich on a diplomatic mission. In 1607, he became a landowner in the Spanish Low Countries, acquiring the castle of Vichenet.

Diplomatic missions and other tasks, 1607–1631

Somogyi's rise continued, but not as spectacularly as before. He was entrusted with a number of diplomatic tasks between 1612 and 1621, e.g., at Christmas 1612, he visited his patron Dietrichstein in Moravia.[36]

In his letters to Cardinal Dietrichstein, due to his role as vice-captain of the bodyguards and continuous presence at courtly and princely events, the well-informed Somogyi wrote in detail about the developments of the Thirty Years' War, and regularly consoled the cardinal about the Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen's invasions and conquests of Hungary, which directly affected Dietrichstein's estates.[37] It is noteworthy that other than that Somogyi was a Hungarian noble, his missions were never related to his Hungarian origins, to Hungary, or to Transylvania. In 1628, when Gabriel Bethlen's nephew Peter visited Brussels as part of his European

33 In 1596, Francisco de Mendoza, the high steward of Albert's forming court in Brussels, mentions Somogyi as the man who would accompany the archduke on his trip to Spain. RAH Colección Salazár y Castro 9–61. For the trip, with a mention of Somogyi, see: AGR Manuscripts divers, 1859. sf.

34 See Cardona's letters to Albert on this matter: AGRB SEG, 533, fols. 137r–156v, and Albert's letters from Brussels to the Duke of Lerma on the same date concerning the young Somogyi's "growth" *(acrecentamiento),* his journey to Spain and the Order of Cavalry: BNE Mss. 687, fol. 185 and 261. Interestingly, the letters of recommendation from Archduke Albert to the Duke of Lerma are published in volumes 42 and 43 of the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* but those concerning Somogyi are missing, probably because they were deemed less important.

35 Albert to Philip III. Brussels, 24 December 1618. AGRB SEG, 518, fols. 129v–130r. (draft). It is not known whether he received or discussed the request.

36 *Schreiben des Erzherzogs Albert an Kaiser Matthias mit einer Empfehlung für den Truchsess und Leibtrabanten-Gardehauptmann Don Martin Somogy, der an das kaiserliche Hoflager reist (1612).* ÖStA HHStA LA Belgische Korrespondenz 9-1-48.

37 Background on the trip: Hámori Nagy, "Francia követjelentések."

peregrination, he was received by Governor Isabella in the usual manner of the time, a fact which Martin reported to the cardinal.

As Cardinal Dietrichstein's delegate, Somogyi was given several key tasks. He had to forward letters from the cardinal's sister, Beatriz de Cardona y Dietrichstein, Marquise of Mondéjar, to Brussels, and then the replies to Moravia. He had to deliver letters to Isabella and others, such as Octavio Visconti, Albert's Master of the Horse and, in one case, to find a painter for Dietrichstein.

In 1620, Martin Somogyi received the title of baron in Vienna on the recommendation of Archduke Albert and became *el barón de Somogyi*.[38] There was a genuine basis for his constant dissatisfaction and regular complaints about his poor financial standing that we read of in his letters. Although Albert had requested the title of cupbearer from Ferdinand II, a letter of 1622 shows that he had not yet received a patent to that effect.[39] According to a 1626 document preserved in Madrid, he was owed 912 escudos from his salary.[40]

In a letter to Dietrichstein in the mid-1620s, Somogyi accused Isabella of forgetting him. The cardinal tried to help him, and in 1627 he wrote to Isabella, Octavio Visconti, and the famous General Ambrogio Spinola about Somogyi's case.[41] At the same time, Somogyi was also thinking of leaving Brussels. First, he asked Dietrichstein to help his transfer to the court of Archduke Charles, who had died unexpectedly in 1624, and then he asked Dietrichstein to support his transfer to the court of the future Emperor Ferdinand III. It is unlikely that the cardinal took any significant steps for Somogyi, as he would have lost one of his most important confidants in the Spanish Monarchy and the Holy Roman Empire.[42]

We have not found any sources about Somogyi's education, but his education was probably not below the level of the nobles of the Low Countries. This is shown by a unique and culturally significant fact, namely that in 1620 Somogyi sent Franz von Dietrichstein a copy of the second part of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, published in Brussels in 1615. According to Czech scholars, the cardinal was one of the first Bohemian readers of the Spanish giant of the Golden Age.[43] Somogyi was also closely associated with a figure in the Brussels theatre scene, the

38 Martin Somogyi to Archduke Albrecht. *Zusicherung der Berücksichtigung seiner Empfehlung* (1620). ÖStA HHStA Reichshofrat (RHR) Grat Feud Promotoriales 5–92.

39 Nováková, "Comunicar novedades," 147–48.

40 Philip IV to Isabella. 21 February 1626 AHN Estado, Libro 260. fol. 51v. *(Copiador de reales despachos concediendo mercedes en el Norte, Flandes.)*

41 Ambrogio Spinola (1569–1630) was a Genoese general in the service of the Spanish Monarchy from 1602 to his death.

42 Nováková, "Comunicar novedades," 147–48.

43 Polišenský, "Hispania de 1614."

playwriter and poet Diego Muxet de Solís, who had been involved in a literary dispute between Lope de Vega and Cervantes in Spain ten years earlier, and who later travelled to Moravia to visit Dietrichstein. In the preface to the Brussels edition of his works in 1626, Muxet de Solís states that he decided to dedicate his book to Cardinal Dietrichstein at the suggestion of Baron Somogyi.[44]

The estate-owner and his descendants

In 1607, Martin Somogyi acquired the castle of Vichenet about forty kilometres southeast of Brussels, and in the 1620s he became the lord of the village of Bothey in Namur. King Philip IV of Spain, as Margrave of Namur, pledged the estate to him.[45] Unfortunately, no substantial information on his life has been found in the Namur Provincial Archives. In 1629, he received a grant of land from Dietrichstein in Štáblovice, Moravia.[46]

Antoine de Brant, whose family had owned the *château* of Vichenet since 1550, sold it to Somogyi on 27 July 1607. After Somogyi's death, on 4 October 1633, his wife Barbara de Weyd, of unknown origin, was granted the usufruct. Somogyi had two daughters, one of whom, whose name has not survived, married Guillaume-Arnoul de Romrée, who in 1657 became lord of Vichenet. Interestingly, Guillaume was also vice-captain of the *alabardiers*' bodyguard, perhaps promoted under Somogyi's influence. Today, Vichenet is still owned by the Romrée family.

As mentioned before, on 31 October 1626, King Philip IV of Spain mortgaged the village of Bothey to Martin Somogyi, whose other daughter, Anna, bequeathed it to her nephew Emmanuel-François de Romrée (20 June 1662). The estate was administered by the Romrée family until 1727.[47]

Martin Somogyi wrote his last known letter to Cardinal Dietrichstein in August 1631. In April of the same year, Governor Isabella wrote at length to Ferdinand II about Somogyi's services.[48] Consequently, he died sometime between the second half of 1631 and mid-1633, probably without a male successor. A late descendant of Martin Somogyi, Charles de Romrée de Vichenet (1884–1957) was a Belgian

44 Muxet de Solís, *Comedias humanas*.

45 AGR AN Fonds de Corroy-Le-Chateau, 1647; Échevinages, 7987; Archives de la communauté de Vichenet, 2254.

46 Pilnáček, *Rody starého*, 1088.

47 For the data, see: *Annale,* 245 and Toussaint, *La nouvelle commune*. In one or two lines, the website of the town of Gembloux also mentions Somogyi in connection with the municipalities of Bothey and Bossière.

48 Isabella to Ferdinand II. Brussels, 18 April 1631. ÖStA HHStA LA Belgien Belgische Korrespondenz 40, f. 243v.

diplomat who took part in the Paris peace negotiations following World War I, later served in Madrid, and after World War II was Secretary General of the Belgian Foreign Ministry. Under the pen name Sophie Deroisin, his daughter Marie was a renowned Belgian writer, who died in 1994. Somogyi's descendants are known to be living in Belgium. We have tried to contact them to find out if they have preserved any of the family archives but have been unsuccessful so far.

Closing words

The sources of Martin Somogyi's life are scattered in Austria, Spain, Belgium, and the Czech Republic, but research will certainly find new documents in France and in the territory of Hungary. No Hungarian-language documents from him have been identified, and it is not certain whether he spoke Hungarian (which fact may have been related to the time of when he was orphaned and when he left Hungary). What is certain is that for decades he attended hundreds of official events of the governors in the Coudenberg Palace at the Habsburg court in Brussels, and possessed first-hand knowledge of the difficulties of running a world empire. A nobleman born in a far-off land, he must have read or listened to the stories of Don Quijote de la Mancha and Sancho Panza with interest, if only because he had visited that windmill-filled land on at least two occasions.

Somogyi's career was not and could not have been built on a premeditated choice, like other career-building strategies of his peer courtiers. As an orphan and a young page, at the beginning of his services, he could not choose where to travel, where to request services and from whom, and how to move forward if his pretensions were not fulfilled. In this sense, his walk of life was atypical before the late 1590s, but typical after that decade.

We can only hypothesise about the reasons for the respect that surrounded Somogyi. Mrs Cardona and both her sons supported him with exceptional energy, and Archduke Albert wrote to Madrid at least three times on his behalf, recommending him for further favours. At Christmas 1612, Cardinal Dietrichstein reported to Albert from Moravia of his sincere love for Somogyi. In 1631, Isabella, the governor, then aged sixty-five, praised him at length to Emperor Ferdinand II. They all seem to have regarded Martin Somogyi as almost a family member. The exact reason and background for this strong affection is not known. Perhaps it was his orphanhood, perhaps it was simply his personality, perhaps it was his looks, and certainly it was his talent and his special services. What is certain is that in the Low Countries, even among the high nobility from different nations, he stood his ground. There could be no doubt about his loyalty: having come to Brussels from Hungary, he spent nearly forty years in the Habsburg dynasty's service.

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Migration and Elites

The Formation of Elites in the Principality of Transylvania*

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Abstract. This study examines the role and impact of migration on the formation and composition of the elite in the newly established Principality of Transylvania between 1556 and 1586, utilizing a prosopographical database compiled through extensive archival research. The new state was open to nobles fleeing the Ottoman conquest, as well as to those dissatisfied with Habsburg policies, offering peace, political prospects, and opportunities for career advancement in both government and military roles. Consequently, nearly 60 percent of the elite were newcomers, two-thirds of whom were migrant nobles, while one-third rose through social mobility. Characterized by smaller wealth, limited networks, and a tendency toward greater agility and risk-taking, the new elite were highly vulnerable. Their integration was hindered by the old elite's reluctance to form dynastic ties. Only about 30 percent of the new families that entered the elite managed to maintain their positions long-term, across multiple generations, while a strikingly high number experienced only one or two generations of elite status. The analysis underscores the precarious nature of elite integration in early modern Transylvania and the complex dynamics of social mobility within a newly established state.

Keywords: migration of elites, Principality of Transylvania, refugee, integration, social mobility, prosopographical analysis

International background of research on noble migration

The recent upsurge in migration research has led to a renewed interest in new approaches to historical migrations. Previously, experts in the field had focused on migration as a historical and social phenomenon, concentrating mainly on the demonstration and analysis of migratory movements caused by unbearable situations, such as wars, religious persecution, and poverty. Consequently, research primarily centred on the mass migration of disadvantaged, mostly poorer groups, and

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its complex causes and multiple effects. However, the migration of elites has not escaped the attention of researchers, and by the early 2000s, two main areas of focus had emerged regarding their mobilization. One significant area of study was forced migration in their case as well. The changes in French politics between 1789 and 1815, the national movements of 1848, and the events of the 1860s led to the mass emigration of elites, including deposed rulers and their supporters, patriots, and liberal thinkers.[1] The forced mobilization of elites was such a dominant phenomenon in the nineteenth century that this period is also known as the Century of Exiles.[2]

Another area where the migration of elites was studied was temporary intellectual mobility. The traditions of *peregrinatio academica* and the grand tours by young nobles of the elite go back to the Late Middle Ages, when they served as a means for young aristocrats to travel for a limited time and gain experience before embarking on their socially determined duties. It is only recently that this type of mobility has begun to be defined and methodologically analysed as a migration process.[3] Since the mid-2010s, the migration of early modern elites has been a particularly topical issue in international historical research. Naturally, in the case of the elites as well, the most researched area has been forced emigration due to religious conflicts. Additionally, the voluntary migrations of elites have garnered more attention, with analyses focusing on the attraction and pull of noble courts, state administrations, and the military, as well as on the previously mentioned noble migrations. Alongside social-historical approaches, its significance within the history of ideas has come into focus, and historical identity studies have also started to explore the subject.

Several European history workshops have set goals to either research elites in specific regions or examine a particular detail. The most ambitious project is linked to French historians: in 2018, Laurent Bourquin, Olivier Chaline, Michel Figeac, and Martin Wrede organized the conference *Noblesses en exil: Les migrations nobiliaires entre la France, l'Empire et l'Europe centrale* in Le Mans. This event was specifically conceived as a first step towards large-scale migration research.[4] Long-term research focusing on the nobility of Central and Eastern Europe was organized around four main themes: 1) the geographical or social and political routes of exile, 2) the crossroads where refugees came into contact with each other and had the opportunity to form their own networks, 3) the processes of integration, and 4) the impact of exile on the cultural and religious identity of refugees.[5]

1 Freitag, ed., *Exiles from European Revolutions.*

2 Aprile and Diaz, eds, *Banished: Traveling the Roads of Exile,* 6.

3 Asche, "Peregrinatio academica in Europa."

4 The conference papers have been published: Bourquin et al., eds, *Noblesses en exil.*

5 The objectives are outlined in the conference programme: https://noblessesenexil.sciencesconf.org/ (accessed: 15 July 2024).

Another exciting new direction of research was opened up by Elisabeth Gruber and Josef Löffler's project in Salzburg (2016–2018) on Material Objects of Noble Memory in Times of Religiosity and Migration 1500–1800. This project examined the religious-political dimensions of the Austrian nobility's emigration from the perspective of material culture. According to their research, objects, as mediums of memory and means of social identity, played a major role in stabilizing self-understanding, thus influencing the success or failure of integration.[6] Another Austrian project, Ideas of Migration, Migration as an Artefact of Scholarly Thought, led by Walter Pohl, examined how thinkers, philosophers, writers, and politicians of the time, from classical antiquity to 1800, viewed migration. The research covered classical geographical migration, temporary mobility, and semi-permanent mobility. One sub-theme of the project, Elite Mobility: Grand Tour and Peregrinatio Academica, examined this temporary migration and analysed the 'ars apodemica' it gave rise to.[7]

Inspired by this research, our research group, HUN-REN–ELTE Noble Emigration and Memory (1541–1756) – Source Research and Critical Editing was founded in 2022. Our goal is to contribute to the issues listed with a complex mapping of the early modern Hungarian and Transylvanian elite's migration. Our first monographs on the subject have recently been published.[8]

The Principality of Transylvania as a destination for migration

The Principality of Transylvania represents an optimal field of study for analysing Hungarian migration, given that, despite its relatively short existence of a century and a half, this period encompasses numerous examples of voluntary and forced noble mobility, offering a rich array of case studies for investigation. It is particularly noteworthy that the country became a primary destination for migration, although its first three decades were shrouded in uncertainty: during this period, it lacked a name, international recognition, fixed borders, and a clearly defined form of government, as it was a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. To gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, it is essential to provide a concise overview of the events that transpired.

6 Löffler, "Materielle Kultur." On the role of the transfer of things and services for social ties in exile. The example of the Austrian exile is Esther von Starhemberg in the seventeenth century, in: Löffler, "Zur Rolle des Transfers."

7 https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/imafo/research/historical-identity-research/projects/ideas-of-migration, and https://www.oeaw.ac.at/imafo/forschung/historische-identitaetsforschung/projekte/ideas-of-migration/elite-mobility-grand-tour-and-peregrinatio-academica/ (accessed: 15 July 2024).

8 Tóth, *Huszárok, határok, családok*; Virovecz, *Híres-hírhedt Balassa Menyhárt*.

In the late fifteenth century, the Habsburgs and Jagiellons competed for dominance in Central Europe, with Hungary—a middle power that included Bohemia and Croatia—being a key battleground. Their ambitions were thwarted by the rise of the Ottoman Empire, which aimed to use Hungary as a base for further expansion into Europe. In the Battle of Mohács in 1526, King Louis II and many of the Hungarian elite were killed by Sultan Suleiman's forces. Despite their victory, Suleiman did not occupy the country but looted it and left garrisons in southern forts. In the power vacuum after Mohács, two kings were elected: Szapolyai, supported by the National Party, and Ferdinand I, brother of Emperor Charles V, whose position was further strengthened by his election as king of Bohemia. Both focused more on defeating each other than addressing the Ottoman threat. By 1527, Ferdinand had pushed Szapolyai out of Hungary, leading Szapolyai to seek alliances with France and the Ottoman Empire, ultimately becoming a vassal of the latter. In 1529, Sultan Suleiman launched a campaign to restore Szapolyai's power, returning to him control over much of Hungary, including Buda. However, Suleiman failed to capture Vienna, allowing Ferdinand to retain control over Western Hungary and Croatia.[9]

From the mid-1530s, John Szapolyai sought reconciliation with the Habsburgs. This led to the Treaty of Várad in 1538, which recognized both rulers as kings of Hungary and stipulated that, after his death, Szapolyai's lands would pass to Ferdinand, even if Szapolyai had a son. The treaty also had an anti-Ottoman tone, being tied to the Holy League, an international alliance formed in early 1538. However, after Charles V's naval defeat and the collapse of the Holy League, the treaty became less viable, as both sides used it mainly to gain time and build strength. Szapolyai married Isabella of Jagiellon and had a son, John Sigismund, in 1540. Shortly after his son's birth, Szapolyai died, instructing in his will that the treaty should be disregarded, and his infant son should be crowned king of Hungary with Ottoman approval. Ferdinand I prepared to enforce the treaty by military means.[10]

In 1541, while focused on the Ottoman-Safavid War, Sultan Suleiman moved to annex all of Szapolyai's territories but ultimately retained only Buda and its surroundings. He ceded the eastern territories to John Sigismund, whom he adopted as his son. However, John Sigismund, along with his mother and guardians, was required to relocate to Transylvania. By 1544, Ottoman-controlled territories had expanded, dividing Hungary into three parts: the Ottomans held the central region, the eastern part became the Principality of Transylvania under Ottoman influence, and the west and north were absorbed by the Habsburg Monarchy. Under the Treaty of Várad, Ferdinand I sought to gain control of John Sigismund's lands as well. He attempted this through two secret treaties in 1541 and 1549, and later, between

9 Pálffy and Evans, *Hungary between Two Empires,* 15–61.

10 Máté, "A Literary Image of Renaissance Queenship," 43–59.

1551 and 1556, briefly reannexed Transylvania and the eastern counties. However, it became clear that this strategy was unsustainable due to Ferdinand's inability to effectively manage the region from Vienna. In the end, Ferdinand I had to relinquish control of Transylvania to John Sigismund, who returned from exile in Poland and governed the territory until his death in 1571, overcoming numerous external and internal challenges. Upon his return, many pledged their allegiance to him, threatening Ferdinand's control over Northeastern Hungary. As Sultan Selim II remained inactive on the Hungarian front, Ferdinand I, and later Maximilian II, seized the opportunity to wage war against Transylvania. They captured several fortresses and established a strong defensive line along the border.[11]

The Treaty of Speyer (1570–1571), following the Habsburg-Ottoman Peace Treaty of Adrianople (1568), ended the war and instability in Transylvania. It clarified the borders and the legal status of both the Habsburg monarch and John Sigismund, with the King of Hungary title reserved for Emperor Maximilian II and his successors. In return, the Habsburgs recognized the sovereignty of the eastern territories, now named the Principality of Transylvania, with John Sigismund as its Prince. The treaty aimed to preserve Hungary's unity, stipulating that Transylvania would rejoin the kingdom after John Sigismund's death. However, his successor, Stephen Báthory, ignored this clause. Although Báthory secretly swore allegiance to Maximilian, he ruled independently as a sovereign prince. Báthory quickly consolidated his power in Transylvania and, in 1576, owing to his astute policies and a fortunate turn of events, was crowned king of Poland–Lithuania. His decade-long reign naturally improved the status and future prospects of the Principality of Transylvania.[12]

It is therefore evident that this region was a politically tumultuous and unstable area, characterized by Ottoman vassalage and persistent Habsburg attempts at occupation. The former Voivodeship of Transylvania, which was the core of the newly formed state, had previously served as a territory protecting Hungary's eastern borders. Consequently, little effort had been made to develop it, rendering it the poorest, most socially and culturally backward part of the country. Having to defend it against essentially nomadic warfare-style attacks, the region did not even have a modern military, always relying on cheap and easy military solutions. The fact that this underdeveloped area developed into a frequent destination for migration can be attributed to two fundamental reasons.

One key reason for migration to Transylvania was the fulfilment of mutual needs. The Ottoman conquests between 1521 and 1566 forced the population of the southern and central regions of the Kingdom of Hungary to flee in large waves,

11 Oborni, "Le Royaume des Szapolyai."

12 Barta, "The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania."

abandoning their estates and homes. While Christian-controlled areas absorbed large numbers of refugees, noble families found few opportunities to maintain their status. In Habsburg territories, their options were limited to government offices and border fortresses, which eventually became scarce. Transylvania, however, offered them more prospects, as its growing political and military infrastructure needed outside support. It not only absorbed refugees but attracted those seeking better opportunities. While the first wave consisted mainly of those displaced by the Ottomans, later arrivals were clearly driven by the pursuit of better career opportunities.[13]

The second factor contributing to Transylvania's appeal was, paradoxically, the very disadvantages discussed earlier. Although the country was a vassal of the Sultan, the great enemy of Christendom, which might have been a deterrent, this status also ensured peace. While dependence on the Ottoman Empire defined the nation's limits, it did not greatly affect the daily lives of its people. For many who had lost everything in the wars or grown weary of endless conflict, the prospect of peace in Transylvania was highly attractive. This peace extended to religious matters as well. The Catholic Church had no political power, and its structure disintegrated after 1551. The bishopric of Alba Iulia was taken over by the royal court in 1542, while the bishopric of Várad dissolved after the death of György Fráter, who had served as governor and bishop. As a result, the doctrines of the Reformation spread freely throughout the region.[14]

In theory, the social backwardness of the Transylvanian region might be viewed negatively. However, the settlers found an advantage in the fact that a politically and economically powerful elite was impossible to form in the former Voivodeship of Transylvania due to its role in border defence. The population consisted of various ethnic and social elements and was divided into three large units, the so-called 'nations.' In this context, however, 'nation' was not an ethnic but a legal concept. The political system was also based on the three-estate model, but unlike other parts of the kingdom, the three estates were not the clergy, the nobility, and the bourgeoisie, but rather the three nations: two distinct groups of Hungarians with different legal statuses—the Hungarian nobility and the Székelys—and the German-speaking Saxons. These three nations had united in 1437 to effectively defend themselves against a peasant uprising, and from then on, local affairs were discussed in their joint assemblies. Beyond this, there was neither significant weight nor a strong tradition of them working together politically.[15]

Members of the Hungarian nation in Transylvania held the same legal rights

13 Horn, "Together or Separately."

14 Barta, "The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania," 626–28.

15 Szász, "The Three Feudal »Nations« and the Ottoman Threat."

as the nobility in the Kingdom of Hungary, but their estates were smaller, and they had less power to assert their interests. The Székelys, who were responsible for defending the borders, enjoyed a broad range of privileges and immunities, allowing them to preserve for a long time the structure of their nation, rooted in blood ties. By the mid-sixteenth century, this archaic social order had begun to break down, but the emerging Székely elite was not yet significant enough to play a substantial role in the country's political leadership. The Saxons were the bourgeoisie of Transylvania; thus, it was not an attractive target for noble immigrants. In any case, the Saxons effectively barred entry, closing the gates of their cities even to native Transylvanians. Although the three nations were considered equal under the law, the Hungarian nation formed the region's political elite. Thus, a nobleman who relocated to Transylvania and received a government or military position from the ruler did not have to contend with a powerful local elite, making entry into the upper echelons of society incomparably easier than in the Kingdom of Hungary.[16]

The situation was different in the other part of the country, outside Transylvania, in the region known as Partium.[17] In the Transtisza counties, which had been separated from the Kingdom of Hungary, the dominant power was held by a few wealthy aristocratic families. Their significance is evident from the fact that several Transylvanian princes originated from the aristocracy of the Partium. Their financial strength and political influence far exceeded that of even the most successful noble immigrants. Understandably, this region did not attract the most ambitious or affluent newcomers, but rather nobles of lesser social prestige and wealth. These individuals sought to build new lives by serving the aristocrats of the Partium. Despite the challenges, their prospects for rising to power were not entirely bleak, as the small and somewhat fragmented Transylvanian elite was quite open not only to outsiders but also to people of lower social standing.

Patterns of migration to Transylvania

Migration to Transylvania was continuous, though not uniform. When examining the pace of migration over time, distinct peaks and larger waves of movement are apparent. Following each Ottoman campaign that resulted in territorial losses—such

16 Barta, "The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania," 708–15.

17 The name Partium (from the Latin *parts*) originates from the term *dominus partium regni Hungariae*, meaning 'Lord of the Parts of Hungary,' a title bestowed upon John Sigismund in the Treaty of Speyer. This term referred to the Transtisza counties that were part of the Principality of Transylvania during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Máramaros, Bihar, Zaránd, Közép-Szolnok, Kraszna Counties, and the province of Kővár. However, the boundaries of the Partium shifted several times, depending on the prevailing balance of power.

as those in the mid-1540s and the campaigns of 1552, 1556, and 1566—there was a significant increase in the number of noble refugees arriving in Transylvania. In 1568–1569, aristocrats dissatisfied with Habsburg policies toward Hungary arrived in stages. The early years of Stephen Báthory's reign as Prince of Transylvania also saw a notable surge in migration. Beyond the chronological perspective, it is intriguing to explore the patterns and trends that emerge when analysing both refugees and voluntary settlers, thereby shedding light on the broader dynamics of migration.[18]

One of the trends of migration was inspired by familial ties. An early example was the wave of Croatian migration prompted by György Fráter between 1541 and 1551. As one of the guardians of John Sigismund, Fráter seized political control of the new state and sought to establish absolute power. Faced with strong opposition, including from the widowed Queen Isabella Jagiellon herself, it was crucial for him to build a circle of loyal and trusted confidants. As was customary at the time, the foundation of this circle was his own familial network. Fráter came from a Croatian noble family that had lost its estates; his father and several brothers had perished in battles against the Ottomans, and he had been preparing for a military career before joining the clergy. As governor of Transylvania, he gathered his remaining relatives and their kin, placing them in key military, administrative, and economic positions.

This period saw the arrival of the majority of Croats who would take root in the principality, such as Gáspár Perusith, György Fráter's brother-in-law, and members of the Petrichecich, Cserepovics, Ukitevics, and Bartakovics families. Another example was a young Croatian relative raised by Frater himself, who in Transylvania was no longer known by his original family name but as Pál Fráter de Ipp. His case illustrates that many Croats lost their original surnames, which were difficult to pronounce in Transylvania, and became known by the name 'Horváth,' indicating their origin. To distinguish between the many Horváth families, they attached a noble prefix referencing either their old or new estates. Within two or three generations, they lost their Croatian identity, although the first wave of arrivals had consciously sought to maintain ties with relatives and acquaintances left behind in Croatia, as well as those in the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania.[19]

The death of György Fráter shook the Croats' positions; some left Transylvania, but the majority continued their careers there. They or their descendants appeared among courtiers, castle captains, and military officers fighting in Livonia under Stephen Báthory. In the long term, however, only the Petrichecich Horváth family managed to integrate into the elite. The foundations for this rise were laid by Kozma Petrichecich Horváth, who began his career alongside György Fráter and eventually

18 Horn, *A hatalom pillérei*, 321–69.

19 Petrichevich-Horváth, *A Petrichevich-család általános története,* 321–29.

held several important military and economic positions before becoming a member of the twelve-member princely council, the highest governing body. Among his successors, János Petrichecich Horváth stood out, serving as head chamberlain to Prince Gabriel Bethlen, while his sister Klára was a lady-in-waiting to the wife of Prince George I Rákóczi. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the family had fallen from the ranks of the narrow elite, but they remained significant at the second tier and local levels.[20]

Although the Croats differed from the ethnic groups of Transylvania and may have faced language barriers, they were regarded as full compatriots due to the Hungarian-Croatian personal union. Alongside them, however, the princely court of Transylvania also attracted numerous foreigners. These individuals trickled in sporadically from the Holy Roman Empire and various states of Italy. Most of them did not flee to Transylvania out of necessity but were drawn by the country's precious metal mines and the high court positions offered to them. Accordingly, they did not stay for long, viewing the opportunities in Transylvania as a stepping stone.

A prime example of career-driven migration is the figure of Giovanandrea Gromo, who served as captain of the guard for John Sigismund and arrived with a 300-strong Italian mercenary force he had recruited. During his career in Alba Iulia from 1564 to 1567, he sent reports on the political situation in Transylvania to Pope Pius V; Piero Loredan, Doge of Venice; and Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence. Partly serving John Sigismund's interests, these reports were primarily aimed at advancing Gromo's own career.[21]

The most famous Italian who fled to Transylvania out of necessity was Giorgio Biandrata. Due to his antitrinitarian views, he clashed with John Calvin, who pursued him across much of Europe. A nobleman from Saluzzo with a medical degree, Biandrata initially found refuge in Kraków, serving as the gynaecologist to Queen Bona Sforza of Poland and her daughter, Isabella Jagiellon. He later settled in Alba Iulia, where he lived for twenty-five years until his death.[22]

The largest group of foreign migrants consisted of Polish nobles, who held significant power in the court of John Sigismund. The young ruler himself was maternally descended from the Jagiellonian dynasty; Sigismund I of Poland was his grandfather, and Sigismund Augustus his uncle. Since the latter had no legitimate heir, by the late 1560s, European political speculations considered John Sigismund the strongest contender for the Polish throne.

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20 MNL OL Zichy Family Archives, Missiles, 3412 fasc. XXXII. 81 NB nr. 2034–2115; Directia Judeteana Cluj a Arhivelor Nationale, Archives of the Branyiczkai Jósika Family, Fasc. 1582.

21 Gromo, "Compendium di tutto il regno posseduto," 34–75.

22 Mihály, "Giorgio Biandrata."

The Polish nobles arriving in Transylvania were also driven by the hope that they could gain an insurmountable advantage over their peers remaining in Poland by securing positions in the court of the next Polish king. The size of the Polish group in Transylvania fluctuated significantly, ranging between approximately 500 and 2,000 individuals. These Poles represented a diverse range of backgrounds in both their origin and education. The most prominent among them came from so-called senatorial families, such as Stanisław Kamieniecki and Mikołaj Zborowski. Among those arriving, there were also a large number of aspiring minor nobles and landless noble soldiers.[23] Some had completed their studies at Italian universities and began their political careers in Transylvania, while others were barely literate.

Some of the Poles had long-term plans and made a deliberate effort to integrate. They learned Hungarian and spoke it fluently, adopting the appearance and customs aligned with Transylvanian norms. The Poles who had achieved prominent positions in John Sigismund's court sought to further strengthen their status by marrying into the Transylvanian nobility. Many of the Poles stayed in Transylvania even after John Sigismund's death; however, when Stephen Báthory was elected king of Poland, they returned with him and were influential political supporters at the Kraków court. One of the most notable examples was Mikołaj Małachowski, who rose to the prestigious position of castellan of Kraków.[24]

One of the key groups of Hungarian noble migrants consisted of military officers who arrived between 1566 and 1569 from the border fortresses of the Kingdom of Hungary. Spared from Ottoman attacks, Transylvania had not developed a battle-hardened military class, the absence of which was most apparent during the northeastern fortress wars against the Habsburgs. John Sigismund welcomed experienced military officers and actively encouraged their arrival by offering them important posts and significantly better career prospects than they had previously enjoyed. For this group, migration also meant a change in social status, enabling them or their children to enter the political elite.

Two key centres provided Transylvania with several distinguished soldiers: Gyula and the fortress of Eger, which gained fame across Europe in 1552 for successfully resisting an Ottoman siege. In the case of Gyula, seeking refuge in Transylvania was a natural course of action due to the geographical proximity and existing connections. When the fortress fell, it was clear that some of the defenders who fled would seek asylum and new opportunities within John Sigismund's territories. Among the former officers of Gyula, János Ghiczy and Tamás Thornyi achieved the most notable careers. Ghiczy served as the governor of Transylvania between 1583

23 The Polish nobles of the Transylvanian court are presented in a poetic work: Gruszczyński, *Powinności dobrego towarzystwa,* sygn. 839. mf. 481.

24 Letters written in Hungarian: MNL OL R 319, Fasc. 26, Gyerőffy Family Archive, Mf. 47518 d.

and 1588, while Thornyi became the leader of the Banate of Lugos and Karánsebes.[25]

In 1568–1569, a group from Eger arrived in Transylvania, having voluntarily left their posts for political reasons. They formed the military wing of a noble faction opposed to the Habsburgs' Hungarian policies. Two outstanding figures in this group were Ferenc Káthay and Balázs Kamuthy. By 1569, Káthay was already one of the leaders of John Sigismund's court cavalry, and his sons also enjoyed successful careers. Mihály Káthay, one of his sons, rose to be chancellor under Stephen Bocskai. However, in the long term, the family was unable to maintain its position in the Transylvanian elite. In contrast, Balázs Kamuthy integrated so successfully that, through his sons, his family became one of Transylvania's leading families from the early seventeenth century onward.[26]

The officers from Eger were also connected to the next wave of migrants: the aristocrats who fled from the northern and eastern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary after 1568. These aristocrats had already been working to establish connections in Transylvania from the mid-1560s. The territorial losses of 1566, the subsequent Treaty of Adrianople, and the changes in Hungarian policy under Emperor Maximilian II upon his accession led to growing dissatisfaction. This discontent was further exacerbated when Maximilian did not return the territories reclaimed from John Sigismund to their original owners, instead declaring them treasury assets. Moreover, the political and military leadership of the northeastern region was taken out of the hands of Hungarian aristocrats. Adding to their frustration, the prohibition on wine exports to Poland caused significant financial losses, as much of their income originated from such exports.

The Viennese court closely monitored the growing rapprochement between Hungary and Transylvania and ultimately deemed it treasonous. In the autumn of 1569, Emperor Maximilian II arrested two of the region's most prominent nobles: János Balassa and István Dobó, the latter being considered a national icon after his successful defence of Eger in 1552. They were accused of plotting to overthrow the emperor's rule in Hungary with Ottoman support and intending to crown John Sigismund as king of both Hungary and Transylvania. This situation prompted several politicians and high-ranking frontier officers to seek refuge in John Sigismund's realm. About a dozen prominent nobles, who had held important military and administrative positions in Hungary, emigrated to Transylvania. It was during this period that figures such as György Bocskai, the brother-in-law of Dobó and Balassa, appeared in Transylvanian political life, along with his sons, one of whom, Stephen Bocskai, would become Prince of Transylvania between 1604 and 1606.

25 MNL OL Erdélyi országos kormányhatósági levéltárak, Gyulafehérvári Káptalan Országos Levéltára, F 1 Libri Regii I. ff. 102, 105; 3. ff. 114–16; 6, ff. 231–32.

26 Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 197–206, 214–18, 225–32.

Also noteworthy were four members of the Forgách family and László Gyulaffy, the former captain-general of Veszprém, who arrived with his entire family. The loss of these politicians was a significant blow to the Hungarian elite and had an immediate impact on the balance of power within the Transylvanian elite. John Sigismund appointed György Bocskai, Ferenc Forgách, and László Gyulaffy as councillors, while the others also received leading government and military positions. Moreover, as their Hungarian estates were confiscated by Emperor Maximilian, they received generous compensation as well.[27]

The final wave of migration occurred after Stephen Báthory had ascended the throne. The prince sought to bring highly educated officials, who had studied in Padua and Wittenberg, into the country's governance. However, such individuals were in short supply. Only Ferenc Forgách, who had relocated in 1569, and Sándor Kendy, who had previously fallen out of the Transylvanian elite, met these high standards. Báthory appointed Forgách as his chancellor, while Kendy, through the rehabilitation of his family, was brought into the princely council. The others, carefully selected by Báthory, were invited to the country from the Kingdom of Hungary, and despite their lower social status, many were immediately placed in high governmental positions typically reserved for the elite. In this group, Márton Berzeviczy and Farkas Kovacsóczy achieved the greatest success, securing positions as councillors and chancellors. They faithfully served Báthory both in Transylvania and later in Poland.[28]

Elites in the Principality of Transylvania (1556–1586)

The patterns of migration show that, aside from aristocratic refugees, those with the best chances of rapid integration and even joining the Transylvanian elite were individuals possessing specialized qualifications or exceptional expertise in a particular field. The knowledge capital they brought with them had its own hierarchy, offering varying advantages depending on its origin and quality. At the top were university graduates: the most prestigious were from Padua, followed by Wittenberg, and then other institutions. There was a significant shortage of highly educated humanist intellectuals relative to the demand. Their education was hindered not only by the time and cost involved but also by the lack of universities in the Hungarian and Transylvanian regions. It is not surprising, therefore, that humanists arriving in Transylvania were immediately appointed to powerful administrative positions,

27 Horn, *A hatalom pillérei*, 136–50.

28 ÖStA HHStA Ungarische Akten, Allgemeine Akten, Fasc. 82, fols. 1–4, 12–15, 18–24, 33–38, 157–164; Fasc. 83, fols. 1–4, 42–82, 39–40, 54–55, 104–105, 143–146, 168–176; Almási, *The Uses of Humanism,* 99–111.

with the most capable quickly rising to the ranks of the elite. Similarly, settlers with military experience could expect rapid advancement, continuing their careers in the court guard or as commanders of Transylvanian castles or military districts. At the lower end of the hierarchy were legal and economic professionals. Their specialized skills were sufficient to place them just below the elite. Moving up from this level was entirely dependent on the individual's additional abilities, networks, and a good measure of luck.[29]

Noble migrants were thus able to establish themselves as politicians, diplomats, soldiers, and high-ranking officials in roles that required specialized qualifications. However, certain fields remained inaccessible to them, with some positions reserved exclusively for local aristocrats. For instance, offices associated with the imperial court, particularly the position of chief chamberlain, were restricted to members of established aristocratic families, such as the Báthorys, Apafis, Bánffys, and Csákys. Similarly, the old elite maintained its dominance over key local positions of power. Newcomers to the Transylvanian elite could not easily obtain titles such as count or Szekler chieftains, or they would receive them only after a lengthy career in Transylvania or after fully integrating into the local nobility.

The arrival of migrant nobles had a rapid and significant impact on the composition and quality of the Transylvanian elite. Between 1556 and 1586, a core group of elites emerged that continued to play a decisive role in shaping the political, economic, and cultural life of Transylvania well into the early twentieth century. While the elite did not remain entirely unchanged over the centuries, there were no substantial shifts in its composition. Instead, power dynamics shifted within the existing elite, leading to the rise or temporary marginalization of certain families. Although the elite expanded slightly, new members were no longer noble migrants from outside; rather, they were either related to the reigning ruler or ascended through internal social mobility. A prime example of this internal mobility is the rise of the Székely aristocracy. Though they could have been considered part of the elite from the outset, it was only in the latter half of the seventeenth century, after the gradual decline of their archaic social structure, that they gained the political and economic influence necessary to be fully recognized as part of the elite.

The three decades between 1556 and 1586 are therefore crucial, warranting an in-depth examination of the components and characteristics of the elite during this period. For this analysis, I use a prosopographical database that I have compiled based on about fifteen years of archival research. It contains data on more than 200 individuals.[30] In addition to family and career information, the database

29 Horn, "Changing Attitudes towards Study Tours."

30 The following analyses are based on this digital database. A simplified printed extract can be found in, Horn, *The Pillars of Power*, 323–71.

includes data on migration, education, wealth, culture, and patronage. The results of my research indicate that the elite of this period consisted of ninety-eight individuals, divided into two fundamentally different groups: the old aristocracy and the newly emerging elite. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between these groups: forty-one individuals were local aristocrats, while fifty-seven were newcomers to the Transylvanian elite (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Composition of the Elite in Transylvania (98 people)

However, if we further categorize the newcomers to the elite, we see a more nuanced picture of social mobility. Of the fifty-seven newcomers, thirty-two were noble migrants, seven of whom were second generation, meaning that while their settled parents had not yet ascended into the elite, they enabled their children to do so. The remaining twenty-five individuals can be divided into several groups: 16 were Transylvanian nobles, and two came from bourgeois families, mostly through official or military careers. Four of them, the 'new starters,' were in a unique situation because their family, or they themselves, had previously belonged to the elite but had, for various reasons, fallen out. However, they managed to regain their elite status. The three foreigners who settled permanently came from Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, and Poland (Figure 2).

The dual structure of the Transylvanian elite fundamentally shaped the political landscape. The old aristocracy possessed large estates and extensive network connections, which ensured their long-term stability and relative independence from royal favour. Their loyalty, of course, could not be questioned. However, the death of a prominent family member or a temporary political conflict did not threaten the aristocratic families' place within the elite, as their social position was organized primarily around the family's collective strategies and resources, rather than individual

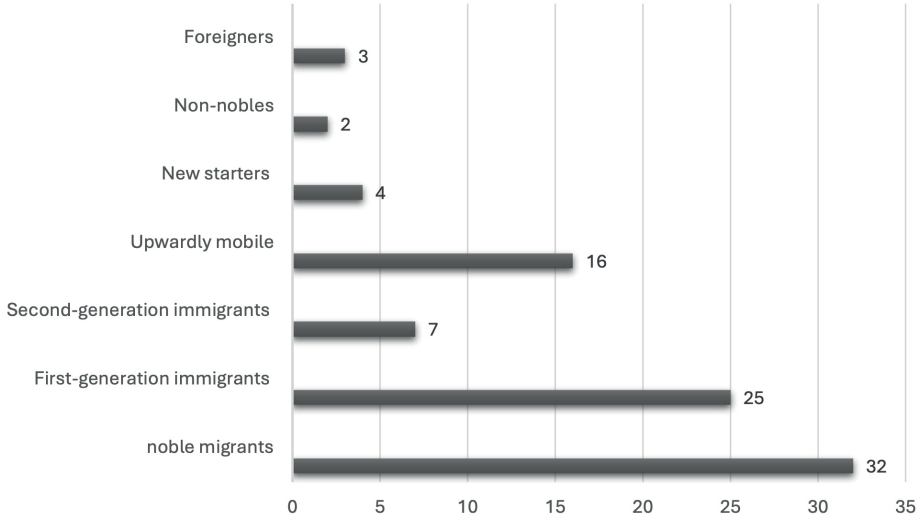

Figure 2 Composition of the new elite in Transylvania (57 people)

achievements. In contrast to the old local aristocracy, members of the new elite faced almost insurmountable disadvantages in terms of wealth and social capital, which they could only gradually overcome, over decades, through the land acquisition efforts of multiple generations. Their social advancement relied almost entirely on the favour of the ruler, who secured their political and economic rise through land grants and official appointments. This dependence deeply influenced their political behaviour: not only was absolute loyalty expected of the new elite, but it was essential for their survival, often manifesting as uncritical compliance with the ruler's will.

While members of the old aristocracy approached the ruler's decisions with more caution and prudence, the new elite's unconditional adaptability could distort the political decision-making process. For example, during the reign of John Sigismund, antitrinitarian religious ideas spread with the active collaboration of the new elite, even when the broader social and political opinion in the country resisted this radical branch of the Reformation. Similarly, in 1593–1594, at the beginning of the Long Turkish War, with the new elite's support, Sigismund Báthory was able to abruptly lead Transylvania into an alliance with Christian forces against the Ottomans, which ultimately led to severe long-term consequences for the principality. The unwavering support provided by the new elite thus strengthened the ruler's power in the short term but often undermined the country's interests in the long term, as critical reflection on political decisions was lacking.

The strategies of the new elite were primarily driven by the desire to consolidate their material positions. However, this goal did not stem from greed, or a sense of inferiority compared to the old elite. Rather, the reason lay in the fact that the

high-ranking positions held by members of the new elite came with the expectation of appropriate social representation and prestige. These objectives required the acquisition of economic resources, as only through material means could they provide the trained and sufficiently large staff needed for the role, maintain a lifestyle fitting to the position, and meet the standards set by the elite. The new elite was therefore compelled to align itself with the expectations established by the old aristocracy in every area in order to preserve its social and political influence.

The pressure to catch up had two significant consequences. First, members of the new elite were more likely to resort to corrupt practices. This was particularly evident during the reign of Stephen Báthory in Poland, especially between 1582 and 1585, when a triumvirate governed, consisting of three members of the new elite: one a migrant, one who advanced through social mobility, and one who had restarted his political career. Their rapid downfall was largely due to excessive corruption, which caused significant harm not only to the ruler but also to the country, as evidenced by the abuses involving mine leasing contracts. The second consequence was the new elite's strong propensity for risk-taking. In addition to the previously mentioned military alliance, members of the new elite were more prone to getting involved in conflicts, initiating lawsuits with uncertain outcomes, or engaging in commercial and financial ventures that often led to risky investments and loan agreements.

This inclination toward risk-taking was particularly evident among noble migrants, who were more likely to make radical decisions and drastic changes. It seems that having once made a decisive choice—albeit sometimes out of necessity—to leave their homeland, they freed themselves from certain internal restraints. This mentality was visible in Stephen Báthory's Polish court, where the young nobles of the new elite were strongly represented. It is noteworthy that it was not only loyalty to the ruler that played a role here—since it was crucial for any young noble to establish a close relationship with the prince—but also the fact that members of the new elite were generally less attached to Transylvania than the old aristocracy. While the latter tried to return to their homeland as quickly as possible, members of the new elite stayed longer at the Polish court and actively participated in the Livonian Wars against Moscow (1579–1582). For noble migrants, temporary 'country-switching' was less of a problem, and they easily adapted to new circumstances.

The new elite also showed greater flexibility in religious matters. While the old aristocracy tended to avoid religious extremism, members of the new elite were more likely to accept the teachings of antitrinitarianism. However, when the Catholicization process began under the Báthorys, it was also members of the new elite or their children that were more inclined to change their religion. Thus, the new elite followed religious changes more quickly and easily, further aligning themselves with the ruler's political direction.

This difference in mentality also manifested during times of political conflict. When facing defeat, members of the new elite usually opted for escape and temporary exile, unlike representatives of the old elite, who preferred to face imprisonment, trusting that their family members that remained uninvolved in the conflict would secure a pardon for them from the ruler. Both strategies could be successful, but these differences clearly reflected the behavioural distinctions between the new and old elite, as well as the new elite's tendency for risk-taking and adaptability.

Pathways to integration

Tracing the fate of new members of the elite, it can be confidently stated that the key to successful integration lay in the network of contacts newcomers were able to establish and how long this took them. Simple alliances of interest were swiftly formed between members of the old and new elites, but they were just as quickly dissolved. Lasting relationships, on the other hand, could only be secured through marriage. This, however, was not easy, as the old elite did not consider the newcomers suitable partners. They almost exclusively married within their own circle, and if that was not possible, they preferred members of noble families of lesser wealth and political influence, but with a long-standing tradition in Transylvania.

Figure 3 illustrates the marriage preferences of the local elite. In total, the forty-one aristocrats who dominated this period married sixty-three times. In forty-three of these marriages, they chose partners from their own caste, while in thirteen cases, they selected spouses from old but less prestigious local aristocratic families. Only on seven occasions did they deviate from this pattern: three wives came from abroad, and in two cases first-generation and, in another two cases, second-generation female members of the newly settled aristocratic families were selected (Figure 3).

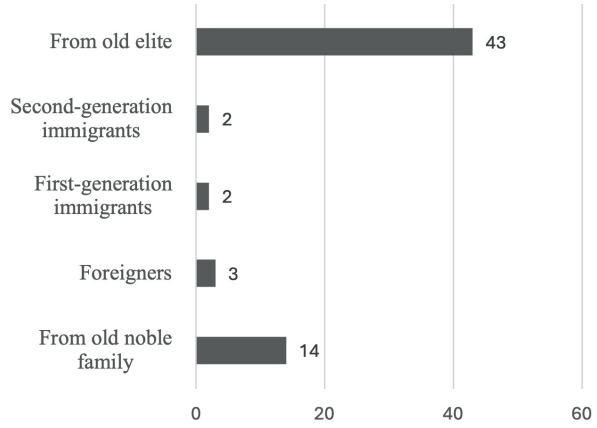

Figure 3 Marriage Preferences of the Old Elite (63 marriages)

First-generation aristocratic migrants only had a good chance of marrying into local aristocratic families if they had already lived in Transylvania for a significant period as members of the elite and were not just preparing to enter their first marriage. Even in such cases, their options were limited to aristocratic widows. The second generation of settlers, however, enjoyed much better prospects of choosing a spouse from the old elite, particularly if they were born or at least socialized in the region, and if their parents' success had already established the necessary foundations.

The reluctance of the old elite resulted in some newcomers seeking partners for themselves or their extended families among the second or third tier of the local nobility. This strategy allowed them to enter the network of the old elite's family and social circle. However, the relational capital gained from such an arrangement often meant sacrificing the financial advantages of marriage—also an important asset for an outsider—which could only be pursued by those who had already secured a stable financial foundation. Another approach for the newcomers was to arrange marriages within one another, which proved advantageous in significantly strengthening their positions of power. The downside, however, was that such marriages led to a division between old and new factions, creating cliques that greatly diminished the chances of successful integration (Figure 4).

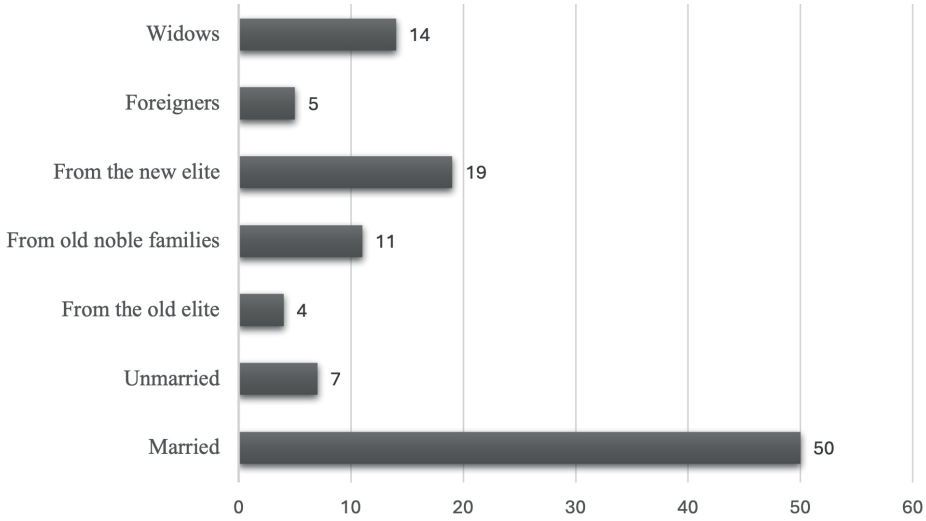

Figure 4 Marriage Preferences of the New Elite (57/65 marriages)
(Widows are highlighted separately from the other categories)

Figure 4 illustrating the marriage prospects of the new elite shows that seven out of the fifty-seven members of this group remained unmarried. Among the remaining fifty, there were sixty-five marriages. Fourteen individuals were already married when they settled in Transylvania, and in the case of twelve of the wives,

only their names and existence are known. Of the thirty-nine marriages that took place after settling in Transylvania as members of the elite, fourteen were to widows. In only four instances did they succeed in marrying into families of the old elite. Eleven wives came from less prestigious local families with reputable names. The picture is further complicated by the fact that seven of these husbands did not come to the elite from outside but from below, rising from the lower ranks. In these cases, the men who ascended to the elite chose wives from their original social class. On nineteen occasions, members of the new elite married among themselves, and five times they took foreign wives.

In addition to the old elite's practice of closed marriages, another factor made the situation difficult for newcomers. This was a peculiarity of the royal court: except for a few brief periods, there was virtually no female presence at the court before 1625, when Gabriel Bethlen entered into his second marriage, either because the prince was unwed or widowed, or because he had kept his wife far away from court. After the three-year reign of John Szapolyai's widow, Isabella Jagiellon. (1556–1559), her son, John Sigismund, remained unmarried and maintained a court composed mainly of soldiers. His successor, Stephen Báthory, was also unmarried and only wed in 1576, as his election to the Polish throne was contingent upon his marriage to Anne Jagiellon. During Stephen's absence, his brother, Kristóf Báthory, governed, and it was Kristóf's wife, ElErzsébet Bocskai, who finally established a female court. However, this court lasted only five years, and to make matters worse, the princess was often ill during this period. Between the spring of 1581 and the summer of 1595—during the childhood and youth of Sigismund Báthory—there was once again no princess at court around whom the female members of the Transylvanian elite could gather.

Thus, in the three decades covered by my research, only in the 1556–1559 and 1578–1581 periods was there a women's court in Alba Iulia, serving as a model and school for the female elite. Therefore, the most important venue for meetings and marriage arrangements was lost. The consequences of this forced situation affected not only women, but also newcomers to the elite, who were seeking prestigious partners for themselves or their children but lacked the necessary social connections. It is possible that the absence of women at the royal court also contributed to the fact that many newcomers remained unmarried or married later in life.

New members of the elite received help from an unexpected source. In 1575, Gáspár Bekes openly rebelled against Stephen Báthory and suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Kerelőszentpál. Many of his followers were imprisoned or forced into exile. By the late 1570s, they were gradually pardoned. Although the amnesty did not restore their confiscated properties—most of which had already been given away—it did give them the legal means to recover their ancestral estates through settlements or litigation. These stigmatized and impoverished nobles, hailing from

long-established families, soon realized the potential support they could find in the new elite. They sought to forge familial ties and marriages with its members, hoping that these alliances would help them regain positions of power and governance and recover their estates, or at least parts of them. For the new generation of politicians, these former Bekes party members also presented a valuable opportunity—not only due to the extensive local family networks that could be created through marriage, but also because of the potential recovery of confiscated property. Given their positions of power, these new elites could afford to associate with the rebellious lords without fearing suspicion from the Báthory family. This created the curious situation where Stephen Báthory's most trusted insiders and former enemies became related and found themselves on the same side.

The best example of this phenomenon is the case of Miklós Farkas Harinai. The younger son of a former councillor, Harinai re-entered the political elite through precisely these kinds of strategic marriages. First, he secured his own marriage by wedding a woman called Krisztina, the daughter of János Sigér, one of Kristóf Báthory's most trusted men. Then, probably through his father-in-law's influence, he arranged for one of his sisters, Katalin, to marry Chancellor Farkas Kovacsóczy. This latter marriage ended in divorce, as Katalin was allegedly involved in an affair with Boldizsár Báthory of Somlyó. However, this scandal did not damage Harinai's relationship with the Kovacsóczy family. In their wills, both Farkas and his brother János named Harinai as the guardian of the Kovacsóczy children.

The vast majority of new politicians entering the elite were able to retain the positions they gained, making their integration personally successful. However, only a multi-generational study can truly confirm the long-term success of integration. Figure 5 offers a broader perspective, revealing a harsh reality: only one-third of the new families that entered the elite managed to maintain their status over multiple generations. A strikingly high proportion of these families only enjoyed a single-generation presence within the elite. This was partly due to the fact noted previously that many did not marry or married too late, resulting in no surviving male heirs. Additionally, brief tenures among the elite were more common among those who rose from lower social ranks or had lesser social prestige. In several cases, a talented individual made an exceptional career, but for the rest of the family it proved impossible to replicate due to a lack of talent, poor decisions, changing circumstances, or heightened competition.

A significant number of families ended their elite status with the second generation, accounting for approximately 20 percent of cases. This phenomenon can be attributed to several factors. Once again, the marriage prospects of the new elite played a role: late marriages often left children orphaned and without proper guardianship, who either died young or fell into poverty. Another major factor was the long war

against the Ottomans (1593–1606) and the ensuing civil war in Transylvania. The second generation of the newly settled nobility came of age during this tumultuous period and participated in the conflict at a much higher rate than their peers from the old nobility. Many perished, especially in the battles of 1600–1603. In six cases, a family's trajectory in Transylvania was interrupted because either the settler or their descendants left the country. Those who emigrated can be considered successful, as returning to the Kingdom of Hungary or joining the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth under Stephen Báthory often led to more illustrious careers (Figure 5).

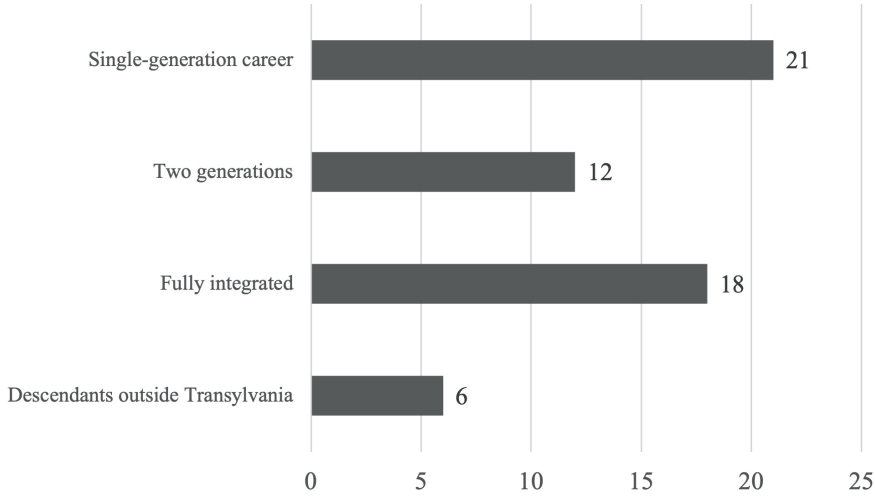

Figure 5 Opportunities for Integration (57 people)

The reasons for the high drop-out rate are evident. As mentioned before, members of the new elite were significantly more vulnerable than long-established local aristocrats. This difference becomes obvious when we compare, with the help of Figures 6 and 7, the atrocities suffered by members of the old and new elites who survived crisis situations. Among the forty-one members of the old elite, the majority, thirty-two individuals, were not subjected to any form of harm or atrocity. This indicates that the old elite was largely insulated from external threats. However, the remaining nine members experienced seventeen different forms of atrocities. These included violent deaths for five individuals, imprisonment and confiscation of property for five individuals, and emigration for four individuals, with two of them eventually returning. Only one member chose to relocate abroad. This relatively low level of exposure to harm reflects the security the old elite enjoyed due to their larger estates, stronger familial networks, and deeper political roots. Their political manoeuvring was more cautious and calculated, minimizing their risk of falling victim to political or social upheavals (Figure 6).

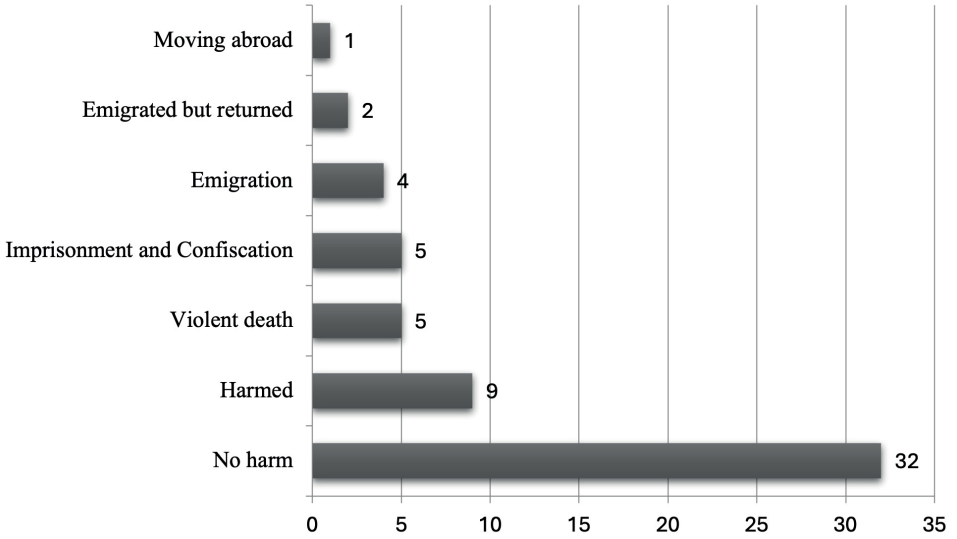

Figure 6 Atrocities Faced by Members of the Old Elite (41 people)

In stark contrast, the new elite suffered much higher rates of harm. Out of the fifty-seven members, only twenty-five were unharmed, while thirty-two faced some form of atrocity. This group experienced a significantly higher rate of violent deaths, with fourteen individuals killed. Additionally, five individuals were imprisoned, three had their property confiscated, and five were forced into emigration. Furthermore, three members chose to move abroad, and one person emigrated but returned later. This high rate of atrocities among the new elite can be attributed to their more precarious position. The newcomers, often with fewer resources and weaker networks, were more vulnerable. They were also more likely to take risks, be agile in their decisions, and become involved in dangerous political situations, which made them more susceptible to harm (Figure 7).

Conclusion

The study has examined how migration played a pivotal role in the formation and composition of the elite in the Principality of Transylvania between 1556 and 1586. At this time, nearly 60 percent of the newly established elite consisted of newcomers, with their two-thirds being migrants, while one-third locals who had risen through social mobility. The migration patterns observed, particularly among Hungarian, Croatian, and Polish nobles, illustrate both the push factors from Ottoman invasions and discontent with Habsburg policies, as well as the pull factors of Transylvania's political and military opportunities. Immigrants were most successful if they

possessed special skills, such as significant military experience, humanistic education from universities, or financial, legal, or economic expertise. For such individuals, migration often led to long-term social advancement. It also transpires that most non-Hungarian and non-Croatian immigrants viewed their stay as temporary career migration rather than permanent settlement.

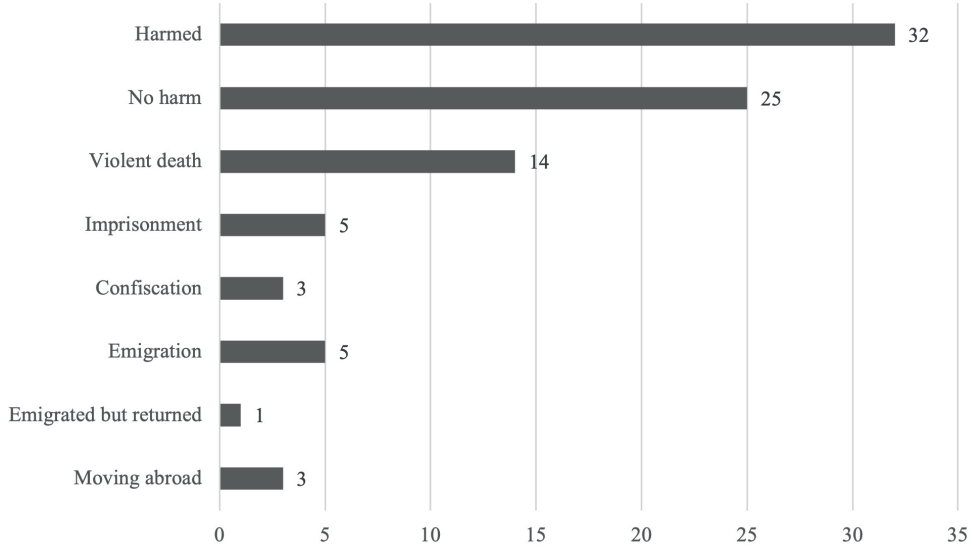

Figure 7 Atrocities Faced by Members of the New Elite (57 people)

The prosopographical analysis has shown how the new elite, composed largely of migrant nobles, faced significant vulnerabilities due to their smaller wealth, weaker networks, and greater inclination toward risk-taking. Their vulnerability is further evidenced by how poorly they fared during political and military conflicts: while only approximately 20 percent of the old elite were affected by conflicts, nearly 60 percent of the new elite suffered various atrocities, ranging from assassination to land confiscation and forced emigration. Their integration was challenged by the old elite's reluctance to form dynastic ties, which ultimately limited long-term stability for many new families. Despite the various challenges, some 30 percent of the new elite managed to successfully integrate and establish long-term positions, maintaining their influence across multiple generations and shaping Transylvania's political landscape.

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Memoirs which Can Hide Others

The *Mémoires* of Jean-Louis de Rabutin and Their Editions by the Prince de Ligne

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Abstract. Jean-Louis de Rabutin's memoirs are considered a rather particular text which presents an interesting topic from the point of view of the history of noble emigration in the modern era. This author was a French nobleman who entered the imperial service in 1683 and then he participated in almost all military campaigns against the Turks and against Prince Francis II Rákóczi. His memoirs, which recount his military campaigns, were published twice by Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne. The initial project of Prince de Ligne was the glorification of the imperial generals by publishing their memoirs. During his own emigration, in 1795, the Prince republished the memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin, supplemented by his own remarks and comments referring to his own experiences. Through this mirror game, he constituted a new connection between the Count of Rabutin and himself, which permitted him to reflect his own thoughts through the publication of Rabutin's memoirs, thus contributing to repairing the errors of the past associated with the imperial army.

Keywords: Early Modern Hungarian history, noble emigration, Jean-Louis de Rabutin, Charles-Joseph de Ligne, Francis II Rákóczi, Turkish wars in Hungary

> *Ce Monsieur de Rabutin que Vous venez de me céder, n'est point le faiseur des* alleluia *de Louis XIV. Il ne chansonnait ni ne chantait personne. Il ne déplaisait pas à son Maitre : mais s'il lui avait déplu, il aurait soutenu sa disgrace avec fermeté. S'il n'était pas flatteur comme son parent sur la fin de ses jours, il n'était pas non plus si difficultueux que lui. Les grands Hommes que nous avions alors dans nos armées l'estimaient. L'autre s'était brouillé avec M. de Turenne ; il fit trembler l'Académie Française. Celui-ci fit trembler les Turcs. Ils étaient bien braves tous les deux, avaient autant d'esprit à ce que je crois l'un que l'autre ; mais le nôtre était plus Soldat.*[1]

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1 *Mémoires de son Excellence le comte de Bussy Rabutin*, Preface.

As the above-cited extract from the preface of the first edition of the memoirs of the Count Jean-Louis de Rabutin[2] by Charles-Joseph de Ligne shows us, this work was born in the shadow of his illustrious cousin, the military writer Roger de Bussy-Rabutin.[3] Jean-Louis de Rabutin's memoirs are considered a rather particular text which presents an interesting topic from the point of view of the history of noble emigration in the modern era. Their author was one of the foreign gentlemen who offered their sword to Duke Charles V of Lorraine before entering the service of the Habsburg Empire. Belonging to the Rabutin-Chamuigy family, a younger branch of the illustrious Rabutin family, Jean-Louis de Rabutin was a distant cousin of Madame de Sévigné and the intriguing Count Roger de Bussy-Rabutin. He sometimes called himself 'Bussy-Rabutin' in order to suggest that he was a very close relative of the latter.

In 1683, he left the service of the army of Duke Charles V of Lorraine because of a matter of honour and joined the service of the imperial army. In 1692, he married Princess Dorothea-Elizabeth of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, of the royal family of Denmark. This marriage brought Count de Rabutin not only a considerable fortune but also strong support at the court of Vienna, thanks to the circles and connections of his wife, whose salon was a famous place of sociability for the Viennese elite.[4] Jean-Louis de Rabutin participated in almost all the major battles associated with the re-conquest of Hungary from the Turks, from the liberation of the city of Vienna (1683) to the Peace of Karlowitz (1699). From 1697, he was commander of the Transylvanian army and, in this capacity, a serious opponent of Prince Francis II Rákóczi during his war of independence (1703–1711).[5] He returned to Vienna in 1708 and finished his life as a member of the Secret Council. In 1710, no longer able to serve, he retired. He lived for a few more years on his land, then died on November 16, 1717.

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2 Jean-Louis de Rabutin (1642?–1716), Imperial General of French origin. See on his life and activity: Hlavka, "Johann Ludwig Graf Bussy de Rabutin." See also: Gérard-Gauilly, *Un académicien grand seigneur,* 19–23; Vincent, "»Bussy-Rabutin«, l'heureux maréchal"; Petiot, "Rabutin (Jean-Louis, comte de)"; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen,* 71.

3 Roger de Rabutin, Count of Bussy (1618–1693), lieutenant-general of the armies of King Louis XIV, courtier, philosopher, memoirist, libertine writer, and member of the French Academy. See recently on his life and activity: Duchêne, *Bussy-Rabutin*; Vincent, *Bussy-Rabutin;* and see on his military career in particular: Chaline, "Les campagnes de Bussy-Rabutin."

4 During her visit to Vienna in 1716, Milady Montagu noticed: "Madam Rabutin has the assembly constantly every night at her house…". Montagu, *Letters*, 119; Cp. Hassler, *La cour de Vienne 1680–1740,* 119.

5 See on the Hungarian war of independence: Köpeczi, *La France et la Hongrie au début du XVIII^e siècle*. Some recent works on Jean-Louis de Rabutin's activity in Transylvania: Szirtes, "Kirchenunion und Übergang"; Szirtes, "Bethlen Miklós és az erdélyi politika"; Vida, "Információ és hatalom."

Count Rabutin's memoirs are not unknown in the history of European francophone literature. This text was discovered and edited twice by a prestigious aristocrat of the European Enlightenment: Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne.[6] Its first edition takes the title *Mémoires de Son Excellence le comte de Bussy Rabutin* and was published in Paris in 1773.[7] Despite its relatively limited importance in the *oeuvre* of the Prince de Ligne, this edition nevertheless aroused a certain interest among historians. The Belgian writer and historian Félicien Leuridant, a great expert on the life and works of Charles-Joseph de Ligne, discovered in 1919 that the work in question was not printed in Paris but in Liège, with the same printer who produced the edition of the *Lettres à Eugénie* in 1774.[8] The Belgian researcher identified a striking similarity between the vignettes of the two works and found proof of it in the Prince's correspondence.[9] A second edition of the same work was included in volume V of the series of *Mélanges militaires, littéraires et sentimentaires* by Prince de Ligne published in Dresden in 1795.[10]

These are, therefore, two editions of the same work within twenty years by a Walloon aristocrat and officer in imperial service. Although the main textual core is generally the same, both editions were marked by considerable changes over the intervening twenty years. At the time of the publication of the work in 1773, Prince de Ligne was young and full of hope, while at the release of the second edition, the prince was ruined, disgraced and disenchanted by a succession of misfortunes during the time of the French revolutionary wars.

His comments and dedication testify to his interest in the biographies of the great imperial warlords. Following the example of French historical works of the time, he started to publish a collection of their memoirs, some of which probably came directly from his pen. The first work in this collection was the memoirs of Count de Rabutin.[11] Apart from this major project, the two editions of the Prince de Ligne also allowed him to add his own testimonies, and he thus became a co-author of the work. In this study, I propose to identify the authentic contribution of the Prince de Ligne to these editions by comparing them with the manuscript of the memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin that I have just discovered.

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6 Charles-Joseph Lamoral, 7th Prince of Ligne (1735–1814), marshal of the imperial army, diplomat in the service of the emperor and man of letters from the Austrian Netherlands. See on his life: Mansel, *Prince of Europe*.

7 *Mémoires de son Excellence le comte de Bussy Rabutin*.

8 Ligne, *Lettres à Eugénie*.

9 For the history of this edition, see: Mouriau de Meulenacker, "Le prince de Ligne." See also: Vercruysse, ed., *Bibliographie des écrits relatifs,* 32–41.

10 Ligne, *Mêlanges militaires.*

11 The following editions, those of Prince Eugene of Savoy and Count Louis of Baden, were most likely from his own pen and can be considered false memoirs.

The original manuscript

The two printed editions give indications of the existence of a manuscript which was the origin of their texts. According to the dedication of the first edition, the manuscript came from the princely library of the illustrious family of Liechtenstein, and it had been given to Prince de Ligne by his brother-in-law, Franz Joseph of Liechtenstein.[12] The second edition presents a slightly different version by specifically indicating the collection of manuscripts of Prince Joseph-Wenceslas of Liechtenstein[13] as the source of this publication. According to this preface by Prince de Ligne, the late Prince of Liechtenstein, who died in 1772, even gave him permission to publish these manuscripts. This information encouraged me to pursue research in the princely Liechtenstein family collection in Vienna. After consulting the experts and the catalogues of the princely library, I managed to identify a manuscript with a title similar to the works published by the Prince de Ligne which was probably the original copy of this work.[14]

This manuscript, in one separate volume, has the form of a work bound in painted paper, probably from the eighteenth century, and contains seventy-six numbered folios. The text is written by a single hand and was probably corrected and prepared for later publication. In terms of the quality of the French, the text is neat, but the spelling leaves much to be desired—as the Prince de Ligne remarked: "Mr. de Rabutin had somewhat forgotten his language with us."[15] The text is written in the third person singular, which was quite common in memoirs of the time, but which may also prove that its real author was not Jean-Louis de Rabutin, and this is confirmed by the study of manuscript writing.

We can quite easily exclude the idea that the manuscript was actually an autograph of Jean-Louis de Rabutin because we know his handwriting well from his letters sent to Count Harrach, which he often signed and certified. As he had secretaries who wrote up his missives that were sent to important people at the court of Vienna, he often added a few personal sentences in the post scripta to the recipients that clearly indicate the characteristic features of his writing. What appears in these sources is that he had considerable difficulty writing letters.

First, at the end of the seventeenth century, his hands were so shaky that he

12 Franz Joseph I (1726–1781), Prince of Liechtenstein.

13 Joseph-Wenceslas (1696–1772), Prince of Liechtenstein, imperial warlord. See on his life: Baumstark, *Joseph Wenzel von Liechtenstein*.

14 FSL HS 206 *Memoire ou recueil des campagnes faites au service de l'Empereur par feu S. E. le Comte Bussi de Rabutin, conseiller d'Etat de S. M. chambellant, marchal de ses armes, general commandant en Transilvanie et colonel d'un regiment des dragons.*

15 In the text of the edition of 1773: "M. de Rabutin avait un peu oublié sa langue chez nous." In the second edition (1795): "Peut-être qu'il avoit oublié sa grammaire chez nous," VIII.

could not write himself.[16] The causes of his infirmity are certainly his various illnesses; particularly, he suffered from gout, about which he often complained in his letters.[17] But gout, a common illness linked to the lifestyle of European aristocrats, was not his only health problem. We also know that he was often in bed, suffering from fever. Like many other soldiers of his time who fought the Turks in Hungary in the marshy and unhealthy environs of the Danube and the Tisza, he must also have contracted malaria, the scourge that threatened the great military leaders of that time.

Recent research on the health of Vauban and Charles V of Lorraine seems to confirm that these two strategists suffered from the same illness and had similar symptoms: fevers, weakness and tremors of the hands.[18] To this was added a final infirmity which certainly caused the count a lot of difficulty with writing: the consequences of his arm injuries. During the siege of Belgrade on 13 August 1688, a musket shot broke his arm, which caused him great problems with the use of his hand.[19]

The few autographed texts of Count de Rabutin that we can find in his correspondence also show us that he did not perfectly master the written French language and, according to the opinions that circulated around him, he spoke almost no other foreign language. Although he was a French speaker by birth, his French was far from the literary language that was then beginning to be perfected in his native country thanks to classical writers. His spelling was rudimentary, and his style was very simple. The manuscript of his memoirs was certainly written by another person, probably by an anonymous writer, maybe his secretary. A register containing copies of his correspondence is conserved in the Vienna War Archives.[20] The handwriting of these copies of letters closely resembles that of the above-mentioned manuscript from the princely library of Liechtenstein, which may indicate that they were written by the same hand of an unknown person.[21]

16 Here is an extract from the note added to his undated letter (towards the end of 1698): "[…] il m'est impossible d'escrire tout ses chose de propre main tant ie les tramblant, incÿ que vostre Excellence me tin pour exqusé […]" ÖStA HHStA AVA FA Harrach N° 291.

17 For example, on 22 December 1698, he ended his letter with this excuse: "Un accés de goutte a la main droite fait qu'a peine puis ie signer mon nom." ÖStA HHStA AVA FA Harrach N° 291.

18 Perréon, *Vauban, l'arpenteur du pré carré*, 169–70.

19 His wife, in her letter of 10 November 1700, characterized her husband's state of health as follows: "[…] luy reste une foyblesse a la main qui estoit deux fois cassez par un coup de mousquè autre fois […]" ÖStA HHStA AVA FA Harrach N° 291.

20 ÖStA HHStA Kriegsarchiv, AFA, Kt. 205, Türkenkrieg 1696 Livre de copie des lettres éscrittes par Son Excellence le general de Cavallerie Conte de Rabutin (à commencer de l'année 1696).

21 Furthermore, we can easily find analogies with the other memoir of a great military leader, which was truly the work of a confidant and servant with a humanist education that allowed him to write a coherent text even of literary quality. Duke Charles V of Lorraine used the

The author and his motivations

The text of the manuscript was, therefore, probably a work written by a secretary under the dictation of Jean-Louis de Rabutin. It is essentially a summary account of the count's military career intended to show his military qualities and his uncompromising loyalty to the emperors Leopold I and Joseph I. This *curriculum vitae* ends at the end of 1707, which signified the end of his active military service. Without a doubt, the text must have been written between 1708 and 1717, the date of his death. Unfortunately, we do not have precise chronological information which could allow us to discover the circumstances of the origin of the manuscript apart from a small remark at the end of the codex. On leaf 66 of the manuscript, when talking about the affair of Chancellor Miklós Bethlen, the author gives us a chronological reference: "The Emperor tested everything that had been done, but as the thing was handed over to his clemency, the sentence was limited to perpetual prison, where the said chancellor died only two years ago."[22] Since the date of Miklós Bethlen's[23] death was 17 October 1716, and that of Count de Rabutin on 16 November 1717, the interval of approximately one year invites us to reflect on the identity of the author of the manuscript.

Either this is an oversight on the part of old Jean-Louis de Rabutin, or the author of his memoirs was an unknown person who must have completed the manuscript after the death of the count. As the thread of the narration of the events of his life stops abruptly at this time, it is entirely possible that the person who was responsible for writing the memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin added parts according to the testimony of the count and completed this work at the end of 1717. This hypothesis allows us to explain the use of the third person singular and the mention of the death of the Count of Bethlen as an event which occurred one year previously, that is to say, after the death of Count Jean-Louis de Rabutin. That said, we may presume that the author of these memoirs was a person who knew him well and who probably used his diaries and correspondence, or even other sources, to write this work, which was not truly completed.

The account of the services of Jean-Louis de Rabutin could have been written to exalt his feats of arms with the prospect of obtaining a pardon for his family, already well established in Vienna. We can only regret that the author of the work does not give any information about the count's family or the circumstances of his youth and his private life. We may presume that this was a prudent omission on the part of Count Rabutin, who did not want to divulge the scandalous details of his

services of François Le Bègue, his chancellor and diplomat, to compose his campaign diaries. See: Tóth, "Le Journal de Charles V de Lorraine comme source."

22 FSL HS 206 *Memoire ou recueil*… fol. 66.

23 Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716), Count, Transylvanian statesman and memoirist.

emigration from France to the Habsburg Monarchy. His 'affair' with the wife of the Prince of Condé[24] was to overshadow the life of his family, which was well integrated into the aulic society of Vienna. Thus, these memoirs are limited to the relation between his military operations and his political activity in Transylvania. The official character of the work is thus explainable as family reasons in the form of an apology for the Count de Rabutin. To better understand the genesis of the *Memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin*, it is appropriate to recall the genealogical project that his famous cousin, Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, composed in the seventeenth century.[25] This work is all the more interesting in relation to our subject because it was sent quite quickly to the wife of Jean-Louis de Rabutin, a distant cousin of the author of the *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*.[26]

In addition, he also inserted a letter of dedication addressed to the wife of Jean-Louis de Rabutin, in which he outlined a project intended to increase the international influence of his noble family.[27] Apparently, the work was never finished—it

24 Depretto, "Coup d'épée à l'hôtel de Condé."

25 Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rabutin*. A manuscript of the work is at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris: Ms 4159 *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rabutin, dressée par messire Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy, lieutenant général des armées du Roy, et maistre de camp général de la cavalerie légère de France, et addressée à dame Marie de Rabutin, marquise de Sévigné*. Another copy or a copy can be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Rothschild 3149 (2487 a) [IV, 2, 42]). See on this topic the introduction by Henri Beaune in Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rabutin*. IX. Cp. Deguin, *L'écriture familiale des mémoires,* 266–71.

26 The *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules* is a pamphleteering satirical historical novel on the customs of the French court of the Grand Siècle, published in the original version by Editions à la Croix de Malte in 1665. Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*. See on this affair: Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique,* 144.

27 "Vous faites un si grand honneur à la maison de Rabutin, Madame, et particulierement à la branche ou vous êtes entrée, que nous ne scaurions jamais asses vous en temoigner notre reconnoissance. Pour moy qui suis aujourd'huy le chef de cette famille, j'ay une joie infinie de la grace que vous luy avés faittes et il n'y a que mon cousin votre mary qui en seroit plus aise que moy. Je me souviens, Madame, que la premiere fois que vous me fistes l'honneur de me mander votre mariage, vous m'escrivites que mon cousin avoit bien du merite ; j'en demeurè d'accord avec vous et j'en conviens encor aujourd'huy, mais vous mavouerés aussy qu'il est bien heureux, car enfin, Madame, vous savés que ce ne sont pas les mepris ny les rigueurs de votre sexe qui l'ont fait sortir de France, et qu'il n'a pas eté lontems en Allemagne sans qu'une des plus belles princesses de l'empire l'ait jugé digne de l'epouser. Nous voyons dans ce royaume de grandes et de surprenantes fortunes, mais nous n'en voyons point de si complettes que celle de mon cousin. Il n'a rien à souhaitter du coté du plaisir et de la gloire, il n'a qu'a demander à Dieu que cela dure longtems et que vous ne vous quittiés qu'après avoir laissé des restes de vous deux qui perpetuent cette branche jusqu'à la fin du monde." Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rabutin,* 34–35.

is very likely that it remained at the bottom of a drawer until its discovery by the Prince de Ligne in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Evoking the possible literary models of Jean-Louis de Rabutin's memoirs, we should not forget that this work was written in an important period from the point of view of this genre. Memoirs began to appear as a literary and historical genre in literature and history in the seventeenth century thanks to classic works such as those of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Cardinal de Retz, the Duke of Saint-Simon and Count of Rabutin de Bussy, our author's distant cousin. These testimonies from turbulent times in France clearly show the phenomenon of the emergence of particular histories of the aristocracy contrasted with a general history increasingly controlled by the state. Apart from the great classics of the genre, the memoirs had several branches that were distinguishable: private court memoirs, political memoirs, religious memoirs, and military memoirs.

The work of Jean-Louis de Rabutin certainly belongs to this last category, which includes the autobiographical writings of great military leaders with a view to spreading their reputation and transmitting their genius and military theories. The roots of this literary branch go back to Antiquity if we think, for example, of the literary activity of Julius Caesar, and underwent a revival during the Renaissance when humanist military authors began to create a modern genre, of which the memoirs of Philippe de Commynes are considered one of the most significant works. The author of the memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin certainly benefited from the dynamism of this movement.[28]

Among the writings that could have influenced the genesis of this work, it is appropriate to recall two memoirs of two military leaders of the imperial army: Count Raimondo Montecuccoli and Duke Charles V of Lorraine. Both held the position of general commander of the imperial armies and left us written accounts of their military campaigns. The French translation of Montecuccoli's writings, notably his work entitled *Della guerra col turco in Ungheria*, was published in Paris under the title *Mémoires de Montecuccoli*. The French edition, buoyed by the high tide of Francophonie during the Age of Enlightenment in literature in general, became a reference work and, above all, a *vademecum* for the officers of almost all armies.[29] Another work that may have had a certain influence on the present one was the *Journal des campagnes* of Charles de Lorraine, composed by Abbot François Le Bègue, which also circulated in military and scholarly circles under the title of a memoir.[30] Apart from the memoirs of the two great imperial captains, there was

28 See on this topic: Garapon, ed., *Mémoires d'État et culture politique.*

29 See the recent reedition of this work: Montecuccoli, *Mémoires ou Principes de l'art militaire.*

30 Tóth, "Le Journal de Charles V de Lorraine."

one other which necessarily was of great importance for the creation of the work under discussion: this was the memoirs of Roger de Bussy-Rabutin. Too often cited as a libertine work *par excellence*, it should also be remembered that the memoirs of Count de Bussy-Rabutin offer valuable descriptions of the military campaigns of the second half of the seventeenth century, which are often exploited by military historians. Published in 1696, the success of the memoirs Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy was to cross European borders and bring a certain notoriety to the younger branch of the family. This also encouraged Jean-Louis de Rabutin to use the particle "de Bussy" from the eldest branch of the family, which appears in the title of his manuscript: "Comte Bussi de Rabutin."

Mirror effect in the editions of the *Memoirs* by the Prince de Ligne

For Charles-Joseph de Ligne, this work was a major piece among the biographies of the great imperial captains that he wanted to contrast with those of French apologetic military literature. Prince de Ligne published this work twice in order to show the greatness of the military quality of the imperial generals in contrast to that of the French generals. Initially, it was in the period following the Seven Years' War that the problems of the French army were clearly demonstrated, and the reforms recommended by the Duke of Choiseul began to show their results. The second edition was published in a more delicate period, during the Revolutionary Wars, when European allied armies tried in vain to defeat the French army. At this time, Prince de Ligne was himself also in emigration and tried to animate the Austrian troops by evoking the victories of ancient times. In any case, the prince's steps in preparing this text for publication may not be explained by scientific motives, even if he apparently used some philological methods such as corrections of the text and the addition of comments in the preface and footnotes.[31]

The study of the two consecutive editions of the memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin by the Prince de Ligne identifies particularities which should be mentioned here. First of all, let us note that there are a whole series of differences between the manuscript and the two printed editions. To start the comparison, we can see that their titles are not identical because the printed versions are shorter than those of the manuscript. Probably, the Prince de Ligne, aware of the evolution of times and ideas, reduced and simplified the baroque-styled title of the original manuscript.

31 As Simon Gabay has shown in one of his recent studies, the methods of publishing texts from the Grand Siècle did not become standardized until the nineteenth century: Gabay, "Éditer le Grand Siècle au XIX^{e} s."

Knowing and following the evolution of the orthography of the French language, Charles-Joseph de Ligne, himself a writer and great reader, revised and corrected many archaisms and errors in the work composed in an older style. Apart from the modernisation of the text according to the usage of the time of Voltaire and Rousseau, the Prince de Ligne recurrently uses capital letters for feudal titles and military ranks, even if he sometimes uses abbreviations for some of them. The printed version restores accents, joins compound words, completes missed words, and corrects mistakes and errors. Even if the spelling of Ligne's texts leaves much to be desired, in general, the writing of certain proper names is much more precise than that of the author of the manuscript, who apparently had great difficulty deciphering the Hungarian homonyms and toponyms. However, we also find exceptions, such as the case of 'Kovar' (originally Kővár) in the manuscript, which becomes 'Komar' (a non-existent place) in the printed version of the work. Sometimes, Prince de Ligne wrongly corrects perceived mistakes, as is the case with the adjective '*rassienne*' (which means 'Serb' in the language of the time), which he transforms into 'Russian' (which means 'originating from Russia'). In other cases, he uses his linguistic knowledge to translate a proper name of Latin origin into German, as with the case of 'Tibisque' (Tibiscus, the Tisza river in Hungary), which in the printed version becomes 'Teis'. We could give still more examples to illustrate the work, certainly meritorious, of Prince de Ligne, who tried to make the manuscript easier to read, as he admits in his preface to his first edition: "I [changed] many small mistakes in French, construction and style; but it seems to me that we must leave manuscripts almost a hundred years old as they are."[32]

The real value added by Prince de Ligne lies in his comments and reflections on the memoirs of Count de Rabutin in the second edition of the work. In this historical context, the Prince also found himself in emigration at the end of his career, and his remarks constitute a mirror effect through which he looks at his own career. Struck by the collapse of the *ancien régime* in France, a world to which he was accustomed, in his critical remarks, he became much more lenient of the simple and military style of Count de Rabutin, whom he describes thus in a footnote: "Here is proof that a military writer, especially, can do without elegance. In a sentence of many lines, in truth, Mr. de Rabutin says enough things for someone else to make three pages of it."[33]

He looks at military operations with the eye of a modern officer who tried to minimise human problems in their decisions and accomplishments. The Prince de

32 See the preface in the edition of 1773. *Mémoires de son Excellence le comte de Bussy Rabutin.*

33 "Voici une preuve qu'un Écrivain militaire surtout, peut se passer d'élégance. Dans une phrase de beaucoup de lignes, à la vérité, Mr. de Rabutin dit assez de choses, pour qu'un autre en fasse trois pages." Ligne, *Mêlanges militaires*, 1.

Ligne did not accept the human weaknesses, intrigues and enmities that reigned among the military leaders of the imperial army. Sometimes, he even tried to repair the past by adding notes to extracts that described the division of command, such as this one relating to the strained relations between Prince Louis of Baden and Count de Rabutin: "This makes me feel dreadful. If I had lived in their time, I bet I would have mended them."[34] In another place, condemning the jealousy between the imperial military leaders: "Will we never get rid of this accursed jealousy? That of husbands has gone out of fashion. It is terrible that the jealousy that stopped the success of a Campaign still exists."[35] If we are to believe his remarks, Prince de Ligne retained an idealised vision of the coalition army at the time of the war of re-conquest of Hungary that was capable of bringing together soldiers from different nations for a common cause: "It's a French name. It was then necessary to take into the Service many foreign officers. Two-thirds of the Generals and Officers were Italians, Lorraines, French, Irish, Walloons and Spaniards. The eldest, the only sons, the Chiefs, or sons of somewhat rich families, did not serve."[36] This principle, of course, was no longer valid at the time of the revolutionary wars, which Charles-Joseph de Ligne bitterly regretted, even if he was one of the propagators of national military qualities.

In his strictly military remarks, we can observe modern principles of the eighteenth century, which he opposed to those that existed at the end of the Grand Siècle; in particular, he favoured battles, active operations and the frequent use of small wars and underlined the importance of the inventive military spirit to the detriment of mechanical discipline.

Prince de Ligne actively participated in the last war against the Turks in Hungary (1787–1791) and knew Ottoman warfare well. The prince commanded a corps of 30,000 men there and contributed greatly to the capture of Belgrade in 1789, a delicate period for the Habsburg Monarchy.[37] Likewise, he experienced the consequences of the Brabant revolution on both his family and the power of the Habsburgs in Europe. When commenting on the history of Prince Rákóczi's war of independence, he also draws a parallel with the history of his own country, the Austrian Netherlands, and approves of the very severe methods used by Count

34 "Ceci me fait une peine affreuse. Si j'avois vécu de leur tems, je parie que je les aurois raccommodés." Ligne, *Mêlanges militaires*, 5.

35 "Ne se défera-t-on jamais de cette maudite jalousie? Celle des maris a passé de mode. Il est affreux que celle qui arrêta les succès d'une Campagne, existe encore." Ligne, *Mêlanges militaires*, 19.

36 "C'est un nom françois. Il falloit alors prendre au Service beaucoup d'Officiers étrangers. Les deux tiers des Généraux et des Officiers, étoient Italiens, Lorrains, François, Irlandois, Wallons, Espagnols. Les ainés, les fils uniques, les Chefs, ou fils de famille un peu riches, ne servoient pas." Ligne, *Mêlanges militaires*, 9–10.

37 Colson, *Les Belges dans l'armée des Habsbourg,* 185.

de Rabutin thus: "There has never been anything more dexterous. With fuses, hostages, and examples, there is no Rebellion to fear. See Mr. de Rabutin getting out of trouble, as I said: without means, without support from the Court, almost without Soldiers, food and money."[38] In short, the military experiences and personal feelings of the Prince de Ligne considerably nourished this edition of the memoirs of the Count de Rabutin, which reflected, like a mirror, his own thoughts.

* * *

In conclusion, the memoirs of Count Jean-Louis de Rabutin appear to us first of all as a text which is part of a family writing project, openly inspired by Count Roger de Bussy-Rabutin, who had expressed in his genealogical history the exaltation of a noble lineage through memorialist literature with a view to projecting an illustrious destiny into the future. This project visibly failed because neither the elder branch of the family, represented by the famous Bussy-Rabutin, nor the younger branch of his distant cousin succeeded in consolidating their situation in two different countries.

If the memoirs of the first author nevertheless became a masterpiece of classical literature, those of his cousin remained buried for a long time in a box in the archives of the princes of Liechtenstein. The discovery of the manuscript by Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne inspired him, in another ambitious project, to constitute a lineage, in the hope of promoting filiation, of the memories of the famous military leaders in the service of the Empire in order to counterbalance the effect of the French military memoirists very fashionable in the period of second modernity in Europe. With a view to carrying out this project, Prince de Ligne first published the manuscript of Count Jean-Louis de Rabutin, and then he did not disdain to take up the pen and write himself false memoirs of the famous war leaders which he published in his own collected works.

After the failure of this attempt to glorify the noble generals of the Empire, he embarked on a new literary adventure. During his emigration, he republished the memoirs of Jean-Louis de Rabutin, supplemented by his own remarks and comments referring to his own experiences. Through this mirror game, he constituted a new connection between the Count of Rabutin and himself, which permitted him to reflect his own thoughts through the publication of Rabutin's memoirs, thus contributing to repairing the errors of the past associated with the imperial army.

38 See the preface to the 1795 edition. Later, in commenting on the Nicolas Bethlen's affair, he goes even further: "Pourquoi toujours de la clémence? C'est la peine de mort qui en impose: et dans un tems de trouble, un bon *Standrecht* (loi martiale) fait plus d'effet." Ligne, *Mêlanges militaires*, 137.

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Cooperatives in the Upper Hungarian Region at the Intersection of Embourgeoisement and Nation-Building (1898–1918)*

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Abstract. Cooperatives, which abound in theoretical constructions, can be defined as associations of people who unite for a specific purpose and try to satisfy their economic needs through a democratically operated, jointly owned enterprise. However, it is an established fact that, by the end of the nineteenth century, industrial revolution and capitalism had brought many economic and social problems and manifold grave social challenges. This led to the further organizational development of self-help which, in turn, was an effective tool for shaping ethnic communities in the great trend of modernization and embourgeoisement.

Self-help associations had a long tradition in the Habsburg Monarchy, including the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, already from the first half of the nineteenth century. However, especially in the last third of the nineteenth century, the development and consolidation of cooperative networks in this Central European region went hand in hand with ethnically based cooperative self-organization controlled from above by the agrarian elites. Cooperative centres were established, which performed not only economic and social, but also national policy-related tasks, at the same time gradually monopolizing some producer-supplier areas. Certain interpretations view cooperatives as important tools of small-state economic nationalism, relegating their economic goals to the background.

Focusing on the period between 1898 and 1918, this study deals with the process and stages of development in the Hungarian cooperative system in Upper Hungary, whose solid foundations were laid from the late nineteenth century onwards. Relying on archival sources, it discusses the strategies of the two most significant cooperative centres, the *Országos Központi Hitelszövetkezet* (National Central Credit Cooperative) and *Hangya* ('Ant'). In the early twentieth century, these Hungarian attempts at integration coincided with the increasingly pronounced decentralization ideas of the Slovak cooperative elite.

Keywords: society in the Kingdom of Hungary, nation-building, ethnic nationalism, cooperative policy, cooperative centres, self-help, middle classes

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In memoriam András Vári

> "In the history of social movements, this extraordinary success finds explanation in the fact that the cooperative religion rests on modern economic foundations because it promises goods and advantages not only in the afterlife but here on earth, too. The magic of its religious-moral content, adopted from Christ-like morality, conquers souls; but its effect is permanent only for the reason that the soul of today's man remains strong and loyal to his ideals only because these satisfy his material needs. The secret of the success of the cooperative movement lies in the fact that it is able to provide, in appropriate and cautious forms and with careful preservation of its ideological purity, not only spiritual joy, but also significant material benefits to certain social strata. This explains its enormous success with the credit, consumers', and agricultural cooperatives of all the countries in the world, which were able to multiply even the self-sustaining power of nations, the way the Polish, Danish, Irish, and Saxon peasant cooperatives did."[1]

The above characterization may seem like an idealized interpretation, according to which only cooperatives can remove the suckers of the capitalist system. In public thinking and in the literature on cooperatives, the concept of cooperatives has thus been associated with various overemphasized, sometimes not truly economic, often even ideological or pathetic, adjectives. Many consider cooperatives the most democratic forms of social cohesion. They are also made to seem as the only arms-bearers of social justice and solidarity. It remains a fact that, with the expansion of the agricultural market, which may be viewed as a kind of reaction to nineteenth-century capitalist developments, they played an important role in the modernization of economic life.

Researchers on nationalism and those who interpret cooperatives as being at the interface of ethnic conflicts and economic nationalisms approach this from a different perspective. In their opinion, the mediating role of cooperatives seemed irreplaceable to the political elite that shaped national communities, since they represented communication channels to the peasantry, including mainly farmers, through which they could perform socio-organizing and socio-political tasks on the one hand, and mobilize and politically activate their members in the interest of national goals on the other hand.[2]

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1 Méhely, *Az ipari szövetkezetek szerepe*, 3.

2 Lorenz, *Introduction. Cooperatives in Ethnic Conflicts*, 9–44; Schultz and Kubů, eds, *History and Culture of Economic Nationalism*; Lorenz, *Das Genossenschaftswesen Mittel- und Osteuropas*, 99–117.

Due to their importance for people's livelihood and their prestige-creating weight, cooperatives had the function of creating a middle class. They played a positive role in embourgeoisement. They activated their members with the help of common ideals (cooperative ideology, humanitarian goals, self-help), operated autonomous and democratic hierarchies, and undertook organizational innovations in the economy (industrial and agricultural enterprises). An important aspect of cooperatives is that they are owned by their members (i.e., those who use the services of the cooperative or buy its products) rather than external investors. Their organizational and business decisions are based on the 'one member equals one vote' principle, regardless of the investments the individual members made into the cooperative. The participants made joint decisions about the resources and their distribution and ensured not only their daily livelihood (making a profit) but also supported projects that provided social protection, education, and culture (training, education, upliftment). At the local level, they were promoters and catalysts of communal cohesion and solidarity.[3]

By the early twentieth century, cooperatives had become economic institutions balancing self-help, capital, and profit.

The Slovak perspective

Slovak historiography treats cooperatives as important tools and objects in the struggle for the advocacy of national policy and national emancipation. Slovak historians judge their economic activity almost exclusively according to the role they played in shaping the ethnic community. They place special emphasis on stressing ethnic grievances and separation.

They accentuate an 'anti-minority policy' in the cooperative policies of the state (especially Hungary). A common feature of these interpretations is that they put cooperatives into a winner-loser dichotomy. However, when presenting the later twentieth-century cooperative networks of Czechia and Slovakia, as well as of Subcarpathia, the Austrian imperial period before the change of empire and the antecedents in Hungary cannot be ignored. It is beyond dispute that the economic integration of the Monarchy—which was not unidirectional, was territorially different, asynchronous, not free of inconsistencies, but can be characterized as an obvious trend—had a beneficial effect on the genesis of the cooperative structures in various parts of the country and, in general, even on the enhancement of cooperative awareness.[4]

3 https://www.ica.coop/en/cooperatives/cooperative-identity (Accessed: 23 October 2023); Ortmann nad King, *Agricultural Cooperatives*, 42.

4 Brusatti, *Die Habsburgermonarchie*, 29–53; Ránki, *Gazdasági integráció*, 100–13.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the political elites of the minorities in Hungary, including the Slovaks, also realized that, in organizing ethnic societies, it is first the building of association networks, then cooperative ones, and the representation and influence gained in the state economic sector, that can efficiently support both ethno-political and community-organizing cultural goals. On the other hand, the cooperative sub-system of the Upper Hungarian Region—hypothetically, forms of union that already move away from associations—came into being later. At the initiative of state bodies and organizations for protecting economic interests, rural cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives (milk and producers' cooperatives), and cooperatives specializing in one particular economic area (e.g., dairy, machinery, or warehouse cooperatives), were established on a systematic basis.[5]

The cooperative movement in the Upper Hungarian and Slovak ethnic regions[6] drew from two forms of organization and partnership. The developing cooperative network relied partly on societies and economic associations active in agriculture, and partly on the farmers they organized.

In the 1850s, and mainly in the 1870s, farmers' circles, economic and aid associations, loan banks, and consumers' associations were formed one after the other on the initiative and with the effective help of the local Slovak intelligentsia (priests and teachers). They were widespread not only in the northern areas inhabited by Slovaks, but also among the Slovaks in Budapest, in the Great Hungarian Plain, in Vojvodina, and in Transylvania.[7] At the same time, we also see their ties to the national trends and to the internal association patterns of the Slovak region.[8]

The membership of the economic associations of Upper Hungary and their publications reflected the ethnic and linguistic situation in the region. Associations operating in the Slovak ethnic area also represented the interests of Slovak livestock breeders and crop producers. However, the regional development goals formulated

5 Cp. Gaučík, *A jog erejével*, 29–34.

6 I adopted the notion and territorial demarcation of the Upper Hungarian Slovak (or ethnic Slovak) region from László Szarka. Szarka meant the sixteen counties of Upper Hungary where roughly eighty percent of the Slovaks lived in the latter half of the nineteenth century: Trencsén, Árva, Turóc, Zólyom, Liptó, Szepes, Sáros—these were of a Slovak majority, and Pozsony, Nyitra, Bars, Hont, Nógrád, Gömör, Abaúj-Torna, Zemplén, and Ung with a Slovak majority in their parts lying above the language border. Hungarians and Germans were found in ethnic enclaves and cities. Szarka, *Szlovák nemzeti fejlődés*, 48, 271, note 1.

7 See, e.g., *Stanovy Nad'lackej vzájomnej pomocnice*.

8 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 27–29; Holec, *Ako Martin Rozumný zbohatol*, 78; Ábrahám, *Megmaradni vagy beolvadni*, 40. Implementing the idea of a kind of public service, several people took on tasks in the Slovak cooperative movement (Samuel Jurkovič, Daniel Gabriel Lichard, Ján Liub, Samuel Ormis, Andrej Hlinka, Pavol Blaho, Fedor Houdek, Milan Hodža).

specifically by the Slovaks were not always visible in them. Besides an already functioning cultural organization (*Matica slovenská* [Slovak Association]), an attempt in 1865 to establish an independent Slovak economic association (*Slovenský hospodársky ústav* [The Slovak Institute of Economy]), largely promoted by Daniel Gabriel Lichard (1812–1882) and with its headquarters in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, failed due to the negative attitude of the Locotenential Council.[9] There may be the state's realistic assessment of the situation behind this decision, but we do not know whether the case was that of conscious ethnic discrimination. At that time, the *Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület* (National Hungarian Economic Association) already had an impressive track record, which also embraced the regional management of the economy. Whether justified or not, the Slovak initiators may have viewed this refusal as an ethnic offence.[10]

With varying levels of success, by 1918, the Slovak ethnic interests and demands for the use of the Slovak language had also appeared within Hungarian economic associations. The best example is the *Nyitra-völgyi Gazdasági Egyesület* (Economic Association of the Nitra Valley) which, under the leadership of Georg Friesenhof,[11] consciously (or naturally) took into account the needs of its Slovak (and German) members, which constituted its majority. It organized courses of economics in Slovak. For some time, the association used *Obzor* (Horizon), the only business magazine in Slovak, as its official mouthpiece, since there was no demand for a Hungarian-language newsletter. Between 1888 and 1902, the association published its periodical in Slovak (*Zprávy hospodárskeho spolku údolia Nitry* [News of the Economic Association of the Nitra Valley]) and German *(Vereinsblatt des Neutrathaler Landwirthschaftlichen Vereines)*.[12] The *Trencsén Megyei Gazdasági és Erdészeti Egyesület* (Economic and Forestry Association of Trencsén County) also promoted the use of the mother tongue of Slovak farmers.[13]

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9 Jurkovič, *Hospodárske spolky,* 86–87; Ábrahám, *Megmaradni vagy beolvadni*, 42.

10 Cp. Holec, *Ako Martin Rozumný zbohatol*, 41–42.

11 Georg von Friesenhof, Graf von Welsburg (1840–1913), came from a family with Russian-Austrian aristocratic roots that was related to the Pushkins and the Goncharovs. He was the organizer of the rural society of the Upper Nitra Region, a promoter of Slovak economic and cultural aspirations, and one of the founders of the *Matica slovenská* (Slovak Association) organization. He was also the director of the activities of the *Nyitra-völgyi Gazdasági Egyesület* (Economic Association of the Nitra Valley) and the president of the *Nyitra Vármegyei Orvos és Természettudományi Egyesület* (Department of Natural Science of the Medical and Natural Science Association of Nitra County). He also dealt with meteorology and the development of agriculture.

12 Gergelyi, *Dejiny hospodárskych spolkov*, 149–54, 159.

13 Fojtík, *Poľnohospodársky a lesnícky spolok*, 107–29.

In the northern areas, the smaller associations, societies, and farmers' circles of local importance, specialized in their activities, can be considered as Slovak or ethnically mixed (Slovak–German–Hungarian, Slovak–German, Hungarian–German), which is naturally reflected by their administrative language(s), too.[14]

The role of the National Central Credit Cooperative

The idea of the provision of institutional credit to farmers and of the development of a network of credit cooperatives—with these efforts fitting into a general criticism of capitalism and a desire for social reform—was embraced by the agrarians.[15] The 1884 draft of *Gazdakör* (Farmers' Circle) contained concrete proposals for the development of credit cooperatives to meet smallholders' needs for credit.[16]

The first step resulting from the collaboration of Count Sándor Károlyi[17] and the large and mid-sized farmers of Pest County, from the conjunction of the initiatives of cooperatives and farmers' circles and, last but not least, from the provision of external capital resources, was the establishment of the *Pestvármegyei Hitelszövetkezet* (Credit Cooperative of Pest County) on 19 December 1886, with the county's significant financial support. This organization also acted as the county centre for credit cooperatives. Initially, the Károlyi Group represented the concept of county-level and county-run cooperative centres, but this was quickly rectified after the fall of the Tisza Government. It was necessary to extend the Pest centre to the national level, which went hand in hand with institutionalization. A periodical titled *Szövetkezés* (Cooperation) was launched in 1890. In 1894, the *Pestvármegyei Hitelszövetkezet* (Credit Cooperative of Pest County) adopted the name *Hazai Szövetkezetek Központi Hitelintézete* (Central Credit Institute of Domestic Cooperatives) and established close credit relations with the *Pesti Hazai Első Takarékpénztár* (First Domestic Savings Bank of Pest). It expanded the scope

14 For example, *Hangya's* branch office in Zsolna promoted Slovak farmers' circles in the counties of Árva, Liptó, Trencsén, Turóc, and Gömör. *Vlasť a svet*, 11 January 1914, 18. Cp. also Gaučík, *Történelem és mítoszteremtés*, 42–60.

15 In this place, I will not discuss the stages of development, ideology, goals, and achievements of the Hungarian agrarian movement in more detail. These were addressed in detail by András Vári. Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*.

16 Csepregi Horváth, *A magyar szövetkezeti intézmény története*, Vol. 1, 42–43.

17 Count Sándor Károlyi (1831–1906) was a large-scale landowner in Fót, an agricultural politician, father of the Hungarian cooperative movement, and a builder of an organizational network for the protection of farmers' interests. He also founded and supported many charitable institutions.

of its business and also dealt with the collection of savings deposits and insurance.[18] A new institutional image, with the introduction of state control and with the effective support[19] of Agriculture Minister Ignác Darányi (1849–1927), was created in 1898 when the *Országos Központi Hitelszövetkezet* (*OKH*; National Central Credit Cooperative) was started.[20]

OKH extended the scope of its activities to the entire country and participated in the establishment of numerous rural cooperatives. Ninety percent of its members were agricultural credit cooperatives, which provided loans for the purchase of machinery and the improvement of livestock.[21] The development of industrial credit cooperatives, practically according to the 'template' of agricultural and credit cooperatives, was also carried out under its aegis. The primary concern was the share of industrial government subsidies, while the cooperative elite ignored the specific problems of small producers and the nature of the professions in industry. In a smaller number, mixed industrial-agricultural credit cooperatives were also established.[22]

Aiming at long-term economic and financial developments, what *OKH* had in mind was harmonizing material strength and morals: "A credit cooperative is usually able to fulfil most of the cooperative tasks and, within the framework of a credit cooperative, far-reaching tasks can be accomplished in addition to the maintenance of financial credit with purposeful organization through the training of professional groups or occasional interest partnerships."[23]

Members of *OKH* had uniform statutes and also defined the limit of limited liability.[24] Member cooperatives received various tax and interest exemptions and other discounts. Their operations, finances, and management were supervised by auditors. The audit consisted of several sub-elements. Through the inspections, they wanted to achieve the transparency of money management, the correct handling and safekeeping of money (bills of exchange and bonds), and proper accounting. They were required to take an annual inventory of their assets. If a member

18 Schandl, ed., *A magyar szövetkezés negyven éve*, 14–16, 19–21; Vári, *A magyarországi hitelszövetkezeti mozgalom,* 639–41.

19 Fehér, *Darányi Ignác*, 14.

20 *Magyar hitelszövetkezeti törvények és törvényerejű rendeletek*. The adoption of the law was preceded by almost a decade of liberal-agricultural political struggles. The legal regulation was necessary partly because fake cooperatives, established by savings banks and 'Christian entrepreneurs' under 'the guise of anti-Semitism', had to be restricted based on the protection of the cooperative idea and economic considerations. Bernát, *Az új Magyarország agrárpolitikája*, 263–67.

21 Seidl, *Visszapillantás*, 13–14.

22 Seidl, *Visszapillantás*, 14; Méhely, *Az ipari szövetkezetek szerepe*, 21–22, 27–28.

23 Seidl, *Visszapillantás*, 6.

24 Cp. *Nagy-megyer és vidéke*.

cooperative did not have a competent accountant, an auditor was deployed to prepare its annual balance sheet. The centre expected its member cooperatives to keep accurate records of their members. Member cooperatives were obliged to notify the companies court of any changes in their activities and organizational lives. The centre expected its members to pay their business shares duly and the management of the member cooperative to comply with the rules of interest payment and capital repayment. The moral example of the cooperatives' officials was important: were they accumulating debt or not, were they repaying in exact amounts, and were they setting a good example for members? The auditors closely monitored the observance of the statutes, the holding of general assemblies, and the functioning of elected bodies (management, board of directors, and supervisory board) and departments.

OKH saw its priority in providing credit to smallholders, especially in the form of bills of exchange and medium-term lending; in addition, it was issuing bonds. It gained a monopoly position in the rural credit market and its member cooperatives could only take out loans from it. *OKH* advocated cautious lending, which remained within the framework stipulated in its statutes and did not endanger the operations of the credit cooperative in the short or long term. With all these measures, it wanted to filter out fake cooperatives that violated cooperative principles. It was never mandatory to join *OKH,* and several cooperatives outside its competence retained their autonomy but were not eligible for state subsidies.[25]

From 1898, *OKH* participated in Ignác Darányi's upland (Ruthenian) project aimed at uplifting the economically backward and poor population of the Northeast Carpathians. By the end of 1913, 206 credit cooperatives with 51,000 members were operating in the upland branch in the counties of Bereg, Ung, Máramaros, and Ugocsa.[26]

From 1902, *OKH* was also involved in the Transylvanian economic development program initiated by the government and economic interest protection organizations. This manifested itself in the establishment of credit cooperatives and the provision of long-term agricultural loan packages.[27]

In the light of the available sources, it should be emphasized that *OKH* adapted to the ethnic and linguistic situation in the region. The use of Slovak and German as the only administrative languages, or in parallel with Hungarian, was a living reality (the measures of public administration bodies restricting the use of Slovak require further research). *OKH* issued at least some of its publications related to the establishment, operations, and promotion of credit cooperatives also in Slovak.[28]

25 Seidl, *Visszapillantás*, 20–21.

26 Braun, *Hitelszövetkezetek*, 12–31.

27 Balaton, *A székelyföldi (erdélyrészi) kirendeltség*, 84, 86.

28 Bajcsy, *Návod k založeniu*; Szántó, *Družstvá v službe zdravotníctva dediny.*

Within its capabilities, it also supported financial and accounting consultancy in Slovak. Moreover, there were attempts to establish a cooperative press, along with the dissemination of the idea of Hungarian supremacy (e.g., the supplement on cooperatives in 1909–1910 of the pro-government *Slovenské noviny* [Slovak News] newspaper edited by Adolf Pechány [1859–1942]).

It was not by chance that the Upper Hungarian branch of *OKH* operated from Nyitra (Nitra), as[29] *OKH* could collaborate closely with the *Nyitra Megyei Gazdasági Egyesület* (Economic Association Nitra County) led by József Emődy (1857–1920), which announced the establishment of a countywide cooperative network in April–May 1898. The association held educational lectures in the villages of the county. It formulated its main goal as "every village group that belongs to a parish or territorial registry should have its own cooperative"[30] and "the cooperative law should find a ready cooperative network in the county."[31] For this, they managed to secure the support of notaries, priests, and landed gentry in the county.[32]

The economic association established a central county credit cooperative, which did not provide private loans, but met the credit needs of the cooperatives in the county. According to plan, this organization was to function as the county's control centre of credit cooperatives and could support the consumer cooperatives founded by the *Nyitra Megyei Gazdasági Egyesület* (Economic Association of Nitra County) in financial terms as well.[33] This central county credit cooperative then joined *OKH*.[34]

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29 The tasks of the Nyitra branch included conducting inspections of the *OKH* cooperatives of the Upper Hungarian counties, as well as monitoring their administration and financial situation. MNL OL, Z 149, Folder 11, 8954.

30 "A szövetkezeti ügy fejlődése Nyitramegyében" [The Development of the Cooperative Project in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 11 May 1898, 716.

31 "Uj szövetkezetek Nyitramegyében" [New Cooperatives in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 20 April 1898, 603.

32 "A nyitramegyei birtokosok a szövetkezetekért" [Landowners of Nitra County for the Cooperatives]. *Köztelek*, 18 May 1898, 756. The grants were financed as follows: Baron Albert Wodiáner Jr. 200 gulden, Baron Sándor Stummer 100 gulden, Baron Ágost Stummer 100 gulden, Count Lajos Károly 300 gulden. Count Imre Hunyady donated a hundred forints annually for four years, Dezső Ocskay Sr. and József Emődy a hundred forints annually each for three years. In early May 1895, credit cooperatives were established in three villages, in Szilád (Siladice), Kisbáb (Malý Báb), and Nagycétény (Veľký Cetín), with 261 members and 415 business shares in total. See: "A szövetkezeti ügy fejlődése Nyitramegyében" [The Development of the Cooperative Project in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 11 May 1898, 716.

33 "Vármegyei központi hitelszövetkezet Nyitrán" [The Central County Credit Cooperative in Nitra]. *Köztelek*, 27 August 1898, 1256; "Szövetkezeti mozgalom Nyitramegyében" [The Cooperative Movement in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 29 October 1898, 1573.

34 *A Nyitramegyei Központi Hitelszövetkezet*.

As of 26 June 1898, the economic association could boast of impressive results at the cooperative public assembly held in Vágtornóc (Trnovec nad Váhom): 8,000 members united in more than fifty credit cooperatives, paying in 170,000 forints as shares, with the revenues amounting to forty thousand forints.[35] It was thanks to this economic association that the county's credit cooperative network was developed and became a dominant force in the region in a few years.[36]

In fact, as András Vári showed, Upper Hungarians had not figured on the national credit cooperative map before 1895.[37] Thanks to the founding and organizing activities of *OKH*, by the early twentieth century, the credit cooperative movement in the Upper Hungarian Region had borne fruit. In 1894, there were only fifty-three credit cooperatives, whereas their number rose to 292 by 1909. In 1909, the centre of gravity of credit cooperatives was in three counties, Nyitra, Pozsony (Bratislava), and Zemplén (Zemplín). 56 percent of the region's credit cooperatives were based in them. In the Slovak ethnic region, only Trencsén (Trenčín) County showed outstanding results. Árva (Orava), Liptó (Liptov), Sáros (Šariš), Szepes (Spiš), and Turóc (Turiec) produced modest data, with only three to four credit cooperatives established on average. On the one hand, this showed *OKH*'s phase delay in organization and, on the other hand, the unfavourable terms of organizing credit in the northern subregions and their peripheral economic weight in the country.

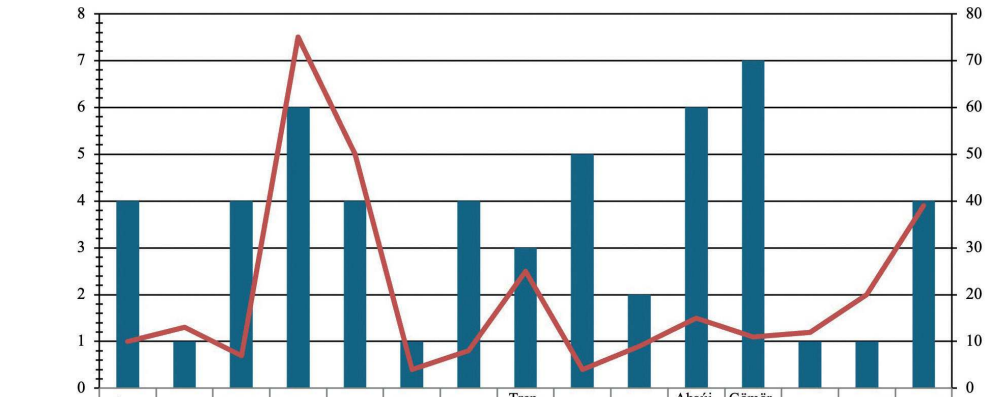
However, the countywide distribution of credit cooperatives in the Upper Hungarian Region between 1894 and 1909 reveals noteworthy data (Figure 1). In six out of sixteen counties in the region, an exceptionally large number of cooperatives, a total of 263, had been established by 1909: seventy-five in Nyitra, fifty in Pozsony, thirty-nine in Zemplén, twenty-five in Trencsén, and twenty in Nógrád (Novohrad)—wherein Nyitra County alone represented 29 percent of this figure. Compared to 1894, the pace of founding cooperatives was even faster in 1909, when

35 "A szövetkezeti eszme térfoglalása" [The Cooperative Idea Gaining a Foothold]. *Köztelek*, 29 June 1898, 968. That was when the *Tornóc-Vágvecsei Fogyasztási Szövetkezet* (Consumers' Cooperative of Tornóc [Trnovec nad Váhom] – Vágvecse [Veča]) was established, too. Its president was Gyula Mezey, one of the leading figures in the organizing movement of Upper Hungarian farmers.

36 In 1898, they numbered fifty. "Ötven szövetkezet Nyitramegyében" [Fifty Cooperatives in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 3 October 1898, 1463. It was with the help of this economic association that the credit cooperatives in Stepano (Štefanov) and Mocsonok (Močenok) were established, on 8 September and 11 September 1898, respectively. "Uj szövetkezet Nyitramegyében" [A New Cooperative in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 14 September 1898, 1338. For the establishment of the credit cooperatives in Sasvár (Šaštín) and Pöstyén (Piešťany), see: "Szövetkezeti mozgalom Nyitramegyében" [The Cooperative Movement in Nitra County]. *Köztelek*, 29 October 1898, 1573.

37 Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*, 386.

twenty times more credit cooperatives were established in Nógrád County, thirteen times more in Bars (Tekov) County, twelve and a half times more in Nyitra and Pozsony counties, twelve times more in Hont County, nine times more in Zemplén County, and 8.3 times more in Trencsén County.[38]



	Árva	Bars	Liptó	Nyitra	Pozsony	Sáros	Szepes	Trencsén	Turóc	Zólyom	Abaúj-Torna	Gömör-Kishont	Hont	Nógrád	Zemplén
1894	4	1	4	6	4	1	4	3	5	2	6	7	1	1	4
1909	10	13	7	75	50	4	8	25	4	9	15	11	12	20	39

Figure 1 Number of credit cooperatives in the Upper Hungarian Region (1894–1909)[39]

By 1909, the total number of their members had exceeded 100,000, which represented 10 percent of the members organized in credit cooperatives in Hungary (Figure 2). In 1909, the highest number of cooperative members were found in two counties: 21,000 in Nyitra and 14,000 in Pozsony. The most remarkable rise in membership (eighteen to forty members) could be seen in the counties of Bars, Hont, and Trencsén. In the Slovak counties of Árva, Liptó, Turóc, and Sáros, the increase in the number of members was more modest.[40]

A high proportion of the members of the credit cooperatives in Upper Hungary worked in agriculture (Figure 3). Nógrád County stands out with 82.9 percent, but the data of the other counties also underline the strong rural character of the northern Upper Hungarian Region.

38 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 56.

39 Z 143, Folder 1, Statistics. Out of these sixteen counties, the entire territory of ten, and half the territory of roughly six—Abaúj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont, Hont, Komárom, Nógrád, Zemplén—fell on the territory of present-day Slovakia. In these calculations, I took into account the entire territory of the county, and this slightly increases the data.

40 In addition, we do not yet know how many of these were Károlyi-an credit cooperatives.

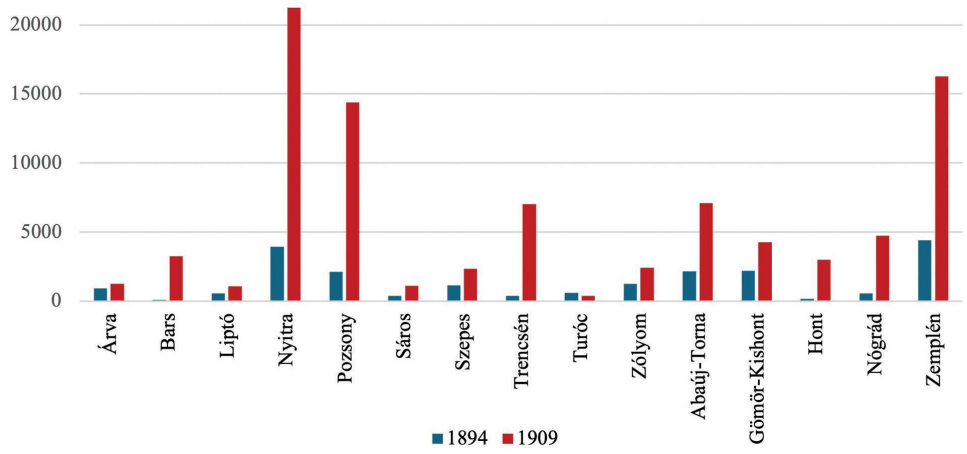


Figure 2 Membership of Upper Hungarian credit cooperatives (1894–1909)[41]

We cannot idealize cooperatives though. In many cases, unanimous initiatives and alliances were missing, which contemporaries were aware of. Local indifference, passivity on the part of the intelligentsia (priests and teachers), and mistrust and ill will on the part of the farmers hindered the implementation of the cooperative idea. Village familiarism and customary rights posed another challenge to newly established cooperatives. The long-term prospects of cooperatives based on one or two people were doubtful. Private interests and unprofessionalism could also endanger the operations of a cooperative. It was partly because of these that the value of the role of central control increased.[42]

41 Z 143, Folder 1, Statistics. Out of these sixteen counties, the entire territory of ten, and half the territory of roughly six—Abaúj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont, Hont, Komárom, Nógrád, Zemplén—fell on the territory of present-day Slovakia. In these calculations, I took into account the entire territory of the county, which slightly increases the data.

42 Seidl, *Visszapillantás*, 10. For example, when the *Vágkirályfa és Vidéke Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezet* (Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of Vágkirályfa [Kráľová nad Váhom] and Its Vicinity) was established in 1901–1902, it was difficult for the parish priest and the primary school teachers of Vágkirályfa (Kráľová nad Váhom) to tackle the negative experience with the fake cooperatives in Sókszelőce (Selice), Vágfarkasd (Vlčany), and Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) and the resulting reservations, and the cooperative could start operating only thanks to the campaigning of Pál Meskó. The parish priest Ferenc Janics described the initial difficulties as follows: "The most painful and most bitter feeling was when we had to see, for years, the great indifference of our own partners who, instead of hard work, just sat back and waited for things to fall into their lap. In fact, we were often harshly accused of self-interest and profiteering, although not face to face, but clandestinely, in a way that we did not even have to defend ourselves openly, but our patience never ran out, and we can say with an open face and with calm self-confidence that time has always proved us." Janics, *Emlékkönyv*, 31.

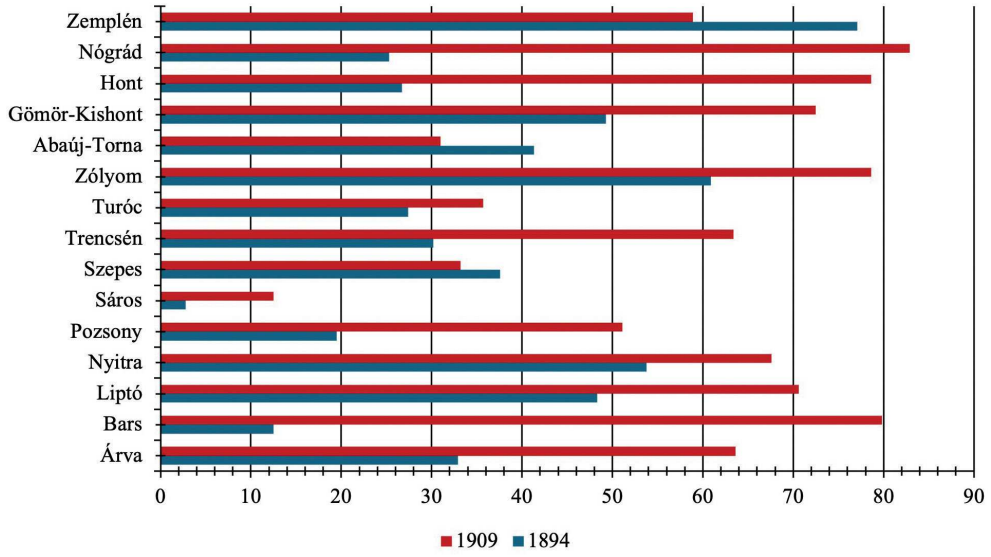


Figure 3 Percentages of the members of credit cooperatives in agriculture in the Upper Hungarian Region[43]

A detour: urban credit cooperatives

Urban credit cooperatives in Upper Hungary, meant to meet the credit needs of certain occupational groups (small producers, artisans, officials, military officers and their family members), have not been researched yet. At this point, we can only rely on some fragmentary data from Pozsony and Kassa (Košice). In any case, they were fairly structured, financially sound organizations that had been in existence since the 1870s and mostly remained outside *OKH*.

Credit cooperatives played an important role in the credit organization system of Pozsony.[44] They met the loan needs of the lower social strata, primarily of small producers, artisans, retailers, and officials—clerks of ministries and provincial bodies, postal and telegraph officers, officers of the imperial and royal navy, the army, the gendarmerie, and the railways. It was mainly the officials' organizations that undertook philanthropic-social services based on the principle of self-help

43 Z 143, Folder 1, Statistics. Out of these sixteen counties, the entire territory of ten, and half the territory of roughly six—Abaúj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont, Hont, Komárom, Nógrád, Zemplén—fell on the territory of present-day Slovakia. In these calculations, I took into account the entire territory of the county, and this slightly increases the data.

44 Their structure and scope of activities, and the question whether they as aid provision groups, can be regarded as real credit cooperatives at all, requires further research. Cp. Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*, 385.

(e.g., costs of schooling children and orphans, support for widows, job placement and employment, construction of homes and hospitals, discounts on travel and medical treatment, girls' education programs, legal protection, and funeral assistance).[45]

One of the most significant cooperatives, one embedded in an imperial framework, whose network was established under the directorship of Karl Friedrich Fellman,[46] was the *Osztrák–Magyar Első Általános Tisztviselő Egylet Pozsonyi Takarék és Előlegezési Társulata* (*Spar- und Vorschuss-Consortiums des Ersten allgem. Beamten-Vereines der Österreich–ungarischen Monarchie*; Savings and Loan Society of Pozsony of the First General Austro–Hungarian Officials' Association).[47] The case of this Pozsony branch exemplifies that, compared to the foundations beyond the Leitha river and in Galicia, where officials' associations began to multiply mainly from the 1870s onwards following the Viennese initiative of the 1860s (Lemberg – 1868; Vienna – 1871, Graz – 1872; Prague – 1886), there was no delay in Hungary; instead, we can see certain parallels. This is because this form of cooperation had been known and widespread in Hungary; from 1869 onwards, officials' associations were established on a regional and even ethnic basis.[48]

Thanks to the efforts of Ernst Bayer, an official in the financial directorate, the 'member group' of Pozsony had already been established on 8 December 1864, while the ones in Upper Hungary were established or reorganized later—Kassa in 1869–1882, Trencsén in 1885, and Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) in 1869–1886. However, the activities of the Pozsony cooperative, dating from December 1865, remained within a modest framework and stagnated until 1877. The associational reform of 1879, which re-regulated relations between the Vienna centre and member associations, brought a revival in the operations of the Pozsony association.[49]

The officials' association of Pozsony was founded by twenty-two members. By 1889, their number increased to 497. The paid-in deposits increased from 520 to 31,575 forints. Although the amounts of the deposits and of the loans granted up to

45 Schwingenschlögl, *Az Osztrák–Magyar Első Általános Tisztviselő-egylet*, 4–9.

46 Karl Friedrich Felmann (1808–1886), Knight of Norwill, was an official, Deputy Secretary-General of the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway (Kaiser Ferdinands-Nordbahn). He held the position of president of the Association of Officials of the Monarchy between 1868 and 1886.

47 *Az osztrák–magyar*, 18.

48 These were as follows: *Első Magyar Általános Tisztviselő Egylet* (First General Hungarian Officials' Association; Budapest, 1869), *Magyar Tisztviselők Országos Egyesülete* (National Association of Hungarian Officials; Budapest, 1874), *Dél-Magyarországi Tisztviselők Önsegélyező Egyesülete* (Self-Help Association of Southern Hungarian Officials; Temesvár, 1883), *Első Horvát Tisztviselő Egylet – Prvá hrvatska činovnička zadruga* (First Croatian Officials' Association; Zágráb, 1883). See: Schwingenschlögl, *Az Osztrák–Magyar Első Általános Tisztviselő-egylet*, 9–11.

49 Its president was Gusztáv Degen, who also held positions in the financial life of the city. He was succeeded as president by the secretary of the cooperative, Vilmos Beck, in 1885.

1889 by far exceeded those of its sister cooperatives in Besztercebánya, Kassa, and Trencsén, they lagged behind the cooperatives of Budapest and Transylvania.[50]

The other example is that of the *Első Pozsonyi Önsegélyző Egylet* (*Erster Pressburger Selbsthilfsverein*; First Self-Help Association of Pozsony).[51] The main driving forces behind its 1873 establishment were the transformation of small-scale production, 'unlimited' industrial freedom, and the loss of position against the emerging manufacturing industry. Nevertheless, at the initiative of János Vavrecskay, a pharmacist in Pozsony, it was still founded mostly by retailers and physicians. After overcoming administrative difficulties and the uninform rules for running a cooperative, partly because of lasting disagreement among the management, it did not manage to embark on the path of financial growth:

> "This stagnation was caused by personal animosities between the leaders of the association; certain worthy members of the management of the association, who demonstrated greater rigour in the performance of their duties, would thereby displease certain elements and were therefore defeated in the elections with the help of an official, which caused some apathy among the members of the board and this, in turn, hindered the association's operations outwardly and did not help its reputation."[52]

After the election of a new management, under the presidency of János Korče,[53] the cooperative was reorganized, and the foundations of its new business philosophy were established in 1890 (as the cooperative was unable to meet larger credit demands).[54]

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50 Schwingenschlögl, *Az Osztrák–Magyar Első Általános Tisztviselő-egylet*, 450–453.

51 *Az első,* 1879.

52 *Az első,* 1898, 10.

53 János Korče was the president of the Industrial Body of Pozsony, deputy president of the *Pozsonyi Római Katolikus Autonóm Egyházközség* (Roman Catholic Autonomous Parish of Pozsony, and a municipal representative). He was a general partner of the *Pozsonyi Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara* (Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pozsony) and the president of the *Római Katolikus Jótékonysági Egylet* (Roman Catholic Charity Society). In 1903, he participated in the negotiations with the Hungarian government which resulted in the establishment of the *Pozsonyi Magyar Kir. Állami Fémipari Szakiskola* (Hungarian Royal State Metal Industry Vocational School in Pozsony [Bratislava]).

54 *Az első,* 1898, 5–6, 10, 11, 18; *Emlékirat*, 6–13. The *Pozsonyi Korona Takarék- és Hitelszövetkezet* (*Pozsonyer Kronen Spar- und Kreditgenossenschaft*; Crown Savings and Credit Cooperative of Pozsony) was established in 1900 and the *Kereskedők és Iparosok Hitelintézete* (*Kreditanstalt für Handel und Gewerbe*; Credit Institution of Traders and Industrialists) in 1904. The *Signum Iparosok, Kereskedők és Gazdák Hitelszövetkezete* [Signum Credit Cooperative of Tradesmen, Merchants, and Farmers] was founded in 1906. Perhaps only the *Pozsonyi Iparosok és Munkások Hitelszövetkezete* (Credit Cooperative of Tradesmen and Labourers of Pozsony) and the *Pozsonyi*

Another example is from Kassa. The seemingly ambitious *Felső-Magyarországi Népgazdászati Kölcsönös Hitel- és Takarékegylet* (Upper Hungarian People's Economic Mutual Credit and Savings Association), known only as the 'Penny Bank,' with its headquarters in Kassa, was founded in 1874. For a short time, it established branches in the counties of Heves, Borsod, Zemplén, Szepes, and Sáros. By the end of the century, it possessed serious capital strength, which raised the idea of reorganizing it into a joint-stock company.[55]

The strategies of *Hangya* and the development of consumers' cooperatives

The *Hangya Fogyasztási, Értékesítő és Termelő Szövetkezet* (*Hangya* Consumers', Sellers', and Producers' Cooperative) was founded on 23 January 1898 with the large-scale financial support and share subscription of Count Sándor Károlyi.[56] In terms of its supporters, the cooperative centre was closely tied to the *Magyar Gazdaszövetség* (Association of Hungarian Farmers).[57]

The latter launched an optimistic, wide-scale campaign for the establishment of consumers' cooperatives, formulating the vision of a new quality of social organization:

> "Society needs to be re-created—as the call goes—so that the people's trust and love return to the leading classes and they appreciate again the clod that gives them bread. Thirst for profit and selfishness should be replaced by a sense of solidarity; they should be taught the great power that lies in cooperatives; they should be enlightened that they are one of the main means of rising from today's darkness and misery and of laying the foundations of a better future. Let us start right away by establishing consumers' cooperatives. These can be achieved with the fewest sacrifices, and, in addition, they are highly magnetic for people because their beneficial

Ipari Hitelszövetkezet (Industrial Credit Cooperative of Pozsony) were members of *OKH*. New credit cooperatives came into being on the eve of the World War I *Központi Takarékpénztár* (Central Savings Bank), *Pozsonyi I. Takarék- és Hitelszövetkezet* (First Savings and Credit Cooperative of Pozsony), *Újvárosi Takarékpénztár és Hitelszövetkezet* (Savings Bank and Credit Cooperative of Újváros), *Virágvölgyi Takarékpénztár és Hitelszövetkezet* (Savings Bank and Credit Cooperative of Virágvölgy [Blumental]). State Archives in Bratislava, Regional Court in Bratislava, Companies Register, Box 230, B-XXXVIII-624, Zp 79/74.

55 *Szövetkezetpolitikai Szemle*, 15 June 1897, 2.

56 *A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete*, 21.

57 *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 24–27; Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*, 514.

> effect is immediately apparent. […] The prevalence of credit cooperatives indicates that the people understood the important mission they fulfil, although the scope of interests of these cooperatives is relatively limited because, after all, not everyone needs credit. On the contrary, every person is a consumer, and it is in the interest of the well-off, as much as it is in that of the poor, to get goods cheaply and of good quality. Therefore, we do not have to worry about making a mistake with consumers' cooperatives."[58]

Hangya intended to provide cheap and high-quality goods and eliminate usury. Its organization was structured hierarchically to organize sales and excess production. It achieved financial consolidation by increasing its share capital in 1907.[59] It also cooperated closely with the *Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület* (National Hungarian Economic Association) and the *Magyar Mezőgazdák Szövetkezete* (Cooperative of Hungarian Farmers).[60]

The weight and prestige of *Hangya* was growing from the early 1900s onwards. The buildings and shops of its member cooperatives shaped the typical image of the Hungarian countryside. Cooperatives, which were independent legal entities, had their independent boards of directors and supervisory boards.[61] They helped supply the village, their members gained an advantage through their purchasing and selling activities, and they could establish production units specializing in one particular sector. Their goals included the supply of goods of adequate quality and the provision of protection against the excesses of private trade. Profits were distributed among members in proportion to their purchases in the form of purchase refunds and were used for public benefit goals. They specialized in meeting the smaller, fragmented consumption needs of rural villages. This type of cooperative provided basic necessities, operated with lower overhead costs, and countered the retail monopoly.[62]

The cooperative centre provided benefits (preferential credit and consultancy), financial advantages, and full support to its member cooperatives. Although they belonged to the *Hangya* organization, it was not obligatory for village consumers' cooperatives to buy all the goods from the centre. Cooperatives accounted for about

58 "Fogyasztási szövetkezetek alakítása" [Establishing Consumers' Cooperatives]. *Köztelek*, 11 May 1898, 715.

59 *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 27; Ieda, *Központi és községi szövetkezetek*, 212.

60 "Az igazgató-választmány ülése" [Meeting of the Board of Directors]. *Köztelek*, 3 November 1898, 1592.

61 Bernát, *Az új Magyarország agrárpolitikája*, 269.

62 Csepregi Horváth, *A magyar szövetkezeti intézmény története*, Vol. 2, 6, 9–14, 18–20.

40–60 percent of the centre's turnover. Another important connection consisted in turnover credit and promissory note credit.[63]

Hangya tried to render its relations with member cooperatives more efficient by establishing offices with regional competence and a warehouse network.[64] On the one hand, these organizations helped modernize cooperative work (transparent accounting and asset management and credit granting methods); on the other hand, they were the means for promoting the cooperative idea, especially *Hangya*.[65]

The *Hangya* management established control districts and organized regional branches and offices.[66] To manage Transylvanian cooperatives, in April 1906, it opened a branch in Nagyenyed (Aiud).[67] To supervise its network of consumers' cooperatives in Upper Hungary, *Hangya* established its second branch office, together with a warehouse, in 1907 in Nagyszombat (Trnava), which had a favourable traffic location with predominantly the consumers' cooperatives of the Vág (Váh) Valley belonging to it.[68] The Nagyszombat (Trnava) branch office, which existed until 1922 and played a major role in the development of cooperatives Slovak as their administrative language, began its operations in May 1908.[69] Its scope extended to seven counties—Árva, Bars,

63 Ieda, *Központi és községi*, 210–11. The claim in Slovak cooperative literature that the centre expected complete loyalty from village cooperatives, namely that they should only buy from *Hangya's* sources, is questionable. It would happen that some cooperatives, such as the one in Brogyán (Brodzany), was purchasing from Jewish wholesalers because they were selling goods cheaper than the centre. Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 51.

64 In Tornalja (Tornaľa), a warehouse was established in 1915. A year later, it bought a plot in Pozsony (Bratislava) to open a branch office there. MNL OL, Z 1385, Bundle 67, Item 724, Pozsony: Raktárépület vázrajza [Pozsony (Bratislava): Schematic Drawing of the Warehouse] (1916); *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 30.

65 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelő-bizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1899. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1899 Annual Accounts]. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság, Budapest, 1900.

66 In 1901, *Hangya* took over from *OKH* the warehouses of the credit cooperatives in the counties of Bereg, Ung, Máramaros, and Ugocsa. *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 26.

67 *A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete*, 83.

68 *A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete*, 84.

69 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelőbizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1908. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1908 Annual Accounts]. Stephaneum Nyomda R. T., Budapest, 1909.

Komárom, Liptó, Nyitra, Pozsony, and Trencsén—and, by 1918, it had been handling the affairs of 154 consumers' cooperatives.[70]

The Balassagyarmat branch operated from July 1909.[71] Twenty-seven cooperatives in two counties, Hont and Nógrád, belonged to it.[72] The foundation in Sátoraljaújhely took place later, in 1912.[73] The latter branch oversaw 139 cooperatives in nine counties: Bereg, Liptó, Máramaros, Sáros, Szabolcs, Szepes, Ugocsa, Ung, and Zemplén.[74] The value of the Transylvanian network increased as it expanded in 1917 by the establishment of the Nagyvárad (Oradea) branch.[75]

Most of the consumers' cooperatives in the Upper Hungarian Region, 245 ones in fourteen counties, belonged to the Budapest centre.[76] This structure, which had considerable reserves and prospects of further expansion, existed until 1918 (Figure 4).

The first foundations of consumers' cooperatives in the Upper Hungarian Region can only be dated from the 1890s. In the beginning, there were only some

70 MNL OL, Z 803, Bundle 16, Item 29, Megszállt és nem működő szövetkezetek adatai [Data of Occupied and Defunct Cooperatives].

71 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelőbizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1909. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1909 Annual Accounts]. Rigler R. T., Budapest [1910].

72 MNL OL, Z 803, Megszállt és nem működő szövetkezetek adatai [Bundle 16, Item 29, Data of Occupied and Defunct Cooperatives].

73 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelőbizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az egyezerkilencszáztizenharmadik évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1913 Annual Accounts]. Rigler Ede József Papírneműgyár R. T. könyvnyomdájából, Budapest, 1914; *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 28.

74 MNL OL, Z 803, Bundle 16, Item 29, Megszállt és nem működő szövetkezetek adatai [Data of Occupied and Defunct Cooperatives].

75 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelőbizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1917. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1917 Annual Accounts]. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részv. Társ., Budapest [1918], 11. For more details on the Transylvanian branches of *Hangya*, see: Balázsi, *Ne nézze senki csak a maga hasznát*, 16–17.

76 MNL OL, Z 803, Bundle 16, Item 29, Megszállt és nem működő szövetkezetek adatai [Data of Occupied and Defunct Cooperatives].

sporadic initiatives. Rather than an example to be followed, the *Kisgarami Kincstári Vasgyár Munkásainak Fogyasztási Szövetkezete* (Consumers' Cooperative of the Labourers of the Treasury Ironworks of Kisgaram [Hronec]) of 1888 was an exception, a unique case. The *Nyitrai Tisztviselők Fogyasztási Szövetkezete* [Consumers' Cooperative of the Officials of Nitra] was founded in the summer of 1892.[77] The *Sáros Megyei Gazdasági Egyesület* (Economic Association of Sáros County) established the *Sáros Vármegyei Fogyasztási és Értékesítési Szövetkezet* (Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of Sáros County) in October 1897, i.e., before the foundation in Brogyán (Brodzany),[78] and, in just over a year, it could boast 2,200 members and twenty-nine branch offices in the county.[79] Zoltán Szilassy,[80] the editor-secretary of the *Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület* (National Hungarian Economic Association), praised the activities of the cooperative as follows: "There is no other example of such rapid development in this country, and the only explanation is that it fills the greatest need and is managed in the best possible way. It is so simple to manage the affairs of a cooperative that even a Slovak peasant with minimal intelligence can handle a rural cooperative, and the goods it provides in excellent quality are so affordable that they immediately attract the rural population."[81] This cooperative of Sáros County seems to have gone its own way because only nominally did it belong to *Hangya*.[82]

77 *Szövetkezés*, 15 June 1892, 3.

78 Consumers' cooperatives were being established from 1897 onwards in Árva County in Hruštín and Veličná, and in Gömör County in Klenovec. *Szövetkezetpolitikai Szemle*, 15 April 1897, 9.

79 *Szövetkezetpolitikai Szemle*, 15 October 1897, 5.

80 Zoltán Szilassy (1864–1932) was a farmer, economics writer, and co-editor of the *Köztelek* periodical in 1894–1906 and 1915–1918. He was an editor of several agricultural publications and a politician. He graduated from the Academy of Economics in Mosonmagyaróvár. In 1887, he became the secretary of the *Mosonvármegyei Gazdasági Egyesület* (Economic Association of Moson County). He conducted study tours in Europe and the USA. In 1892, he was elected executive secretary of the *Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület* (National Hungarian Economic Association), where he was working from 1893 onwards as an editor-secretary. In 1905, he joined those who had quit the *Szabadelvű Párt* (Liberal Party), the so-called dissidents, and became their representative. In 1906, he became a representative again, this time as a member of the *Országos Alkotmánypárt* (National Constitution Party). Between 1920 and 1926, he was the director of the *Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület* (National Hungarian Economic Association).

81 [Sz. Z.] Szilassy Zoltán: A sárosi gazdák [The Farmers of Sáros (Šariš)]. *Köztelek*, 5 October 1898, 1440. Szilassy refers to it as the *Eperjesi Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezet* [Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of Eperjes (Prešov)].

82 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete köreihez tartozó fogyasztási szövetkezetek 1903. évi üzleteredményének táblázatos kimutatása [Profit and Loss Statements in Tables of Consumers' Cooperatives under the Aegis of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative for the Year 1903]. Pátria Irodalmi

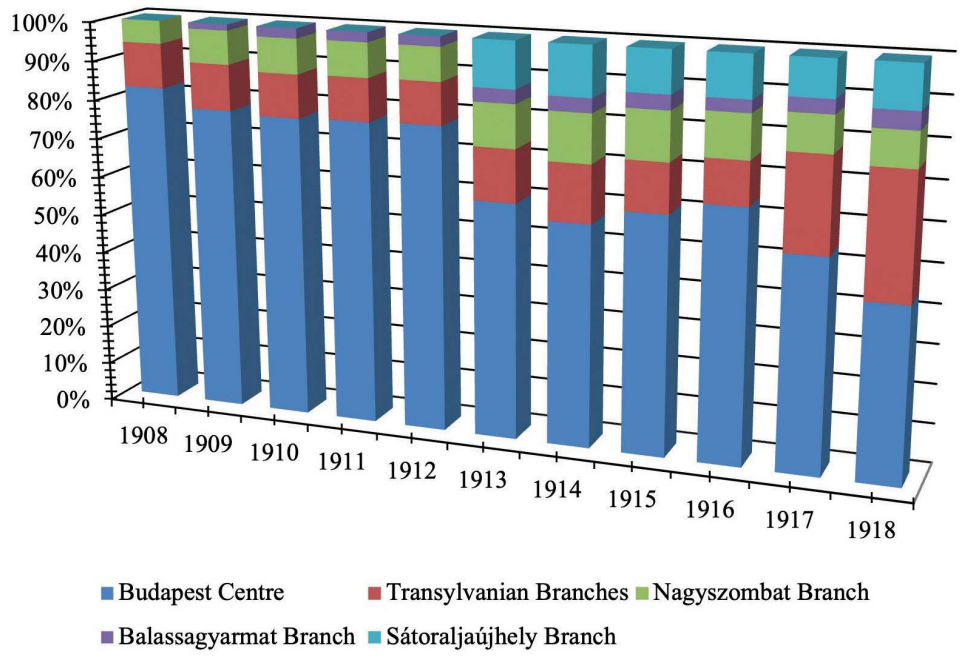

Figure 4 Turnover of *Hangya* branches (1908–1918, in percentages)[83]

The consumers' cooperative in Brogyán, established on 12 April 1898, can be considered as the first *Hangya* foundation (the *Brogyáni Községi Hitelszövetkezet* [Credit Cooperative of the Village of Brogyán]). It had been established earlier, in 1895, so it might have served as an inspiring local example. The cooperative allegedly resulted from the organizing activities of Elemér Balogh,[84] but Balogh's efforts would have been in vain if the landowner of the village, Princess Natalia Oldenburg,[85] had not assured him of her support. The princess's example prompted 183 local Slovak farmers to join the cooperative.[86]

Válallat és Nyomdai R. T. nyomása, Budapest, 1904, 12.

83 Data drawn from the 1908–1918 annual reports of *Hangya*. MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7.

84 Elemér Balogh (1871–1938) was an economist, cooperative specialist, and politician. He worked as a banker in Hungary, Austria, and Germany. Invited by Count Sándor Károlyi, he was involved in the activities of the *Magyar Gazdaszövetség* (Association of Hungarian Farmers) and *Hangya* from 1898 onwards. He was the secretary and then the executive director and president of *Hangya*.

85 Natalia Vogel, Herzogin von Oldenburg (1854–1937), was born into the Friesenhof family. Her mother, Alexandra Nikolaevna Goncharova, was the elder sister of Pushkin's wife. Princess Natalia married Friedrich Elimar von Oldenburg in 1875.

86 *A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete*, 21.

It was at the extraordinary general assembly of *Hangya* on 14 September 1898 in memory of the murdered Queen Elizabeth that Count Sándor Károlyi announced the establishment of new cooperatives, including ones in Upper Hungary—in Árvanádasd (Trstená), Bodrogszerdahely (Streda nad Bodrogom), Brogyán (Brodzany), Gúta (Kolárovo), Lubotény (Ľubotín), Ólubló (Stará Ľubovňa) and Újlubló (Nová Ľubovňa), and Perbenyik (Pribeník).[87]

In Felső-Szemeréd (Horné Semerovce) in Hont County, a consumers' cooperative whose scope of operations extended also to the surrounding villages was founded on 14 September 1898 under the leadership of the landowner Oszkár Ivánka[88] and the parish priest Károly Viszolajszky.[89]

The 'founding father' of cooperatives in the region of Bodrogköz was Count József Majláth.[90] The establishment of credit cooperatives started gaining momentum in the region already in 1894–1895, which was followed by consumers' cooperatives. The first of the latter was the *Perbenyiki Fogyasztási Szövetkezet* (Consumers' Cooperative of Perbenyik), founded in 1898, which was transformed a year later into the *Bodrogközi Gazdák Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezete* (Sellers' and Consumers' Cooperative of the Farmers of Bodrogköz) with a broader regional competence.[91] Promoters of the cooperative idea included Júlia Nádasdy

87 A „Hangya" rendkívüli közgyűlése [The Extraordinary General Assembly of "Hangya"]. *Köztelek*, 17 September 1898, 1354.

88 Oszkár Ivánka (1852–1936) was a landowner in Hont County, a member of parliament, and an imperial and royal chamberlain. He was one of the leading personalities of the agrarian policy. He studied law in Heidelberg and Pozsony (Bratislava). As a member of the *Nemzeti Párt* (National Party), he was a representative of the electoral district of Szalka (Salka) between 1892 and 1897 and of that of Korpona (Krupina) between 1897 and 1901. From 1906 onwards, he was a representative of the electoral district of Ipolyság (Šahy). He was the superintendent of the Lutheran parish of Egyházmarót (Kostolné Moravce). He was a member of the board of directors of *Hangya* when it was established in 1898. A year later, he was elected as its vice-president and was involved in the activities of its executive committee.

89 Károly Viszolajszky (1843–1929) was a parish priest and church writer. He was the parish priest of Alsószemeréd (Dolné Semerovce) from 1874 until his death. "Uj fogyasztási szövetkezetek" [New Consumers' Cooperatives]. *Köztelek*, 28 September 1898, 1409.

90 Count József Majláth (1858–1940) was a large-scale landowner and a prominent figure of agrarian policy. The centre of the Majláths' estate was Perbenyik (Pribeník). From 1886 onwards, he was the president of the *Bodrogközi Tiszaszabályozó Társulat* (Tisza-Regulation Association of Bodrogköz). He was the founder and president of the *Felső-Tiszai Vármegyék Hitelszövetkezeteinek Szövetsége* (Association of the Credit Cooperatives of the Counties of the Upper Tisza Region) in 1897.

91 *Zemplén vármegye és Sátoraljaújhely R. T. város* [Zemplén County and Sátoraljaújhely, A Town with an Orderly Council], 175. "Szövetkezeti ünnep Perbenyiken" [Cooperative Holiday in Perbenyik (Pribeník)]. *Görög Katholikus Hírlap*, 22 October 1904, 4–5.

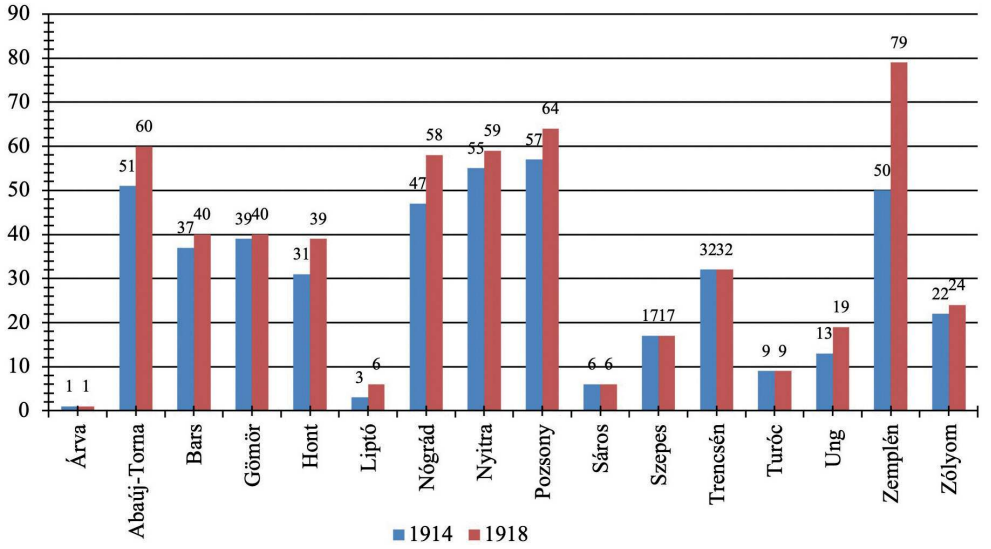

Figure 5 Distribution of *Hangya* cooperatives in Upper Hungarian counties (1914–1918, in percentages)[92]

(1869–1939), the wife of Baron Béla Sennyei, and Mária Széchenyi (1887–1972), the wife of Prince Ludwig Windischgrätz (1887–1972) in the Bodrogköz region, and Pál Szmrecsányi (1846–1908), the Bishop of Szepes, in the Szepesség region.[93]

In Pozsony County, consumers' cooperatives came to be established from 1899 and were first organized in Slovak villages—in Gidrafa (Budmerice), Pozsonynádas (Trstín), and Szomolány (Smolenice). In a year or two, they were followed by the Hungarian villages of the regions of Mátyusföld and Csallóköz—Baka, Csallóközcsütörtök (Štvrtok na Ostrove), Felsőszeli (Horné Saliby), Illésháza (Eliášovce), Magyarbél (Veľký Biel), Nagylég (Veľké Lehnice), and Nyárasd (Topoľníky).[94]

92 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelő-bizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1915. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1915 Annual Accounts]. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részv. Társ., Budapest, [1916], 25; A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelő-bizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1919. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1919 Annual Accounts]. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részv. Társ., Budapest [1920], 35.

93 *A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezet*, 24, 26; *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 54.

94 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő

The matter of consumers' cooperatives in Pozsony, Kassa, and other towns is still an unexplored chapter of the Upper Hungarian cooperative movement.[95]

The Upper Hungarian network of consumers' cooperatives rested on the pillars of five counties—Abaúj-Torna, Nógrád, Nyitra, Pozsony, and Zemplén. 58 percent of all cooperatives were located in them. The thirty-nine consumers' cooperatives of the counties of regions with a Slovak majority, i.e., Árva, Liptó, Sáros, Szepes, and Turóc, which accounted for seven percent of the Upper Hungarian Region, indicate that *Hangya* still possessed significant reserves there (Figure 5).

The *Hangya* management disclosed the ethnic composition of its member cooperatives in the years of the World War I. However, we have to be careful with these datasets because they certainly reflect the ethnic distribution of the villages located in ethnic blocks, diasporas, and contact zones with mixed populations, rather than providing information about the one or more, sometimes parallel, administrative languages of individual cooperatives. Nevertheless, the large number of consumers' cooperatives registered as Slovak or as mixed Hungarian–Slovak (in 1918, 248 and 116, respectively,) is striking at the national level (Table 1).

Other specialized types of cooperatives

Up to the end of the World War I, several cooperatives of a national competence had been active through their branches in the Upper Hungarian Region, including the *Magyar Mezőgazdák Szövetkezete* (Cooperative of Hungarian Farmers),[96] the Pozsony branch of the *Gazdák Biztosító Szövetkezete* (Farmers' Insurance Cooperative),[97] and the *Magyar Gazdák Vásárcsarnok-ellátó Szövetkezete* (Cooperative of Hungarian Farmers Supplying the Market Hall).

Szövetkezete köreihez tartozó fogyasztási szövetkezetek 1903. évi üzleteredményének táblázatos kimutatása [Profit and Loss Statements in Tables of Consumers' Cooperatives under the Aegis of *Hangya*, the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative for the Year 1903]. Pátria Irodalmi Válallat és Nyomdai R. T. nyomása, Budapest, 1904, 11–12.

95 In Pozsony (Bratislava), a consumers' cooperative was established only in 1897 (it was the *Pozsonyi I. Általános Fogyasztási Egylet* [The First General Consumers' Society of Pozsony]). The consumers' cooperative of the employees of the Dynamit-Nobel corporation was probably also established at the close of the nineteenth century. In Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky), the *Magyar Királyi Államvasutak Alkalmazottai Fogyasztási Szövetkezete* (Consumers' Cooperative of the Employees of the Hungarian Royal State Railways) was founded in 1906. SNA, MPMSS, prez. XII, 1921, Box 47, 1024. The consumers' cooperatives of Budapest are addressed by Bódy, *Szervezett fogyasztás*, 261–66.

96 *Magyar Mezőgazdák Szövetkezete*, 45.

97 Paur, *Gazdák Biztosító Szövetkezete*, 21; MNL OL, Z 1034, Box 5, 1124; SNA, MPMSS, prez. XI, 1920, Box 11, 5621.

Table 1 'Ethnic' distribution of Hangya cooperatives (1914–1918)[98]

	1914	1918
Hungarian	817	1310
Hungarian–German	15	34
Hungarian–Slovak	75	116
Hungarian-Romanian	84	184
Hungarian–Croatian	3	3
Hungarian–Serbian	4	12
Hungarian–German–Romanian	9	20
Hungarian–German–Slovak	7	10
Hungarian–German–Croatian	1	4
Hungarian–Romanian–Saxonian	2	5
German	25	40
German–Slovak	2	2
German–Croatian	2	3
German–Serbian	0	3
Slovak	173	248
Slovak–Romanian	2	3
Slovak–Ruthenian	1	1
Romanian	44	106
Croatian	4	7
Polish	1	1
Total	1271	2112

Cooperatives specializing in one branch of production or crop cultivation, animal husbandry, milk production, crop sales, soil improvement, land lease, insurance, warehousing, or fertilizer sales were established. Several types of industrial cooperatives also started emerging: those involved in the production of spirits, cottage

98 MNL OL, Z 791, Bundle 10, Item 7, A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelő-bizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1915. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1915 Annual Accounts]. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részv. Társ., Budapest, [1916], 26; A Hangya a Magyar Gazdaszövetség Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezete Igazgatóságának és Felügyelő-bizottságának közgyűlési jelentése az 1919. évi zárszámadásokról [Report on the General Assembly of the Board of Directors and the Supervisory Board of *Hangya* the Consumers' and Sellers' Cooperative of the Association of Hungarian Farmers about the 1919 Annual Accounts]. Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Részv. Társ., Budapest [1920], 37.

industry, small-scale industrial production, and machinery rental. Cooperatives simultaneously performing agricultural, consumption, and credit tasks were rather special. Associations performing specialized and practical tasks of agricultural water management, focusing on inland water drainage and flood reduction, operating on the basis of cooperatives and managed by the large-scale landowners of the regions, were important. In addition, there were cooperatives dealing with water regulation, soil improvement, drainage, and silting.[99]

The example of ideological infiltration

The rapid development of credit cooperatives and consumers' cooperatives implied the success and strengthening of the agrarian policy. According to Count Sándor Károlyi's original concept, these organizations could help not only in the financial recovery of the Hungarian rural areas and the farming class, and in the new positioning of the landowners, but they also had the serious potential to shape the society.[100]

In contrast to non-denominational agrarian cooperatives, an emphatically denominational Catholic cooperative alternative was also born. It must be emphasized, however, that Count János Zichy's Catholic policy was delayed, i.e., was seeking answers to the Károlyis' strategy too late.[101]

The *Katolikus Néppárt* (Catholic People's Party), with its foundations reaching back to 1867, undertook to protect the social positions of the Catholic Church. It was characterized by anti-liberalism and action against laws targeting church politics. It emphasized the protection of the interests of small farmers and labourers against large industry and large capital.[102]

On 6 February 1899, the *Néppárt* (People's Party) established a *Keresztény Szövetkezetek Központja* (Centre of Christian Cooperatives), which published a newsletter called *Szövetkezzünk* (Let Us Form Cooperatives) from 1904 onwards (the establishment of cooperatives had already started a year or two earlier).[103] In

99 *Zpráva o činnosti*, 39–40, 42; Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 59; Košovan, *Príspevok k dejinám*, 131–49; Košovan, *Počiatky vodných družstiev*, 147–60.

100 Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*, 217, 376.

101 In fact, we can only talk about Catholic and non-Christian politics because the Protestant churches stayed away from these struggles. Gergely, *A kereszténydemokrácia Magyarországon*, 116, 118.

102 *Magyarországi pártprogramok*, 164–66.

103 On the relations of the Néppárt and the Slovaks in more detail, see: Ábrahám, *Megmaradni vagy beolvadni,* 201.

fact, the centre could not fulfil its objective "to alleviate mercenary profiteering trade for the benefit of the weak with self-moderating love and prices." With unconcealed intention, through its establishment of cooperatives in the Upper Hungarian Region, e.g., in Zsarnóca (Žarnovica) and Irtványos (Kopanice), the *Keresztény Szövetkezetek Központja* (Centre of Christian Cooperatives) intended to gain the support of Slovak Catholic farmers, too.[104] It was planning to build a network of Catholic-run credit cooperatives and consumers' cooperatives using the base of Catholic bachelors' and farmers' circles, but it saw mixed success.[105] However, with the support of the large-scale landowner aristocracy and the Catholic clergy, 'Christian' cooperatives were established in greater numbers in the Transdanubian region.[106]

The pro-agrarian press was vehemently attacking these initiatives. It branded them as socially and economically harmful and regarded them as hotbeds of anti-Semitism.[107] In the Besztercebánya region, the competent chamber of commerce and industry investigated the cooperatives established by the *Néppárt*. In the northern ethnic region, the *Néppárt* was accused of promoting pan-Slavic aspirations.[108] With Slovak priests gradually moving away from the *Néppárt* under the leadership of Andrej Hlinka,[109] the consumers' cooperatives, whose number is unknown and which are paradoxically labelled as multifunctional in the literature on Slovak cooperatives, were already fitting into a new nation-building strategy, although they did not go much beyond their regional roles. In Slovak historiography, their importance seems to be exaggerated.[110]

By 1918, the *Keresztény Szövetkezetek Központja* (Centre of Christian Cooperatives) had established around 300 consumers' cooperatives, which were

104 Some of the Catholic consumers' cooperatives of Upper Hungary that can be identified are as follows: Alsómislye (Nižná Myšľa), Felsővisnyó (Višňové), Késmárk (Kežmarok), Kislomnic (Lomnička), Luboka (Hlboké), Pribilina (Pribylina), Szucsány (Sučany), Trencsénselmec (Štiavnik), Újlubló (Nová Ľubovňa). SNA, MPMSS, prez. XI, 1921, Box 45, 2974.

105 For Catholic cooperatives, see: Csepregi Horváth, *A magyar szövetkezeti intézmény története,* vol. 1, 116–20.

106 Gyimesi, *A parasztság és a szövetkezeti mozgalom*, 629, 631.

107 "A néppárti szövetkezet mint Jáger Mari" [The Cooperative of the People's Party as the Poisoner]. *Szövetkezetpolitikai Szemle*, 1 July 1897, 1–2.

108 "Pánszlávista szövetkezetek" [Pan-Slavic Cooperatives]. *Szövetkezetpolitikai Szemle*, 1 March 1898, 1.

109 Andrej Hlinka (1864–1938) was a Slovak priest and politician. His career as a politician began in Zichy's *Katolikus Néppárt* (Catholic People's Party). He founded the Slovak People's Party in 1905. He was one of the most important politicians of the Slovak national movement before the coup. In 1918, he was a member of the Slovak National Council. He reorganized the Slovak People's Party and became the standard-bearer of the movement for Slovak autonomy.

110 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 54–55.

integrated into *Hangya* in May 1918. The president of the centre, Count Aladár Zichy,[111] joined *Hangya*'s board of directors.[112]

The Slovak cooperative alternative: nation-building and market expansion

The establishment of Slovak Catholic cooperatives in the Liptó region at the end of the 1890s and Andrej Hlinka's agitation in the Slovak villages in the vicinity of Besztercebánya indicated that Slovak economic organization was tied to national emancipation and to the need for the development of the minority society. The actual breakthrough, however, was in the early twentieth century in other regions and under different circumstances—narrowly speaking, in the Erdőhát region, and broadly speaking, in the Slovak ethnic parts of the historical counties of Pozsony and Nyitra.

This economically developed region in question, located in the catchment area of Pozsony and Vienna, was inhabited predominantly by Catholic Slovaks with a strong national identity, who were undergoing embourgeoisement. An important factor for the spread of cooperatives was that neither *OKH* nor *Hangya* were able to establish a network in these regions. Cooperatives founded by the *Néppárt* did not spread either; instead, it was at the local initiative of Slovak Catholic circles that consumers' cooperatives were established.[113] Another important factor was the efforts of the nationally minded Slovak intelligentsia, whose members built and organized Slovak society from above partly through cooperatives.[114]

The most significant figure of Slovak cooperative foundations in the Erdőhát region, and the father of cooperatives with specialized profiles in Szakolca (Skalica), was Pavel Blaho.[115] Thanks to his social, economic, and cultural activities, the region developed into the 'Mecca' of Slovak cooperatives, since cooperatives were

111 Count Aladár Zichy (1864–1937) was a large-scale landowner and politician. He was the president of the *Katolikus Néppárt* in 1903–1918, a member of parliament in 1896–1918, and the president of *Hangya* in 1925–1934.

112 *A Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő és Fogyasztási Szövetkezet*, 31, 46.

113 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 60–64.

114 Ábrahám, *Megmaradni vagy beolvadni*, 87.

115 Pavel Blaho (1867–1927) was a physician, politician, and cooperative founder. In 1896, he was one of the founders of the organization called *Československá jednota* (Czechoslovak Union) that supported the idea of Czechoslovakism. He was a member of the generation of young politicians gathered around the liberal Slovak newspaper *Hlas* (Voice) and one of the signatories of the Martin Declaration. He was an early representative of the Slovak agrarian policy led by Milan Hodža.

established there in the following places: Egbell (Gbely), Nagylévárd (Veľké Leváre), Jókút (Kúty), and Holics (Holíč). As a result of Blaho's persistent agitation, thirty-four consumers' cooperatives had been established by the 1910s. Instead of buying their goods from *Hangya*, they were consciously purchasing them from Moravian merchants.

The farmers' meetings in Szakolca, organized by Blaho between 1906 and 1913 and attended by Moravian cooperative leaders as well, became forums for Czech–Slovak rapprochement. In addition to cooperative-related matters, Slovak economic, developmental, educational, and political issues were also discussed at these farmers' meetings.[116]

As can be seen, Czech–Moravian economic relations had a national political dimension to them. Czech–Slovak reciprocity and political cooperation were increasingly strengthened. The regional social reform was also tied to the agrarian policy concept. However, this did not mean that an ideal Czech–Slovak relationship followed. Numerous conflicts, including those of interest, arose especially in the field of financial relations as, in terms of capital, the encounter was between an economically stronger party and a much weaker one.[117]

The Slovak political elite recognized early on the importance of establishing an independent Slovak cooperative centre. An organization called *Ústredné družstvo pre hospodárstvo a obchod* (Central Cooperative for Economy and Trade) was founded in Budapest in 1912 in the spirit of the agrarian program of Milan Hodža (1878–1944) with significant Czech administrative and financial support.[118] In April 1913, the leader of the Slovak cooperative movement, Pavel Blaho, was appointed president of this central cooperative. The Slovak cooperative centre started its activities in May 1913, and, by the end of that year, it established twenty-four cooperatives. Eight more Slovak consumers' cooperatives, one dairy cooperative, and one shoemakers' cooperative joined the centre. The next foundation was the *Lábi Gazdasági és Hitelszövetkezet* (Economic and Credit Cooperative of Láb) in February 1914.[119]

The national political goal of the Slovak cooperative centre, which was nurturing ambitious plans, was to control the Slovak cooperative network and achieve a central status. It performed a wide range of activities: it provided favourable loans, distributed fertilizers,[120] supplied and acquired machinery, provided insurance, and

116 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 60–64.

117 Holec, *Agrárne hnutie*, 59–75.

118 The headquarters of the cooperative centre were in József Boulevard in District VIII of Budapest. "Ústredné družstvo pre hospodárstvo a obchod v Budapešti" [The Central Cooperative for Economy and Trade in Budapest]. *Slovenský týždenník*, 16 January 1914, 4.

119 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 73–75.

120 "Nové smery v hospodárstve" [New Trends in the Economy]. *Slovenský týždenník*, 26 July 1914, 4.

established new cooperatives. The Budapest-based *Ústredná banka* (Central Bank), founded in 1909 with Czech stakeholders, was its financial centre and the collection point for the capital of its member cooperatives. The centre published an official newspaper titled *Gazdasági Figyelő* (*Hospodársky obzor*; Economic Observer) and ran an independent publishing house.[121]

The Hungarian authorities quickly noticed the centralization efforts of the Slovak cooperative policy. Since they saw pan-Slavic and anti-state agitation in the activities of the cooperatives, they kept their representatives under surveillance and launched a discrediting campaign against them in the Hungarian press. In many cases, the county administration had these cooperatives dissolved by the gendarmerie on the charge of unauthorized political groupings or made it impossible for them to pursue their activities, e.g., in Benefalva (Benice), Pribóc (Príbovce), or Szucsány (Sučany).[122]

In this regard, Slovak–Hungarian antagonism also had an economic dimension. In 1913, the Slovak National Party proposed that the *Központi Szövetkezet a Gazdaságért és Kereskedelemért* (Central Cooperative for Economy and Trade) negotiate with the Upper Hungarian Branch of the Hungarian Government about support to the farmers and about cooperative issues as an equal partner. However, the Upper Hungarian Branch was relying on farmers' circles and went its own way. It considered the natural conditions of the northern counties, so it focused on establishing dairy cooperatives and animal insurance cooperatives.[123] The *Köztelek* cooperative newspaper reacted negatively to the Slovak proposal, while also protecting the interests of the *Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület*. It categorically rejected presenting economic issues in the guise of politics and ethnicity.[124]

Although the Slovak Central Cooperative for Economy and Trade was pursuing its activities on the eve of the World War I when Slovak–Hungarian national antagonism escalated, i.e., under limitations, it carried an important message: the Hungarian state must consider Slovak emancipation efforts in the field of cooperatives. The 1918 collapse and the subsequently developed Slovak cooperative structure did confirm this message.

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121 Cambel, Úsilie Milana Hodžu, 186–206.

122 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 77.

123 The Upper Hungarian Branch was operating from 1908 with its seat in Zsolna. Its scope extended to the counties of Árva, Trencsén, Liptó, and Zólyom (Zvolen). The latter came under its jurisdiction in 1911. The branch aimed to eliminate economic backwardness and poverty and develop animal husbandry and agriculture. It supported the use of chemical fertilizers, quality fodder production, and horticulture. It launched educational programmes, organized public libraries, and helped farmers with the purchase of machinery and breeding stock.

124 Fabricius et al., *150 rokov slovenského družstevníctva*, 75.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis provided, it seems that cooperatives can be regarded as products of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism and an outcome of responses given to specific socio-economic challenges.[125] They appeared as another type of nineteenth-century joint enterprise (besides joint-stock companies, general partnerships, and limited liability companies), in which 'capital pooling' came to the fore. It was this feature that was emphasized against individual entrepreneurial and, in the eyes of the public, sometimes even excessively profit-seeking behaviour.[126]

The idea of forming cooperatives in the economic field, i.e., the pooling of the capital of the lower classes of people—and, at the same time, the birth of a modern form of enterprise—was brought to life by the painful experience of social inequality and wealth distribution, and as a kind of criticism of the system. The Western European industrial development that was unfolding from the first half of the nineteenth century fundamentally remoulded English, French, and German societies and economies. This resulted not only in capital accumulation and soaring industrial profits, but also in stagnating incomes from labour and sharpening social inequalities and tensions.[127]

Gyula Kautz (1829–1909) perceived these dynamic changes in Hungary with a minor delay (from about the late 1850s) and, quite naturally, in other, Central European dimensions and in a different socio-economic environment. Among the segments of the 'modern system of partnership,' i.e., banks and savings banks, he singled out people's banks and loan associations, as not very easily distinguishable antecedents of cooperatives, operating on the principle of self-help. He linked the birth of various forms of cooperatives to the spread of the idea of 'association,' brought about by conflicts of interest between two groups in economic opposition (capitalists versus small producers and labourers). Kautz wrote about this as follows:

> "Therefore, the need arises for those classes of the society that do not possess much capital and for whom it is their person and labour that provides the actual guarantee of their material existence that, if they do not want to jeopardize their economic position and wish to compete with large capital and the superior intellectual and technical expertise that is related to it: to join forces and together strive for creating the conditions indispensable for achieving this goal that is vital for them."[128]

125 The demographic, economic, technological, and socio-political aspects of nineteenth-century European industrialization are discussed in detail by Cameron, *A Concise Economic History of the World*, 223–74.

126 Jócsik, *A közösség gazdasági élete*, 77.

127 Diederiks, *Nyugat-európai gazdaság- és társdalomtörténet*, 218; Piketty, *A tőke*, 17–19.

128 Kautz, *A társulási intézmények*, 260–61.

The other aspect was very important precisely because of its socio-historical significance. The Hungarian cooperative system, which was laying its solid foundations from the late nineteenth century onwards, can be regarded as an integration experiment controlled from above by the agrarian elite. In the early twentieth century, the Slovak cooperative elite was considering decentralization or, in reality, a parallel system already. However, this was posing a threat to the regional strategies of *OKH* and *Hangya*. At the same time, the economic and social cooperation of individuals, the establishment of cooperatives, and self-help eventually unfolded in the great wave of embourgeoisement, which made a reciprocal impact on urban and rural societies, including the formation of classes and wealth gain. The phenomenon can also be interpreted in a way that cooperatives and their predecessors tried to achieve a balance between individualization and private and community interests.[129]

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The Cooperative Pattern of Territorial Development in Hungary*

The Expansion, Organisation, and Turnover of the *Hangya* Cooperative (1898–1923)

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Abstract. This paper addresses the following question: What is the spatial pattern of the spread of the most significant consumer cooperatives in Hungary in the first quarter of a century following their establishment in 1898? Spatial pattern is employed as an indicator in order to ascertain the spatial developmental differences. My hypothesis is that organising and operating a cooperative is an indicator of community activity with the objective of attaining a superior quality of life. Although the *Hangya* Consumption Cooperative in Hungary received considerable support from landlords and later the state, the study indicates that local cultural patterns of organisation and the strength of traditional economic districts are significant. Concurrently, the analysis demonstrates that it is possible to delineate the role of social welfare in the establishment and functioning of local consumer organisations. On the other hand, the *Hangya*'s operations served to disseminate anti-Semitic ideologies. The macro-regional analysis aims to contribute to the broader investigation of peasant farm development, grassroots modernisation, and the discourse on territorial inequality.

Keywords: territorial inequality, consumer cooperative, Hungary, peasant farm, quality of life

Background

In Central and Eastern Europe, the development of cooperatives was based on the Austrian Cooperative Law of 1873. Within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Austria, and the Czech Lands, the economy was more industrialized, commerce was more developed, and produced a more substantial part of the GDP, while Hungary was an agricultural country. This difference determined the various ways in which cooperatives developed from country to country, while their beginnings and thus their top-down organisation were very similar, as was the fact that the cooperatives

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that formed a national network were prominent players in each country's economy.[1] In agrarian countries, the spread of consumer cooperatives contributed to the development of peasant agriculture.[2] Several studies have examined the organisational and structural implications for agricultural development.[3] Although in Hungary cooperatives assumed an agrarian character, people from other social groups also found their place and even played a decisive role in them. Apart from taming capitalism, the main merit of cooperatives was their key role in developing peasant agriculture and rural civilisation.[4] The Hungarian cooperative system, established in previous decades, contributed to the spread of consumer cooperatives. The cooperative movement of the Transylvanian Saxons, following the Raiffeisen model, and especially the credit cooperative organisation that developed from the last third of the century, can be seen as precursors to the consumer cooperative. The former sought to alleviate the damage caused to rural farmers by the economic crisis of 1873, thus served as a direct model for the consumer cooperative.[5]

Although we seem to have obtained a solid picture of the direction and limits of the development of the Hungarian peasantry, our basic caution goes beyond reservations about Marxist literature. In addition to abandoning the deterministic view of historical development, the interdisciplinary approaches and technical progress of recent decades have enabled stratified research at the settlement level, where Hungarian researchers are now producing internationally relevant results. This spatial data research also resonates with spatial differences in development, which requires a rethinking of the existing metanarrative, to say the least.[6] This suggests that a more nuanced comprehension of peasant civilisation necessitates a more comprehensive understanding of the internal variations in landscape structure, coupled with a far more intricate examination of these discrepancies. The following pages will focus on the development of the Hungarian countryside and the potential for peasant enterprise development. Focusing on the operation of the *Hangya* (literally meaning: 'ant') Consumption and Sales Cooperative (*Hangya Fogyasztási és Értékesítő Szövetkezet*, abbrev. *Hangya*), an institution that increasingly organised its rural cooperatives with a private capital base, seems to be suitable for this purpose. The study aims to contribute to the dynamic field of research on territorial inequality in Hungary, while also serving as a methodological experiment with a new indicator (the spread of cooperatives).[7]

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1 Brazda et al., "The Rise and Fall"; Slavícek, "From Business," 423–24.

2 Fernandez, "Trust, Religion."

3 Mordhorst and Jensen, "Co-operatives."

4 Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 624; Kaposi, "Die Tätigkeit"; Ieda, "Központi és községi," 158.

5 Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*, 354–55.

6 Demeter, *Területi egyenlőtlenségek*; Szilágyi, "Az életminőség"; Demeter, Bottlik, and Karácsonyi, *Fantomhatárok nyomában*; Szilágyi, *Ismeretlen Alföld*.

7 "Obviously, »sufficient capital« requires the payment of shares, and the *Hangya* Centre found

From the point of view of the development of the Hungarian peasant farm, the transformation of the feudal property system from the 1850s onwards was accompanied by an expansion of the peasantry's market relations. This shift also strengthened the desire to acquire some of the rapidly developing technological means that pushed capable peasant farmers towards intensification. In the absence of capital to invest, purchases were often made with usurious loans, which led to the indebtedness of the estates, especially because the goods produced by the peasant farms were unable to compete with large-scale production in terms of quantity and quality, among other things, due to a lack of storage and packaging facilities.[8]

The Marxist narrative, arguing with little data and without subtle transitions, ignored the intensification and regional transitions of the concept of agricultural development. It neglected the structuring role of space, i.e., the importance of transport, which developed alongside traditional trade routes via the rail network.[9] In other words, the emphasis was on reducing opportunities for extensive expansion, which reduced the role of factors that could be transformed over time into land tenure in the development of peasant economies, such as the complexity of market participation (from selling to local buyers, to selling at home, to exhibiting at fairs, to participation in regional or even national markets by typically female household members). The image of the peasant farmer who goes beyond peasant self-exploitation, who does not fully consume the surplus produced, but accumulates it, also requires a chiselled image in the context of maximising the organisation of labour, taking into account the practice of prestige investment.[10] Thus, the statement by economic historian Sándor Gyimesi that, under the circumstances of the second half of the nineteenth century, "the peasant smallholding was doomed to die,"[11] is no more acceptable than holding the landed elite, who are experiencing increasing economic disempowerment, accountable for their self-interest, which can be demonstrated alongside their altruistic aspirations.[12]

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that the easiest way to achieve this was for the members of the co-operatives to borrow money to pay for their shares. However, in 1900, when the Centre discontinued the equipment loan, it justified this on the grounds that the cooperatives should raise sufficient capital and members by their own efforts, however difficult this task may be." Ieda, "Központ és községi," 169.

8 Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 617–18; Slavícek, "From Business," 428–29.

9 Varga, "Öreg Gyüker," 453–72; Igaz, "Gyüker család"; Szilágyi, *A személyes paraszti*; Koloh, "A paraszt terei."

10 Chayanov, *The Theory*; Tóth, *Nagybirtoktól nagyüzemig*; Medick, "The proto-industrial," 291–315; Szilágyi, "Kerti gazdálkodás," 462–93.

11 Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 619.

12 Scott, Hutter, and Székely, "Fél évszázad," 301; Puskás, Scott, and Lánc, "Adatbázis," 317; Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 620; Orbán, "Fogyasztási," 22; Fehér, *A származás*, 317; Vári, *Urak és gazdászok*.

The 1923 commemorative volume published on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the *Hangya* cooperative paints a particularly one-sided picture of its founding. Its tone is strongly anti-Semitic, on a larger scale towards the new plutocracy that was displacing the historical middle class and large landowners, and on a smaller scale towards the unscrupulous retailers in the smaller towns and villages, whose immigration from the Galician border areas left no doubt about their Jewishness.[13] In this narrative, the impact of US and Russian wheat imports is almost negligible. It is evident that this tone is not limited in time and space to the festive publication. An example from an earlier period is the company's 1908 yearbook, where, under the heading 'Ten Years of Happy Moments', we find more than one parable against local merchants, with explicit references (Weisz's Solomon's shop; Solomon's tavern: "I could tell at once by this gentleman's nose that he was not of the *Hangya* »denomination«)."[14] An example of widespread anti-Semitism in the region is the operation of the *Hangya* in Pécs, where anti-Semitic feelings were particularly fuelled by the difficulties the Serbian occupation caused.[15]

Another, much more prominent component of the origin story is the portrayal of the founder, Sándor Károlyi, as the new Széchenyi, which reflects the influence of Gyula Szekfű's influential 1920 study titled *Három nemzedék* (Three Generations), not only as a relatively new reading at the time, but as a master narrative serving the ideological establishment of the Horthy era.[16] In addition, the jubilee volume provides an important snapshot of the economically and socially impactful *Hangya* association, and takes us closer to the peasant society of the period in Hungary.

As the main source of my research, the 1923 publication contains the location, year of foundation, annual turnover, the local initiator and members of the

13 "The distilleries were mostly in the hands of foreign elements that had immigrated across the Galician border. […] The northeastern straits of the Carpathians were increasingly infiltrated by Galician immigrants, and at the same time the emigration of Hungarians across the sea became more and more conspicuous. […] The mountainous areas were overrun by the scum of Galicia, and the Bereg and Maramuresian peoples died together with the Ruthenians…" *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 17–20. For the historical development of the public image of the Jewish usurer, see: Bolgár, *Miért éppen a zsidók*, 172–90. The wave of immigration from Galicia is not related to the emigration of Hungarians, firstly because most of the emigration did not take place in the areas inhabited by Hungarians, and secondly because the period of immigration dates back to the eighteenth century. See also: Faragó, *Bevezetés*, 197–98, 226, 366.

14 *Magyar Gazdaszövetség évkönyve*, 54–62.

15 "[…] In 1920, during the Serbian occupation, the town was taken over by the communist regime led by Béla Linder, which offended the interests of the Catholic-majority community. The deliberate mixing of liberal, Jewish, and communist terms made a strong impact, so Christian communities supporting or joining the *Hangya* Cooperative could rightly expect strong support." Kaposi, "Die Tätigkeit."

16 Szekfű, *Három nemzedék*; Csunderlik, *Radikálisok*, 346.

cooperatives belonging to the *Hangya* at the time—and most importantly, all this information is grouped by settlement. These data were also published in the statistical section of the General Assembly reports, but at that time only in summary form.[17]

Previous studies of the cooperative movement, including the *Hangya*, have typically approached its operation and role either from the perspective of national institutional history or from that of their local operation. Of the former, the most comprehensive works in contemporary literature are the two-volume monograph by János Csepregi Horváth and the book by Károly Ihrig and Károly Schandl. Elemér Almási Balogh, as one of the main organisers of the *Hangya*, and Frigyes Wünscher, who held a leading position there from the second half of the 1930s, are the main sources of information on the *Hangya*.[18] Among the major works on the subject in the 1960s are Sándor Gyimesi's study and Miklós Szuhay's monograph focusing on the 1930s, while during the regime change of the 1990s, Ieda Osamu published several studies on the *Hangya*.[19] Over the past decade and a half, the subject has been increasingly explored.[20] Regional and local studies provide relevant examples of the history of the institution, which are also used in the present paper. Gábor Egry provides an in-depth study of the Saxon Raiffeisen movement in Transylvania, while István Gaucsík gives a detailed account of the history of the institution in Slovakia.[21] Settlement studies are numerous; from the point of view of historical sensitivity, some works point to important correlations, such as the studies of Zoltán Kaposi about Pécs, and Péter Hámori and Zsolt Sári about Tordas.[22] Another direction of the analysis of the history of the institution is the study of the lives and careers of the people who played leading roles in its organisation, with a focus on Sándor Károlyi and Ignác Darányi.[23]

17 *Magyar Gazdaszövetség 1922*.

18 Csepregi Horváth, *Magyar szövetkezeti*; Ihrig, *A szövetkezetek*; Sandl, ed., *A magyar szövetkezés*; Almási Balogh, *Önellátás, túlélés*; Wünscher, "A szövetkezet jövője."

19 Szuhay, *Az állami beavatkozás*; Gyimesi, "A parasztság"; Ieda, "Központi és községi," Ieda, "Hanza és Hangya."

20 Bak, "A Hangya"; Bódy, "Szervezett fogyasztás"; Szarvas and Sidó, "Hangya a világrendszerben"; Szeremley and Szabó, "Múltra építő"; Vári, "A magyarországi hitelszövetkezeti."

21 Egry, "Az erdélyi szász"; Egry, *Nemzeti védgát*; Gaucsík, "Áldemokrácia"; Gaucsík, "A szövetkezeti autonómia"; Gaucsík, "A Hangya." For the institutional history in Transylvania, see also Balaton, "A székelyföldi"; Vita, *Erdélyi gazdaság*.

22 Kaposi, "Pécs gazdasági"; Kaposi, "Nagykanizsa"; Kaposi, "Népesség és társadalom"; Kaposi, "Válságból válságba"; Sári, "A Hangya"; Hámori, "Tordas." And for cross-border studies, see: Balázsi, "Ne nézze"; Győrfi, "A nagyenyedi"; Braun, *Hitelszövetkezetek*.

23 Fehér, "Darányi, a korszerű"; Fehér, *Darányi Ignác élete*; Fehér, "Károlyi Sándor"; Fehér, *A származás*; Fehér, "Egy arisztokrata"; Estók, "Károlyi."

Question

What are the spatial patterns in the development of peasant agriculture viewing it through the lens of *Hangya* cooperatives? Based on the above, my analysis is primarily aimed at reconstructing the expansion, annual turnover, and organisation of the *Hangya*, to which most consumer cooperatives in Hungary belonged. In addition to organising the cooperatives, it was also responsible for their supervision, equipment, and supply of goods.[24] The objective can be achieved over a longer period, from 1898 to 1923. The time frame was determined on the basis of processing the settlement data in the twenty-fifth anniversary publication of the *Hangya*. As part of my undertaking, I also mapped out the organisations moved outside Hungary's new borders during the imperial changes. However, the section of the jubilee volume entitled *The list of cooperatives in the occupied territories* does not show exactly what state the list reflects, since by then Czechoslovakia had already passed Cooperative Law No. 210, which required the units there to sever their ties with the *Hangya* and be integrated into the 'forced centre,' the Central Cooperative *(Ústredné druzstvo)*, by the end of July 1919.[25] In view of this, I take the end of 1918 as the ideal date for the stock on the map (i.e., the cooperatives in Trianon Hungary are the ones founded in that year the latest).

Information on each cooperative's financial strength in 1921 is provided by the turnover analysis. On the other hand, the analysis of disparate territorial patterns is inherently explanatory, particularly given that the turnover data are not regarded as absolute values but, in the absence of data on the number of cooperative members, adjusted to the number of inhabitants per capita.

The social impact of the *Hangya* is illustrated by an analysis of the local initiators' professions. I will try to find out if there is a correlation between the foundation year, the turnover, and the identity of the initiator. Who were involved in setting up local organisations and to what extent, beyond the literature's finding that they were mostly local pastors or teachers?[26]

Overall, on the basis of examples, the cartographic and correlational studies identify which areas show greater developmental success from the perspective of peasant farm development, who were the agents (mostly) that stimulated this effort. In addition, I also reconstruct regional patterns through a snapshot. In doing so, I would like to contribute from a cooperative perspective to the research on the development of the quality of life in the period. One of my main findings is that, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there are no sharp regional differences in the

24 *Révai Nagy Lexikon*, Vol. VII. 630.

25 Gaucsík, "Szempontok," 16.

26 Ieda, "Központ és községi," 169; Gaucsík, "A Hangya," 4.

quality of life in the territory of Trianon Hungary. At least, there are no discernible fault lines that would divide the area under study into two or more regions of divergent 'development'.[27] At the same time, regions with different levels of development are clearly visible, illustrating the country's territorial disparities over time.

Source, data, and method

The main source for my analysis is the section on rural cooperatives in the twenty-fifth anniversary volume of *Hangya*, where the settlements are listed by county, year of foundation, name of initiator(s) and turnover in 1921. "Our co-operative society in this small, stunted country includes the leadership of about 2,000 villages, and it is safe to say that it includes the entire village population."[28] Including the rural towns, 1890 municipalities are listed, providing varying degrees of detail. This is slightly more than half of the population of the settlements of Trianon Hungary (about 55 percent), but given that the extent was most moderate in the small rural settlements of South and West Transdanubia, this 55 percent represents about 70,000 square kilometres of the country's territory, or 70 percent of the country's area. However, including the registered cooperatives in the annexed territories, the cooperative settlements accounted for one fifth of the country's historical population—but this is more a reflection of organisational concentration, which will be discussed later. The interpretation of the Trianon settlements as a data set is favourable in several respects. The year of establishment is known in 1,875 cases (99.2 percent), and the annual turnover shows a similar proportion (97.9 percent). However, the data on the initiator's occupation is strikingly poor, as the name of the initiator(s) is given in a similarly low percentage of the cases, and their occupation is only recorded in 1,097 cases (58. percent). In my analysis of occupations, I rely on the occupation of the first person in the list of initiators, as the data recording showed that for several initiatives the first person's occupation does not always follow the hierarchy of occupations. In a number of other examples, the initiator is named but not identified by occupation—not only can this study not attempt to unambiguously identify the latter, but only deep drilling can provide some results for individuals without specific characteristics.

I managed to map 99 percent of the settlements using the Quantum Geographic Information System (QGIS) software. The high identification rate is largely due to the selfless help of other scholars. As part of an earlier OTKA project, Gábor Demeter and his colleagues created a geographic information system for Hungary, which they

27 Szilágyi, "Az életminőség," 47.

28 *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 61.

made freely available.[29] Zsolt Szilágyi provided me with the settlement-level shapefiles of the country in the interwar period, while the population of the settlements in 1920 and 1930, as published in the census publications, was previously recorded by Miklós Zeidler. I reconstructed the cooperatives not belonging to the *Hangya* in 1922–1924 on the basis of the 1925 Compass.[30] I have geo-referenced to my own map layers the maps of the rail network and of the quality of life on which the comparisons are based.[31]

For reasons of space, I have used the results of some of the above-mentioned studies at the settlement level for the interpretation of the results. I have also referred to the multi-generational memories of peasant families, in the context of which I have tried to construct a picture of the long transformation of the peasant world from the end of the eighteenth century. From the 1880s until his death, József Gyüker (1862–1932), a farmer in Külsőbőcs (now Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County), continued his grandfather's records, which were a mixture of reminiscences and agricultural diaries.[32] The co-operative was an investment opportunity for the already developing economy, immediately after its local organisation. In addition to the examples from Northern Hungary and Southern Transdanubia, I will also consider the economic conditions of a settlement in the Great Plain. The comparative study of Endrőd in Békés County is based on extensive local historical research.[33]

Results

Spread

Map 1 shows the spread of the *Hangya* at the end of 1918. By then, domestic consumer co-operatives had been around for half a century, but their general spread can only be considered to have begun at the turn of the century, preceded by a few local initiatives.[34] As the anniversary volume notes, the slow initial expansion of the *Hangya* was preceded by careful consideration of the suitability of each site. It was also influenced by the experience that, in the early years, the members' share of the business, financed by loans, put the local organisation on a shaky footing.[35]

29 *Térinformatikai rendszer kiépítése.*

30 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 49/2.

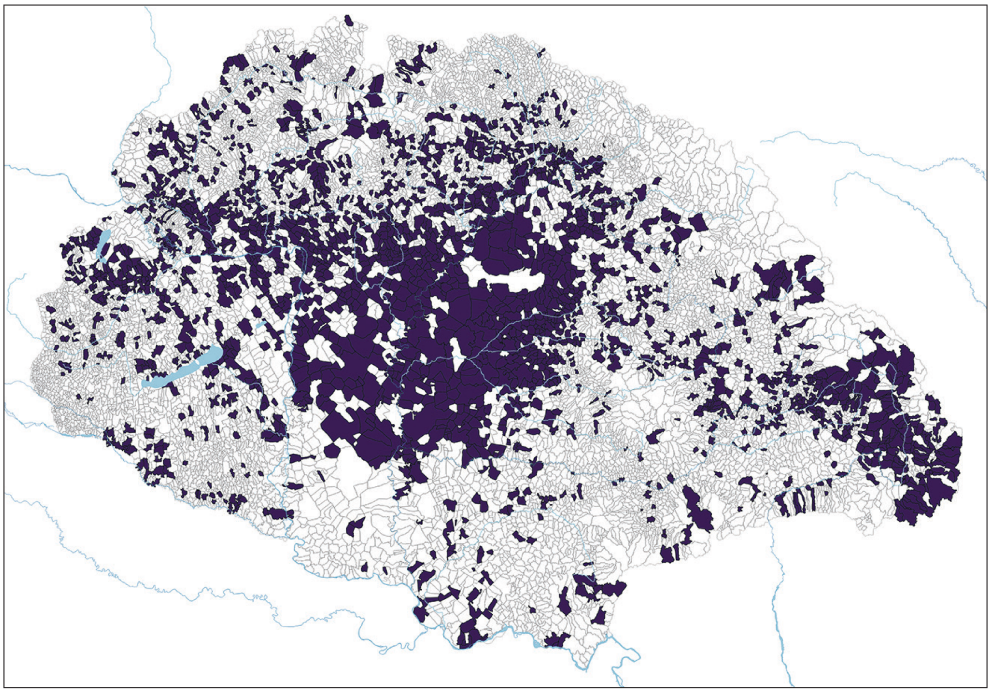
31 *Magyarország vasuti térképe.*

32 Igaz, "Gyüker család"; NM EA 4410.

33 Hornokné, *Az endrődi.*

34 Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 627–28; Egry, "Az erdélyi szász," 101–3.

35 "The organisation of each cooperative took into account the local conditions, the financial strength, and the absorption capacity of the population in order to ensure the viability of the cooperatives from the outset. As a result of this caution, the start was slow, with no spectacular



Map 1 Distribution of *Hangya* villages (1918)

Looking at the distribution of rural *Hangya* cooperatives in 1918, it is striking that most of them were concentrated in the catchment area of the Carpathian Basin, also showing a coherent network in the Székely region. A significant contribution to the expansion of the *Hangya* was its merger with the network of the Centre of Christian Cooperatives in 1918. According to Compass data from that year, there were 2,149 *Hangya* cooperatives in the country, to which the Christian cooperatives added some 333 local organisations, the personal and political background of which I intend to explore in a separate manuscript.[36] The map also reflects, and the report of the 1915 General Assembly confirms, that the *Hangya* was expanding in the ethnically Hungarian areas. Of the 1,276 cooperatives in operation at the time, 817 were purely Hungarian, while a further 198 were at least partly Hungarian—even if the interpretation of this status statistic involves the enormously complex problem of ethno-linguistic identification.[37]

successes, but the cooperatives set up by *Hangya* proved to be solid creations. Their development has been slow, but gradual and steady." *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 53; Ieda, "Központ és községi," 169.

36 *Nagy Magyar Compass 1918*, 1016; *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 31.

37 *A Magyar Gazdaszövetség 1915*, 26. For a summary on statistical assimilation, see: Kövér, "Statisztikai asszimiláció."

I show the distribution of settlements with functioning cooperatives in the 1923 census in five-year cycles, without indicating the units that have since ceased to exist, those that have been re-established, and those that previously belonged to Christian cooperatives (Map 2).[38] It is striking that the earliest cooperatives—confirming Paul Krugman's notion of development[39]—were mostly located along the common lines of rivers and railways, such as the triangle bounded by the Rába, the Danube and the Tisza catchment areas. This is still the case even when significant discrepancies between the rivers are identified, which in turn necessitates a more detailed and rigorous examination. In addition, the Ipoly region, the Balaton highlands and some larger settlements, such as Kiskunfélegyháza, or the Pitvaros–Medgyesegyháza–Kevermes karst, which includes Tótkomlós and Mezőkovácsháza in the Viharsarok region, are more loosely connected. In the case of the latter, the role of the Slovak community in the spread of the cooperative movement cannot be excluded but I consider the development of the unified Arad–Csanádi railway lines a stronger factor impacting development.[40]

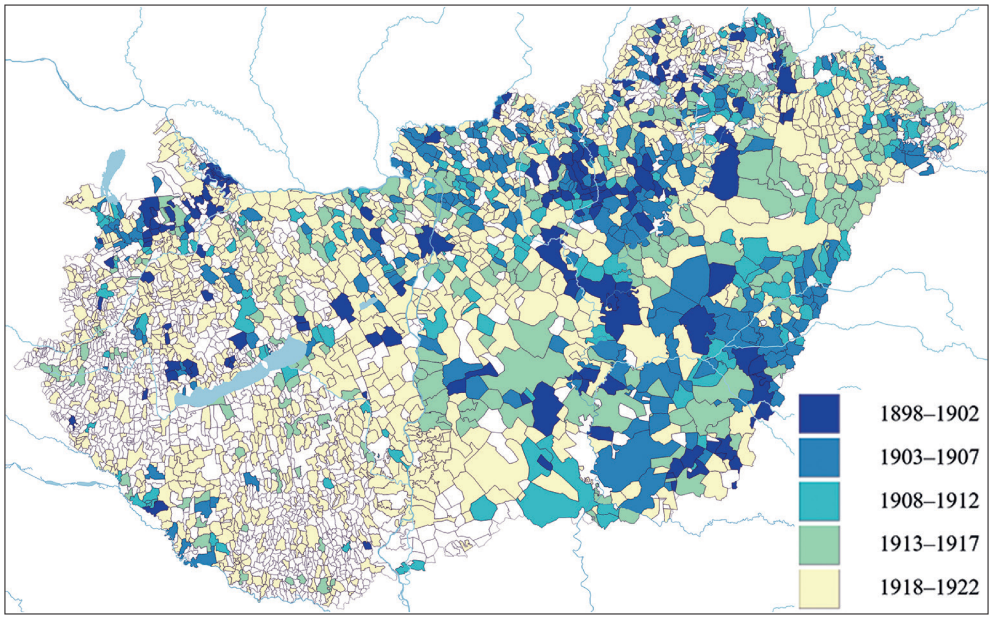
Between 1903 and 1907, the expansion of organisations took place mainly in the former core areas, mainly in the Tisza basin, but especially in the region of the Körös rivers, between the Körös and the Maros, and on the right bank of the river, north-northeast of the Zagyva. In addition to the Ipoly and Rába regions, organisations were formed in an increasing number of villages in the Dráva region, with greater activity in the villages around Budapest. This development continued between 1908 and 1912, but between 1913 and 1917—due to the partial organisation of food supply during the war[41]—the cooperative movement rapidly expanded, even in previously intact regions, such as the Nyírség and most of Transdanubia.

38 "Various abuses were common, such as illegally granting themselves large loans, charging commissions on goods purchased outside the centre, etc. It also happened that the local landlord, abusing his authority, made large loans to the cooperative shop and the management lacked the strength to collect the debt. Many mistakes were also caused by a lack of expertise and adequate management staff. Village leaders, unfamiliar with the goods, were often deceived by wholesalers or even by their own shop managers. This led to many initial failures: by 1903, nearly a hundred cooperatives—almost a fifth of the *Hangya* membership at the time—had closed, mostly through bankruptcy." Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 629.

39 Krugman, *Földrajz*; Halmos, "Földrajz."

40 *Magyar Gazdaszövetség 1915*, 26; Gyimesi, "A parasztság," 629; Gaucsík, "A Hangya," 4; *Pallas,* Vol. XVII. 76.

41 *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 57.
"During the First World War, the number of *Hangya* cooperatives increased from 1276 to 2140. The reason for this growth was not only the interest of the villagers, but also the fact that, in 1918, the civil »Centre of Christian Cooperatives« in the city was merged with 300 cooperatives, and even more the fact that the *Hangya* cooperative became the centre of the state's material and other distribution activities." Sárközi, "A Hangya," 7; Bódy, "Élelmiszer-ellátás."



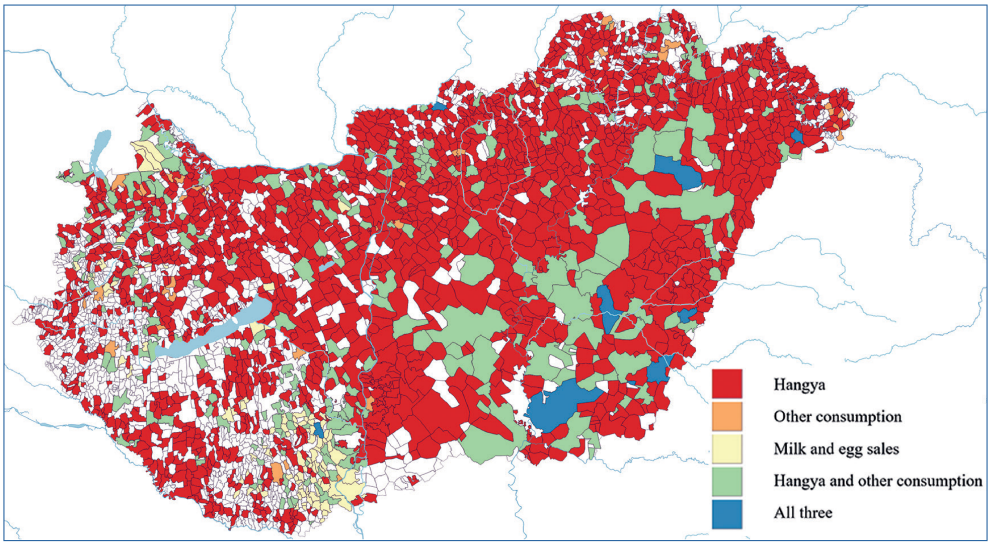
Map 2 Distribution of *Hangya* by year of foundation

However, the network was more pronounced along the rivers and the railways that ran along them, such as the Danube, the Rába, the Sió, and the Dráva. During its rapid post-war recovery, which was also strongly supported by the state, *Hangya* managed to cover almost the entire territory of the country, with the exception of South and West Transdanubia. Its rapid organisational expansion after 1918 was aided by the establishment of the *Futura* joint-stock company for trade, together with the National Central Credit Cooperative. In addition, *Hangya* expanded its portfolio with industrial production, and strengthened its foreign relations.[42]

The map shows that cooperatives were established mainly in the settlements located in the countryside along the railway networks. If we look at the areas where there were consumer and sales cooperatives outside the *Hangya* network in 1922–1924 (Map 3), only milk and egg sellers appear in two adjoining areas, namely in three villages in Moson County (Mosonszentjános, Mosonszentpéter, and Mosonszolnok) and a much larger area. from the confluence of the Völgység and the Hegyhát, through the German villages of the Tolnai-Sárköz, down to Kölked, Ivándárda, and from there westwards to Németpalkonya, scattered as far as Sumony—in other words, the Danube valley areas that were at the forefront of the establishment of extensive agriculture.[43]

42 *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 35.

43 On the importance of milk cooperatives in Transdanubia, see: Vörös, "A tejgazdaságok"; Wortmann, "A szövetkezeti"; Surányi, "A hazai."



Map 3 Consumer cooperatives in Hungary (1923)

Although the expansion suggests that cooperatives were first established by the settlements that had better access to traditional trade routes and, thus, more experience in building business networks, it is also worth looking at Zsolt Szilágyi's district-level quality of life maps, which are based on three components: life expectancy, educational attainment, and the arithmetic mean of the value of the standard of living.[44] According to Szilágyi's five-factor category system ('spectacularly developing,' 'developing,' 'immobile,' 'backward,' and 'lagging behind'), before 1918 the *Hangya* cooperatives were more common in the 'immobile' or 'backward,' sometimes in the 'lagging behind' category of settlements in the Tisza catchment area. It is therefore striking that they did not form a larger, coherent network in the areas that developed during this period. In this context, it can be argued that the spread of the *Hangya* may indeed have been determined by the altruistic aspirations of the initiators to halt and reverse the decline of their villages. And the fact that this motivation was stronger in the immobile and backward regions than in the advanced ones (especially along the Dráva, including the Ormánság, famous for its one-child system) shows that in these settlements not only the urge but also the hope for positive change was stronger.

Turnover value

Why hope for progress? Personal example sometimes shades the local relevance of the cooperative. József Gyüker, a farmer in Külsőbőcs, saw his own benefit in setting up a local cooperative:

44 Szilágyi, "Az életminőség," 48.

> "The year 1921 also began with good weather with a little rain, there was mud. Very good times, it was not cold, we could plough until St Paul's Day. Then it got cold, it was good for carrying the manure; there were very dusty roads, and the last day also saw very good weather. The consumer co-operative in Külsőbőcs was started on 20 January with 50,000 thousand crowns; the wheat was sold at 1,300 forints a quintal [a quintal is 100 kilos – G. K.] […] the co-operative was also inaugurated with great pomp on 16 October 1924, the building was completed in the autumn of 1924. I also contributed five quintals of wheat worth two million crowns, at a 10 percent yield—this co-operative was started in 1921."[45]

The picture is muddied when we learn that, in 1913, Gyüker was elected to the board of the local credit union, a position he held until 1926.[46] This suggests in part that the local financial life may have been closely intertwined at the organisational level. In addition, as his systematic record keeping suggests, Gyüker cannot be taken as a typical average Hungarian farmer.

From the point of view of its own economic development, the *Hangya* was a very important instrument at a time when the organisation faced a series of financial difficulties at the national level, which in turn contributed significantly to the increased role of the state in the life of the *Hangya*.[47] As far as the local operation of credit and consumer cooperatives is concerned, the contemporary monograph on Borsod-Gömör-Kishont County, where the village of Külsőbőcs was situated, does not fail to mention their role in generating development in the village.[48] Naturally, it would be a mistake to emphasise only the commercial role of the *Hangya* cooperatives, since the example of Endrőd shows that, already before the World War II, the village had a diverse network of shops: the grocer, the paprika seller, the pumpkin seller, some also sold wine, and there were also buyers:

> "Uncle Pista Goose started selling geese. He lived in Körözsalja, he grew up there, he had about 300 geese, and he stuffed them. They were slaughtered, and he took them to Pest. The villagers also carried the fattened geese to his house. But he only bought the good ones."[49]

45 Igaz, "Gyüker család," 90, 102.

46 *Központi Értesítő 1891*, 115.

47 *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 39.

48 "The financial strength of the municipality is supported by the two cooperatives. The Bőcs credit cooperative had been active since 1893. Its leader was Benő Szilágyi, a teacher. In Külsőbőcs, the *Hangya* Consumption Cooperative had a purpose-built building with a garden room in 1924, the wood for which was donated by János Nagy, a teacher, and András Gyüker, the judge of Külsőbőcs." Halmay and Leszih, eds, *Magyar városok*, 582.

49 Hornokné, *Az endrődi*, 97.

This example serves to illustrate the potential local role of the cooperative. Additionally, there were establishments specialising in the sale of groceries, which were operated by more than one local resident. "It wasn't an issue whether one was Jewish or non-Jewish at that time—it was a merchant."[50] In my view, the person recalling those times downplayed the anti-Semitic sentiments of the period because of the horrid memory of the Holocaust. The appearance of the *Hangya* certainly did not mean that Jewish merchants "had nothing left to do in the village."[51] Besides the cooperative, there were specialist shops, a paper shop, a clothes shop, a hardware store, a timber yard, and the list goes on.[52]

From the turnover values and the population of the settlements in 1920, I calculated the turnover value per capita (Map 4). The comparison with the quality-of-life survey also shows close correlations. Where the turnover of the local *Hangya* cooperative did not reach 1,000 Austro–Hungarian crowns (560 settlements, 30 percent), the quality of life was also lower, i.e., 'lagging behind.' This is the case in the Hajdúság and the Jászság, but also in the northern part of South Transdanubia. Sometimes, even though the per capita turnover is lower, between 500 and 1,000 crowns, the area is still classified as 'developing' according to the quality-of-life survey. This was the case in Mezőtúr, where there were other consumer and sales cooperatives in addition to the *Hangya*. A comparison between the group of municipalities with only one *Hangya* cooperative (1,569 municipalities) and the group of municipalities with other consumer cooperatives in addition to the *Hangya* (237 groups) shows only a small difference in turnover: the average per capita turnover is 1,999 crowns in the former, and 1,885 crowns in the latter.

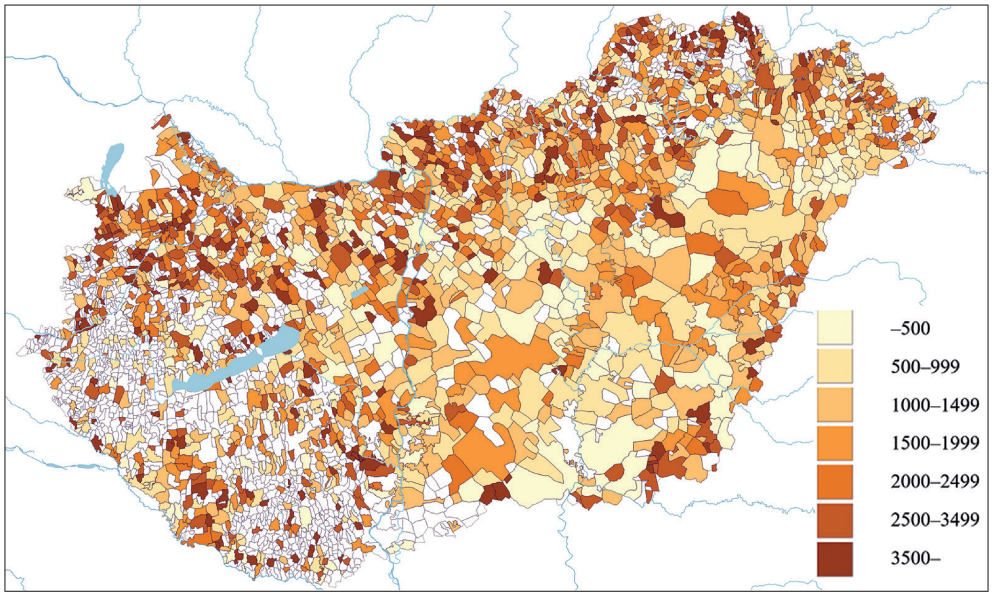
Settlements with a per capita value between 1,000 and 1,999 crowns (626 settlements, 33 percent) are mainly railway hubs all over the country, with a higher concentration in the central part of the country around Kecskemét and on the Romanian border. Several of them are located in counties undergoing spectacular development, such as Tószigetcsilizközi and Kapuvár on the Győr–Sopron axis, Pacsa and Novai in the southwest of Hungary, in some districts around or close to Budapest, and Békéscsaba, Orosháza, Battonya and Torontál districts in the Körös-Maros corner. In the northern part of the country, only the border district of Putnok has such settlements.

A third of the settlements (37 percent) fell into the category of settlements with a per capita turnover of more than 2,000 crowns. The pattern is different for these settlements, which are mostly located in the North Transdanubian region with

50 Hornokné, *Az endrődi*, 101.

51 *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 44.

52 Hornokné, *Az endrődi*, 97–122.



Map 4 Annual per capita turnover (Korona) in 1921

its good railway network, in the regions with a lower quality of life in Northern Hungary, and in the more remote South Transdanubian regions, and are also more concentrated in the border areas. This can be explained by the fact that the new borders changed the hierarchy of settlements, allowing them to expand their functions, partly because of trade along the border, partly to supply the military units stationed there, but even more because of the greater presence of refugees in these areas, which increased the population and its consumption. This is evidenced by the fact that the *Hangya* saw the employment of refugees as one of its missions, as recorded in the anniversary publication. However, the lack of concrete data and figures to substantiate the argument is a significant drawback.[53]

Two aspects should be considered for further research when analysing turnover: per capita figures confirm the main regional differences in the spatial distribution of quality of life in the country. They are also sensitive indicators of specific demographic and economic characteristics, such as migration and the benefits of organising transport networks. Overall, therefore, the turnover of cooperatives is a good indicator of regional differences in development. The reason for pursuing this further is that a longer-term study could also answer the question whether in the early twentieth century the *Hangya* as a credit insurance institution was able to

53 "The National Office for Refugees organised a course for dismissed and refugee civil servants and demobilised military officers; some of the graduates were employed by *Hangya*." *A "Hangya" szövetkezet első 25 éve*, 36.

slow down the process of certain settlements falling behind. If this is the case, we can rightly ask, as the example of József Gyüker shows, whether cooperatives contributed to the development of peasant agriculture, either by helping to increase the size of land holdings through the provision of money loans, by improving the intensification of assets, or by improving the conditions of transport and market presence through integration into the railway network.

Initiators

Finally, let us take a closer look at the local initiators of the cooperative. As said before, these data are weaker than the previous ones, so I will only use them to formulate hypotheses (Table 1).

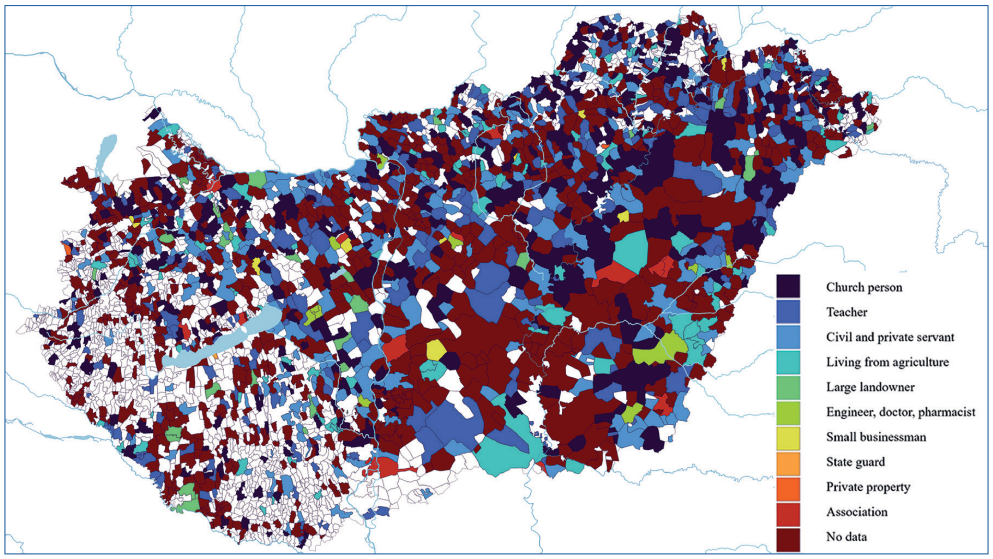
Main occupational group	1898–1902	1903–1907	1908–1912	1913–1917	1918–1922	Sum
Church person	31	37	32	64	245	409
Teacher	8	38	33	35	154	268
Civil and private servant	7	29	14	41	156	247
Living from agriculture	10	22	14	12	50	108
Large landowner	5	3	1	1	18	28
Engineer, doctor, pharmacist	1	1	1	2	5	10
Small businessman	0	2	1	2	5	10
State guard	0	0	0	0	2	2
Private property	0	1	0	0	1	2
Association	1	2	2	2	6	13
Total number of initiators	63	135	98	159	642	1097

Table 1 Distribution of initiators of cooperatives by main occupational groups and time of initiation
Source: *Hangya 1923*

Among the main occupational groups, pastors/priests, teachers, and public and private employees stand out. The leading role of these groups is also underlined by the statistics on the composition of the boards in the General Assembly reports—although among the cooperative leaders, farmers played a much larger role than Table 1 suggests, working not only as treasurers or accountants, but even as chairpersons.[54] If we consider the data for the main occupational groups as a random sample, we can hypothesise that pastors remained the main initiators during the quarter of a century under study. With the cooperative presidency, their traditional role as local leaders took on a new aspect: the spiritual leader became the judge of credit and the person who decided to take over the cooperative, in whose eyes it

54 *Magyar Gazdaszövetség 1922*, 39.

was highly advisable to appear credible: go to church, take communion, make donations and, for Catholics, go to confession. No particular pattern emerges in terms of the occupation of the initiators, with the largest number of the three main groups spread proportionally across the country (Map 5).



Map 5 Main occupational group of initiators

Main occupational group	100–499	500–999	1000–1999	2000–4999	over 5000	No data	Sum
Church person	28	106	139	99	37	0	409
Teacher	22	74	86	58	27	1	268
Civil and private servant	4	48	69	92	34	0	247
Living from agriculture	8	34	34	22	9	1	108
Large landowner	1	4	8	10	3	2	28
Engineer, doctor, pharmacist	0	1	2	4	3	0	10
Small businessman	2	2	3	2	1	0	10
State guard	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Private property	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Association	0	0	2	6	5	0	13
Total number of initiators	65	271	345	293	119	4	1097

Table 2 Distribution of cooperative initiators by main occupational groups and size of municipality (population)
Source: *Hangya 1923*

When viewing settlement size, we also see that pastors and teachers were the dominant initiators in all of its categories. However, this dominance declined somewhat as the size of the settlement increased: while in more than three quarters of the small settlements with less than 500 inhabitants, the initiators were church persons and teachers, only in half of the settlements with between 1,000 and 2,000 inhabitants were they initiators. However, the main groups of occupations and the annual turnover per capita were already higher in those municipalities where the initiator was a person living from agriculture, i.e., typically a small landowner (2,321 crowns), while the value was considerably lower in those where the initiators were teachers (2,153 crowns) and clergymen (2,040 crowns), not to mention civil servants (1,925 crowns). The latter can be easily explained by the fact that other consumer cooperatives also operated alongside *Hangya*, and as we have seen, they were typically organised in settlements with larger populations. In the case of pastors and teachers, this also confirms the above observation that it was the areas with lower turnover that required a more altruistic attitude, and that this also necessitated the organisation of *Hangya*. Finally, where the farmers were the stronger initiators, their efforts may have led to greater productivity, helping to make the cooperative a key player in the development of smallholdings. Nevertheless, it will be necessary to investigate the personal networks and economic backgrounds of the individuals who were at the forefront of the process.

Conclusion

The annual data on cooperative turnover provide a spatial pattern of spatial development in Hungary. This not only opens up a new way of clarifying the results of previous historical-geographical research in this field, but also allows us to isolate the patterned picture of peasant farm development according to regional patterns. On this basis, it can be concluded that the *Hangya* cooperatives had development potential immediately after the Treaty of Trianon, partly along traditional and new transport routes, and partly for border settlements undergoing a change of function in the context of role expansion. It can be assumed that the cooperative contributed to the development of local farms, thus slowed down the pace of falling behinds. In any case, this calls for further research, vertically by moving backwards and forwards in time, dynamically by looking at turnover data, and horizontally by examining village banks, savings banks, and credit cooperatives with a similar structure.

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Cottage Industry in the Hungarian Cooperative System before 1948*

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Abstract. The cooperative system that emerged in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century was very different from the much earlier processes in Western Europe. In Eastern Europe, including Hungary, the establishment and management of cooperatives was under the control of large capitalists and the state, and was closely linked to nation-building efforts. From the second half of the nineteenth century, the cottage industry movement developed with economic, nation-building, and folk-art preservation objectives. The institutional system of cottage industry included associations, alliances, central governing bodies, and cooperatives. In Hungarian academic research, cooperatives and the cottage industry movement are not linked, although both their aims and their organizations were closely related. This study reveals that the movement was integrated into the cooperative institutional system in several ways, and that the centralizing measures, that were increasingly evident in the cottage industry during the first half of the twentieth century, went hand in hand with the cooperative movement. Exploring these links is essential to understanding folk art, applied folk art, and the cottage industry cooperative system that developed from the 1950s onwards.

Keywords: cooperatives, cottage industry, economic nationalism, material folk art

Introduction

The development of cottage industry over the centuries has been determined by the natural environment. Using the raw materials available (wood, rush, wool, clay, etc.), people could produce objects for occasional orders, i.e., become 'specialists' and also sell their products at city markets and national fairs. In the latter case, we are talking about 'cottage industry,' which provided a livelihood for many villages in the Carpathian Basin.[1] This form of work was the basis for the state's efforts

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1 Domonkos, *A kézművesség*, 20–21. Cottage industries also served as a basis for the exchange of products between villages and neighbouring or even distant regions. For more on the cottage industry base of the textile industry, see: Tolnai, *A paraszti*; Tolnai, *A manufaktúraipar.*

to centralize the cottage industry from the second half of the nineteenth century, which included training courses for cottage industry workers, the sale of products, and the financial support and control of their institutions. The study examines cottage industry as a result of the emergence of these centralizing efforts.

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, Hungarian industry had an essentially double organizational model: traditional small-scale industry remained significant within the framework of industrial associations and industrial corporations even after the abolition of the guild system in 1872, while a concentrated manufacturing industry also emerged.[2] In addition, a system of cottage industries was formed, coordinated and supported by ministries. In this system, in addition to national organizations, entrepreneurs, church leaders, and women's associations aimed at boosting the local cottage industry (including folk arts) and their earning potential. The notions of 'manufacturing industry' and 'cottage industry' were not incompatible, as some factory foundations claimed the resources of the cottage industry and worked within a cottage industry framework (training their workers, supplying home workers with raw materials and samples for the products to be made).[3] "Whether we call it »protoindustrialization« or »dispersed manufactures«, »cottage industry« or »folk art«, all these terms were used to describe a conscious development strategy that sought to turn the »national cottage industry« into an economic development, to strengthen the domestic industry and, thus, to economically strengthen the nation."[4] The cooperative system also played a role in this strategy.

The cottage industry movement went hand in hand with the development of the cooperative ideal. The 2011 proceedings of the conference *Cooperatives in Ethnic Conflicts: Eastern Europe in the 19th and Early 20th Century* is the first to draw attention to the close link between nation-building and the cooperative movement in Eastern Europe. This process can be captured by the term 'economic nationalism.'[5] But "the historiography of cooperatives and the cooperative movement in Eastern Europe has rarely noted the development of modern research on nationalism. And likewise, cooperatives have widely been ignored by research on nationalism. […] Scholarship on cooperatives and nationalism runs basically on two tracks, one

2 Kaposi, *Magyarország gazdaságtörténete,* 239–41. Cited by Szulovszky, "The Weaving Industry in Hungary," 60. For more details on the changing situation of small industries from the 1850s to the 1940s see: Szulovszky, "Craft industries."

3 Lackner, "A háziipar szervezeti keretei," 77.

4 Szőcsné Gazda, "Háziipari mozgalmak," 166.

5 See Lorenz, "Introduction," 9–10; Pogány, Kubů and Kofman, *For a National Economy*; Teichova, Matis, and Pátek, *Economic Change*.

researched mostly by economists, the other by culturologists."[6] This dichotomy, complicated by further gaps and contradictions, is also evident in Hungarian research.

The development of the cooperative institutional system in Hungary, including various types of cooperatives, is well studied from historical, economic, and legal points of view.[7] However, the research available does not cover the early cottage industry cooperatives or the cottage industry activities carried out within the framework of agricultural or consumer cooperatives.

Thanks to ethnography and history, the process and impact of the formation of the nation-state, which started in the second half of the nineteenth century, are well explored.[8] The cottage industry movement was closely linked to nation-building in two ways. In line with the general Eastern European principles of cooperative building, one of the main aims of the cottage industry movement was to keep the workforce at home and ensure the livelihood of large numbers of people. In addition, the production and commercialization of objects, most of which were then presented 'as the output of artistic cottage industries,' and then as *folk art,* also served nation-building. For this reason, when exploring the history of folk art and peasant object making, both ethnography and art history addressed the beginnings of the cottage industry movement.[9] There are a few case studies published on specific cooperatives or enterprises,[10] but the influence and impact of the entire cottage industry institutional system, the central governing bodies, and the actors of the trade have not yet been sufficiently researched.[11]

Therefore, we should examine how the cottage industry movement in Hungary met the aspirations of the cooperative movement and how the cottage industry participated in the cooperative system. The present study explores the relationship between cottage industry and cooperatives up to the end of the World War II, when the new political regime began to build the cooperative system on the Soviet model. The study does not aim to provide an analysis of economic history. It places the cottage industry movement in the history of cooperatives and draws historians' and economic historians' attention to this economic sector. The paper deals with all branches of the cottage industry, based on the available data. As an additional result, it broadens the focus of ethnography, contributing to the history of 'material folk art' and indirectly nuancing its definition.

6 Lorenz, "Introduction," 13.

7 For the relevant works, see below.

8 See e.g., Hofer, "Construction of the »Folk Cultural Heritage«."

9 Sinkó, "A népművészet-szemlélet változásai"; Kresz, "A magyar népművészet felfedezése"; Fügedi, "The Discovery"; Fülemile, "Folk art heritage and tradition."

10 For example, Flórián, "A »sárközi szőttes«"; Erdei T., "Csipkeműhelyek."

11 On the folk-art trade, see: Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

During the period under review, Hungary's borders changed several times, which certainly affected the development of the cottage industry. The 1920 Treaty of Trianon resulted in the loss of more than two thirds of the country's territory, while several of the annexed counties had been of great importance for the cottage industry. Transylvania,[12] Maramureș, Partium, and Eastern Banat became part of Romania. Upper Hungary (Felvidék), Subcarpathia (Kárpátalja), and the Great Rye Island (Csallóköz) became part of what was then Czechoslovakia. Bačka (with its important carpet weaving cottage industry), and the regions of Baranja (Drávaköz), Western Banat, Porabje (Vendvidék), and Međimurje (Muraköz) were allocated to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). The cottage industry of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under the Trianon Treaty, had also been considered significant within the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary.[13] Based on economic accounts and available data of the period, the present study focuses on historical Hungary up to the 1920s and, beyond that, on data for Small Hungary.[14] More extensive research could be carried out on the cottage industries of the territories that the Trianon decision separated from Hungary.

There are two main categories of the workforce in the cottage industry: those employed in the companies' workshops, and those working from home. The latter option was selected by a considerable number of workers, who were provided with raw materials and tools as needed.

The beginnings of the cooperative movement

In the nineteenth century, the cooperative movement, which originated in Western Europe, could not be integrated into the Eastern European[15] economy, including the Hungarian economy. Here, cooperatives were late to emerge in a more developed capitalist system, with the ruling class playing a major role in the process. In some places, tenacious leaders managed to set up agricultural cooperatives based on democratic principles, but the establishment of cooperatives throughout the country was mainly driven by the big landowners' interests and encouraged by state control. The first legal basis for this was provided by Act XXXVII of 1875, known as the Basic Law on Cooperatives. Sándor Gyimesi traces the history of agricultural cooperatives

12 On the Szekler Cottage Industry Association and the Women's Trade School in Sfântu Gheorghe: Szőcsné Gazda, "Egy nőipariskola és hatása."

13 For the Treaty of Trianon, see: Zeidler, "Treaty of Trianon"; Tomka, "The economic consequences."

14 For the history of the cottage industry in Szeklerland, see the works of Enikő Szőcsné Gazda cited in the study and Somai, "Szövetkezetek Erdélyben."

15 For more on the reasons, see: Lorenz, "Introduction" and the references cited.

in Hungary from 1879, the year of the farmers' congress of the Hungarian National Economic Association *(OMGE)*. However, this organization did not find popularity with farmers. Of much greater importance was the *Hangya*[16] Sales and Consumption Cooperative, founded in 1898 and operating for fifty years. By 1914, *Hangya* had 1,276 member cooperatives and some 200,000 members in its national network. Between the two world wars it had 700,000 producer members. In 1898, the National Central Credit Cooperative *(OKH)* was established to develop agriculture and cottage industry under the cooperative system. This organization brought village credit cooperatives and other cooperative-like village associations under state control. The *OKH* operated until 1947, when it was merged into the National Cooperative Credit Institute.[17] The cooperatives were thus incorporated into a centralized network.[18]

In Western Europe, the cooperative movement first evolved in industry, but in Eastern Europe and Hungary most cooperatives—throughout their history—were predominantly agricultural. Cooperatives with a purely cottage industry profile were sporadic. The Association of Hungarian Cooperatives was founded in 1904 to bring together cooperatives. Its tasks included compiling statistics on cooperatives, organizing training courses, and establishing and maintaining international relations.[19]

The beginnings of the cottage industry movement

According to a survey conducted for the organization of the state administration of cottage industry, in 1884 there were 800,000 registered cottage workers, 760,000 of whom were women,[20] in a country of about 15 million people.[21] The cottage industry in Hungary was still completely different from the German *Hausindustrie* model, which had already been established in the Czech Republic, Saxony, Switzerland, and Belgium. There, cottage industry was the main source of income for entire regions, with the whole family doing piecework when not busy in the fields. They worked to patterns, and their products were marketed as manufactory goods by employers or manufacturers. *Hausindustrie* provided an income for those who could no longer

16 *Hangya* means 'ant.'

17 *Révai kétkötetes*, 308–9.

18 Szilágyi, "Gazdasági társulások, egyesületek," 579–80; Sidó and Szarvas, *Hangya a világrendszerben*, 251–54, 623–25.

19 Gyimesi, "A parasztság és a szövetkezeti mozgalmak," 624, 635–36.

20 Jekelfalussy, *Magyarország háziipara*, 11; Konz, *The Impact of Industrial*, 153–54. Women's dominance in the cottage industry continued for decades. (Ferenczi, *A magyarországi háziipar*; Gyáni, "Női munka," 367–69). This and the role of women entrepreneurs and designers in the cottage industry, require a more detailed discussion beyond the scope of this paper.

21 *A Magyar Korona Országaiban*, 5.

make a living from farming. This was also the goal of the Hungarian government, although they did not want a complete diversion from agriculture. The first systematic display of cottage industry products was at the National Women's Exhibition in 1881. It was at that time that the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Trade took up the cause. The first large-scale cottage industry exhibition was held in 1885.[22]

In the cottage industries, stronger state intervention was essential, as central support was necessary for training, for providing raw materials and, in some cases, modern equipment (e.g., looms and weaving machines). Operating the cottage industry inspectorates, which coordinated these tasks and the sale of cottage industry products, was always subject to state supervision.[23]

The cottage industry register of 1898 lists eleven industries: wood, wicker, sorghum, straw, rush and basketwork, clay, textiles, amadou, iron and metal, leather, tin, and tinker cottage industries. Among the organizations and 'employers' that coordinated the cottage industry and sold its products, there were institutes, committees, associations, cooperatives, town councils, entrepreneurs, and training workshops.[24]

The legal status and definition of cottage industry was omitted in the 1884 and 1922 Industry Acts.[25] The cottage industry could therefore operate in different ways: under the control of a single company or entrepreneur, on the initiative of the church, organized by associations belonging to women's unions, or as a cooperative. Associations and cottage industry associations also sometimes took the cooperative form of operation.

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, cottage industries were established on three fundamental principles.

1. In the 1890s, the Department of Commerce supported the entrepreneurial system that had already been in operation in the cottage industry, expanding the districts of entrepreneurs and bringing in new entrepreneurs. Under this scheme, one entrepreneur in each district trained cottage industry workers, provided them with samples and raw materials, and undertook to sell the products.[26] Cottage industry associations were set up to promote trade in cottage products. Founded in Bratislava in 1894 under the patronage of Princess Isabella, the highly influential Izabella Cottage Industry Association[27] maintained textile

22 Ráth, "A háziipar," 300, 302.

23 Lackner, "A háziipar szervezeti keretei"; Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

24 Ráth, "A háziipar," 321; Kovács, "A háziipari törzskönyve."

25 Kruchina, "Magyarország háziipara," 9.

26 Csák E., *A háziipari termelés,* 110–11. Such entrepreneurs were, for example, the Gyarmathy couple in Kalotaszeg (Balogh and Fülemile, *Történeti idő*, 80–107).

27 Hungarian name: *Izabella Háziipari Egylet*.

workshops and schools in the counties of Bratislava, Nitra, and Trenčín,[28] moving its headquarters to Budapest in 1923 and operating until 1946. It was concerned not only with commercial interests but also with the authentic preservation of folk art, and in collaboration with the Society of Applied Arts, exhibited its products at numerous national and world exhibitions.[29]

2. The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs encouraged the development of artistic cottage industries, based on artistic rather than economic considerations. Therefore, the Ministry cooperated primarily with the Museum of Applied Arts and the School of Applied Arts.[30]
3. By promoting cottage industry, the Ministry of Agriculture hoped to provide additional employment for the masses of agricultural workers and prevent them from emigrating. This was in line with the state's aim of creating agricultural cooperatives and their network in order to curb credit and commodity usury, develop economic skills and, among other things, stop emigration from Hungary.[31] In 1897, the Ministry of Agriculture launched the so-called Mountain Region Action to support the economy of the mountainous areas (Northern Hungary) and later the neighbouring lowland areas with the aim to also boost their cottage industry. The action extended to poorer farming classes, irrespective of religious denomination or nationality.[32] In designing the scheme, the deputies proposed to the ministry that economic cooperatives should be created by merging small farms. The cooperatives were creditworthy and received credit and additional support from the state.[33] The Ministerial Office for the Mountain Region[34] organized cottage industry courses and helped in selling products. In 1908, there were sixty-one cottage industry units (most of them basket weavers), eighteen of which were cooperatives. In 1909, the branch helped seventy-six cottage industries and cooperatives. In 1910, there were already eighty-three, with twenty-three of them cooperatives. "The Office for the Mountain Region sought to place cottage industry workshops under the control of contractors, which implied simpler operations in terms of raw material procurement and sales."[35] It also set up credit cooperatives, which

28 Flórián, "A »sárközi szőttes«," 216; Iványi, "A háziipar szerepe," 193.

29 Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

30 Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 11.

31 Gyimesi, "A parasztság és a szövetkezeti mozgalmak," 623.

32 Braun, "A hegyvidéki akció," 16, 200.

33 Braun, "A hegyvidéki akció," 73.

34 In 1913, the branch offices' area of responsibility covered most of Transylvania (now Romania) and the Mountain Region (now part of Ukraine and Slovakia) (Braun, "A hegyvidéki akció," 203).

35 Braun, "A hegyvidéki akció," 162, 165.

were part of the National Central Credit Cooperative, established in 1898.[36] The mountain region action was finally disrupted by the World War I.

Only one or two economic associations were formed on the initiative of the peasantry but, by the end of the nineteenth century, they had been integrated into the national networks.[37] State support was given not only to enterprises but also to cooperatives, but support was conditional on the cooperatives belonging to one of the national associations. Cottage industry plants could join a national network as either a separate cottage industry cooperative or as a member of a credit, consumption, or farmers' cooperative. With cooperatives outside the network, it was examined whether there were any private interests involved. "In the case of a bond under the influence and control of the State, we will deal in the most liberal manner with the matter of aid for the development of cottage industries, because we can protect the State's interests in every way." The cooperatives that joined the national network were eligible for financial assistance and support in the form of machinery, were exempt from taxation, and could procure certain state transport supplies without competitive tendering.[38]

Cottage industry cooperatives

Central cooperatives

The National Central Credit Cooperative *(OKH)*

A number of cottage industry cooperatives operated under the umbrella of the National Central Credit Cooperative.[39] The *OKH* was permitted to admit only those cooperatives and contractors that had been part of the *OKH* since their inception.[40] In 1906, the Central Credit Cooperative included, for example, the Tápé Rush Weaving Cottage Industry and Credit Cooperative,[41] from 1910 the First Székely [Szekler] Cottage Industry National Cooperative,[42] and the Körösfő [later

36 Braun, "A hegyvidéki akció," 181.

37 Gyimesi, "A parasztság és a szövetkezeti mozgalmak," 619.

38 Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 10.

39 Hungarian name: *Országos Központi Hitelszövetkezet (OKH).*

40 n. n., "Értesítések."

41 *Mihók-féle Magyar Compass* 34/2 (1906) 21, 17–41. Hungarian name: *Tápéi Gyékényszövő Háziipari és Hitelszövetkezet*. Tápé is a settlement in Southeastern Hungary. Weaving in Tápé was a significant cottage industry up to the second half of the 20th century (see: Kerekes, "A tápéi gyékényszövő háziipar").

42 *Mihók-féle Magyar Compass* 38/2 (1910) 839. Hungarian name: *Első Székely Háziipari Országos Szövetkezet*.

Kalotaszeg] Cottage Industry Cooperative (Kolozs County),[43] and the Kalocsa and Rural Cottage Industry Credit Cooperative.[44] In 1910, out of 2,206 cooperatives belonging to the National Central Credit Cooperative, only forty-seven were cottage industry cooperatives, engaged in such activities as basket weaving, shawl weaving, broom making, woodworking, and weaving.[45] In 1913, there were 2,412 cooperatives within the network, of which sixty-six were cottage industry cooperatives.[46] The author of the 1913 report had access to data on thirty cottage industry cooperatives, with a total of 2,122 members. They were engaged in basket weaving, rush weaving, the manufacture of wooden articles, canvas weaving, cloth making, etc. Among the most successful cooperatives was the cooperative of cottage industry clothiers in Kisújszállás and Túrkeve[47] "with 97 members and 224 shop units, providing permanent employment for nearly a thousand workers three quarters of whom were cottage industry workers)."[48] The equally successful Budapest Tailors' Cooperative with 318 members and the Miskolc[49] and Szeged[50] Tailors' Cooperatives are also listed as cottage industry cooperatives, which is instructive because of the small-scale nature of the activity and its guild history.

The cottage industry of basket weaving provided work for the masses across the country. The National Central Credit Cooperative had several basket weaving cooperatives, of which "the best results were achieved by the Apatin Basket Weavers'

43 *Mihók-féle Magyar Compass* 37/2 (1909) 784. Hungarian name: *Körösfői* [later *Kalotaszegi*] *Háziipari Szövetkezetet*. Körösfő today Izvoru Crișului, village in the Kalotaszeg (Țara Călatei) region in Transylvania, today part of Romania. The Kalotaszeg Cottage Industry Cooperative played a major role in the widespread popularization and maintenance of Kalotaszeg folk art (Sebestyén, "Kalotaszeg vándor háziiparosai," 56). The Kalotaszeg costume, embroidery, and woodcarving collectively established the region as a globally renowned cultural entity, and these artistic traditions continue to represent a significant aspect of Hungarian folk art.

44 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 41/2 (1913) 88. Hungarian name: *Kalocsa és Vidéke Háziipari Hitelszövetkezet*. Kalocsa is a town in Southern Hungary. The decorative culture of Kalocsa and its region became an emblematic and world-famous element of Hungarian folk art in the twentieth century.

45 *Mihók-féle Magyar Compass* 38/1 (1910) 1559.

46 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 41/1 (1913) 1862. Other cooperatives of an industrial nature are thirty-two producer cooperatives, twenty-six sales cooperatives, ten industrial raw material purchasing cooperatives, eight machinery workshops, etc. (sic!) (Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 12).

47 Settlements in Eastern Hungary, Great Hungarian Plain.

48 Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 12.

49 County seat of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, Northeastern Hungary.

50 County seat of the former Csongrád County (today Csongrád-Csanád County), Southeastern Hungary.

Cooperative"[51] with 143 members, the *Martonos Basket Weavers' Cooperative*[52] with 108 members, and the Taksony[53] Cooperative.

> "Linen weaving is conducted by the cooperatives of the canvas merchants of Árdánháza,[54] the recently established cooperatives of the canvas merchants of Tarpa,[55] and of the canvas merchants of Árva County,[56] all on a cottage industry basis." […] "In the field of rush weaving, the cooperative of rush weavers in Tápé, among others, stood out".[57]

Cottage industry cooperatives were also assisted in marketing. In 1913, the Centre for the Purchase and Sale[58] of industrial and cottage industry cooperatives, affiliated with the National Central Credit Cooperative, was established to facilitate sales.[59] The Centre was initially set up to develop the basket weaving industry, at a time when a large sales company, the Basketry Joint Stock Company[60] in Szabadka, had ceased to exist. The Central Credit Cooperative played a significant role in maintaining the basket weaving cottage industry, through pooling sales and, more importantly, through the professional management of production: "the direction and method of production of the basket weaving cooperatives have been largely reorganized, as a result of which the country no longer has millions of fruit baskets in heaps" (instead, mainly clothing, travelling, and coupé baskets are produced).[61] The other outstanding achievement of the National Central Credit Cooperative was the 'rescue' of the straw hat industry in Hajdúnánás, i.e., the employment of around a thousand cottage industry workers.

> "The old company was in financial difficulties. […] The government, wishing to save this cottage industry, unique in the country, called on the management of the Central Credit Cooperative to rescue it, and succeeded, so that the hat industry in Hajdúnánás resumed its operations as a cooperative within a few months."[62]

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51 Hungarian name: *Apatini Kosárfonók Szövetkezete*. Апатин is a settlement in the former Southeastern Hungary, today in Serbia.

52 Hungarian name: *Martonosi Kosárfonók Termelőszövetkezete*. Мартонош is a settlement in the former Southeastern Hungary, today in Serbia.

53 Settlement by the Danube in Pest County.

54 Арданово. Village in Subcarpathia, today in Ukraine.

55 Municipality in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, Northeastern Hungary.

56 Árva County was situated in the northern part of the former Kingdom of Hungary, Upper Hungary. Today, it is part of Slovakia.

57 Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 12.

58 Hungarian name: *Beszerző és Értékesítő Központ*.

59 *Központi Értesítő*, 24 August 1913. 38(68). 1984.

60 Hungarian name: *Kosáráru Részvénytársaság*.

61 Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 12.

62 Pum, "A háziipar és annak helyzete," 13.

Both basket weaving and the Hajdúnánás straw hat industry were significant cottage industries in Hungary up to the second half of the twentieth century, and the above figures show that the cooperative institutional system played a pivotal role in their maintenance and rescue.[63]

The Credit Cooperative was interested in supporting profitable cottage industries. For example, a complaint regarding this issue was documented as early as 1912.

> "The […] co-operatives have been selling their goods through the National Central Credit Cooperative in recent years, and the leaders now blame the Cooperative Centre for the stalling of the cottage industry drive. […] The speaker of the delegation [before the Minister of Agriculture – F. Cs.] complained that the National Central Credit Cooperative was not fulfilling its altruistic mission because it was closing down all the cooperatives that were not profitable, thereby reducing production and contributing to rising prices."[64]

In 1915, the *OKH* had a total of 2,441 cooperatives, of which twenty-nine were cottage industry cooperatives.[65] In 1919, all the industrial credit cooperatives belonging to the National Central Credit Cooperative, engaged in crafts and industrial, cottage industry and skilled trades, were placed under the supervision of the newly established National Central Cooperative of Industrialists.[66] By granting them loans, the National Central Credit Cooperative had an interest in the National Central Cooperative of Industrialists.[67] The legislation that governed the latter was Article XVIII of 1924, which stipulated that the organization's task was to promote the economic interests of craft, small and medium-sized industries, as well as to contribute to industrial development. The text does not specifically mention cottage industries.[68] In 1925, four cottage industry cooperatives were part of

63 The straw-hat cottage industry in Hajdúnánás (Hajdú-Bihar County, Eastern Hungary) dates to the first half of the nineteenth century. The largest factory was founded in 1870 by Gyula Sohler, and its annual production reached 450,000 pieces in the years before World War I. A large part of its workers were home workers. This factory had to be rescued by the National Central Credit Cooperative after the trauma of the World War. The Hajdúnánás Straw-hat Making Cooperative was established in harmony with the interests of the local factories and operated as a joint-stock company until 1930. From the 1950s, the straw-hat making industry continued to operate in the settlement under the cottage industry cooperative system based on the Soviet model (Szabó, "Szalmakötő háziipar," 71, 80, 83, 87).

64 n. n., "Magyar királyi népmentés," 3.

65 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 44/1 (1916) 1816.

66 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 46–47/1 (1918) 709–10. Hungarian name: *Iparosok Országos Központi Szövetkezete*.

67 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 50/1 (1925) 679.

68 https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=92400018.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D39 (accessed 26 August 2024).

the Centre: the Kisújszállás Cottage Industry Clothiers Cooperative,[69] the Nádudvar Cottage Industry Cooperative[70] (basket weaving), the Taksony Basket Weavers' Cooperative,[71] and the Túrkeve Cottage Industry Clothiers Cooperative.[72] According to a 1929 report, the National Central Cooperative of Industrialists comprised fifty-eight industrial cooperatives with 16,600 members, but no data is available on how many of these were cottage industry cooperatives.[73]

In 1920, under the auspices of the National Central Credit Cooperative, the *Orsó* and *Rokka* Cottage Industry Cooperative[74] was established, which played an instrumental role in the preservation and further development of folk art, and had cottage industry plants in several parts of the country.[75] The cooperative produced Hungarian folk art embroidery, lace, blouses, tablecloths, women's and children's clothing, crochet and fine underwear. Its products were sold mainly in the United States, but the Netherlands and Switzerland also purchased large quantities.[76] The cooperative was in liquidation by 1927.[77]

Women's associations, such as the Izabella Cottage Industry Association, and women's unions played a major role in the development of the cottage industry. The most significant one was the National Association of Hungarian Women,[78] which operated between 1918 and 1946 and established 550 rural organizations. Among other public welfare activities (social assistance and child protection, education of women and poor children, etc.), the association established 130 weaving mills. In 1923, the Hungarian Women's Cottage Industry Cooperative[79] was set up under the umbrella of the National Central Credit Cooperative to promote the cottage

69 Hungarian name: *Kisújszállási Ruhakészítő Háziiparosok Termelő Szövetkezete*. Kisújszállás is a town in Eastern Hungary, in the Great Hungarian Plain.

70 Hungarian name: *Nádudvari Háziiparosok Szövetkezete*. Nádudvar is a town in Eastern Hungary, in the Great Hungarian Plain. Today, it is more famous for its pottery than for its basket weaving.

71 Hungarian name: *Taksonyi Kosárfonók Termelő Szövetkezete*.

72 Hungarian name: *Túrkevei Ruhakészítő Háziiparosok Termelő Szövetkezete*. *Gazdasági, pénzügyi és tőzsdei kompasz* 1926–1927/1. vol. 2. B) Szövetkezetek [Cooperatives], 173.

73 Ihrig, "A szövetkezetek," 70.

74 Hungarian name: *Orsó és Rokka Háziipari Szövetkezet*. *Orsó* = spindle; *rokka* = spinning wheel.

75 *Gazdasági, pénzügyi és tőzsdei kompasz* 1925–1926. vol. 1. part II. C) Szövetkezetek [Cooperatives]. 1741.; in 1922 the centre operated departments in Baja, Hatvan, Hódmezővásárhely, Kecskemét, Pécel, Szentes. *Nagy Magyar Compass* 49/2 (1922). 1444.

76 n. n., "Vegyes Hírek."

77 *Központi Értesítő* 7 April 1927. 52(14). 333.

78 Hungarian name: *Magyar Asszonyok Nemzeti Szövetsége*.

79 Hungarian name: *Magyar Asszonyok Háziipari Szövetkezete*.

industry.[80] In 1942, another cooperative was established within the Association, the Cottage Industry Cooperative of the Members of the National Association of Hungarian Women.[81] The reason for this is unknown.

> "Under joint management and on the basis of reciprocity, the purpose of the cooperative was the wholesale and retail trade of needlework, handicrafts, applied art, folk art, wicker basketry, and furniture produced by its members in cottage industry settings, as well as to purchase raw materials and equipment for their production, and to promote the members' cottage industry activities by setting up workshops and organizing their exhibitions and fairs."[82]

The "Hangya" Production, Sales, and Consumption Cooperative

Apart from the National Central Credit Cooperative, the other large organization, comprising hundreds of cooperatives, was the *Hangya* Production, Sales, and Consumption Cooperative.[83] The book, published in 1923 to commemorate the organization's 25th anniversary, lists all the member cooperatives, but unfortunately not their profiles. In 1935, *Hangya* set up separate cooperatives for each branch it wished to organize. This is how the *Hangya* Production, Sales, and Consumption Cooperative came into being.[84] Their cottage industry products were distributed to cooperative centers in England, Finland, Switzerland and other European and overseas countries. *Hangya* opened a shop in Paris selling Hungarian cottage industry products.[85] In 1936, independent traders were concerned that "*Hangya* was attempting to establish an export syndicate for household goods, in which it would, naturally, have a larger stake and thus would change its present inferior position."[86] The fears of competitors in the cottage industry were confirmed a few years later, as we read below. In 1939, *Hangya* operated sixty permanent rural sites with a workforce of 600 in the cottage industry.

The *MOVE* Consumption and Sales Cooperative

The Association for the Protection of Hungary *(Magyar Országos Véderő Egyesület / MOVE)* was a right-wing social, sports and cultural association founded in 1918,

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80 n. n., "A magyar asszonyok,"; Nagy, "A Magyar Asszonyok Nemzeti Szövetsége," 139.

81 Hungarian name: *Magyar Asszonyok Nemzeti Szövetsége Tagjainak Háziipari Szövetkezete.*

82 *Központi Értesítő* 16. July 1942. 67(29) 1428.

83 Hungarian name: *Hangya Termelő-Értékesítő* és *Fogyasztási Szövetkezet.*

84 n. n., "Új rendszer."

85 Hegedűs, *Az egykéz*, 148–49; n. n., "Komoly sikereket."

86 n. n., "Háziipari kiviteli szindikátust."

which, among other things, was dedicated to helping the working class, including the cottage industry. MOVE was founded in 1919, with its headquarters in Budapest with the objective to establish a network of consumption cooperatives throughout the country, encompassing even a cottage industry profile. For example, in Békéscsaba the Békés County Cottage Industry Cooperative[87] was established in 1921[88] with the aim to teach and provide work in the spinning-weaving, the lace making, and the leather embroidery cottage industry. Members could purchase the garments they produced at a reasonable price and sell their hemp-based and other products directly from the cooperative, cutting out middlemen.[89] By 1925, MOVE was in liquidation.[90]

The '*Turán*' Hungarian National Cottage Industry Cooperative[91] was established between 1922 and 1927. It constituted a group of several cottage industry cooperatives, and was founded under the auspices of the National Hungarian Applied Arts Society, the *"Hangya"* Centre, the Association for the Protection of Hungary, the '*Iker*' Industrial and Commercial Joint Stock Company,[92] and the '*Transorient*' Commercial Joint Stock Company.[93] Both the objectives of '*Turán*' and those of *MOVE* were compatible with state propaganda, which promoted peasant culture and folk art in a particular reading as support for nationalist ideas.

Other cooperatives

The names of several additional cottage industry cooperatives are documented in contemporary sources. However, it remains unclear whether these cooperatives were part of a larger centre or operated as independent entities, but we have no space here to list all. By way of illustration, various types of cooperatives are considered, each with distinct profiles and motives for engaging in cottage industry.

From the perspective of folk art, two cooperatives that are still emblematic warrant mention: the Mezőkövesd and the Sárköz Cottage Industry Cooperatives.[94]

87 Hungarian name: *Békés Megyei Háziipari Szövetkezetet.*

88 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 48/2 (1920) 1239.; n. n., "Háziipar." Further research is needed to determine exactly what other cottage industry institutions and cooperatives the organization was involved with.

89 *Központi Értesítő* 10 November 1921. 46(42) 1028.

90 *Központi Értesítő* 28 May 1925. 50(22) 494.

91 Hungarian name: *„Turán" Magyar Nemzeti Háziipari Szövetkezet.*

92 Hungarian name: *„Iker" Ipari* és *Kereskedelmi Részvénytársaság.*

93 Hungarian name: *„Transorient" Kereskedelmi Részvénytársaság.* n. n., "A »Túrán«"; *Budapesti Közlöny Hivatalos Értesítője*, 19 September 1927. 61(220). 10.

94 Hungarian names are: *Mezőkövesdi Háziipari Szövetkezet* and *Sárközi Háziipari Szövetkezet.*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the *matyó*[95] object-making culture was already highly representative of Hungarian folk art. To promote this tradition, the Mezőkövesd Cottage Industry Cooperative was founded in 1912.[96] Since *matyó* embroidery was already known worldwide, at the initiation of intelligent entrepreneurs, it stopped being matyó women's sole domain, as it employed other paid workers as well in its production. To protect their own interests, the people of Mezőkövesd formed a cooperative to distribute and sell *matyó* products. In this way, they could satisfy larger orders and monitor the authenticity of folk-art products.[97] The cooperative operated until 1935.[98]

The Sárköz Cottage Industry Cooperative was established in December 1929 with the aim of preserving and promoting the folk art of the Sárköz.[99] It was organized as part of the Cottage Industry Inspectorate of Székesfehérvár.[100] The board of directors consisted of five members, four of whom were pastors of municipalities in the Sárvár region.[101] This fact also indicates that church leaders attached great importance to the cottage industry in terms of creating public welfare. The cooperative was dissolved in 1936, and the sale of folk-art products was taken over by the national trade network of the *Hangya* Cooperative.[102]

As there are also church-founded cooperatives as well, the role of the church in the development of the cottage industry is a subject of further investigation. For

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See also above the Kalotaszeg Cottage Industry Cooperative and the Kalocsa Cottage Industry Cooperative.

95 The material folk art—folk costume, embroidery, and furniture painting—of Mezőkövesd, Tard, and Szentistván (in Northeastern Hungary) were internationally renowned from the late nineteenth century. The name *matyó* was used to refer to the Catholic population of the area, which was religiously and culturally distinct from the Reformed population. Today, the name is associated with the emblematic folk art of the three settlements.

96 *Központi Értesítő*, 1912 (Vol. 37, 2nd semester). 2830.

97 n. n., "Háziipari szövetkezet."

98 *Központi Értesítő* 25 July 1935. 60(30). XXIII.

99 Sárköz is a region in Southern Transdanubia. After the de-flooding of the Danube following its control in the nineteenth century, the excellent quality of the soil brought rapid prosperity to locals. This enabled the rich folk costume and textile culture of the Reformed population to develop.

100 The Cottage Industry Inspectorates were established in 1920 by the Ministry of Agriculture. At that time, the country's seven regional inspectorates were responsible for the procurement of raw materials, training, and the domestic distribution of products. The cottage industry inspectorates retained the autonomy of producers and, as official bodies, could not control either their production or their sales. For more details, see: Cseh, "The Centralized Management." Székesfehérvár is the county seat of Fejér County, Western Hungary.

101 *Központi Értesítő* 1 July 1929. 54(28) 495.

102 Flórián, "A »sárközi szőttes«," 221.

example, the Hungarian Protestant Cottage Industry Cooperative was founded in 1925 with several rural branches[103] and survived until 1928.[104]

Some cooperatives were also engaged in the production of raw materials. The small farmers' cooperative in Felsőszeli[105] undertook the production, purchase, and processing of hemp, linen, and other industrial crops into semi-finished and finished products.[106] The Small Livestock and Cottage Industry Cooperative of Intellectual Workers[107] in Budapest was established for the purchase, finishing and the sale of Angora rabbits, silk wool, and rabbit fur produced from its members' breeding to meet its members' raw material requirements.[108]

Cottage industries are sometimes included in the remit of cooperatives with a complex range of activities. The 'Union' General Merchandise Trade and Cottage Industry Cooperative[109] was established in Hódmezővásárhely[110] in 1938. The *"Union"* managed its members' joint business and, based on reciprocity, procured and marketed household, sports, travel, clothing and decorative goods. It procured for its members raw materials for the production of the above and for cottage industry goods, and marketed the finished output. In addition, it also bred and marketed small domestic animals.[111]

Cottage industry cooperatives were based on crafts. Nevertheless, the 'Existencia' Cottage Industry and Mechanical Cottage Industry Cooperative,[112] founded at the end of 1920, was a step towards further development, with the aim of developing the art industry and establishing the mechanical cottage industry.[113]

Joint stock companies and the cottage industry

Cottage industry work was not only carried out by cooperatives but also by other forms of enterprise, such as joint stock companies. In order to supply the cooperatives set up by the Ministry of Agriculture with the raw materials for the production

103 Hungarian name: *Magyar Protestáns Háziipari Szövetkezet.* n. n., "Magyar Protestáns."

104 n. n., "Felszámolások."

105 Horné Saliby. Settlement in former Upper Hungary, today in Slovakia.

106 *Központi Értesítő* 23 May 1940. 65(21) 722.

107 Hungarian name: *Szellemi Munkások Kisállattenyésztő és Háziipari Szövetkezete.*

108 *Központi Értesítő* 19 March 1942. 67(12) 473.

109 Hungarian name: *"Unió" Általános Árukereskedelmi és Háziipari Szövetkezet.*

110 Town in Southeastern Hungary, today it is famous for its pottery and embroidery culture.

111 *Központi Értesítő* 11 April 1940. 65(15) 502.

112 Hungarian name: *Existencia Műipari és Gépüzemű Háziipari Szövetkezet.*

113 *Központi Értesítő* 19 May 1921. 46(17). 440.

of cottage industry goods and to take over and sell their products, 'joint-stock' companies were established.[114]

The People's Furniture Factory Joint Stock Company[115] was in operation from 1919.

> "The object of the company is [...] the manufacture, cottage industry production, and sale of goods that can be classified as woodwork. The joint-stock company also establishes business relations with cottage manufacturers, cottage producers and cottage cooperatives in order to market their production and to train and educate its workers by setting up various courses of specialization."[116]

The Gyula Cottage Industry Hemp Weaving Joint Stock Company,[117] established in 1921, promoted cottage spinning and weaving.[118] The Hungarian Cottage Industry Development and Export Joint Stock Company,[119] established in 1923, set up cottage industry plants and sold their products. It also assumed control over the shop of the cottage industry cooperative in Mezőkövesd.[120] The Hungarian Folk Art and Cottage Industry Joint Stock Company[121] operated between 1920 and 1927.[122] The role of joint-stock companies and other companies mentioned in the development of the cottage industry is the subject of further research. Nevertheless, it is obvious that these entities played a substantial role in the cottage industry movement and sought their place in an increasingly centralized system.

Cottage industries towards centralization

It is difficult to determine precisely the number of companies with a cottage industry profile—i.e., enterprises, joint-stock companies, associations, alliances, and cooperatives. Data collection is facilitated by contemporary business registers referenced in this study, but they provide minimal insight into the affiliations and influence of each entity. Furthermore, cooperative name may not indicate cottage industry

114 *Mihók-féle Magyar Compass* 34/2 (1906). 456.

115 Hungarian name: *Népbútorgyár Részvénytársaság.*

116 *Központi Értesítő* 23 March 1919. 44(24). 607.

117 Hungarian name: *Gyulai Háziipari Kenderszövő Részvénytársaság.* Gyula is a town in the Great Hungarian Plain, today near to the Romanian border.

118 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 48/2 (1920). 954.

119 Hungarian name: *Magyarhoni Háziiparfejlesztő és Kiviteli Részvénytársaság.*

120 *Nagy Magyar Compass* 49/2 (1922). 1110.

121 Hungarian name: *Magyar Népművészeti és Háziipari Részvénytársaság.*

122 *Központi Értesítő* 46/17 (1921). 445.

profile, as cottage industry workers were also employed by farmers' cooperatives, but it is uncertain to what extent they provided accurate data on the number of cottage industry workers. The National Centre of Farmer Cooperatives *(FOK)*,[123] established in 1945, tried to gather data on cottage industries from its member cooperatives but was unsuccessful.[124] In 1925, the Ministry of Commerce ordered the Chambers of Commerce and Industry to compile statistics on industrial production. According to the 1926 report, 81,800 workers were engaged in cottage industry production in 1,026 municipalities in the territory of Small Hungary.[125] In 1928, the economist Viktor Csák E. also published a directory of Hungarian cottage industry enterprises. Among the eighty-two companies, there are joint-stock companies and companies of craftsmen and cottage industry entrepreneurs, and only four cooperatives: the Békés Basket Weaving Cottage Industry Cooperative[126] (fifty workers employed), the *Halasi* [Kiskunhalas] Lace Making and Selling Cooperative[127] (sewn lace), the Mezőkövesd Cottage Industry Cooperative (*matyó* embroidery), and the Zala County Cottage Industry Production and Sales Cooperative[128] (embroidered wall hangings, cushions and tablecloths, lace from Csetnek,[129] and embroidered and other lace handkerchiefs from Csetnek).[130] These were probably the most significant ones, as there are more the Central Bulletin.[131] However, it is unclear which of them were ultimately effective.

Cottage industries often faced a shortage of capital, but under the Trade Act certain forms of enterprise (e.g., associations and alliances) were precluded from securing loans and lacked the requisite annual turnover to repay them. To solve this problem, in 1928 Viktor Csák E. proposed that companies should be grouped together in a central cooperative with the option of securing a public loan. He called for a cooperative law under which the commercial government would have exclusive supervisory authority over industrial cooperatives. This would enable them to extend loans, effectively excluding self-serving credit institutions from such transactions.[132] We see below that by 1939 this idea was implemented.

123 Hungarian name: *Földműves Szövetkezetek Országos Központja*.

124 n. n., "Exportra készül fel."

125 Csák E., "A háziipari termelés," 119–22.

126 Hungarian name: *Békési Kosárfonó Háziipari Szövetkezet*.

127 Hungarian name: *Halasi* [Kiskunhalas] *Csipkekészítő és Értékesítő Szövetkezet*. Kiskunhalas is a settlement in Eastern Hungary, in the Great Hungarian Plain, world famous for its lacemaking.

128 Hungarian name: *Zalavármegyei Háziipari Termelő és Értékesítő Szövetkezet*.

129 Štítnik, settlement in former Upper Hungary, today in Slovakia. Today it is still famous for its lacemaking.

130 Csák E., "A háziipari termelés," 167–77.

131 *(Központi Értesítő)* Commercial register published from 1876 to 1948.

132 Csák E., "A háziipari termelés," 135–37.

Central cottage industry management bodies towards cooperatives

The Cooperative of the National Hungarian Cottage Industry Alliance

The *National Hungarian Cottage Industry Alliance*[133] was established in 1908 as an association, with the objective of facilitating the advancement of the cottage industry on a national scale. This was to be achieved by organizing training courses, setting up workshops, issuing sample books, centralizing raw material purchases, and providing work.[134] In addition, the organization aimed to centralize trade in cottage industry and folk art products.[135] This objective was not achieved[136] due to the proliferation of cottage industry associations and companies.[137] The alliance was founded under the chairmanship of Countess Ilona Batthyány[138] and the co-chairmanship of József Szterényi,[139] thus at the initiative of the central government. In 1926, the National Hungarian Cottage Industry Alliance was transformed into a cooperative (The Cooperative of the National Hungarian Cottage Industry Alliance) as a member of the National Central Credit Cooperative.[140] Szterényi wanted to find a solution to the centralization of cottage industry trade by setting up a cooperative. In 1929, he qualified cottage industry in Hungary as 'unsuccessful' and 'barren experiments' because "cottage industry workers are not yet at the intellectual level required for such an organization." He also saw centralization as the solution for bringing together other cottage industries.[141] Szterényi called for the establishment of cottage industry trade cooperatives in Hungary the way they were already operating effectively abroad, although he saw their great disadvantage in turning art-oriented

133 Hungarian name: *Országos Magyar Háziipari Szövetség.*

134 *Az Országos Magyar Háziipari Szövetség alapszabályai*, 3; Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

135 By the early 1940s, this goal was gradually achieved. See: Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

136 In 1919, the People's Economic Council also attempted to centralize the cottage industry (People's Economic Council: Decree No. 84 of the People's Economic Council. Budapesti Közlöny 1919. 53/92/. 1).

137 See for example Szőcsné Gazda, "A kutatástól a tömegmozgalomig."

138 Countess Ilona Andrássy Batthyány Lajosné (1858–1952) was the founding president of the Hungarian Women's Association, in addition to the National Association of Cottage Industry.

139 József Szterényi (1861–1941), politician, expert on industrial development and industrial education, Minister of Trade in 1918 (*Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 1000–1990*) https://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/index.html (accessed 25 July 2023). *Központi Értesítő* 1921. 46(17). 445.

140 Hungarian name: *Országos Magyar Háziipari Szövetség Szövetkezete. Központi Értesítő* 1927. 52(2). 25.

141 According to Szterényi's overview, the cottage industries in Hungary at that time were: embroidery, weaving, lacemaking, gold and silver embroidery, and needle painting (for ecclesiastical purposes), clay industry, carpet weaving, basket weaving, and wood carving. Szterényi, "Háziipar," 709–13.

cottage industries into mass-producing goods.[142] The global economic crisis between 1929 and 1933 also curtailed the potential for cottage industry sales. Despite receiving support from the State Treasury, ultimately the National Hungarian Cottage Industry Alliance and the Cooperative was making a loss, and in 1932, Minister of Trade Tihamér Fabinyi liquidated it.[143]

Meanwhile, in 1930, the cottage industry, which had previously been overseen by multiple ministries, was transferred to the exclusive purview of the Ministry of Commerce, which was operating the cottage industry inspectorates at the time. In 1932, the National Hungarian Society of Applied Arts,[144] independent of state bodies, was entrusted with the management of producers, with the intention of also governing the artistic cottage industries.[145]

The Hungarian Cottage Industry Union / National Hungarian Cottage Industry Cooperative

Also with the aim of centralizing the export of domestic products, the Hungarian Cottage Industry Union[146] was established in 1939 by the Foreign Trade Office. This was because the unrealistic price competition from commercial companies resulted in pushing down prices.[147] Cooperatives, associations, trading companies and private traders were represented at the Union's inaugural meeting.[148] However, no individuals were appointed to the Union's management committee, only representatives of companies.[149] Business shares were also soon concentrated in the hands of large companies (Hangya Cooperative owned 25 percent, Domus Cottage Industry and

142 Szterényi, "Háziipar," 710.

143 n. n., "Közel egymillió pengős;" n. n., "A túl nagy rezsi;" *Központi Értesítő* 1933. 58(44). 697. The task of regenerating the cottage industry was given to the National Hungarian Society of Applied Arts, which had been in operation since 1885.

144 Hungarian name: *Országos Magyar Iparművészeti Társulat*.

145 Kruchina, "Magyarország háziipara," 11–13. For more details, see: Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

146 Hungarian name: *Magyar Háziipari Egyesülés*. Name version: Cottage Industry Export Association *(Háziipari Kiviteli Egyesülés)*.

147 Critics of the decision argue that the state intervention is damaging to the saleability of cottage industry products abroad. This is confirmed by the report of the National Hungarian Society of Applied Arts, which states that "in connection with the collapse of the National Hungarian Cottage Industry Alliance, the cottage industry goods accumulated in the most important markets, England and Germany, were sold at liquidation prices, thus reducing the sales opportunities of all cottage industry companies to a minimum, which had a disastrous effect on both the companies' business results and cottage industry production." (n. n., "Elnököt választott").

148 MNL OL Z 1462. item 1. Minutes of general meetings, 1939. Hungarian Cottage Industry Union. 1939.

149 MNL OL Z 1462. item 1. Minutes, 11 May 1939. Hungarian Cottage Industry Union. 1939.

Applied Arts Ltd.[150] and *Hungarian Cottage Industry and Applied Arts Ltd.*[151] 25 percent. The remaining 50 percent was owned by the members).[152] In order to achieve its objectives, in 1940 the Union had to be transformed into a legal entity, i.e., a cooperative. The National Hungarian Cottage Industry Cooperative[153] could handle the procurement of raw materials, the establishment and maintenance of cooperative warehouses, the organization of public transport, the granting of loans, the lodging of customs security, and other economic matters. Only entrepreneurs on the register of certified cottage industries were eligible for membership, and only members of the cooperative were allowed to engage in export activities. According to its records, the cooperative continued to operate until 1948.[154]

Cottage industry as a public welfare issue during the war years

During the World War II, the Ministry of Public Welfare was engaged in surveying cottage industry production and sales with the general aim of improving living standards. Some counties had already had welfare cooperatives before the war, but from 1941 all the counties were obliged to set them up. Their tasks included establishing and organizing cottage industries: facilitating the purchase of tools, equipment, and raw materials through loans, and organizing training courses.[155] From 1941, the National Inspectorate for Social Affairs' Fund for the Protection of People and Families[156] was responsible for the central management and control of cottage industries, and their activities had to be aligned with the work of the Ministry of Industry.[157] The public welfare cooperatives ceased to exist in 1948,[158] with only 163 independent cottage industries registered at the end of 1946.[159]

150 Hungarian name: *Domus Háziipari és Iparművészeti Kft*.

151 Hungarian name: *Magyar Háziipari és Iparművészeti Kft*.

152 MNL OL Z 1462. item 1. Minutes, 19 December 1939. Hungarian Cottage Industry Union. 1939. Thus, the Hangya Production, Sales, and Consumption Cooperative achieved its goal specified in 1936 (see above), of strengthening its position in the trade of cottage industry articles.

153 Hungarian name: *Országos Magyar Háziipari Szövetkezet*. Name version: *Cottage Industry Export Cooperative* (*Háziipari Kiviteli Szövetkezet*). *The Statutes of the National Hungarian Cottage Industry Cooperative* 1940; MNL OL Z 1462. item 11. Hungarian Cottage Industry Union. 1939.

154 MNL OL Z 1462. item 11. Notes. Hungarian Cottage Industry Union. 1939. For more details on the history of the cooperation, see: Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

155 Andrássy, "Közjóléti szövetkezet," 148–51.

156 Hungarian name: *Országos Szociális Felügyelőség Nép- és Családvédelmi Alapja*.

157 Somogyi, "Országos Szociális Felügyelőség," 175–76.

158 Government Decree No 7.770/1948 of the Government of the Hungarian Republic. *Magyar Közlöny* 164 (1948): 1637–38. See also here: https://jogkodex.hu/jsz/1948_7770_korm_rendelet_2081533 (accessed: 25 January 2023).

159 Nagy, "A Népi Iparművészeti Tanács," 67.

Between 1945 and 1947, Hungary's new political leadership abolished the civil cooperatives, including the *Hangya* Consumption Cooperative, founded in 1898, and the National Central Credit Cooperative. The Soviet-style system of cooperatives began to be established, with the collectivization of land, factories and other means of production.[160]

The National Cottage Industry Joint Stock Company *(HART)*,[161] established in 1948 with the objective of centrally managing the cottage industry, sought to employ the population in cottage industry through farmers' cooperatives, adapting to the work schedule of agricultural labour. For this, the company had access to the assets of the liquidated public welfare cooperatives.[162] In the early 1950s, a novel institutional framework was established with the objective of overseeing the operations of the small-scale cooperatives and, within them, the cottage industry.[163]

Summary

From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, the cottage industry undertook to rescue and modernize what were considered traditional values—peasant craftsmanship and folk art—within the new economic and commercial structures. The cottage industry was apparently ready for being integrated into the cooperative movement, since "the cooperative movement was created as part of the construction of the Hungarian nation state," and this effort rendered peasant culture the essence of Hungarian state formation and cultural policy between the two world wars.[164] This was a pervasive phenomenon across Eastern Europe. "Cooperatives […] operated in a close symbiosis with [the] national movement [… enabled] the transfer of national struggles from the cultural into the economic sphere."[165] Cottage industry also provided employment for the masses and, through its products, constituted a significant basis for domestic and foreign trade. The cottage industry system was thus integrated into the accumulation of capital, for which the cooperative framework proved appropriate. "The cooperative movement provides for social reproduction at a lower cost by spreading its costs over the communities, and it also allows control over its members through state control and capital injection."[166] This was one of the driv-

160 Losonczy, "Megszületett az állami;" Schnell, "A magyar szövetkezeti jog," 45.

161 Hungarian name: *Állami Háziipari Részvénytársaság (HART).*

162 n. n., "Háziipar a falun."

163 Cseh, "The Centralized Management."

164 Sidó and Szarvas, *Hangya a világrendszerben*, 258.

165 Lorenz, "Introduction," 44.

166 Sidó and Szarvas, *Hangya a világrendszerben*, 261.

ing forces behind the cottage industry movement, thus behind the rediscovery and revival of folk art in many regions. Economic interests aligned with national aspirations also built up the domestic trade and export of folk art. All these objectives were accomplished through centralization, i.e., through establishing cooperatives.

The aim of this study was to outline the integration of the state-controlled cottage industry into the cooperative system. Several questions concerning the history of cottage industry in Hungary and related phenomena need to be analysed in more detail, such as the role of the church, church leaders, the elite, as well as of companies and entrepreneurs in developing the system. Other research topics might include the importance of cottage industry in the history of women's employment; the trade and promotion of cottage industry objects in exhibitions, popular prints, and publications; the history and importance of associations, organizations, and cooperatives in settlement life; the changing scope of cottage industry activities in light of economic trends; the relationship between cottage industry and folk art, and in this context, the changing concept of folk art. The cottage industry as a sector providing employment for the masses and the propagandistic use of folk art may also be seen as a separate issue.[167] All these issues are relevant not only in the first half of the twentieth century, but in the socialist era as well.

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167 The analysis of the use of cottage industry and folk art for state propaganda raises important methodological questions. Bence Ament-Kovács presented the propaganda using applied folk art in the 1950s and 1960s on the basis of written and material sources (Ament-Kovács, "Cottage Industry"). However, Ament-Kovács's findings have been criticized, as he did not examine how the object makers, the workers at different levels of the cooperative hierarchy and the ethnographers responsible for applied folk art experienced these processes. In light of all this, when analysing the propagandistic use of folk art, the question of who and what the goal of propaganda is, which social groups can be influenced by propaganda, and in our case, how the object makers themselves see their role in this process, should also be examined. Due to the lack of sources in the first half of the 20th century (lack of informants), the possibilities for research are limited, so it is necessary to examine a broader time frame in order to analyse the phenomenon of propaganda.

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Guilds, Guild Unions, Guild Courts in Transylvanian Saxon Towns in the Sixteenth Century

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Abstract. Under the auspices of the *Universitas*, the common self-governing body of the Transylvanian Saxon towns and seats, the guilds' statutes were revised between 1539 and 1582: obsolete rules were abolished, and new ones were introduced where they had not existed before. According to the literature, this process marked a turning point in the relationship between the municipal authorities and the guilds, insofar as the town councils intervened in the guilds' internal affairs, particularly in their powers to judge misconduct and disciplinary offences. But even before the new regulations, the guilds' powers were limited to settling disputes between members at a lower instance, and even when they formed unions for common defence or drew up common statutes, they enjoyed no greater autonomy. The paper provides an overview of the activities of the guild courts, with case studies. It seeks to show the powers the guilds had in disciplinary matters and how these changed with the growing power of local government and the use of public authority. It argues that the authorities' intervention in the guilds' powers was not so much a restriction as a clarification of their entitlements, while ensuring that arising cases were appropriately dealt with, and that normative regulation played an important role in this process, defining the various facts and circumstances and transferring offences such as bodily harm, counterfeiting, and fraud to ordinary courts. At the same time, the guilds retained their power to deal with minor disputes between craftsmen, insults, and moral offences; under the pressure of the Reformation and the spread of Protestant morality, their disciplinary powers were greatly extended.

Keywords: guilds, guild court, guild statutes, town council, offences, social discipline, Transylvanian Saxon towns

The organisation of the Transylvanian guilds underwent fundamental changes in the sixteenth century. Between 1539 and 1582, the city authorities revised the statutes of all the guilds in order to correct them, with the result that the guilds, one after the other, abolished the old "statutes and bad, useless or superfluous regulations" and "left unchanged those that were good and useful."[1] The preamble was written

1 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 306 (doc. 107), and other.

in the same way for all the guilds, and was subsequently included in all the new statutes without any change. This process, according to historians, marked a turning point in the relationship between guilds and local government, as the town council intervened in guild affairs, particularly in their powers to adjudicate on misconduct and disciplinary offences. Monica Vlaicu, for example, is of the opinion that the new rules had the effect of transferring some offences to the guilds, and others to the authorities.[2] Mária Pakucs argues that the revision of the statutes was an attempt by the town authorities to deprive the guilds of the right to punish certain offences that had previously been settled between craftsmen.[3] Maria Crăciun, capturing the stakes of the policy of disciplining urban communities, speaks of the town administration's gradual control over the guilds, whereby, in the context of the reform of morals, duties related to the punitive system were distributed among lay institutions.[4] She thus qualifies her views with findings in the previous literature, in particular with Konrad Gündisch's argument that the 'impulse for discipline' came from within the community.[5] Although these views seem to be supported by the sources—for example, Pakucs points out that the measures taken by the governing authorities to establish good order and discipline in the town were put into practice[6]—the idea that extending the town administration's powers in matters of social discipline led to a transfer of the right to impose fines from the medieval guilds to the authorities,[7] in the sense of a suppression of the guilds' rights, needs to be supplemented.

The guilds also reacted strongly to changes in the rule. The goldsmiths, for example, took note of the new guild rules of 25 July 1539 and addressed a petition to the leaders of the *Universitas*, the common representative and governing body of the Transylvanian Saxon communities (University of the Saxons): "This is our request and appeal to your honourable office to allow the guild to judge us and to amend this [the new rules] in accordance with the content of the old guild charter."[8] The goldsmiths' suit challenged certain articles of the guild's constitution, particularly those the town officials enacted to restrict the guild's right to take action against its members and punish them for disciplinary offences.

At first sight, the extent to which the towns' (alleged) interference affected the guilds' own judicial prerogatives seems easy to decide by simply comparing the

2 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 10.

3 Pakucs, "Gute Ordnung," 194.

4 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 15–56.

5 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 21.

6 Pakucs, "Gute Ordnung," 175–206.

7 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 52–53.

8 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 335 (doc. 114).

articles of the guilds' statutes before and after the revision. However, the problem is more complex and methodologically more challenging, because several guilds did not register their statutes until after 1539. It is difficult to determine the extent to which the revision limited the guild's disciplinary powers for multiple reasons. Firstly, because we know little or nothing about guild courts and their position in relation to the city's political authorities (the mayor, the judge, and the town council) before the changes in the law starting from 1539.

Sources are laconic and fragmentary and are only suitable for studying a limited number of issues, mainly the normative context (guilds' internal rules). Only from the second half of the sixteenth century is concrete information available on the functioning of guild courts and the application of punishments in the guilds. It is also from this period that we can date the political authorities' efforts to impose social discipline on the townspeople and to reduce undesirable behaviour. [9] The guilds also adopted many of the rules of public order, which, as Mária Pakucs points out, were designed to regulate "a wide range of fears and goals" of early modern societies, such as the "observance of the divine word, attendance at church services, marriages, obsessive prohibition of disruptive games, and prostitution."[10]

A detailed analysis of the guilds' rules on offences (not least the statutes of the numerous journeymen's brotherhoods) and the ways in which their powers to impose fines evolved would go far beyond the scope of a simple study. In what follows, the perspective from which we can examine the relationship between guilds and the authorities is narrowed down. The aim is not to question the direction and meaning of social disciplinary measures, but rather to trace the socio-professional circumstances that determined the organisation of craftsmen into guilds in the sixteenth century. The research is based on different types of sources, reflecting how the guilds' own jurisdiction functioned and was positioned in relation to the town's ordinary courts, what disciplinary abuses were sanctioned by the guilds, even in a complementary way to the town authorities, and how these were integrated into the measures taken to maintain public order. A comparative analysis of the source material of the guilds (the guilds' statutes and books and registers of fines imposed by the guilds) and the records of measures taken by the authorities to maintain order and discipline in the city (lists of penalties imposed for breaches of orders and measures to maintain public order) shows that, for a long time, the guilds continued to play an essential role in disciplining society. Moreover, in a Protestant society, the system of punitive measures to control moral and sexual offences would have been incomplete without the support of the community and its specific institutions.

9 Derzsi, "A városi statútumok," 224.

10 Pakucs-Willcocks, "Sibiul în veacul al XVI-lea," 63–82.

Most of what we know about guilds in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries comes from normative sources.[11] The statutory regulations refer to various situations in which the guild had the power to take disciplinary action and punish those who broke the rules. There are few sources confirming the application of the rules, and relatively few guild registers were kept with specific data on fines imposed during the period under consideration. As the registers were used to record fines imposed on craftsmen (whether or not the amount was paid), very often the act or offence for which the fine was imposed is not indicated; only the name of the person punished and the amount of the fine to be paid are noted. However, the records of punishments are the primary source for the empirical analysis of the guilds' disciplinary life. Further information is provided by various documents from the city council (decrees on various aspects of city administration, including fines for breaches of public order, court decisions on disputes between guilds, or lawsuits between craftsmen and the guild), which shed light on the guilds' position in relation to the city's governing authorities.

The guild's honour

The guilds had disciplinary powers and, according to their own statutes, were entitled to sanction their members for misconduct. What constituted a disciplinary offence obviously depended on a number of economic and socio-professional factors. Generally speaking, it was understood as related to work and work organisation, consisting of the failure to comply with the conditions for the production and processing of craft products, the purchase of raw materials, and (especially in the late Middle Ages) the neglect of the social and charitable activities required in connection with the religious role of the guilds (burial of fellow guild members, religious services, care for craftsmen in case of illness, assistance to the families of deceased craftsmen, etc.).[12] Non-observance of the rules violated the corporate principle of medieval associations and their underlying values, which included respect and honesty towards the guild, as well as obedience to the hierarchy of guild masters. As economic and cultural needs expanded, leading to the grouping of craftsmen into guilds, they became increasingly rigid in their desire to establish internal rules, which were more common in the fifteenth century. These included the early requirement of 'legitimate' descent (born in wedlock),[13] the payment of an initiation

11 As far as sources are concerned, we see the same situation in large urban centres, e.g., Cologne, an imperial city in Germany, see: Schwerhoff, *Köln im Kreuzverhör*, 68.

12 See, among others, the statute of the Goldsmiths' Guild in Sibiu from 1494, cp. *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 213 (doc. 78).

13 For example, the Statutes of the Furriers in Brașov, dating from 1424, stipulate that "no foreigner

fee, and the offering of a feast on joining the guild,[14] then the regular price of membership dues, and the requirement to demonstrate professional competence.[15] In the Transylvanian Saxon centres, town councils, and guilds were so united in enforcing the condition of origin that sometimes the ruler had to interfere to get local authorities and guilds to allow foreigners to work.[16] As the sixteenth century progressed, the guilds made it increasingly difficult to join. The preconditions were getting more stringent: the journeyman's years were extended, the guilds demanded a substantial sum of money for admission, asked craftsmen to produce masterpieces that were sometimes unnecessarily complicated or costly,[17] and if they failed, the guild would impose heavy fines.[18] Having no other way to practice their craft and sell their wares in the marketplace, craftsmen, whatever their trade, all followed the rules. Those who worked outside the guilds were considered unskilled and vagrants, making their work unsustainable, while the guilds enjoyed the town council's support.[19] The more powerful and wealthy guilds could obtain privileges from the rulers; they benefited

may enter the guild unless he brings a letter certifying that he was born in lawful wedlock, not out of wedlock." *Documente de breaslă*, 26 (doc. 2).

14 See Article 2 of the same statute. *Documente de breaslă*, 26 (doc. 2).

15 See, among others, the Statute of the Goldsmiths' Guild of Sibiu (1494), of the Archers of Braşov (1505). *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 213 (doc. 78); *Documente de breaslă*, 83 (doc. 34). Other examples of the conditions of entry into the guilds, also established by the craftsmen of Cluj, see at: Gündisch, "…natürlichen Geboten," 25.

16 For example, King Sigismund's letter of 3 July 1428 from Kovin, in which he orders the guilds of Braşov to accept into their ranks the craftsmen who settle in the town and to allow both foreigners and citizens to work there. The king also empowered the judges and jurors to intervene by force and punish anyone who settled in the town against his orders. *Documente de breaslă*, 35 (doc. 4).

17 The Statutes of the Sibiu Goldsmiths' Guild of 1494 stipulated that whoever wishes to join the guild had to make the work of a craftsman, namely "a chalice and a gold ring with one or two stones and a pocket spoon." The Statutes of the Guilds' Union of 1561 already required "a vessel [...], a seal, a shield, a helmet and a ring," warning the member that "for every piece he does not make, he will pay two florins as a fine." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 214 (doc. 78); *Documente de breaslă*, 257 (doc. 133).

18 One of the first guild statutes to stipulate a fine for poor workmanship was that of the Archers of Braşov, from 1505: "Anyone who does not carry out the work properly shall pay two guldens." *Documente de breaslă*, 84 (doc. 34).

19 In this regard, see the provision in the statute of the Guild of Painters, Carpenters, and Glaziers of Sibiu, dated 9 June 1520, namely "If anyone of another profession is found practicing our trade as written above, he shall be tried and punished." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 266 (doc. 94). The town council also supported the guilds in defending their interests regarding purchasing raw materials or their market position. See in particular Articles 1–6, 11–14 and 16. of the Statute of the Guild of Weavers, confirmed by the town council of Sibiu on 9 November 1487. *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 183 (doc. 69).

from the right to keep other trades out of their market. Members of the more prestigious guilds were elected to the town council,[20] where they presumably represented the craftsmen's interests. Even if artisans did not gain a permanent position in the city government,[21] their participation in the local administration was instrumental in spreading the moral values that prevailed among them. The guilds played an active role in the defence of the city, providing guards, weapons, and food supplies stored in the towers, maintaining the walls and roads,[22] thereby giving craftsmen a sense of responsibility for running the community.

The guild's affairs would be discussed at the craftsmen's assembly. Only craftsmen were considered full members; journeymen and apprentices had no say. A meeting was held in the guild house, if there was one, or in the guild steward's house. The guild steward and older craftsmen sat at the head of the meeting. The guild steward was in charge of the box of privileges and valuables and the guild treasury. Guilds had a seal and other symbolic accessories. Membership also meant cultivating an attitude of respect for the "honesty of the trade",[23] loyalty, and obedience.[24] The concept of 'honour' was not defined very precisely, and there is no trace of any attempt at its clarification. The concept extended from the correct practice of the profession to a wide range of socio-professional relationships, and meant respect for the order of the guild, i.e., the internal rules laid down in the statutes. Following a predetermined order of establishing liability and applying sanctions, the guilds took repressive measures to punish those who violated their honour. They were free to settle disputes between craftsmen or between craftsmen and journeymen, unless the nature of the work required the city authorities' intervention and support. In accordance with the town council's laws, orders, and regulations, the assemblies also decided on minor offences: swearing and blasphemy, insults, minor violence, petty theft and damage to property, fraud and cheating. The guilds' punitive powers consisted of warnings and fines (disciplinary and pecuniary), and extended to the

20 Gündisch, "Patriciatul orășenesc," 147–89; Schneider, "Die Zünfte und ihre Bedeutung," 352–53.

21 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 20.

22 Gündisch, "…natürlichen Geboten," 26–27; Schneider, "Die Zünfte und ihre Bedeutung," 350. See also the inventory of weapons in the towers defended by the various guilds in Sibiu, from 1492, 1493; also the provisions of the Statute of the Guild of Goldsmiths in Sibiu, from 1494: "Each craftsman must help guard the tower himself or through reliable servants and skilled mates, and not through apprentices. As the need arises, so will his punishment be." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 198 (doc. 74), 206 (doc. 75), 216 (doc. 78).

23 See, among others, the term in the Statutes of the Goldsmiths' Guild in Sibiu in 1494. *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 216 (doc. 78).

24 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 22.

confiscation of goods produced fraudulently or negligently, the reduction or even withdrawal of wages, and probably even corporal punishment—although the latter form of sanction was not yet included in the statutes.[25] The harshest punishment was expulsion from the guild. Such a decision was taken at the guild meeting, in front of the craftsmen, and the expelled person was considered a cheater, with serious consequences for his future fate ('a social death', as Maria Crăciun put it).[26] As far as possible, the guilds tried to ensure that their decisions were not subject to control by the authorities.[27]

Naturally, the extent to which a particular guild was free to exercise its disciplinary prerogative depended on its position in relation to local government structures and the power of the town council. Since the appearance of the Transylvanian guilds (and here we refer primarily to the guilds in Saxon towns), they seem to have had a close link with the town administration. The relatively late appearance in Saxon towns of the institution of the *centumvirs* (the council of the town community's broad representation), an institution in which craftsmen could be more easily represented than in the town council,[28] probably facilitated less pronounced control of the power of the magistrate (town council). The guilds sought to have their statutes confirmed by the townships, so that with the exception of a few larger guilds that managed to win the favour of the country's sovereign, most guilds had their own statutes, reinforced by local councils.[29] For their part, the city authorities guaranteed compliance with the rules laid down by the guilds. In order to defend their position against outsiders or merchants, the guilds formed unions, and from the late fifteenth century several guilds drew up common statutes.[30] By their very nature, the guild unions relied on the alliance of the towns and the territories they administered, i.e., the University of the Saxons, the highest decision-making instance in the craft world, apart from the ruler.[31]

25 In the sixteenth century, the statutes of guilds and brotherhoods did not provide for corporal punishment for any offense. Later, however, beatings were included as a form of discipline; see the Statutes of the Tailors' Guild of 20 April 1691: Franz Zimmermann, "Das Register der Johannes-Bruderschaft," 420.

26 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 23.

27 An argument for this can be found in the case of the imperial town Cologne, cp.: Schwerhoff, *Köln im Kreuzverhör*, 66.

28 Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 20.

29 Müller, *Stühle und Distrikte*, 110.

30 One of the first guilds to draw up common statutes and have them approved by the town council of Sibiu was the Weavers' Guild (1487). *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 183 (doc. 69).

31 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 10.

The guilds' own jurisdiction

Suppose we want to find out what powers the guilds had in disciplinary matters, or how these changed in the context of an increasingly powerful city government and the exercise of local public authority. In this case, we need to scrutinise how the framework within which the guilds-imposed sanctions for their members' disciplinary offences and the guild court functioned. What were these courts' judicial competences, and what powers did they have to impose sanctions?[32]

Guild statutes contain little information about their jurisdiction. In most cases they just list the offences that the guilds punished, with very little detail about the preliminary investigation or the sanction imposed and its enforcement. For this reason, our analysis is based on incomplete data and cannot be used for drawing general conclusions, but only as a framework for discussion. As the number of guild protocols increases, more and more information on judicial activity becomes available. In the archives of the Brașov guilds, for example, there are four letters from the beginning of the sixteenth century that shed light on this subject. The letters addressed to the goldsmiths of Brașov were written by master goldsmiths from two Hungarian towns, Bács (Bač, now in Serbia) and Szeged (dated 9 and 14 February 1512, and 2 and 26 August 1512).[33] In these letters, the senders replied to their colleagues in Brașov to settle a dispute that had arisen between the guild and a craftsman called Christopher, who had been accused of theft by Gallus and Jacobus from Sibiu, both journeymen of the master Ludovicus.[34] Since we are not familiar with the letters the goldsmiths of Brașov sent to the guilds of Bač and Szeged, we can only infer what happened in Brașov from the answers given by the goldsmiths of the two Hungarian towns. Although we do not know the facts on which Christopher was indicted in Brașov, it is likely that the accusations against him were also related to his past sins, already during his years of wandering in Bač and Szeged, and then during his work as a craftsman in the Szeged guild. It seems that our craftsman got into trouble for the first time in Bač, where he—then a journeyman of a goldsmith named Blasius—left his master's house under unclear circumstances, secretly and surreptitiously, taking with him "a certain amount of silver and a buckle."[35] After settling in Szeged, Christopher again ran into trouble. He was already

32 The German terms *Zunftgerichte* and *Zunftgerichtsbarkeit* refer to an institution that is difficult to translate to English. It means a particular jurisdiction of the guilds, which fulfilled the role of a lower instance, with prerogatives to deal with specific cases determined by the status of the person and/or the fact, and with powers to enforce fines. For more information, see, among others: Neuburg, *Zunftgerichtsbarkeit*. For a critical approach to the German term, see *inter alia*: Schwerhoff, *Köln im Kreuzverhör*, 66.

33 *Documente de breaslă*, 101 (doc. 44), 103 (doc. 45), 106 (doc. 49), 108 (doc. 50).

34 See more in: Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului," 35–37, 39–41.

35 *Documente de breaslă*, 107 (doc. 49).

a member of the guild when he was again accused of having previously induced the goldsmith Johannes Nemeth's journeyman to steal "some silverware, a certain amount of silver, and a piece of metal," and of having spent the money he received after selling the stolen goods ("he drank it and shot at the target with his arrow").[36] Accused of aiding and abetting theft, the guild banned Christopher from the craft.[37] While investigating his case, the guild also discovered what he had done in Bač, and in order to clarify the matter, they sent him to Bač to resolve his business there first. As our craftsman did not solve anything in Bač, let alone in Szeged, he was banned from practicing his craft as a 'dabbler'.[38] Apparently, after his expulsion from the guild in Szeged, Christopher went to Braşov, where, as we have seen, his bad reputation soon caught up with him (the second letter from Bač reports that, at the request of the craftsman Blasius, the goldsmiths of Bač wrote to their colleagues in Braşov to inform them of the accusations against Christopher). It is not clear from the letters whether our craftsman was guilty of any wrongdoing in Braşov, but it is not impossible that his bad reputation was enough for the guild to investigate his case. As the charge against him was serious (theft), he was forbidden to practice his trade in Braşov until the situation was clarified. In order to clear his name, our craftsman went first to Bač, then to Szeged.[39] Accompanied by a craftsman from the Braşov guild, the goldsmith Anthonius, he first reconciled with his former craftsman, Blasius of Bač (they reached an agreement on his claims)—which he did before the town council—and about which (including his acquittal on the theft charge) he received as evidence from the guild there a letter sealed with the stamp of the town council (magistrate) of Bač, which he was able to use in his defence.[40] To strengthen the agreement between the parties, the town council of Bač also established a bond of 40 guldens between them, according to which they would not start any further disputes in the given case. After paying this sum in Bač, Christopher went with Anthonius to Szeged, where he again managed to clear himself of the accusations

36 *Documente de breaslă*, 109 (doc. 50).

37 In the second letter from Szeged (dated 26 August), the accusation against Christopher is clearly formulated: he is accused of "telling him [the journeyman] and urging him to commit this theft." The guild in Szeged also decided to punish Christopher's two journeymen who were working for him at the time, because they stayed with him even though they knew about his guilt and the guild's previous investigation. *Documente de breaslă*, 109 (doc. 50).

38 *Documente de breaslă*, 109 (doc. 50).

39 To understand the procedure, we can look at a later regulation of the Braşov Weavers' Guild of 1560, which clarifies the procedure in cases like Christopher's; the article reads as follows: "If any words [insulting] are spoken to a craftsman against his honour, and he fails to clear this defamation before the law, he shall be forbidden to practice his craft, unless he first apologises sufficiently and graciously, with the help of pious men, to defend his honour." *Documente de breaslă*, 250 (doc. 130).

40 It is the letter issued in Bač on 9 February 1512. *Documente de breaslă*, 101 (doc. 44).

against him, swearing in the presence of the craftsmen that he knew nothing of the theft committed by his colleague and that he was not responsible for the theft in question. The goldsmiths of Szeged also wrote a letter in support of our craftsman.[41] We can only guess what happened after this date. It seems that, on his return to Brașov, Christopher did not present the letters of acquittal to the guild stewards, but continued the quarrel with the goldsmith Ludovic's journeymen—a circumstance reflected by the fact that the Brașov guild, at their request, sent a letter to the goldsmiths of Bač and Szeged asking for clarification of what had happened there in February.[42] It is not easy to understand why Christopher did not present these letters to Brașov. For some unknown reason, he kept 'in his pocket' the evidence that could have cleared him of the charges against him, and thus the penalty of expulsion from the guild.[43] He did this despite the fact that the person who had accompanied him to Bač and Szeged in February, who had interceded on his behalf and defended him, the craftsman Anthonius, had since died (the letter of the Goldsmiths' Guild of Bač dated 2 August 1512 speaks of the deceased Anthonius). There is some evidence of this in an order of King Vladislav II of 19 March 1513, issued in Buda and addressed to the town council and the goldsmiths' guild of Brașov, in which the king ordered the addressees to restore the craftsman Christopher "to his former position, place, and honour" in the guild.[44] The king's mandate refers to the two letters of acquittal issued in Christopher's favour. Despite the king's relatively late intervention in the events of the spring and summer of 1512, it cannot be ruled out that, probably not trusting the decision of the guild or the town council, Christopher asked the king for protection.

Beyond the personal fate of the craftsman Christopher, and the lengthy presentation of his story, we need to clarify some aspects of the guilds' disciplinary procedure in similar cases, which answers our question about the power relations between guilds and city authorities. The letters of the goldsmiths of Bač and Szeged shed some light on the guilds' investigative procedures and their jurisdiction. Even if we learn very little about what exactly happened in Brașov—all we know is what we read in the replies—the information gathered from these letters outlines a framework within which we can discuss issues of guild jurisdiction in general. The information provided by the letters shows that two types of justice were applied to the dispute. Christopher's acquittal in Bač took place in the presence of the local craftsmen ("all the craftsmen gathered for this task"),[45] but before the town council, the reconciliation was arbitrated by a town juror, also a goldsmith, the craftsman

41 The letter of 14 February 1512 from Szeged. *Documente de breaslă*, 103 (doc. 45).

42 This is clear from the letters of the goldsmiths of Bač and Szeged, dated 2 and 26 August.

43 *Documente de breaslă*, 108 (doc. 50).

44 *Documente de breaslă*, 115 (doc. 54).

45 *Documente de breaslă*, 106 (doc. 49).

Georgius "as judge".[46] The presence of Georgius was necessary because the ordinary judge of Bač was actually Blasius, the goldsmith in whose favour the reconciliation took place. Therefore, the substitute judge presided over the case according to custom. The formal elements of a civil case are evident from the proceedings before the town council of Bač: the case was constituted, a deadline was set for the examination of witnesses,[47] and the court acted as an arbitrator and set the bond to a value of forty guldens, which was the usual procedure in libel cases.[48] In Szeged, however, Christopher's case was heard in the guild house, in the craftsmen's assembly: there is no evidence that the town's jurors were present. Through the intervention of Anthonius, the craftsman from Brașov, the goldsmiths of Szeged took up Christopher's case again[49] and accepted the arguments in his defence. When Christopher offered to exonerate himself on oath, the assembly of goldsmiths ordered him to do so in order to clear him of the charge.[50] They gave Christopher a letter of acquittal with the seal of the guild.

46 *Documente de breaslă*, 101 (doc. 44).

47 Christopher demanded that his accusers address him personally, "as in a trial". Master Blasius, who was not ready to give an answer so quickly and start a trial against Christopher, asked for time, and the judge, "according to the custom of the city of Bač, set a time for the parties to agree, until the time of the second mass on the following day, so that the trial and the respective answers could begin," cp. *Documente de breaslă*, 101 (doc. 44). "Christopherus, as the defendant and culprit, wishing to come to an agreement and reconciliation with his master Blasius through good mediators and mentors," agreed with him and paid him the sum of eight guldens. *Documente de breaslă*, 107, doc. 49.

48 The bond (*Band* in German) was set when the courts wanted to close a case. In the practice of the Transylvanian Saxon judiciary, a smaller amount was paid, usually twenty or even ten guldens. *Das Gerichtsbuch*, 7 (doc. 16), 17 (doc. 47), 36 (doc. 113), 48 (doc. 155), etc.

49 That the procedure of the Szeged craftsmen was not a formal one is evident from the second letter of the guild; the goldsmiths expressed their dissatisfaction with the way the assembly was convened, referring to Anthonius' role in the matter as follows: "The craftsman Anthonius asked us to accept the invitation of your honours [of Brașov] and to meet in the guild house […], and if the master Anthonius the goldsmith had not asked us in the name of your honours, we would not have held an assembly in the guild house." *Documente de breaslă*, 108 (doc. 50).

50 The oath was the usual form of evidence in legal proceedings and had been used since ancient times to settle disputes; it was given to strengthen the affirmation or denial in the trial by invoking the name of God. See: Blazovich, *Városok*, 173. For the forms of the oath and the procedure for taking the oath, see later the relevant articles of the Transylvanian Saxon Book of Law *(Statuta iurium municipalium Saxonum in Transylvania)*, cp. *Das Eigen-Landrecht der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, I. 9. 1–3, 4 and 6. Although the form of the oath is not specified in our example (voluntary, offered, or required), we assume that it was an oath offered by the judges (it was decided by the judge when deciding whether the plaintiff or defendant should take it); as for Christopher's willingness to take the oath, the guild assembly decided that "it is sufficient to exculpate [himself] only with his own oath." *Documente de breaslă*, 109 (doc. 50).

Thus, according to the above, two bodies were competent to acquit an accused person: the town council *(civitas)* of Bač[51] and the guild assembly of Szeged,[52] both of which could order the swearing of the oath of acquittal. Since the oath was perhaps the most frequently used instrument for settling disputes, the example of Szeged shows that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the guilds as well as the elected arbitrators, would still use the procedure. Only from the second third of the sixteenth century was this jurisdiction regulated, when the city authorities restricted the rights of the lower courts *(Niedergerichte)*, including the right to administer oaths.[53] Continuing with the examples of Bač and Szeged, we can see that in both situations of the establishment of the judicial forum—with or without the presence of the members of the town council—, the decision taken during the proceedings had the same force, and the royal order did not treat the two letters of exemption differently. From these sources, we do not know what kind of privileges the guild of Braşov had. However, the person of the goldsmith Anthonius provides a basis for certain assumptions. In the statutes of the Braşov goldsmiths' guild of 24 January 1511, approved by the town council and less than a year before Christopher's trial, Anthonius is mentioned among the city senators (members of the town council).[54] His role in mediating Christopher's case is probably not coincidental; he may have represented not only the guild but also the town council.

The text of the regulation is rather vague when it comes to the guilds' disciplinary powers. The statutes do not define what constitutes an offence, and it is often unclear which specific acts are covered by the respective provisions. For example, the statutes of the Sibiu Tailors' Guild of 1485 state that "anyone who breaks the rules" should be punished.[55] The rules only refer in general terms to the role of guilds in imposing sanctions. The statutes of the Sibiu Tinsmiths' Guild from around 1500 read as follows: "If a craftsman does something against his trade, let the craftsmen punish him; if his fault is greater, let the punishment be severe; if his fault is not so great, let the craftsmen judge him."[56] The reference here to harsher punishment—although the text does not specify the competent forum in such cases—quite obviously refers to the ordinary court (town judge). It limits the guild's powers to minor matters. Concerning the right to impose sanctions, the statutes only rarely set a limit on the value of the dispute up to which the guild was empowered to intervene

51 *Documente de breaslă*, 101 (doc. 44).

52 At that time (from the middle of the fifteenth century), Szeged had the status of a royal free city. See: Blazovich, *Városok*, 117.

53 Derzsi, *Delict şi pedeapsă*, 128.

54 *Documente de breaslă*, 93 (doc. 40).

55 *Documente de breaslă*, 168 (doc. 66).

56 *Documente de breaslă*, 230 (doc. 81).

(for example, in 1562, the Barbers' Guild Union set this amount at one florin,[57] which was also the limit imposed on village judges in the area administered by the town of Brașov in 1572).[58] The guilds expected the town council to come to their aid in the application of sanctions, as stated, for example, in the Statute of the Sibiu Tailors' Guild of 1485:

> "If a person does not want to receive the punishment he deserves and for which he is to blame, we will call upon the mayor, the judges, and the burghers to help us punish him with the support of our lords, according to the custom of our guild […]. We therefore ask you, honourable mayor, judges, and burghers, to help us maintain of our guild's custom as we have understood it until now."

Then they added about the custom that "we have it from our parents."[59] In 1505, the Brașov Archers' Guild made the same decision when it stipulated that:

> "If any person does not respect all these articles, the craftsmen will inform the judge, who will punish him according to his guilt."[60]

Concerning a variety of issues, the guilds turned to the judges and the town council to prevent outsiders from practising their trade or to defend their market position.[61] Several documents relating to the guilds' legal affairs refer to such situations. However, intervention by the local authorities was not routine, as the University of the Saxons was often called upon to decide such cases. For example, on 25 November 1536, in the case of the Union of the Guild of Harness Makers against the Merchants of Transylvania and the Harness Makers of Brașov, concerning the restriction of the right of sale, the University of the Saxons ruled as follows:

> "We, the mayor, the judges, and the elders of the city of Sibiu, of the Seven and Two Saxon Seats in Transylvania and of the cities of Brașov and Bistrița […] we earnestly order you, the royal judges and the officials of the seats above and cities […],[62] if you are asked by the craftsmen of the Guild of Harness Makers […] you are bound and obliged to punish all who disregard this decision with the confiscation and loss of these goods and to punish them as well as the merchants; by the authority granted to us we

57 *Documente de breaslă*, 398 (doc. 138).

58 Derzsi, *Delict și pedeapsă*, 128; Müller, *Stühle und Distrikte*, 44.

59 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 168 (doc. 66).

60 *Documente de breaslă*, 85 (doc. 34).

61 In this regard, see the article of the Guild of Painters, Carpenters, and Glaziers of 8 June 1520 in Sibiu, namely "If anyone of another trade is found to be practicing our trade […], he shall be judged and punished." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 264 (doc. 94).

62 Sibiu, Sighișoara, Mediaș, Bistrița și Cluj.

add that our decision will be made known and proclaimed at the market to be held in Mediaș on the day of Saint Margaret and the following days."[63]

There are also examples of situations in which the king intervened at the guilds' request to settle conflicts that had arisen over the non-observance of trading privileges.[64]

The guilds' jurisdiction was therefore limited to a lower level. The guilds' authority extended to the entire guild. This included not only the craftsmen with full rights but also journeymen and apprentices. From the early sixteenth century, we can assume that guild authority must have extended beyond a guild's local powers in a town. In 1505, for example, the Transylvanian Furriers decided that anyone who broke the guild's rules should be punished by "honest craftsmen from all over the country."[65] This example is not a general one, however, as it was not usual for craftsmen to appeal to a body made up of members of guilds of the same craft, regardless of where they were based, and guild unions did not act as arbitrators. If a dispute between craftsmen could no longer be settled by the guild, either because the nature of the conflict exceeded the powers of a lower forum or because the guild's members appealed to the town council against a decision of the guild steward, the case was settled by the ordinary procedure (judge, town council, and University of the Saxons).[66] Even in cases where craftsmen of the same trade from different towns

63 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 292 (doc. 102); *Documente de breaslă*, 160 (doc. 79).

64 In this context, see the order of King Ferdinand of Vienna of 31 October 1554 to the Bishop and Voivode of Transylvania to settle the differences between the craftsmen of the Seven Saxon Seats and Brașov regarding the sale of their products. *Documente de breaslă*, 216 (doc. 112).

65 "[…] if any person violates these decisions, we will not regard him, and we will not support him […] and a punishment will be decided for him by honest craftsmen from all over the country who do not know it beforehand." (*Documente de breaslă*, 82, Doc. 33.) A statute of the Furriers' Guild Union, adopted in 1555, contains similar provisions: "Whoever makes improper products shall be punished according to the decision of the guild, and if bad products are found at the annual fairs, then the [furriers'] masters from all parts shall inspect them and [the producers] shall be punished for such products." (*Documente de breaslă*, 227, doc. 119.) A copy of the 1555 statutes of the furriers' guild has also been preserved in Sibiu, with slight differences in the text: "Poor work shall be punished as the masters of the entire guild see fit, and if poor work is found at fairs, they shall inspect it from all sides and have the power to mete out punishment." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 367 (doc. 126).

66 On the way of appeal to settle disputes between guilds, see the decision of King Louis II of 24 March 1520 (Buda) on the trial between shoemakers and leather workers from Sibiu, Bistrița, Brașov, and Cluj concerning the processing of leather: "This case, after having been decided first by the judges and senators of the said cities of Bistrița, then by the town council of Sibiu *(per consulatum Cibiniensem)*, and finally by the mayors, judges, senators, and seniors of the Seven Saxon Seats in the Transylvanian parts of our kingdom, was brought to our Majesty by way of appeal *(per viam appelationis)*." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 132 (doc. 65).

assembled (by drawing up a standard set of rules), the guild of the town where the offence had been committed was entitled to settle the dispute.[67]

From the court documents that survive from this period, we can deduce that throughout the period, the town council acted as arbiter in disputes between the guilds; craftsmen and journeymen or apprentices had the right to complain to the magistrate (town council). However, these documents must be interpreted with some reserve; most of them relate to cases that came before the town council, and very few refer to the guilds' own jurisdiction.

The great regulation of the guild statutes and the guilds' power to impose sanctions

Sources make it difficult to determine the guilds' judicial powers and the extent to which the municipality restricted them during the period. There was no clear definition of what constituted an offence in general, no dividing line between felonies and misdemeanours, and no legal rules because the interpretation of facts depended on various economic and socio-political factors. The vagueness of the report was accentuated by the fact that legal thinking and practice at the time structured felonies and other offences in terms of punishments rather than the actual acts.[68] Thus, a distinction was made between an act that was severely punished (the most severe being death) and one that was less severely punished. With regard to the system of offences or the forum competent to decide on the sanction, we can see more where there is a reference to the body authorised to collect fines (court, town council, or assembly of the province). According to the judicial practice of the time, fines collected from the sanctioned persons belonged to the instance that dealt with the case. If the nature of the case required the presence of a higher official to supervise the proceedings (in person or by his delegate), his share of the fine was usually two-thirds, leaving one-third for the first forum. The way the fine was divided between

67 In 1560, for example, the joint decisions of the Weavers' Guilds of Brașov and Sibiu read as follows: "We have agreed among ourselves that, from now on, no craftsman in our midst will violate these regulations, neither the most important nor the least important article. If it is sufficiently proven [an offence], this guild [of Brașov] will give as a fine to the guild and to the craftsmen of Sibiu, or if the higher authorities should not allow us to give such a fine, then to our town court, whenever it happens, twenty florins, and then demand and take this fine with good right from the guilty one. On the other hand, if a craftsman from Sibiu violates this, then this guild should give [as a fine] twenty florins to the craftsmen from Brașov, or if the authorities should not allow them to give such a fine, then to the court of Sibiu, whenever [it happens], and then to demand and take these twenty florins as good from the offender." *Documente de breaslă*, 253 (doc. 131).

68 Cp. *Das Eigen-Landrecht*, IV.1.1.

the guilds and the municipal authorities also gives indicates the jurisdiction of particular instances.

The first question that naturally arises in connection with the general regulation (revision) of all the statutes of the guilds—the 'great regulation', as Gustav Seivert calls it[69]—probably concerns the reason for the procedure. Why did the authorities intervene in the guilds' rulemaking, why at this time, and why between 1539 and 1582? These are not unrelated to the milestones of the religious and political establishment of the Transylvanian Saxons (the building of the institutional system after 1536, and the consolidation of the legal and ecclesiastical conditions thereafter),[70] which also involved the guilds as an inseparable unit in the process of juridical and clerical cohesion (Political and Clerical University of the Saxons). It was during this period that most guild unions were formed, and comprehensive guild statutes were drawn up, which were then valid throughout Transylvania within a given trade.[71]

The second question concerns the modifications introduced by the general regulations. What was this process, how did it affect the subsequent legal powers of the guilds, and what regulations were implemented by the guilds, involving the municipal authorities? Under the supervision of the University of the Saxons, in the spirit of legal reform,[72] the guilds' outdated rules were revised and rationalised, new statutes were introduced where none had existed before, and a model was created to which all subsequent additions were to be adapted. Between the summer of 1539 and 1582,[73] many guilds received new statutes.

Comparing the statutory articles with the restrictions introduced after 1539, we see that they contain five articles common to all the guilds. These are as follows:

1. It made the admission of craftsmen, journeymen, and apprentices to the guilds dependent on their legal origin and forbade non-Christians and those born out of wedlock to join the guilds. This provision did not restrict the guilds' previous

69 "*grosse Regulation*". Seivert, *Hermannstädter Lokal-Statuten*, 25.

70 Among the various legal acts, we mention only two representative implementations confirmed by the monarch: the official document of the German Church in Transylvania, the *Formula Pii Consensus* (1572), and the legal codification *Das Eigen-Landrecht der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (1583). On this subject, see in particular Wien, *Crossing Borders*, 198, and the introduction by Adolf Laufs in: *Das Eigen-Landrecht*, V–XX.

71 *Comerț și meșterșuguri*, 403, 406, 413, 414.

72 The preamble to the new statutes (the same text in each statute) refers to the fact that the city authorities "sought the wise counsel of all Germans."

73 Gustav Seivert and Monica Vlaicu set 1582 as the later limit of the general regulations, while Mária Pakucs puts it at 1540. Seivert, *Hermannstädter Lokal-Statuten*, 25; *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 10; Pakucs, "Gute Ordnung," 193.

powers (this was common practice even before 1539),[74] and the restriction on political national origin remained an internal matter for the guilds.[75] It should be noted that even the admission of members of guilds considered to be of 'dishonest' origin remained an internal matter of the craft at that time. For example, at the beginning of the 1560s, the goldsmiths' guild in Sibiu refused admission to the sons of barbers on the grounds that the father's trade, that of a barber, was a dishonourable profession. Only when the Sibiu (and Bistrița) Town Council had consulted several imperial cities (Augsburg, Nuremberg and Vienna, as well as Stettin) on the matter, did the situation change. Then, also as a result of this exchange of letters, on 29 November 1562, the University of the Saxons granted the guild of barbers and surgeons its first status.[76]

2. It limits the guilds' powers to arbitrate in the affairs of their members, setting out that: "Words and other things shall be punished according to the custom of the guild, as they were, but no one shall judge any beating, blood, or violence without the court's knowledge and will, under penalty of a silver mark." Therefore, acts resulting in bodily harm will be referred to the ordinary court.
3. It stipulates that anyone who prevents a member of the guild from "complaining to the magistrates about prejudice" should be fined a silver mark by the town council.
4. It states that: "There should be no agreements or arrangements in the guilds about work or buying and selling, but in each guild the rightful master should

74 The restriction on nationality appears early in the text of guild rules, for example, the statute of the Sibiu Guild of Locksmiths and Blacksmiths from 1518 states that "No Hungarian apprentice can be admitted to learn the trade"; and the statute of the Sibiu Guild of Glovemakers in 1523 states that "No apprentice can be admitted to any craftsman if he is Hungarian." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 262 (doc. 93), 283 (99).

75 In 1543, the town council of Brașov decided that "anyone who has learnt a trade in Székelyland, Wallachia, Moldavia or elsewhere outside the guild is forbidden to practice his trade and may not be admitted to the guild or otherwise work at his trade with us." (*Documente de breaslă*, 192, doc. 93.) Then, in 1546, the authorities in Sibiu forbade Hungarians in general to hold inheritances in the Saxon lands, including their entry into the Saxon guilds. Cp. *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen*, 222. A dispute arose between the Sibiu and Cluj goldsmiths because the guild in Sibiu refused to accept the journeymen from Cluj, although they had been trained in their workshops; a long legal battle ensued in 1575–1576, which the Cluj goldsmiths finally won. (*Documente de breaslă*, 453, doc. 157). In 1589, the town council of Sibiu also imposed restrictions on the rights of foreigners. For documents relating to the case, see: *Corpus Statutorum*, 542–48. It also enforced the restriction of origin in the market towns. The statute of the Codlea Weavers of 1557, confirmed by the magistrate of Brașov, states that if a craftsman does not inform the guild steward that he has a journeyman whose father or mother is of Székely origin, he will be sentenced to "*Landtgür*" (a fine to be paid to the province, *Land*). *Documente de breaslă*, 232 (doc. 123).

76 Derzsi, *Delict și pedeapsă*, 67–68.

deal with the people as he can or wants to. Any [guild] that does otherwise will be fined one silver mark by the court."

5. Limits the guild's scope of action by stating that "no other statute or regulation shall be made or passed within the guild without the magistrates' knowledge and will," punishable by a fine of twenty marks.

What are the common points repeated in each new statute? We see that only two aspects were changed: the transfer of claims for bodily injury to ordinary courts (town judges) and the authorities' intervention in defence of free competition (prohibition of price fixing and collusion). In all other respects, there were only formal changes to what was already established: guild statutes had already been confirmed by town councils before 1539 and did not restrict the freedom of guild members to appeal to the magistrate (town council) in the event of abusive guild practices.

In addition to these common points, there are new provisions concerning the profile of the trade in several situations where the autonomy of the guilds is called into question. Since it is impossible to list all the places where the articles of the guilds' statutes were amended, we propose to follow the example of the goldsmiths' guilds, which enjoyed great prestige and whose statutes were in force before and after the revision. There is also data on how the craftsmen reacted to the regularisation of the rules for goldsmiths only. What is known is the reaction of the Sibiu Goldsmiths' Guild to the statutes of the Union of the Goldsmiths' Guilds in 1539. Of the statutes of the goldsmiths from the Saxon towns, those of the guild in Sibiu from 1494, those in Brașov from 1511, then the new statutes of the Union of the Goldsmiths from 1539, the articles adopted by the goldsmiths in Brașov, Sighișoara, Bistrița, and Sibiu from 1559 and the Statutes of the Guild Union from 1561 have been preserved.[77] A comparison of these rules shows that the list of offences under the control of the goldsmiths' guilds was unchanged between 1494 and 1561. The Statutes of the Goldsmiths of 1494 cover almost the entire range of acts and offences related to the working of gold and silver, from negligence to fraud, as well as acts classified as penal matters (buying stolen ecclesiastical objects and blowing brass with gold). The more recent statutes do not abolish any of these punishments but only add some provisions concerning the establishment of the facts (purchase of gold cut from florins, blowing counterfeit florins with gold: 1511, and concealment of gilded works: 1561) or specify the circumstances of the commission of the offence, the subjective aspect of the offence (for example, purchase outside or inside the guild of church treasures, objects of worship, or other suspect silver objects "secretly and knowingly": 1561).

As far as derogations are concerned, only on two points do the revised statutes of the guild of 1539 introduce new rules: they impose the obligation to mark

77 *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 213 (doc. 78: 1494), 329 (doc. 113: 1539); *Documente de breaslă*, 93 (doc. 40: 1511), 247 (doc. 129: 1559), 257 (doc. 133: 1561).

products with their own sign—this provision is one of those contested by the request of the goldsmiths of Sibiu[78]—and they establish sanctions for cheating with weights (the use of two types of weights: 1539, then 1561). With regard to these articles, the intervention of the town council was probably secondary, since they were provisions of general application for the entire country (this was probably one of the reasons why the goldsmiths' request for the statutes of 1561 actually repeated the provisions of 1539). Looking only at the list of offences in the goldsmiths' statute, the 1539 revision of the guilds' statute made no significant changes to the distinction between offences, and there was little visible interference by the authorities in the guilds' affairs in this respect. Apart from a further increase in the value of the fines, the only change was in the proportion of fines that went to the authorities, which is probably why the goldsmiths challenged the new rules. One might therefore think that as the proportion of fines going to the authorities increases, so does their power to sanction wrongdoing. Since the wording of the articles on this point remains unclear, it is necessary to see where the question of the division of the fine between the authorities and the guilds arises. The goldsmiths' demands revolve around the issue of confiscating products that have been 'viciously' processed or obtained by fraud, with the goldsmiths of Sibiu arguing for fines to be imposed by the guild without the involvement of the authorities.[79] The dilemma of whether to confiscate something 'defective and improper' or something 'punishable' was probably no coincidence and did not concern only goldsmiths. It was not just a question of the quality of a product,

78 The goldsmiths demanded that the obligation to mark objects with the proper guild sign should only apply to objects worth more than half a silver mark. Cp. Requests of the goldsmiths' guild to amend the statutes of their guild, after 25 July 1539, Sibiu (*Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 334, doc. 114). In 1570, the goldsmiths of all the provinces inhabited by the Saxons, on the basis of a decree of the sovereign, determined the quality of the processed silver, the preservation of the colour of the silver, and required the marking of the wrought objects with their own sign. *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 413 (doc. 145).

79 "In this article, we find it difficult that the judges should be the punishers, whereas the old guild letter says that every four weeks the guild leader should go [to inspection], and the silver which they do not find according to the needle test should be taken, whether worked or unworked, gilded or ungilded, and brought into the guild, and he who made it should spoil it himself in the guild"—as the goldsmiths claim. (*Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 335, doc. 114). As for the guilds' right to impose fines for offences, the goldsmiths actually objected on two points: in controlling the working of silver and in punishing anyone who whitewashed a gilded artefact, demanding that the craftsmen "be the only ones in the guild entitled to inflict punishment" (art. 6 and 7). However, the guild's statutes of 1561 reiterated the rules of 1539 and made no mention of the fine of fifteen florins for silver worked under fifteen *lottones*. The threat of such a high fine was, moreover, quite unusual, which is why the goldsmiths of Sibiu were offended by it and reacted as follows: "We will gladly work the silver as we used to work it, i.e., with the mark of 15 *lottones*, and we ask your lordships that in other towns of this province they work in the same way." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 335 (doc. 114).

but also of a system of sanctioning and confiscation. In order to protect the quality of the product in accordance with the guild's requirements, its internal rules empowered the guild to impose sanctions and confiscate the product, thus preventing anything 'defective and improper' from entering the market and damaging the guild's reputation. However, 'punishable' acts included, as the case may be, even more serious offences, ranging from violations of rights and rules, such as the illegal, illicit, or clandestine acquisition of raw materials or violations of commercial freedoms,[80] to more serious facts such as fraud and counterfeiting. In the case of the goldsmiths, these were extremely grave,[81] with far-reaching consequences that went beyond the guild's immediate interests. Naturally, these situations were not within the guilds' jurisdiction or their sole responsibility. In several instances, we see that the question of confiscating 'punishable goods' was not clear to contemporaries either;[82] it seems that even officials were not sure of the procedure to follow (either because they did not include the acts in question among those punishable by judges or town councils, as in the case of several types of fraud, or because they only began to investigate after the guild had already confiscated the goods).[83]

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80 In this regard, we refer to the complaint filed by the town council of Brașov before to the Seven Saxon Seats in the dispute between the Brașov Furriers' Guild and the butcher Martinus Onsch, dated 22 November 1570. According to the complaint, the butcher had raw lamb pelts in stock, the right to purchase which, according to a privileged letter, belonged to the Brașov furriers. Although the butcher had previously agreed the sale with the furriers, he sold the pelts to a Székely. The furriers chased the Székely, caught him at the town gate, and took the pelts as their own. The butcher, who had to pay the Székely for the damage he had caused him (he had given the pelts to the Székely in exchange for some oxen), was left with the loss and demanded justice from the town council. The Brașov Council decided in favour of the butcher. Not satisfied with this decision, the furriers appealed to the University of the Saxons. The latter decided the case in favour of the furriers and condemned the butcher to lose the pelts because he had illegally sold them to the Székely. *Documente de breaslă*, 305 (doc. 155).

81 Here we recall that a provision established by the statute of the Brașov Goldsmiths' Guild in 1511, namely that "the craftsmen shall have the power to spoil, and mark forged florins," contradicts what we say. (*Documente de breaslă*, 94, doc. 40). However, we consider it unlikely that the craftsmen practiced this rule themselves or for a long time. Violation of the sovereign's financial monopoly constituted high treason and as such was punishable by death by beheading. See the Decree I of King Matthias of 1462: "On Cases of High Treason": *A magyar jogtörténet forrásai*, 177.

82 For example, in 1559, in order to solve the conflict between the tailors of Brașov and the tailors of the Seven and Two Seats, as well as the tailors of Bistrița and Cluj, regarding the punishment, the University of the Saxons decided that "the tailors should confiscate the works liable to punishment and not the judges, as had been done in the case of other guilds." *Documente de breaslă*, 246 (doc. 128).

83 At the beginning of the sixteenth century, guilds still had the power to investigate fraud, as the statutes of the Locksmiths' Guild show. The old guild rules of 1518 left it to the craftsmen to

Property obtained by fraud or by the violation of certain commercial rights was confiscated by the guild, usually in the presence of the authorities. Guild statutes also contain such rules. For example, the statutes of the Wool Weavers' Guild (from Sibiu, Sighișoara, Mediaș, Bistrița, and Sebeș), dated 30 November 1536, explicitly state that adulterated linen and yarn must be confiscated in its entirety by the authority of the judges and magistrates present in the markets.[84] We can see the practice in such cases and how the fine was divided between the authorities and the guilds in a trial before the University of the Saxons between the Tailors' Guild of Brașov and a tailor of the same guild, Gregorius Placz, on 8 December 1567.[85] Gregorius Placz was accused of selling two women's cloaks that had been "falsified and fraudulently made."[86] He was expelled from the guild and handed over to the court to be punished for his actions.[87] After it had been proved that the products in question had been "badly made, forged, and produced" and sold by the accused "against the general order and the statutes of the entire guild of tailors,"[88] the instance (the University of the Saxons) pronounced the following sentence:

> "The defendant is ordered to pay the guild the usual fine, i.e., one florin. As this case was not settled within the guild, but was referred to the judges, two thirds of the value of the two coats must go to the judges, and the third part to the guild as a fine."[89]

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confiscate the work and punish the guilty one. ("If a craftsman fakes his work and is caught, the work shall be taken from him and brought to the guild steward and punished as the craftsmen see just." cp. Statute of the Guild of Locksmiths and Blacksmiths of Sibiu of 20 August 1518), and the Guild Statute of 1540 left the judgment of counterfeit work to the court ("if a person counterfeits the work, the court shall punish him, and take away the counterfeit work"), cp. Article 7 of the Statute of the Guild of Locksmiths of 24 November 1540). *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 261 (doc. 93), 344 (118).

84 "[…] the judges themselves and the other officials, when they are called upon, are obliged to take care and to supervise, through their servants, the buying and selling of linen and yarn, both counterfeit and not counterfeit." *Documente de breaslă*, 164 (doc. 80).

85 *Documente de breaslă*, 282 (doc. 144).

86 The complaint of the tailors states the fact in detail, namely: "by these coats some of the post was taken away, and the place was repaired and covered with canvas." *Documente de breaslă*, 282 (doc. 144).

87 As the case was appealed to the University of the Saxons, we assume that the tailors' guild did not accept the first instance ruling in Brașov.

88 Surprisingly, the question of whether the craftsman Gregorius Placz was aware that he was selling counterfeit goods was not raised.

89 It also ruled that "Gregorius Placz should apologise to the Guild, with kind and good words, for his wrongdoing, and the Guild, for their part […], should welcome him back to their ranks." *Documente de breaslă*, 282 (doc. 144).

Another case that sheds light on the question of the powers of the confiscation is a court document from 1561.[90] It states that at the annual market in Rupea, on Palm Sunday in 1561, the tailors from Sighișoara confiscated from the tailors from Brașov "some clothes that were forbidden to be brought and displayed for sale, claiming that they had letters and privileges from the royal majesty to do them [confiscations]," with the permission of the judges in Rupea. The tailors of Brașov complained to the Council of Rupea and asked to be shown these privileges. On the day of the trial,[91] the Council examined the case 'by means of the law' and pronounced the following sentence: "The full fine should be given to the judges [of Rupea], and absolutely nothing to the tailors."[92] The tailors from Sighișoara considered this decision unjust and appealed to the court in Sibiu.[93] This instance did not question the authority of the privileged letter. It recognised the right of Sighișoara guilt to confiscate the goods to the detriment of the judges in Rupea.[94] The court's decision, signed on 7 May, contains what we believe to be a necessary clarification that will become the rule in all similar cases. The judgment reads as follows:

> "But as the tailors could not take the clothes without the power of the judges, it was decided that, where improper goods were found and confiscated, two-thirds should go to the judges and one-third to the tailors. But anything found to be counterfeit had to be given to the court in its entirety."[95]

Although this judgment of the Court of Appeal still establishes the sanctioning jurisdiction of the courts according to the nature of the object (to be confiscated), it also makes a distinction according to the nature of the act by transferring the 'counterfeited work' to the court. Counterfeiting therefore falls within the jurisdiction of the courts. The judgment in this case was codified by the University of the Saxons in the form of a statute.[96]

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90 *Documente de breaslă*, 255 (doc. 132). For the judgment of the University of the Saxons in this case, see: *Documente de breaslă*, 262 (doc. 134).

91 "Which was the Monday before St George's Day." *Documente de breaslă*, 255 (doc. 132).

92 Dated at Rupea, 21 April 1561.

93 The letter of appeal is addressed to the mayors, judges, and senators of Sibiu and the Seven and Two Saxon Seats.

94 According to this decision, which at the time was expected from a fair trial, i.e., a decision that would satisfy both sides, the court in Sibiu decided that half of the value of the confiscated goods should be returned to the tailors in Brașov, on the grounds that the persons in question could prove that they were unaware of the freedoms of the tailors in Sighișoara and that it was they who had first violated these rights.

95 *Documente de breaslă*, 262 (doc. 134).

96 "In the year 1561, on the third day of Philippi and Jacobi. Because of the punishment. If, for

Without being able to give an exhaustive account of the subject here, it is probably not premature to note, on the basis of the examples given, that the intervention of the authorities was felt not so much in limiting the prerogatives of the guilds in terms of sanctioning certain punishable acts, but rather in classifying the facts, distinguishing between petty (minor) and serious (major) offences. In this approach the legislation itself played an important role, regulating the facts and circumstances of their commission in ever greater detail. What the general regulations, which began in 1539, brought about in terms of a more professional discussion of issues was in fact the transfer to the ordinary courts the acts qualified as delicts, such as bodily harm (1539), counterfeiting, and fraud (1561). Minor disputes between craftsmen, insults, and moral offences remained within the guilds' jurisdiction. In addition, under the pressure of the Reformation, which contributed to the spread of Protestant morality, the guilds' disciplinary powers were considerably extended.

The guilds' disciplinary powers

As analysed above, guild statutes are notable for their numerous rules on misconduct and sanctions. Over time, the number and content of disciplinary provisions increased. This observation is even more pertinent if we extend it to the statutes of journeymen's brotherhoods, which, given the corporate nature of these associations, developed the whole range of disciplinary rules.[97] How the craftsmen's position on disciplinary matters changed in the context of the adoption of Reformation ideas is a sufficiently explored subject in the academic literature; therefore, we do not wish to revisit it here.[98] We intend to identify those rules which, following the adoption

example, the fraud is committed in the guild, it shall be taken away by the will of the court, so that the court shall have the second part and the guild the third part [of the fine]. If the fraud is committed in relation to work, the court will take the entire fine." SJSAN MA PUS 206 115. See also: *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen*, 66.

97 The statutes of guilds and journeymen's brotherhoods do not differ as regards the main objectives of disciplinary measures. We therefore see no reason to treat the prerogatives of the two types of association separately. On the basis of a few data—an analysis of the power relations between guilds and brotherhoods in the pre-modern period is sorely lacking—we can see that the journeymen's brotherhoods in this period were somewhat dependent on the guilds. For example, their statutes had to be approved by the guilds ("the journeymen shall not make any other regulations or impose any other fines in the brotherhood without the knowledge and will of the guild.", cp. *Statutes of the Brotherhood of the Wool Weavers of Cisnădie*, 1561), we also find cases where the articles of the Brotherhood of Weavers were included in the guild statutes ("Punishments that the Brotherhood of Journeymen will henceforth impose," cp. *Statutes of the Brotherhood of the Wool Weavers of Cisnădie*, 1561). *Comerț si meșteșuguri*, 389 (doc. 137).

98 First of all, we refer to the already mentioned study by Maria Crăciun: "Prețul păcatului."

of local or regional ordinances, were also incorporated into the guilds' statutes. The authorities' increasing exercise of public power naturally made an impact on the guilds, which were also bound by the laws and regulations.[99]

At the level of the guilds' statutes, there are specific rules and regulations, or those implemented in practice throughout the country, relating to setting prices and salaries, standardising measures and weights, food safety, the fight against certain serious offences (theft, adultery, and counterfeiting), but also rules on public order and morality (prohibitions on adultery, gambling, wandering in the streets at night, etc.). Obviously, we also find rules of ecclesiastical polity.[100] The origin of these rules is rarely mentioned; nor do we know whether or to what extent the authorities encouraged the guilds to adopt them.[101] Guild statutes sometimes contain a clear reference to a rule (orders, mandates, decisions, decrees, etc.) to be applied within

99 On the subject of the guilds' compliance with the rules laid down by the authorities, see, for example, the decision of the University of the Saxons of 11 January 1557 on the observance of the prices fixed for crafts: "All the guilds shall observe the letters granted to them by the sovereigns of the country and the articles decided in the Diet of Cluj on the day of St. Catherine in 1556." To the prayer of the Saxons addressed to Queen Isabella in Alba Iulia on 19 February 1557, the Queen replied as follows: "The limitation of the prices of handicrafts and the decision of the Diet must be respected. The authorities of all cities and market towns must see to it that the craftsmen are satisfied and buy what they need within the fixed limits […]." *Documente de breaslă*, 229 (doc. 121), 231 (doc. 122).

100 Thus, the brotherhoods of journeymen established punishments for various situations related to church discipline regarding attendance at church services (see, among others, the preamble of the statute given to the journeymen of the Barbers' Guild of Bistrița: "For the benefit, honour and unity of our cities, and for the sake of every pious servant who comes to us, but for the reasons that some of them have been and will be so negligent in going to church to hear and learn the word of God, so that a good order may be kept between our descendants and us, in love and unity," cp. Statute of the Journeymen's Brotherhood of the Bistrița Barbers' Guild from the year 1580), Catechism ("Whoever does not attend religious teaching without good reason shall pay three denarii each time": Statute of the Brotherhood of Wool Weavers of Cisnădie, 1561) and in the general disciplinary measures for the behaviour of journeymen ("Anyone who does not stand up in the name of Jesus in church shall pay two *denarii*. Any journeyman who sleeps in the pew in church shall pay three *denarii*. Item, whoever speaks in the church during the sermon shall pay three *denarii* each time he does so," cp. Statute of the Brotherhood of the Wool Weavers of Cisnădie, 1561), or for or for failing to comply with other obligations of the Brotherhood ("finally, the youngest ones must sweep the pews of the church every eight days, and those who fail to do so shall be fined. d. 10"., cp. Statute of the Brotherhood of the Bistrița Barbers' Guild from 1580). SJCJAN POB I 4754; *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 389 (doc. 137).

101 For example, the preamble to the Statutes of the Brașov Masons' Guild, dated 1570, mentions that the rules drawn up by the masons and submitted to the town council for confirmation and transcription in the form of a privilege, were partly retained "word for word, but partly reformulated" by the senators "for various reasons." *Documente de breaslă*, 198 (doc. 152).

the guild.[102] In other cases, a guild's adoption of a rule drawn up at the state level can only be inferred by analogy (e.g., the first Statute of the Barbers' Guild, approved by Queen Isabella in 1550,[103] threatened to expel from the guild any craftsman "who is found guilty of adultery, theft or any other illegal act" or "leaves his wife to whom he has taken an oath,"[104] a provision which reproduces the main points of the criminal law adopted by the Transylvanian Diet of Târgu-Mureș in 1549).[105]

The extent to which these provisions were applied *ad litteram* still raises a number of questions. However, this is not the place to discuss them. Suffice it to say that the adoption of disciplinary rules by guilds was, by and large, part of the dynamic of municipal (and, in a broader context, state) law. As the severity of the authorities' repression of deviant public mores increased,[106] so did the guilds' willingness to sanction undesirable behaviour. Like the authorities[107] or even the Church,[108] the guilds provided punishments for truancy and loitering, drunkenness and carelessness of any kind, nocturnal revelry and gambling, and debauchery. There is a broad temporal correlation between the application of disciplinary measures taken by the authorities to maintain order in the city (according to Mária Pakucs, the legitimacy of the town council as a disciplinary authority was established in 1581)[109] and the appearance of a variety of disciplinary themes in the text of guild statutes.

102 See, for example, Article 14 of the Statute of the Blacksmiths' Guild of 17 November 1540 (*Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 341, doc. 117); article 20 of the Statute of the Coopers' Guild of Sibiu and all Transylvania, 23 January 1572 (*Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 421, doc. 148).

103 The statute was drawn up at the request of the barbers from Sibiu, Brașov, Bistrița, Sighișoara and Mediaș. *Documente de breaslă*, 202 (doc. 103).

104 Articles 8 and 9 of the Statute. *Documente de breaslă*, 203 (doc. 103).

105 The decisions of the Diet of Târgu-Mureș in 1549 (April–May) have not been preserved, but an overview of the main points is recorded in the minutes of the University of the Saxons *(Decretum Dominorum Trium Nationum Regni Transsilvaniae in comicys Wassarhelien ad diem festum Thomae martiris indicty, Anno Domini 1549).* The law stipulates that thieves, gold counterfeiters, murderers, adulterers, arsonists, and polygamists will be punished with loss of property. SJSAN MA PUS 206 58–60. See also: *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen*, 112. For information on the Diet of Târgu Mureș in 1549, see: *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, 248. It is probably no coincidence that the barbers were among the first to adopt such regulations; as they did not have a guild, they were placed under the protection of the town council by Queen Isabella (see the first article of the guild statutes of 1550: the appointed leaders of the guild "shall give all obedience to the magistrate, to respect the fidelity due to him and to watch over the practice of this craft"). *Documente de breaslă*, 204 (doc. 103).

106 Pakucs, "Sibiul în veacul al XVI-lea," 68.

107 The Saxon University banned gambling in the market towns and villages (1551), a decision that became general in 1557 and was reissued shortly afterwards in 1558. Seivert, *Akten und Daten*, 47–48 (doc. 40); *Corpus Statutorum*, 525.

108 Schuler von Libloy, *Siebenbürgische Rechtsgeschichte*, 232–37.

109 Pakucs, "Gute Ordnung," 196.

It is also no coincidence that sources on journeymen's brotherhoods suddenly reappear at this time.[110] From the second half of the sixteenth century, the brotherhoods became more dependent on the guilds than before. Guilds required journeymen and apprentices to behave in a respectable manner (both towards the master's house and towards the guild),[111] and masters also took responsibility for their actions before the authorities.[112] During this period, apprentice brotherhoods developed statutes almost exclusively in the field of behavioural discipline. In the spirit of the late medieval confraternities, members of the brotherhoods were no strangers to the cultivation of loyalty and obedience towards their superiors and, more generally, towards the community to which they belonged. The new spirit of the age only extended this vision of order to the wider society. Apprentices, like guild masters, would henceforth belong not only to a limited order of the guild community, but also to that of the city; public order and guild order, in terms of the measures taken to establish and maintain them, were, in fact, analogous concepts. It is noteworthy that the brotherhoods, having served the prevailing moral patterns of society, did not take urgent measures to improve the economic situation of the journeymen.

A comparative analysis of the sources, in particular the guilds' registers of fines and those imposed by the mayor,[113] suggests that the guilds exercised their disciplinary prerogatives in a complementary manner to the authorities.[114] Like the

110 Some of these include Statutes for the Journeymen established by the Union of the Pewterers' Guild (1561), Statutes of the Brotherhood of the Journeymen of Wool Weavers from Cisnădie (1561), The Brotherhood of the Goldsmiths' Guild (Sibiu) establishes fines for improper behaviour at banquets (1575), The Journeymen of the Weavers' Guild (Sibiu) establish the Statutes of their Brotherhood (1577), Statutes of the Barbers' Journeymen from Bistrița (1580). *Documente de breaslă*, 264 (doc. 136); *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 387 (doc. 137), 442 (doc. 155), 461 (doc. 158); SJCJAN POB I. 4754.

111 See, for example, Article 6 of the Regulations and Ordinances for Millers of the *Statuta der Mülner Czech, 1577, Bistritz*, which explains how every miller is to behave in the presence of the Masters of the Honourable Millers and elsewhere: SJCJAN POB I. 4157, f. 8. Then the Rules of the Guild of Shoemakers of Sibiu for the Journeymen (1556–1599); Statutes of the Wool Weavers' Brotherhood of 1561 from Cisnădie; the Statutes of the Transylvanian Leather Guild of 1569; the Statute of the Transylvanian Leather Guild of 1569, cp. *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 404 (doc. 141), 370 (doc. 128), 388 (doc. 137), 404 (doc. 141).

112 For example, according to an entry in the account book of the town of Sibiu from 1567, concerning the income of the mayor Simon Miles from fines, on 17 February, a certain Thomas Schlosser paid a fine of forty *denarii* for having caught his servant and two companions playing cards at the house of Colman Schlosser. Cp. *Percepta civitatis Cibiniensis sub consulatum domini Simonis Miles ad Annum Domini 1567*: SJSAN MOS SC 86, f. 46.

113 For information on public order measures taken by the authorities, night patrols and fines imposed on offenders, see: Pakucs, "Sibiul în veacul al XVI-lea," 68.

114 The overlapping of disciplinary powers between the town council and other institutions, the Church, and the guilds, is also pointed out by Mária Pakucs, "Gute Ordnung," 198.

authorities, the guilds sanctioned members (craftsmen, journeymen, and apprentices alike) guilty of misconduct and breaches of disciplinary rules. This is reflected not only in the wording of the statutes[115] but also in the application of sanctions.[116] They also introduced stricter measures to deal with criminal practices: guild members whom a judge accused or found guilty of a more serious offence were banned from working in the guild,[117] and those acquitted by the court had to regain their

115 Statutes of the Weavers' Brotherhood of Sibiu, 1577 (*Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 460, doc. 158); Article 7 of the Rules of the Honourable Millers' Guild of Königsboden, Belonging to the Royal Town of Nösen [Bistrița], 1577. The same act prescribes the same conduct for journeymen, albeit with a harsher punishment: "Any servant who is disobedient and gets into a quarrel with another loses his guild." (SJCJAN POB I. 4157, f. 3, 12). See also the Statute of the Tailors' Guild (1485): "Any journeyman who dishonours or disgraces his master's house will receive no honour or support from us." Or the Decisions of the Craftsmen of the Union of the Leather Guilds for the Journeymen (27 April 1523): "Whoever disgraces the house of his master shall be deprived of his trade." *Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 171 (doc. 66), 282 (doc. 98).

116 In the register of the Shoemakers' Guild (Sibiu), for example, we find that in 1584, they punished their members with a fine (one florin) for working on feast days; also for gambling; on another occasion, they punished Michel Fryst for playing cards. Cp. Book of the Shoemakers' Guild, 1555–1847 (SJSAN CB B 6–9 121, f. 169). Looking at the records of fines, we can see that guild members paid fines for various offences, some of which were not covered by the statutes. Thus, for example, craftsmen were fined for not respecting the limit on the number of journeymen (if they kept three journeymen instead of two, they had to pay a fine of one florin), or for employing a journeyman who also work for other craftsmen (one florin), for employing women (one florin), for being late or not attending guild meetings, for spoiling the craftsman's work (for each sample they paid fines of one to two florins), for not paying funeral contributions, for beating up another craftsman's journeyman (one florin), for disobeying the decisions of the guild leaders, for discrediting the reputation of the guild (one florin), for reporting a matter to the court without the guild leader's knowledge (one florin), for neglecting the duty of guarding the towers because of drunkenness. Then the craftsmen were fined for cheating (e.g., a certain Pitter Grossen, a goldsmith from Sibiu, pays a fine of four florins to the guild in 1593 for selling a used buckle as new), for using the craftsman's sign in the guild in an improper manner (one florin). Cp. Book of the Goldsmiths' Guild, 1589–1701 (SJSAN ARB 445, f. 6–18). The shoemakers were also fined for gambling, drinking with strangers, insulting each other, swearing, working on feast days, or refusing to work when called upon: cp. Register of the Shoemakers' Guild, 1555–1847 (SJSAN CB B 6–9 121, 165–69). Payment was usually due within four weeks, with fines doubled for non-payment. Sometimes the fined would pay only half the amount; if they could not, they would provide a guarantor. It was not uncommon for a craftsman to accumulate debts, even as high as twelve florins, or to be fined several times. In 1591, for example, a certain Joseph Goldschmitt from Sibiu paid for almost all kinds of misconduct: he neglected the work of the craftsmen, he did not comply with the regulations concerning the quality of the worked silver, then he came late or did not attend the meetings, and in 1593, we see him among those fined for disobedience and instigating quarrels (SJSAN ARB 445, f. 6–18).

117 "Any master found guilty of stealing or other unlawful acts shall have no honour with us. And no servant shall serve him, or if he does, that servant shall have no guild with us." Cp. Rules of

rights before the guild.[118] Changes in this regard were to come later; in 1632 the University of the Saxons decided that guilds and neighbourhoods could no longer punish their members if they had already been fined by an ordinary judge.[119]

At the end of the sixteenth century, city officials still saw traditional forms of social organisation as a means of fulfilling their role as public authorities. The authorities relied on guilds (including journeymen's brotherhoods) and neighbourhoods to exercise power in the area of public order. For example, in matters of public health, i.e., the control of the sale of food (e.g., meat) on the market, in 1570 the city authorities empowered the guilds (butchers) to organise food inspections. They did not appoint an inspector *ex officio*. Nevertheless, officials held responsible the guild stewards (and the inspectors appointed by the guild) for failing to carry out their duties.[120] Given the narrow scope of the measures taken to protect public order and morality, the authorities preferred to rely primarily on the social organisations (community, family, etc.) to which the offender belonged. In 1581, for example, the mayor, judges, and jurors of Sibiu issued an ordinance for the protection of juveniles, with the promising title "Order of Discipline and Good Behaviour and Punishment of all Journeymen, Students, and Servants."[121] After listing the usual prohibitions (drunkenness, swearing, harassment, walking the streets at night, brandishing knives, and gambling), it empowered the journeymen's steward to impose punishment if a journeyman broke the rules, as well as the school rector if the lawbreakers were students, leaving only the merchant's youth directly subject to the authority of the judges.

Needless to say, it would take more than the examples presented here to describe in detail the complex processes involved in the development of the guilds'

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the Honourable Millers' Guild of Königsboden, Belonging to the Royal Town of Nösen (SJCJAN BOB I. 4157, f. 3). According to the rules of the Journeymen of the Barber's Craft (1580): "Any journeyman caught stealing or committing adultery will be expelled from the craft." SJCJAN POB I. 4754, f. 1v.

118 See articles 6 and 8 of the Statutes of the Transylvanian Guild of Barbers, granted by the University of the Saxons on 29 November 1562 (*Comerț și meșteșuguri*, 397–98, doc. 138; 439, doc. 154). See also the entry in the records of the Magistrate of Sibiu, according to which the University of the Saxons forgave Zaharia Zabó for all his previous sins and proposed to the Cloth Makers that he be restored to his former rights, taking responsibility for the damage he had caused. *Inventarul protocoalelor*, 34.

119 *Hermannstadt und Siebenbürgen*, 222.

120 See Article 6 of the Statutes of the Butchers' Guild, confirmed by the University of the Saxons on 29 November 1570: *Documente de breaslă*, 310 (doc. 157).

121 *Pollicey und Zuchtordnung vnd Straffen allerley hantwerkßknechten vnd studenten auch kauffknechten ihn der Hermannstadt*. Zimmermann, "Das Register der Johannes-Bruderschaft," 415–16; Pakucs, "Sibiul în veacul al XVI-lea," 67.

power to impose fines, as research into this topic requires the empirical analysis of existing sources, especially guild books.

Conclusions

As far as the guilds' own jurisdiction is concerned, there is no clear evidence from the sixteenth century that they operated freely from the town council. We have assumed that the guilds were closely dependent on the town council from the outset. In Transylvanian Saxon towns, the institution of a large council, also known as the council of hundreds, which included the craftsmen and could have brought the town government under effective community control, appeared relatively late. The prestige of the town council thus remained intact, at least as far as its legislative and judicial powers were concerned. The guilds formed guild unions for greater representation, but these had no disciplinary powers. Between 1539 and 1582, the organisation of the Saxon town guilds underwent significant changes. The local and provincial governments revised the rules of individual guilds and brought them into line with the provisions of the existing municipal regulations. Historians see this intervention as a turning point in the power relations between the guilds and the city council, limiting the guilds' right to decide on disciplinary offences committed by their own craftsmen. However, a comparative analysis of the guild statutes shows that the new situation did not, or not primarily, lead to a change in the limitation of the guilds' disciplinary prerogatives. Instead, the guilds' actual jurisdiction was limited only when the nature of the case required a more specialised legal assessment of the facts in the ordinary courts. For example, offences such as bodily harm, counterfeiting, and fraud were transferred to the ordinary courts. As with other lower forums and structures, the guilds will retain the power to sanction disciplinary misconduct by persons under their authority. The guilds will apply sanctions in all areas of good order and discipline which are punishable by law and municipal regulations, including those of the Church. The authorities relied on the traditional organisations of society (including guilds and brotherhoods) to enforce measures to curb undesirable behaviour, disorder, and moral transgressions.

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Regional Differences in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (c. 1500)

Brief Description of the NKFI K145924 Project*

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Abstract. The objective of this project is to examine and delineate regional differences within the Kingdom of Hungary (the Carpathian Basin in geographical terms) at the end of the Middle Ages. Whereas statistical data comparable to the modern period are unavailable for the Middle Ages, regional inequalities (the economic activity or inactivity of a region) can be approximated using indirect indicators. Given the relatively well-documented settlement network of the Carpathian Basin in the Late Middle Ages and the abundance of available data that can be employed as indicators (proxies), the project will utilise this methodology to construct a database for the time around 1500. The database will be processed in order to make regional differences in the late Middle Ages visible by means of various geospatial methods. Furthermore, comparisons will be made with maps of earlier and later periods, using similar methodologies. In addition, new datasets will be incorporated into the database for the eighteenth century, comprising data from Croatia north of the River Save and church censuses. The project will conclude with the production of a series of maps that will facilitate the identification of long-term processes, including changes over time, as well as their variable and stable elements. Moreover, the identification of regions within the Carpathian Basin that are permanently developed (active) or underdeveloped (inactive) may provide new perspectives for the formulation of regional development strategies in the present.

Keywords: regional differences, Late Middle Ages, eighteenth century, Kingdom of Hungary, database, visualisation

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Introduction

A new research project, funded by the NKFIH, was launched in January 2024 with the aim of investigating regional differences in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary around 1500. In addition, the database will be linked to the already existing databases of the eighteenth–twentieth centuries, developed in the framework of several previous research projects.[1] They will be complemented with additional datasets (ecclesiastical data and data for modern Croatia) in order to facilitate comparative research. The composition of the research team reflects the complexity of the research questions and the variety of analytical tools to be used. In addition to the principal investigator, the research team includes Katalin Szende and Judit Majorossy (urban and social history), Béla Zsolt Szakács (art history), Géza Hegyi (church and settlement history of Transylvania), Péter Haraszti Szabó (schools and peregrination), Gábor Demeter (eighteenth-century data), Péter Földvári (cliometrics), Zsolt Pinke (environmental history), and Zsolt Szilágyi (modern history). The base maps will be prepared by Gábor Németh; István Papp will participate in the GIS analysis, and the relational database and web map will be developed by Gergő Gyula. Further cooperation will be established with researchers with special interests in Hungary and abroad to validate the data in the database.

State-of-the-art

In historical narratives, the picture of late medieval Hungary in terms of settlement network and economy is usually rather static and not based on a systematic analysis of all (possible) data. Since our sources are inconsistent both spatially and temporally and, in addition, the appropriate tools for carrying out such a systematic analysis were not available, earlier historians often opted for extrapolating studies carried out for a region at a specific point in time. However, considering a single phenomenon (or process) valid for the entire country might lead to misinterpretations and false generalisations. A classic example of this is the phenomenon of settlement desertion in the Late Middle Ages, which spread in the historical literature following the research of István Szabó, who mainly focused on the Great Hungarian Plain and whose findings represented the late medieval decline of the Kingdom of Hungary for a long time.[2] However, even in medieval times, regional differences seem to have been much more significant, and changes must have been much more dynamic.

1 HAS RCH Lendület/Momentum Ten Generations https://10generacio.hu/hu/, ELKH Proof of Concept http://gistahungarorum.abtk.hu, NKFI 111766 Elaboration of GIS for supporting researches on Austria-Hungary and Hungary (1857–1910), www.gistory.hu

2 Cp. Kubinyi, "A Magyar Királyság," 154.

Recent investigations have shown that medieval Hungary's regions were diverse in terms of development level, and the location of peripheries and cores shifted in space and time.[3] Even though an absolute picture of development levels, expressed in incomes, cannot be reconstructed due to the lack of appropriate sources,[4] the extent of internal inequalities can be measured,[5] and the location of the peripheries can be identified. According to literature in social sciences, internal inequalities (be it social or spatial) can substitute welfare or can serve as a proxy for it.[6] This statement has been verified even for the eighteenth century in regions lacking proper sources for quantifiable income.[7] Furthermore, measuring regional inequalities is a better indicator than welfare or income: even prosperous countries may show substantial regional inequalities, which refers to an unstable socio-political situation despite high incomes in general.[8]

Thanks to the dynamically broadening spatial datasets and improving processing methods, the possibilities of comparative regional analyses in historical periods have broadened substantially since the first attempts by Fernand Braudel and George Pollard.[9] Historical GIS-research becoming widespread allows a shift in focus from vertical (social) to horizontal (regional) structures.[10] However, while research on the country level or focusing on social inequalities is gaining more importance also in history, investigations on internal regional inequalities from a diachronic, historical perspective are still rare. Despite the general interest in long-term spatial analyses and the broadening of its geographical scope,[11] there are still numerous obstacles to overcome. Either the scale of studies is not sufficiently detailed and does not reach the district level,[12] or if they are detailed enough and apply a complex approach,

3 See F. Romhányi et al., "A Magyar Királyság regionális különbségei"; Mikle and Demeter, "Területi egyenlőtlenségek."

4 For the 1330s, it is possible to approximate incomes using the value of proportional taxes per area, based on the papal tithe list, but there is no similar source covering the entire kingdom for the period around 1500. Cp. F. Romhányi, "Spatial transformations."

5 Demeter, "Területi egyenlőtlenségek."

6 Williamson, "Regional Inequality"; Milanovic et al., "Measuring Ancient Inequality."

7 Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Wealth and inequality"; Coşgel and Ergene, "Inequality of Wealth"; Pamuk, "Estimating GDP per Capita."

8 Demeter, "Jövedelmi viszonyok"; Milanovic et al., "Measuring Ancient Inequality."

9 See Clout, "The Land of France."

10 Philips et al., "The Regional Occupational Structure."

11 Scargill, "Regional Inequality" and Dormard, "Economic Development" for France; Bukowski et al., "Urbanization and GDP per Capita" for Poland; da Silva, "Regional Inequalities" for Brazil.

12 van Zanden et al., "The Changing Shape"; Reis, "Historical Perspectives"; Nagy, "Regional Structure"; Rumpler and Urbanitsch, "Soziale Strukturen."

then their timescale does not go beyond the eighteenth century.[13] The latter case may be due to changing administrative boundaries, the changing focus of available conscriptions, or the lack of data. *Longue durée* and, at the same time, fine resolution research on large territories is quite rare[14] because of such challenges as adapting a coherent methodology in the case of different sets of indicators for the analysed time horizons, the changing explanatory power of indicators in the case of recurring variables, the changing frames of spatial division, and the problems of data harmonisation in the case of investigations targeting more than one country.

In the proposed project, we offer a possible solution to these problems using municipal-level databases: approximately 15,000 territorial entities for the Kingdom of Hungary (including Transylvania and medieval Slavonia). At the same time, we illustrate development trends and shifting peripheries by comparing the results for the period around 1500 to our previous research findings for the 1330s and the eighteenth century.

Concept and previous research

Regional differences in the Middle Ages are difficult to recognise in the Carpathian Basin, since there are hardly any datasets covering the entire territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary at the settlement level for the times before the start of systematic statistical data collection. A first attempt to approach similar questions was made by András Kubinyi, who identified the hierarchy of urban settlements[15] applying Walter Christaller's central place theory; he was followed by several historians of the younger generation. However, dynamically expanding spatial datasets and developing processing methods in computer science have expanded the possibilities of comparative spatial analysis in historical times.

Earlier research, resulting in several common publications,[16] demonstrated that well-selected complex datasets (composed either of qualitative or quantitative data, or even both) and carefully chosen methodology (for instance, gridding, Voronoi cells, and inverse distance weighted or IDW interpolation) are extremely helpful in visualising and interpreting medieval datasets, leading to new research questions that could not have been raised without the new methods. The complex analysis of

13 Combes et al., "The Rise and Fall."

14 Enflo and Missiaia, "Regional GDP estimates."

15 Kubinyi, "A középkori Délnyugat-Magyarország"; Kubinyi, "Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat."

16 F. Romhányi et al., "A Magyar Királyság regionális különbségei"; Papp et al., "A fejlettség regionális"; Demeter et al., "Területi egyenlőtlenségek."

the papal tithe register,[17] and of the composite database built on it was decisive in identifying research possibilities and elaborating the methodology for analysis and comparison. Though the map of the 1330s could already be compared to eighteenth- and twentieth-century maps, the gap of two centuries between 1330 and the actual end of the Middle Ages in the Kingdom of Hungary (around 1526) biased historical interpretation, since late medieval changes remained invisible. Therefore, the aim of the proposed project is to increase the number of time horizons (shrinking the gap) by creating a database for the Kingdom of Hungary around 1500.

At the same time, researchers still face problems in *longue durée* comparisons. In order to enhance the informative value of comparative analyses, we plan to further develop the existing eighteenth-century database with additional datasets, thus approximating the area covered by the data of the two periods and increasing the number of common indicators. In this way, we shall be able to detect long-term processes lying beneath the complex, divergent history of the Carpathian Basin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The results of the two periods (late fifteenth and eighteenth century, respectively), complemented with lessons of the fourteenth-century maps, may contribute to the analyses and interpretations of the Ottoman-era database, which is also in progress (see NKFIH project K132609).[18] This will provide a breakthrough in describing changes and continuity between the medieval and early modern Kingdom of Hungary, as well as in understanding long-term processes of regional differences.

Research methods

Even if there is no dataset for the period in question similar to the papal tithe list for the 1330s, the much larger amount of data and the much better-known settlement network provide a solid basis for the spatial analysis and identification of active (developed) and inactive (backward) regions. The research will build on previous methodological and database development experience, as well as on regional geography and social science research based on modern statistical data. Methods used here are similar to those exploited by geographers to measure the hierarchical and development levels of settlements for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[19]

After having visualised and analysed the dataset of the 1330s,[20] the database and visualisation of the Carpathian Basin around 1220 was done as a pilot project.

17 F. Romhányi, "Plébániák és adóporták."

18 Cp. Demeter et al., "Creating a Database."

19 E.g., Beluszky, "Egy félsiker"; Beluszky, "Magyar városhálózat."

20 F. Romhányi et al., "A Magyar Királyság regionális különbségei."

In this case, exclusively qualitative data (mostly non-weighted) for about 2,200 entities were the basis of the spatial analysis. In both cases, the methodology was elaborated by members of the proposed research team. Based on these experiences and the analysis of the 1330s database, a late medieval database can be created. In terms of size, the database planned within the framework of the proposed project will be about four times larger than that of the fourteenth century (about 15,000 settlements instead of 4,400 parishes), but its structure will be similar to the dataset showing the state of the kingdom around 1220, as it will be based solely on qualitative indicators.[21] We plan to collect data from published sources and already existing datasets that were either created by the participants of the proposed research project or can be included on the basis of established external cooperations. The data to be collected can be grouped as follows:

1. legal indicators: town, market town, privileged village; place of *sedria/generalis congregatio*
2. ecclesiastical indicators: presence of church hierarchy (archbishopric, bishopric, and collegiate chapter); centre of pastoral care (number of parishes, exempt or not, and orthodox church); regular provostries; mendicant and Pauline monasteries; nunneries, beguine houses; fraternities; hospitals
3. economic indicators: fair, market, toll; chamber, mint; guilds; castle, *castellum*, domain centre; mill(s); ford and bridge (if operating)
4. cultural indicators: schools; university students; places of authentication, settlements issuing charters, operational places of notaries; late Gothic building activity; prestige objects (winged altarpieces, organs, turret clocks, tombstones, and use of red marble)
5. other specific data (collected for further data processing, but not part of the development score): specific ethnic groups, such as Italians, Germans, Jews, Romanians, Ruthenians, and Cumans; places of origin of priests, monks, friars, notaries; settlements inhabited entirely or partially by noblemen

As none of the data collected can be directly linked to the types of data used in present-day statistical analysis, they will serve as proxies for measuring regional differences, as well as levels of economic activity and centrality. The function expressing the 'Overall Development Score' (ODS, in Hungarian *fejlettségi összpontszám* or FÖP) that will be used on most of the maps will be defined in a test process using the network of late medieval parishes. The results will be continuously controlled and checked to avoid anomalies that would distort the final results.

The data collection will be done at the level of the municipality, but the analyses will be carried out at the regional (at least county) level. The basic data of the municipalities (name of the municipality, county, and coordinates) will be taken from

21 F. Romhányi, *A Historical Geographical Atlas*.

Pál Engel's map. As a first step, a critical data selection has to be performed, as Engel's database also contains geometries that need to be transformed into attributes (castles, monasteries, deserted or inhabited hamlets and manors). The geometry of the data has already been partly revised and corrected by Gábor Németh, and the database will be continuously updated on the basis of the data generated by the planned research project and the data of the consortial research group led by Gábor Demeter and Éva Sz. Simon, which is processing the Ottoman-era defters and dica registers.[22]

The time span of the database is 1470–1530, but in specific cases, with serious justification, chronological deviation in data selection is possible in both directions.

As noted, the data types described above will be recorded on the settlement level. The weight of the single columns (in creating the ODS scores) will be defined on the basis of a sample of 1,000 records. Most of the data to be processed are qualitative proxies, and their values can be 0 or 1. There are very few variables that can take multiple values. This is the reason why an unusually large number of variables is needed (to define minimum and maximum values on a larger interval and scatter the cumulative values); however, the variables need to be handled in groups which themselves need to be weighted. Defining the weight of variables and of the groups of variables will be an iterative process. Autocorrelation between the proxies has to be thoroughly examined to exclude non-independent variables.

The eighteenth-century data will be attached to the already existing database and will comprise the following datasets:

1. database of eighteenth-century church constructions and reconstructions as an indicator of community well-being (as a counterpart of the similar medieval data)
2. settlement-level GIS map of Croatia for the eighteenth century (the medieval database contains both the medieval Slavonian territories, including Lower Slavonia and the Counties of Pozsega, Szerém, and Valkó that became part of Croatia after the Ottoman era)
3. identification and coding of the Croatian place names of the 1786 chancellery register of peasant landholdings, taxes, and duties, thereby connecting it with today's LAU and GISta databases, as well as the Engel codes of medieval settlements. These three datasets allow the complex diachronic evaluation of the data. (Data for the Kingdom of Hungary for 1786 have already been processed by the Lendület Ten Generations research project, see: gistahungarorum.abtk.hu)
4. coding of the eleven counties of the 1728 census (that source does not contain the entire territory, however, as it is much closer to the end of the Ottoman

22 Projects NKFI K132475 and K132609.

era, and it is more detailed than the *Regnicolaris Conscriptio* of 1715/1720 available for the whole territory also processed by Lendület Ten Generations; The information is necessary for to describe the dynamism of early modern transformation).

Our research area covers historical Hungary, including medieval Slavonia and the counties incorporated into Croatia after the Ottoman era (Pozsega, Szerém, and Valkó Counties), and the data are collected at the settlement level. When comparing development stages (cores and peripheries) at different time horizons, the problem of changing or missing administrative boundaries will be solved using GIS methods (for instance, the use of 10 by 10 km grid cells). From a methodological point of view, the reconstruction of the settlement network, the collection of quantifiable data (both problems are linked to sources), and the lack of precise settlement boundaries remain the main difficulties to overcome. When processing the data of the 1330s, the use of Voronoi polygons (as a substitute for settlement boundaries) enabled gridding, so that the maps of the 1330s and of 1786 became comparable at the same grid size, thus illustrating long-term shifts in centres and changes during the Ottoman conquest (1541–1699).[23] In the proposed project, we plan to combine actual known boundaries of higher administrative units (counties and dioceses) with Voronoi cells on the settlement level. The reason is that late medieval settlement boundaries remain largely unknown in extensive regions, especially in the central part of the Carpathian Basin; therefore, the necessity of methodological coherence prevails over the use of more precise data in single regions.

One of the goals of the project is to establish a complex relational database (using PostgreSQL) by extending the gistahungarorum.abtk.hu database with the medieval layers. Connecting the medieval and eighteenth-century databases is possible based on the harmonisation of the Engel and GISta codes (which can be automated based on which GISta polygon each Engel point falls into, so only the control requires human resources and time). This will enable complex comparative analyses and produce the map series that are necessary to detect regional differences in the Carpathian Basin and to visualise their changes between the 1330s and the twentieth century.

Preliminary and expected results

During the first year of the project, the geographic entities have been defined on two levels. First, the settlement network around 1500 reconstructed on the basis of Pál Engel's database, excluding non-independent entities (castles and monasteries)

23 Demeter et al., "Területi egyenlőtlenségek."

and deserted settlements, as well as the villages that emerged later than the mid-sixteenth century, and uniting all the settlements that Engel recorded separately because of their estate history. As a result, the database contains about 15,000 settlements, almost two thirds of which have only geographic coordinates, but no other attributes. Recognising the difficulties caused by this situation, we decided to aggregate the data on the parish level, preserving, however, the unity of settlements with several parish churches (c. 4,840 entities). This led to an important first result of the project: the lowest administrative unit of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary must have been the parish, just like in England and in France in the same period, and like in Western Europe, the parish also absorbed certain lay administrative functions in the early modern period (for instance, during the eighteenth century, parsons were involved in keeping population records).

Based on the dataset and the maps to be created with different visualisation methods not only will regional differences of the late fifteenth-century kingdom become visible, but more solid long-term comparison will also be possible for several time horizons. Detecting changes in relative development levels will help us better understand social and economic processes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, identify changes in relative population density, thus contributing to detecting directions of internal and external migration, and last but not least, it will also be possible to analyse the dynamics of regional differences in the last 700 years. The series of maps can thus reveal both changing and stable elements over time. A long-term analysis of this type may also contribute to answering present-day questions: for instance, the identification of regions that are permanently developed (active) or underdeveloped (inactive) may also provide new perspectives for decision making on spatial development strategies for the future.

The use of exclusively qualitative indicators in identifying regional inequalities, combined with a broad range of visualisation methods (including the use of Voronoi cells to substitute unknown administrative borders) is a novelty in historical research, as there have been no similar attempts in Europe before. Testing it on a large database will reveal not only the possibilities, but also the limits (for instance, the smallest analysable territorial unit), which is equally important for future research. Also, the complex set of methods used for both the visualisation and the statistical analysis of the medieval data, as well as the methodology of long-term comparison are innovations not only in Hungary, but also in East Central Europe.

The most important results of the proposed project will be the medieval database and the enlarged eighteenth-century database, stored in a perennated, unified format on the server of the Historical Institute of the Research Centre for the Humanities. The online visualisation (web map) will be available for both the professional and the lay public, while the database will be consultable for researchers after registration.

In addition, will produce printed and online publications. A series of a hundred maps will be published in the form of an atlas, focusing on regional differences of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. For the eighteenth century, another eleven county atlases for 1728 (eleven by fifteen maps),[24] the visualisation of the schematism of the Munkács Bishopric (1806),[25] a national atlas, and the settlement-level Croatian atlas for the end of the eighteenth century (twenty maps) will be prepared.

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Discovering the Colonial Past of the Habsburg Monarchy

A Report

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A contribution in the Oxford *World History of Empire*, published in 2021, contained an important, if underappreciated, warning about the difficulties of drawing boundaries, both geographical and cognitive, in the context of late nineteenth-century imperialisms. As Frederick Cooper observed, "[t]he conceptual boundaries in the late nineteenth century between »colonial« empires and the Russian, Austro–Hungarian, and Ottoman empires were not clear cut" at the time.

> "The Ottomans had their colonizing ventures in Yemen and what is now Libya, the Russians in Central Asia; Austria-Hungary took over the Ottoman province of Bosnia and treated it as something of a colony. These empires had their historic ways of dealing with local elites and adapted across their domains in flexible ways that complicated colonial-type relationships."[1]

This important caveat was revisited in greater detail in the framework of a workshop entitled Discovering the Colonial Past of the Habsburg Monarchy *(Entdeckung der kolonialen Vergangenheit der Habsburgermonarchie)* at the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna, Austria, convened by Iván Bertényi and Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics and held on 27 May 2024. In contrast to previous events on similar topics in Vienna, where mainly scholars from the field of social sciences (anthropology, literary theory, cultural studies) gave presentations, this workshop aimed to bring together Austrian and Hungarian historians and geographers who could provide new insights into the question on the basis of previously unexplored archival material. Participants included Barbara Haider-Wilson (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Habsburg and Balkan Studies) and Walter Sauer (University of Vienna,

1 Cooper, "Epilogue. Beyond Empire."

Department of Economic and Social History), as well as Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, Gábor Demeter (both senior research fellows at the HUN-REN Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of History), and Ferenc Gyuris, geographer (Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Natural Sciences, Department of Social and Economic Geography).

Difficulties of researching the colonial past of Habsburg Central Europe

Until recently, research into the colonial past of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy remained largely unexplored in Austrian and Hungarian historiography. The lack of relevant research can partly be traced back to the fact that the Habsburg Empire did not consider itself a colonial power and did not represent itself as such. After its collapse in 1918, the national historiographies and political elites of the successor states of the Danubian empire denied even more vehemently the existence of a colonial past than imperial propaganda had done.[2]

Another reason for the lack of relevant research is that it is difficult to apply theories and perspectives related to colonialism to the Dual Monarchy. Historians of Central Europe essentially shared the views of Robert A. Kann, who was of the opinion that the application of the colonization framework to the European continent was very problematic.[3] On the one hand, the theories were tailored to tackling the colonial pasts of the Atlantic and not East and Central European countries. Additionally, the terminology of international diplomacy and law was far from being as uniform prior to 1914 as has been suggested by international historiography. The Habsburg Empire, for instance, had its own imperial terminology and its own concepts, among other things, in connection with empire building and colonial enterprise—these concepts render comparison with (and even analysis based on) Atlantic colonialism difficult.

At the same time, the topic merits closer scrutiny. Historians have paid little attention to the fact that in the 1890s, the imperial and royal ministers of the joint affairs and finance of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy made an explicit attempt to include colonial ambitions in the Austro–Hungarian foreign policy portfolio formally. The unusual constitutional structure of Austria–Hungary made this a challenging task. According to the laws on which the Compromise of 1867 rested, Emperor and King Franz Joseph's realm was divided into two large public entities, the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary, each of which had its own government and parliament. The joint ministers of foreign affairs, finance, and war in

2 Sauer, ed., *K. u. k. kolonial*, 7–8.

3 Kann, "Trends Towards Colonialism," 164–80.

Vienna were only allowed to deal with the joint matters defined in precise terms by the representatives of the two halves of the new empire in 1867. Formally, they did not even form a government for the whole empire. The two parliaments could only deal with the joint ministers separately, through delegations of their own envoys.

The establishment of a separate portfolio for colonial affairs proved an insurmountable political and social challenge for the joint ministers because any ambitions to this end could have easily undermined the stability of the dualist system, which had been achieved at no small cost. Colonial policy, after all, raised a number of questions that touched on constitutional law. Who would be responsible for colonization, the empire as a whole or a separate Austria and a separate Hungary? Who would finance the costs of colonial ventures, and who would benefit from these investments? Would colonial issues come to constitute a new, fourth portfolio of joint affairs?

Since the study of Austria-Hungary's colonial past has so far remained more or less limited to case studies that have, for the most part, been focused on Eastern and Southeastern Europe, a fine-grained conceptualization marking out of the place of the Dual Monarchy in Europe's colonial past in the global context has remained undeveloped, if not altogether missing. As Iván Bertényi, director of the Hungarian Historical Institute in Vienna, pointed out in his opening remarks, colonialism in the context of the Austro–Hungarian Empire remains controversial to the point that several invitees to the workshop declined to participate due to what they perceived as the lack of an actual subject matter. Without colonies, what colonialism could have existed to merit analysis? At the same time, he also stressed that the need to avoid framing Austro–Hungarian colonialism according to the moral framework currently supporting challenges to the troubling legacies of colonial imperialisms: the task of the researchers, in this context, remains establishing the outlines of Austro–Hungarian colonialism before any judgment may be passed.

The Ballhausplatz's colonization efforts in the 1890s

The presenters accordingly focused on providing new information that permitted theorizing Austro–Hungarian colonialism on a more solid footing. Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics raised the subject of the role of Referatur III in the Joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the 1890s, when Gustav von Kálnoky and Agenor Gołuchowski attempted to make the issue of colonialism a part of the political agenda in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy. Among the departments of the Ballhausplatz in the 1890s, Referatur III was responsible for so-called colonial affairs (except for the Red Sea region), which were handled by the head of the office, Adalbert Fuchs. As no archival unit was organized from the documents of the Referatur III, it is difficult

to reconstruct the portfolio of the office's activities. Through the presentation of three hitherto unknown (African and Albanian) files, Csaplár-Degovics could nevertheless demonstrate that the Austro–Hungarian Foreign Ministry was not only concerned with the colonial policies of other powers but that there also existed a discourse about potential colonies and how to profit from their existence.

It is important to note that pioneering work on this matter had already been done by Evelyn Kolm,[4] who reconstructed how the so-called *colonialpolitische Angelegenheiten* or *Kolonialpolitik* were finally assigned to Referatur III in 1891 and how, in 1894, these tasks were complemented with the articulation of interests of the Danube Monarchy. The next reform of Referatur III took place in 1903. At that time, because of the parliamentary rejection of the openly colonial attempts at Ballhausplatz, an administrative reorganization transferred colonial affairs to a lower administrative unit no longer headed by Fuchs but by Ernst Schmit von Tavera.[5]

There existed, however, another reason for the reorganization of Referatur III: at the turn of the century, Ballhausplatz attempted to formally transform Austria-Hungary into a colonial power. Joint Foreign Minister Gołuchowski wanted to establish Austro–Hungarian colonies mainly in Africa or the Far East (of which only the Tientsin Concession was realized). His efforts were supported by the joint Finance Minister, Benjámin Kállay, who had the task of gaining the support of the Hungarian parliamentarians for these plans, in addition to the Hungarian government (which he failed to do).

In an effort to build additional societal support, the Austro–Hungarian Colonial Society *(Österreichisch-Ungarische Kolonialgesellschaft)* was also founded in 1894 under the leadership of Ernst Franz Weisl and modeled on the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, which had been established in 1882. Just as the German Chancellor Leo von Caprivi cooperated with the German Colonial Society, Agenor Gołuchowski also took the Austrian namesake under his political patronage. Between 1895 and 1902, the liaison between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Society was provided by Referatur III, led by Fuchs, and the Austrian–Hungarian Consul General Norbert Schmucker, who was a member of the Society. [6]

The colonial affairs of Referatur III involved following the activities of the European powers in Africa and gauging opportunities for the Dual Monarchy to enter the scramble. [7] At the same time, for Austria–Hungary, the Balkans remained

4 Kolm, *Die Ambitionen Österreich–Ungarns*.

5 Csaplár-Degovics, *Nekünk nincsenek gyarmataink,* 257–60.

6 *Jahresbericht der Österreichisch-Ungarische Colonial-Gesellschaft*, 38; "Kolonialpolitik," 18–19; Loidl, "Kolonialpropaganda"; Loidl, "*Europa ist zu eng geworden*."

7 ÖStA HHStA PA XL/149/Varia Interna 1895, Mémoire from the year 1895 on African colonial issues, written by Adalbert Fuchs.

an immediate concern, an issue that lent itself to being framed (in part) in colonial terms. An 1896 interministerial conference, for instance, sought to lay the groundwork for establishing a protectorate in Albania in the event of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The conference brought together the old Eastern department of the foreign ministry with the newer colonial bureau, as well as business actors such as Austrian Lloyd, and foresaw the inclusion of the Colonial Society, as well. Such constellations clearly reflect the merging of traditional policy concerns and novel patterns of conceptualizing regions of interest to the empire.

As a final example, the Austro–Hungarian Consul General in Shanghai, Julius Pisko, was tasked with visiting British, French, German, and Portuguese colonies as 'a commercial correspondent' and sending reports on his travels to the Austrian and Hungarian trade ministries in addition to the join foreign ministry. Pisko had to assess investment opportunities, look for markets for the goods of the Austrian and the Hungarian subempires, suggest possible forms of economic colonization, and contact 'Austro–Hungarian colonies' (i.e., diasporas) in Africa and Latin America. Julius Pisko was a committed believer in colonialism and one of the *Machers* (implementers) of the new Austro–Hungarian Albanian politics. While these cases fall short of a comprehensive reconstruction of the activities of Referatur III, they demonstrate how this office could have served as a basis for the creation of a department for colonial affairs at a higher level at Ballhausplatz and how colonial thought could enter Austro–Hungarian government through its capillaries.

K. u. k. colonial: Habsburg Monarchy and European rule in Africa

Walter Sauer's contribution complemented the survey of governmental initiatives with an analysis of colonial figures of Central European origin, reconstructing the contexts of their activities in the Austrian, Hungarian, and Austro–Hungarian relations of the time while also embedding their biographies in the context of European colonial developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Sauer discussed the Austrian travel writer Ida Pfeiffer (1797–1858), the Czech physician Emil Holub (1847–1902), the Hungarian hunter Count Sámuel Teleki (1845–1916) and his companion, the well-known Austrian naval officer and geographer Ludwig von Höhnel (1857–1942) as well as two Austrians, colonial trailblazer Oskar Baumann (1864–1899) and scientist Rudolf Pöch (1870–1921).

Pfeiffer wrote several bestselling books about her travels, visited Egypt in 1842, and traveled to Mauritius and Madagascar between 1856 and 1858. Holub, a great fan of David Livingstone's adventures, took part in three expeditions between 1873 and 1887, visiting South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. Höhnel, who

would in 1899 become *aide-de-camp* to Franz Joseph, explored with Teleki between 1886 and 1889 the previously unknown areas of Tanzania and Kenya. Baumann, an ethnologist and geographer, entered the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Tanzania, as well as Rwanda, Burundi, and Zanzibar between 1885 and 1899, partly to promote Austrian business interests, partly in the service of German colonial lobbies. Ethnographer and anthropologist Pöch from Galicia gained fame between 1902 and 1909 for his travels to the West African coast and Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and South Africa.

Sauer highlighted that no single overarching colonial blueprint existed. Pfeiffer's and Holub's trips were private initiatives. The same was also true for Teleki but not so for his companion Höhnel, who was granted two years' paid leave of absence for the African expedition. This was made possible by Maximilian Daublebsky von Sterneck zu Ehrenstein (1829–1897), who became commander of the Austro–Hungarian navy in 1883. The romantic Sterneck was an enterprising commander who believed strongly in the cause of overseas colonialism. To win the support of the joint ministries and the political and economic elites of the two subempires and the wider social strata of Austria-Hungary for the idea of colonization in Africa, he sought to demonstrate the social utility of the imperial and royal navy in word and deed.

Representing a different type and *modus operandi*, Baumann and Pöch were classic colonial actors on the African continent. As a citizen of Austria, Baumann put his geographical knowledge at the service first of the Austrian business community and then of the German colonial authorities, serving on several expeditions as a cartographer, scout, and explorer, which sometimes included brutal violence against the local population. Pöch's trip was initiated by the Austrian Academy of Sciences so that Austrian academia could play its part in racial research on African ethnic groups.

As a consequence, the trips varied wildly—from the lone Pfeiffer to the large expedition and hunting party of Teleki. However, with the partial exception of Pfeiffer, all journeys had colonial relevance. Not only did they legitimize European colonialism through their actions, but they either contributed to its territorial expansion (like Holub, Teleki/Höhnel,[8] and Baumann) or advanced business (Holub, Baumann) or scientific (Pöch) interests. This is true even if the ultimate beneficiary in most cases was not Austria–Hungary but the British Empire or the German *Reich*. The biographies of the above-mentioned actors demonstrate that Central European citizens were also involved in the European colonization of Africa. In addition, the travels and expeditions described above have a material and physical heritage that the societies of the successor states of Austria–Hungary can view in various

8 "Die Expedition des Grafen Teleki in das Gebiet des Kilimandscharo und Vorläufiger Bericht."

museums. The former travelers, through their writings, also passed on many racist stereotypes which are still prevalent today.

Austria's peaceful crusade in the Holy Land, 1839–1917

A further ambiguous setting for colonial logics was explored in Barbara Haider-Wilson's lecture about the Habsburg dynasty's denominational ambitions and political attitudes towards the Holy Land, interpreting the notion of a 'peaceful crusade' *(friedlicher Kreuzzug)*, frequently used by the dynasty and Austrian publicists. Can the Monarchy's, and within it Austria's, relations with the Holy Land be understood within the context of colonial studies? In the nineteenth century, among the non-governmental social movements that sought to stimulate European Palestine policy, alongside the traditional Christian and Jewish interests in Palestine, were the Anglican-Chiliastic concept of the 'restoration of the Jews' and the idea of *friedlicher Kreuzzug*. This was particularly widespread on the continent, including in the Habsburg Monarchy. These aimed to gradually 'reclaim' the Holy Land for Christianity by religious, cultural, and philanthropic means.

All of the above-mentioned tendencies were often linked to demands for the European colonization of Palestine. Over time, economic considerations also appeared next to cultural ambitions. The Austrian protagonists of the idea of Christian colonies usually ignored the fact that there was an Arab population in Palestine. The calls for colonization in the Habsburg Monarchy with a view to the Holy Land were supported by Georg Gatt, a priest from Tyrol who had established a missionary station in Gaza in 1879. But many others had travelled there before him, establishing an imaginary about the Holy Land in Austria. These included Franz Wilhelm Sieber, Joseph Salzbacher, Anton Prokesch, Joseph Russegger, Ida Pfeiffer, and even priest Jacques Mislin, a tutor of the future Emperor and King, Franz Joseph.

One characteristic in Holy Land travelogues regarding the view of the population was a strong focus on one's own denominational group. A second was that the local Arab population (when visible) was used as an important indicator of life at the time of Jesus. A third fundamental topos cannot be separated from these: Palestine, like the Ottoman Empire as a whole, was seen as backward and in decline. This topos fed into the popular interpretation according to which this region was crying out for European development and modernization.

The Habsburg Monarchy's presence was initially reflected in its role as protector of the book printing press in the Franciscan monastery of St Salvator (founded in 1846); then, an Austrian hospice was opened in Jerusalem (1863), and a Maltese hospital in Tantur (1876/77). Georg Gatt's missionary station was founded in Gaza (1879), and a hospital was built in Nazareth (1882/84).

The international competition for the Holy Land, which was constitutive for the European powers, was never about territorial claims and direct plans for conquest but always about varieties of religious and cultural influence and supremacy. The Habsburg Monarchy saw itself as a major Catholic great power and was viewed as such on the international stage. Some areas (such as the Austrian hospice and the observance of ecclesiastical honorary rights) had been watched over by Austrian church-state elites for decades. In addition, there were also initiatives inspired, for example, by members of Catholic orders, which were 'slowed down' by overriding foreign policy concerns or domestic political constellations. However, the much more pervasive interests of Catholic milieus remained visible, kept alive by travelogues and other publications. The Austrian society was not immune to the spirit of the time and was generally convinced of their claims to the region. The Holy Land, as seen by the imperial society, also demonstrated—and this is of fundamental importance for the late Habsburg Monarchy—that colonial imaginations need not be connected to territorial possession: influence building could rest on colonial logics and still bring to bear imaginaries of race, civilization, and development on the relationship between the colonial power and the target of the imperial policies.

Imagining the Hungarian Balkans

Hungarian colonialism evolved along different routes and was fed by different traditions, if not without contact with Austrian patterns. Focusing on the Balkans, even the early voyages there provided many lessons for the economic ambitions of the Hungarian pre-1848 Age of Reform. Gábor Demeter argued in his contributions that most of the scientific expeditions in the Balkans had political goals in the background. There were some state-financed ventures, but the political motivation is evident even in the case of the self-financed journey of Széchenyi, who wanted to establish connections with the Ottoman Porte and newly autonomous Serbia in order to obtain their acquiescence regarding the regulation of the Danube waterway. Three years after his journey, in 1833, he was appointed governmental supervisor of the regulation works.

Sometimes, scientific journeys were financed through secret funds. The parallel diary of the young consul general in Belgrade, Benjámin Kállay, and the travel description of Kanitz in his work *Donaubulgarien*, concerning their joint travel to Vidin in 1868, reveals strong cooperation between politics and science. After the joint journey, Kanitz received 6,000 forints for his work on the recommendation of Kállay from a secret extraordinary fund of the Hungarian government (bypassing parliamentary approval).

Collecting information was possible with the aid of other civil agents of

private economic actors. The linguist Béla Erődi-Harrach (the future president of the Hungarian Geographical Society in 1893) served as an interpreter on the international expedition led by Wilhelm Pressel and Hochstetter, financially supported by Baron Mauritz Hirsch, known for his railway constructions. Erődi's account in the Hungarian Geographical Bulletin reveals how railway engineers were bribed by authorities, or the entrepreneur bribed the authorities, to manipulate the railway tracks. Finally, the Ottoman railway track was laid down according to the interest of Austria–Hungary as a branch of the future Belgrade–Saloniki line, and not according to the wishes of the Ottoman Empire, which wanted a direct railway connection between Constantinople and Bosnia.

Despite evident cooperation, rivalry and suspicion between Austria and Hungary did not disappear. Each party accused the other of pursuing their own goals. When the young historian Lajos Thallóczy traveled to Ottoman Albania in 1882 under the name Lemaics and contributed to the outbreak of a revolt in order to test the willingness of Albanians to cooperate with Austria–Hungary and test the Ottoman reaction, many, like Engelbert Deusch, thought that the provocation of Albanians was the initiative of the Hungarian government (which was not the case). Similarly, the Hungarian expedition in 1885–1886 emerged partly from the rivalry between Austria and Hungary and other powers, as Hungary was losing ground in the competition for the Balkans. Criticizing the consular system, Adolf Strausz advised the establishment of scientific institutions (a Museum of Commerce or a consular academy such as that already existing in Austria) to promote and, at the same time, veil industrial espionage supported by Thallóczy's circle and industrialists such as a member of the powerful Weiss family.[9]

It was not unique that field trips with political agendas were disguised as ethnographic research. The Austrian consul general in Greece, Georg von Hahn, the founding father of Albanology, was accompanied by a Hungarian-born photographer, Dr. Josef Székely, during his famous trip to Ottoman Albania and Macedonia. It was this professional chemist (a scholar, again recommended officially by the Scientific Academy in Vienna) who took the first-ever photos of the Balkans in 1863—including not only landscapes but townscapes, bridges, and even brand-new Ottoman military barracks.[10]

So science meant 'legitimation'—a cover story for explorations in the Balkans with economic and political backgrounds, and it also meant publicity, popularity, and the dissemination of the thoughts of the mentioned personalities considered scholars. The Hungarian Geographical Bulletin *(Földrajzi Értesítő)*, the first Hungarian scientific organ to give accounts of recent explorations, indirectly also

9 On the Weiss family, see: Bernád, "Weiss von Csepel, Manfréd Baron," 96–97.

10 Elsie, *Writing in Light*, 17–76.

communicated hidden political interests. Among the contributors of the journal, one may find Ágoston Berecz and Lajos Sámi, future Turanists, and Ignác Goldziher and Adolf Strausz, who were professors at the Royal Hungarian Oriental Academy of Trade in Budapest (1899–1920) and who promoted economic penetration into the Balkans. (This institution was often visited by a representative of 'imperial policy,' Thallóczy, to coordinate joint efforts).

Overseas European colonization as a topical issue for Hungarian geography

The final paper, by Ferenc Gyuris, focused on exploring the relationship between overseas colonization and Austro–Hungarian colonization attempts in the Balkans from the perspective of Hungarian geographers between 1870 and 1920. The first years saw the institutionalization of the discipline in the country, with university departments set up in Pest and Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár). The Hungarian Geographical Society (*Magyar Földrajzi Társaság*, MFT) was founded in 1872, with its journal *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Geographical Review) launched one year later. Although Hungary did not join the race of great European powers to found colonies in Africa and Asia, the leadership of MFT considered it necessary to report on new geographical discoveries and overseas European colonization. They regarded doing so as a prerequisite for securing a 'rightful position' for geography in Hungary, similar to 'the whole civilized Europe,' also guaranteeing that Hungary would not lag behind 'full-fledged European nations.'

Földrajzi Közlemények published several short articles in Hungarian about overseas European colonies as early as the 1870s, which mainly were compiled and translated from studies of German, French, and British authors. This reflected the international power relations in contemporary academic networks and robust linkages of Hungarian academia, especially with the leading centers of Germanophone science and geography. These articles predominantly maintained the content and glorious tone of the original writings, popularizing imperial narratives and presenting the colonial project as a 'civilizing mission.'

Hungarian authors also wrote an increasing number of articles on colonization, but these were far from having a consensual opinion about such narratives. The internationally renowned traveler and orientalist Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), who was to become the president of MFT, internalized Western European colonialist views, especially those from Britain. His racist and imperialistic discourse positioned many indigenous peoples in European colonies as biologically inferior. The opinion of János Hunfalvy (1820–1888), head of the first geography department and president of MFT, was almost diametrically opposed. Hunfalvy also wrote positively

about the global spread of European culture and newly set up hospitals and schools in the colonies, but he sharply criticized the brutal side of colonization. He devotedly opposed racist and environmentalist arguments and any claim that the subjugation of indigenous people would be either a 'natural law' or a justified act. As he put it in a strongly worded speech at the university in 1875, "We cannot accept the fundament of this fake speculation, and we have to protest against its false conclusions."[11]

Most contributors, however, belonged to the group of hesitants who were neither clearly colonial nor anti-colonial. As a common point, they referred to the indigenous peoples in Australia, Southeast Asia, and Africa as culturally 'primitive.' But they also often referred positively to the 'natural talent' of these peoples, whom they did not claim to be 'biologically inferior' nor responsible for their own situation. Instead, they tended to blame the geographical isolation of these peoples, i.e., their limited opportunities for communication with other peoples and their 'rough treatment' by Asian and European overlords. Several authors suggested that many actual virtues of indigenous people were simply not recognized by many Europeans, including their smartness, rich legends, sense of honor, and pre-colonial material cultures, like in Central Africa, with urban centers predating the arrival of the colonizers. Critiques sometimes targeted the entire mode of 'Western' knowledge production, seen as proceeding on the basis of preconceptions and unwillingness to engage with realities on the ground.

In sum, overseas European colonization became a topical issue in Hungarian geography, although Austria–Hungary itself did not possess colonies in the classical sense. Partly due to their variegated biographical trajectories, Hungarian geographers had different and conflicting views about colonization. The context, however, changed towards the end of the nineteenth century. With Hungary gradually becoming economically and politically more powerful within the Austro–Hungarian Empire, many representatives of the Hungarian power and cultural elite, including many geographers, dreamed about expansion toward the Balkans. This 'challenge' was in need of a discourse of legitimation that fit into the overarching civilizational discourse and affirmed the nation's status as civilized and advanced. This need, in turn, resulted in the emergence of a discourse in Hungarian geography about the countries of the peninsula dominated by paternalistic, triumphant concepts and narratives well-known from standard discourses about overseas colonialism. This shift highlights the important role of context and interest in the production of geographical knowledge and contributed to reconfiguring the domestic discourse on colonies and empires in a manner that marginalized previous ethical concerns and represented ideational transfers from overseas colonizer elites and academia.

11 Hunfalvy, "Hunfalvy János tanévnyitó beszéde," 75. For more details: Gyuris, Jobbitt, and Győri, "Hungarian Geography between 1870 and 1920."

Discussion

The multiperspectival discussion of what could be considered colonial in the context of Austro–Hungarian relations understandably sparked debate following the individual panels. Konrad Clewing of the IOS Leibniz-Institut in Regensburg highlighted that fundamental dilemmas still need to be resolved, inter alia the question of whether a single, imperial colonialism existed in the Dual Monarchy or whether parallel undertakings were unfolding in the two halves of the empire. Sauer argued in this context that while Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Austrian, etc. colonial actors had their own ties to the colonial past of their nation or their home country, and they also contributed to shaping the colonial view of their own nation, their efforts were both framed by and contributed to an emerging imperial perspective on colonialism. As Haider-Wilson added, the Habsburg dynasty was itself a colonial actor. The consular jurisdiction and the religious protectorate of the Habsburg Monarchy in parts of the Ottoman Empire had their foundation in old agreements with the Ottoman sultans *(capitulations)*. In the case of the Habsburg Monarchy, it is therefore worth pondering how many different meanings the adjective 'imperial' has in the context of Austria–Hungary's colonial past. At the same time, as Csaplár-Degovics observed, Austrian colonial ambitions had different objectives to Hungarian ones. While the Austrian imperial actors were mainly interested in overseas territories, specifically Latin America, Africa, or the Far East, the Hungarian approach focused on the Balkans and Anatolia. At the same time, an imperial colonial undertaking was both necessary and acceptable as long as it did not threaten to upset the terms of the 1867 Compromise.

Concerning the importation of 'blueprints' from the more advanced German Empire, the strength of domestic logics also shone through: while a lot could be adopted from foreign models, colonialism was embedded in a net of Austro–Hungarian concerns and traditions that guided its evolution in the Dual Monarchy—a realization shared by several panelists. In this regard, it might help to conduct a prosographical study of the two known lists of members of the Austro–Hungarian Colonial Society, while Stephen Gross could serve as a basis for examining exactly which German colonial patterns Austria–Hungary might have followed, further helping to pin down the cognitive frames shaping the discourse.[12]

The second panel debate highlighted yet more previously unexplored issues. These included the role of the Hungarian emigration of 1848/49 in knowledge production and knowledge transfer about the (Near) East—meaning the Balkans and Ottoman Asia (Konrad Clewig). In this context, Demeter observed that Hungarian '49ers established themselves in Ruse, Vidin, Constantinople, Izmir, Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo, and these diasporas traded information. After the dissolution

12 Gross, *Export Empire*.

of the camp of emigrants in Vidin, those who chose Islam contributed to the maintenance of the network of the emigration, and as Ottoman state officials and officers, they became representatives of the *Tanzimat*. According to Kemal Karpat, the scholarly activities of former military officers of the 1848 revolutionary army who later converted to Islam played an important role in the birth of the modern Turkish national movement in Anatolia.[13] After 1867, both the independentist opposition and the pro-Compromise government exploited this facility. Hungarians were much more concerned and involved in the Balkan policy of Austria–Hungary than in any other component of its foreign policy. This had defensive and offensive parts, too. The defensive part was driven by the fear of the establishment of a greater Slavic state that would attract the Slavs of Hungary. The offensive part was partly driven by the Russophobia associated with the experience of 1849. This also resulted in contradictions between the Austrian and Hungarian subempires.

Other members of the 1848/49 revolutionary generation were also the first to articulate the issue of colonialism in the Hungarian lower house after 1867 and laid the foundations of the Hungarian political definition of colonialism. As Csaplár-Degovics observed, they were able to do so because many members of this generation had visited European colonies between 1849 and 1867, mainly in North Africa and India, and had lived as emigrants for many years in Britain and France, where they had had the opportunity to learn about the current state of European imperialism and colonialism through the press or their political contacts. Their experience led them to conclude that just as the British Empire or Paris had oppressed its African and Asian colonies, Austria had oppressed Hungary. However, it is important to stress that they had only superficial information about European colonial practice, not knowledge or expertise.

Austro–Hungarian colonialism, as made evident in the contributions to the conference, can be made sense of, but only if a number of caveats are observed. Any discussion must remain attentive to the confluence of domestic knowledges and international knowledge transfers. These confluences have to be properly situated in relation to the political and social structures of the complex edifice that the Dual Monarchy was. The individual parts were associated with different elites with different experiences and outlooks governing their awakening colonial/imperial perspectives.

As Walter Sauer observed in his closing remarks, knowledge of the joint empire or the colonial past of the Austrian subempire cannot be complete without exploring the colonial past of the Hungarian subempire. A properly multiperspectival assessment of Austro–Hungarian colonialism must chart, as a bare minimum, knowledge transfers from overseas colonizers, civilizational imaginaries,

13 Karpat, "Kossuth Törökországban."

local-regional traditions, the niches for colonial thought in the complex edifice of Austro–Hungarian government, its acceptance by its dual elites, practical initiatives, but also the limitations on the emergence of a full-fledged colonial policy. The workshop attested to the fact that most of these areas have, at the very least, been opened up to further research, but it is just as evident that the work necessary to accomplish these tasks is far from complete. Historians can contribute to this process as they are uniquely positioned to access contemporaneous materials from multiple sources and reconstruct the imaginaries and practices based on these materials, observing both the presence of what without such deep engagement with source materials may perhaps not be seen, but also using the evidence to mark out the boundaries of the historical processes which, obvious linkages notwithstanding, should not be amalgamated into the broader discourse of late nineteenth century (overseas) colonialism.

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Luxembourg Court Cultures in the Long Fourteenth Century. Performing Empire, Celebrating Kingship. Edited by Karl Kügle, Ingrid Ciulisová, and Václav Žůrek.

Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2024. 536 pp.

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The House of Luxembourg is undoubtedly one of the most important ruling dynasties of the Late Middle Ages. Its peak was between 1308 and 1437, and its most famous representatives included such figures as the ambitious Henry VII (c. 1273–1313), the controversial John of Luxembourg (1296–1346), the extremely long-reigning Charles IV (1316–1378) and his successors, the notorious Wenceslas (1361–1419) and the more successful Sigismund (1368–1437). Three of them were Holy Roman emperors, four were kings of the Romans and four were kings of Bohemia. In territorial terms, the sphere of interest and the network of contacts of the Luxembourg court extended to the Bohemian lands as well as to German, Polish, Hungarian, and French-speaking territories. Edited by Ingrid Ciulisová, Karl Kügle, and Václav Žůrek, this volume presents the Luxembourg court as a multilingual and multicultural milieu that forged links between different parts of Europe. In addition, it explores a wide range of topics: diplomacy, music, literature, material culture, visual arts, and gender.

Not only do the authors fill a gap about certain neglected approaches to the dynasty but, as a secondary aim, they intend to draw the English-speaking academic world's attention to the House of Luxembourg. Over the past ten years, several important monographs have been published on the dynasty, for example by Martin Bauch, Lenka Bobková, Václav Žůrek, Pierre Monnet, Péter E. Kovács, František Šmahel and Robert Antonín. However, most of them are in German, Czech and French, which is why the editors' aim is praiseworthy. The lack is also reflected by the fact that Iva Rosario's *Art and Propaganda*, published in 2000, has become, if we take only its citations, an unavoidable reference for authors writing about Charles IV in English, which, beyond the virtues of the monograph, is a clear testimony to the difficulties of access to more recent literature on the issue. Although we have

read valuable, innovative, and in-depth articles in English in the past decade, such as those of Éloïse Adde, Pavlína Cermanová, Christa Birkel, David C. Mengel, Marcin Pauk, Pavlína Rychterová, Dušan Zupka and others, the double commitment of this volume is certainly welcome. In addition to the appreciation of the mission undertaken, the issues raised are also intriguing. For example: Was court poetry some kind of 'soft power'? Could symbolic capital be accumulated through the purchase of relics? How did the various chronicles, autobiographies and other works interact with each other if the aim was to manipulate the past and stabilise power? Why is King Wenceslas IV of Bohemia depicted naked in the illuminations of the German-language Bible he commissioned? How can we impress the Italian envoys if we are competing with our brother at the same time?

As the book is divided into four sections and includes a diverse set of studies, I have chosen to briefly summarise them individually. The first section deals with John of Luxembourg, the second with Charles IV, the third with Wenceslas IV and Sigismund, and the fourth with topics that have been neglected in research history.

The first article, written by Uri Smilansky, focuses on cultural exchanges between the courts, particularly the activities of the poet Guillaume de Machaut (1300–1377), who served John of Luxembourg in the western territories. Smilansky argues that, when understood as some kind of 'soft power,' court poetry may even have promoted dynastic interests. Soft power is a practice whereby a political group can gain acceptance for its activities and goals without pressure, for example through its cultural values. Furthermore, the content of certain works may have changed with the change of patrons and circumstances, opening up some exciting possibilities for the interpretation of sources. In the second study, Jana Fantysová Matějková intends to define the social milieu in which Guillaume de Machaut moved. The poet seems to have been mainly responsible for King John's financial affairs, including the payment of soldiers, and financial flows between the courts. Perhaps the most interesting part of the article is Matějková's comparison of the chronicle of Peter of Zittau (c. 1275–1339) and the poems of Guillaume de Machaut. While the chronicler was highly critical of King John, the poet used the chronicle as source material and painted a heroic, chivalrous picture of his patron, quite the opposite of how he is described in the chronicle. It is also a noteworthy observation by Matějková that there is a connection between John's increasing blindness and his heroic portrayal. In the next essay, Lenka Panušková examines a group of paintings from the 1340s known as the Vyšší Brod Cycle. Panušková's main assertion is that the Cycle is not necessarily the work of a foreign master. She argues that this view would not agree with what we know about the methods used in the workshops of the time; moreover, the characteristics of the paintings can be explained in a way that shows their Bohemian origins rather than their sudden emergence without context.

Ingrid Ciulisová deals with the reliquary cross of Charles IV, which contained several gemstones. She emphasises that precious stones were not just ornamental elements, but that they had a specific meaning and that her analysis provides a clearer picture of the message that the cross carried. In the next essay, Václav Žůrek analyses the patronage of multilingual literature at the court of Charles. He points out that there was no program for the Czech language, unlike for Latin, and that there was a strong interest in German, while French was almost completely ignored. Matouš Jaluška explains how Charles' autobiography was part of a dialogue that developed in the various Czech chronicles of the time. Jaluška raises several interesting topics, such as self-control, truthful speech, and different versions of the mythical conflict between men and women, that is the narrative of the War of the Bohemian Maidens. Maria Theisen takes a closer look at a valuable source, the German-language Wenceslas Bible, and discusses its historical and theological context and the unanswered questions about it. Gia Toussaint asks one single question: why is King Wenceslas IV depicted naked with maidens, kingfishers, and a jug between his legs in the illuminations of the German-language Bible he commissioned? For the answer, the author presents two types of contemporary images of bathers: one with, and another without erotic connotations. The depictions of Wenceslas are also erotic; it is enough to remember how the king's genitals are symbolized by a jug. But what was the purpose of these depictions? Toussaint explains that Wenceslas was probably infertile, as none of his wives bore him children at a time when childlessness was a source of concern for the elite and was also seen as a sign of bad luck, impotence, and incompetence. She finds that the images can be linked to passages in the manuscript about fertility, the procreation of new life, or the genealogical preservation of a dynasty or clan. Even the kingfisher, one of the first creatures created by God, is a symbol of fertility. Other unusual depictions of Wenceslas, for example presenting him as a wild man, also point to the vitality of nature. Wenceslas, Toussaint speculates, perhaps hoped that the images and texts would dispel the assumption that he was incapable of engendering children and that these illuminations could also be seen as a kind of prayer in which the king prayed for the birth of a child, just as many well-known biblical figures only received this gift from God after a long time.

Mark Whelans's study of a codex in Ellwangen Abbey in Southern Germany not only documents the abbey's incomes and expenditures but also traces how the abbey's ambassadors tried to keep up with the imperial court, which was constantly traveling through Europe. Besides, Whelan shows us how the abbey received the visit of Sigismund of Luxembourg, what kind of material culture it possessed, and what matters it tried to promote. The contribution by Ondřej Schmidt is based on the correspondence of Italian embassies and compares the impressions left by Wenceslas IV

and Sigismund during negotiations, ceremonies, rituals, and journeys. The result, in short, is that Sigismund created a much more favourable image in the eyes of the Italian envoys than Wenceslas. Schmidt's argument is that it is futile to assume that this image was also influenced by court propaganda because it appears anyhow that Sigismund and his retinue were more successful in this respect. Another small detail: the image of Wenceslas was negatively influenced by his passion for alcohol, hunting, dogs, and small gifts. In fact, these factors made the monarch appear somewhat 'childish.' His less direct negotiating style did not help him either, as his advisors could intervene in the course of a conversation at any moment, which would increase the hearing's unpredictability. In contrast, Sigismund presented himself as an energetic, politically committed monarch who preferred face-to-face negotiations and often displayed spontaneous outbursts of emotion, whether in the form of joy or anger. However, this spontaneity did not detract from the monarch's image, as he came across as a man of flesh and blood.

Julia Burkhardt's article deals with the role, agency and impact of female rulers. She also pays attention to the fact that when a source contains stereotypes about women, we see not only these elements, but also the opportunities for women to play with stereotypes in order to expand their political space that could help them achieve their specific goal. However, as Burkhardt shows us, masculine and feminine roles might be reversed, or some authors can play with them, as we see in Enea Silvio Piccolomini's (1405–1464) *De viris illustribus*: Albert Habsburg (1397–1439) is portrayed as weak and passive, while his wife Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1409–1442) is not only clever, but according to Piccolomini, she "carried in the body of a woman the spirit of a man and usually brought her husband to do what she wanted." Foreignness is also an important aspect, as the source states that Duke Albert was disliked by the Hungarian nobility because of his German origin and was only accepted because he was Elizabeth's husband. Using the terms 'image-making' and 'image-breaking,' Len Scales writes about the practices of Charles IV's self-representation. Previous research has emphasized how successful the monarch was in cultivating his own image. However, this finding is overshadowed by the fact that several sources report negative reactions rather than undivided success. In various accounts, Charles is portrayed as an oppressive, highly taxing and, in extreme cases, even a false Christian. These opinions were provoked by the success of Charles's image-making, which involved a variety of methods, ranging from the remodelling of Prague to the purchase of relics and the blending of clerical and secular roles. Scales points out that image-making had a more complex influence on contemporaries than previously thought. In the last article in the volume, Karl Kügle examines not only the musical and literary legacies of the Luxembourg courts but also their broad political context, such as the relationship between John of Luxembourg and

the contemporary minstrels and the anti-French attitude of Charles IV's early reign. Kügle concludes that the scholarly idea that medieval music underwent an evolutionary change from monophonic to polyphonic music merely imposes a development-centric concept of a later age on contemporaries and, thus, impedes the understanding of fourteenth-century culture.

Finally, I would like to address a few minor structural issues. It is certainly to be welcomed that successive articles within a section attempt to cover a narrower period or subtopic, while an earlier article provides a point of reference for the next. This was most successful in the case of the articles dealing with the Wenceslas Bible, although the editing could have provided information in a somewhat more staggered fashion for readers less familiar with specific topics. Perhaps the structure of the articles could have been more coherent: explicitly marking the place of the introduction and the conclusion to each essay would help readers' orientation. While some articles are well-structured, easy to follow and clearly argued, others are more fragmented and somewhat chaotic in their argumentation, thus in the way they present information. As a result, the quality is variable—not in terms of content, but rather in terms of structure. This is certainly true of almost any edited volume of essays, but because of the double commitment of this collection, for some of the texts, a more rigorous editing process might have been appropriate. Nevertheless, the overall view is highly promising—the book is inspiring and encourages us to continue research into the long fourteenth century.

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Pre-Modern Towns at the Times of Catastrophes: East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective. Edited by Michaela Antonín Malaníková, Beata Możejko, and Martin Nodl.*

London–New York: Routledge, 2024. 216 pp.

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Disaster studies as a research field is certainly in a boom. In recent years, the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russian occupation of Ukraine, the conflict between Israel and Hamas as well as the ever more unpredictable change of the climatic system of the Earth draws attention to the vulnerability of present societies. The volume to be reviewed along these lines is the latest fruit of such collaborative works that attempt to understand how past societies reacted to different challenges they had to face. It is most welcome that while the important previous works when came to the discussion of premodern management of disasters focused heavily on Western Europe and Germany, *Pre-Modern Towns at the Times of Catastrophes* brings the region of East Central Europe to the forefront and analyzes the region of what is today's Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Germany. While all these countries are touched upon most of the contributions address medieval Bohemia and Poland. The book is edited by three well-known scholars two of whom also authored chapters in the volume. The book, apart from the introduction includes fourteen chapters ordered chronologically and addressing different aspects of catastrophes. It is important to acknowledge that many of the contributions come from scholars who are at an early to mid-stage of their careers and who seldom published in English thus far. This is in itself is an important achievement of the volume.

The introduction apart from providing an overview of what is included in the volume also problematizes how the different contributions apply catastrophe and disaster as well as explains the context in which the case studies are situated that is towns. They argue that towns, even though during the medieval and the early

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modern times were not demographically self-sustaining and were struck by numerous disasters, proved to be highly resilient and recovered very quickly thanks to collaborative efforts and individual strategies. The volume leaves little doubt that indeed towns and their burghers were innovative and, in many ways, used disasters as opportunities to enhance development, to renegotiate their positions. In the following, to show which were the different challenges, the different chapters are grouped into three main categories: natural disasters (hazards), economic crises, and wars.

Most of the papers touch upon one of the most frequent hazards in premodern towns, fires. Five contributions address the topic of fires in different cities of the region from Gdańsk, through Prague to Banská Bystrica. The fires in these cities, while of course caused significant material loss that made life difficult for individual families, or communities (see the contribution of Piotr Łozowski on Warsaw) leading to financial crises and dearth, in other cases were opportunities to reconsider their physical appearance (see the contributions by Martin Musílek, Marcin Grulkowski, and Bohdana Petryszak). As part of rebuilding processes, some cities reconsidered fire safety as did Prague, or tried to reorganize its defenses as did Gdańsk. While again others, such as Lviv gained a new look by adopting Renaissance architecture. Banská Bystrica used an urban fire in a fundamentally different way. Claiming that privileges were consumed in a fire and asking for new ones is not unique but how long and stubborn the burghers of Banská Bytrica tried to strengthen their position against the Dóczy and the Thurzó families in this way is something remarkable (see the contribution by Milan Georgievski).

Storms, especially sea surges in the Middle Ages were amongst the most disastrous events. In the Low Countries and in Southern England catastrophic surges were registered going back to the early medieval times. In rare cases however such events created better communication possibilities for settlements by opening direct connection to the sea, deepening existing riverbeds. A well-known and much-debated case is that of the Zwin and Bruges but as we learn, this is not the only case that is registered in medieval Europe. Narrative sources tell a similar story about Stralsund and its connection to the sea (see the article by Piotr Oliński).

Two papers were dedicated to the blooming field of plague studies. Both are of primary importance as they point to the role of studying later waves of the plague instead of the Black Death the written source material of which will hardly expand. In the case of Prague, Martin Nodl demonstrates that by 1380 people learned to live with the plague, and there is little sign of disruptions during the epidemic of that year. Beata Możejko studied the late medieval waves of the plague at Gdańsk and showed numerous waves that reached the city using previously unstudied sources. She also points to the fact that many of these waves were registered in other cities of

the Baltic area and of the Hansa cities. It would be worthwhile to trace the importance of the trade routes, especially the trading goods such as grain in the transmission of fleas or other vectors of the Yersinia pestis bacteria.

Two further studies are dedicated to the analysis of disasters in narrative sources, and the way chronicles and letopises combine events that preserve the memory of common traumas on the one hand and use celestial and weather phenomena to symbolize human sin (see the contributions by Jitka Komendová, Hana Komárková).

Economic crises are also being dealt with in several contributions, and of course fires and other events can also be associated with them in many cases. Two approaches prevail in these papers, they either try to pursue individual family strategies to understand how families found ways to succeed or fell victim to bad individual decisions or changing market possibilities. While Jiří Doležel shows how a not particularly rich trader, Jakub Holub, manages to move to ever more important trade centers to become one of the wealthiest burghers of Brno, Marie Buňatová looks at Jewish and Christian family strategies for success or rather ways to avoid bankruptcies. Both papers heavily build on previously unstudied archival materials making them especially valuable contributions. Two essays mentioned above, that of Martin Musílek and Piotr Łozowski look from an other perspective, from the cities' perspective and attempt to understand the economic consequences of crises that affected the communities in general.

Finally, two contributions deal with another important factor in urban life in late medieval East Central Europe, that is war. Piotr Samól discusses the Hussite military campaigns in the surroundings of Gdańsk and demonstrates how the 1433 events made the limitations of the capacities of the town for defending itself clear, especially in the case of the recently founded Young City (Młode Miasto). Petr Kozák looks at the Silesian city of Glogów and the ways the town tried to navigate in the period of the wars of King Matthias Corvinus, as well as in the period after the Hungarian king's death and the ascent of the Jagiellonian dynasty to the Hungarian throne. Kozák shows that despite all efforts, the wars and the occupation of the city significantly halted Glogów's development, and the town lost its position for good.

The volume is a valuable contribution to the emerging studies on disasters. It highlights the research possibilities of historical disaster experiences in a region still underrepresented by scholarship. The papers gathered in the volume not only speak well to each other, but also draw important parallels for scholars working on German, Swiss, or French cities. There are some minor flaws in the volume such as the lack of maps and supporting visual materials, the recurrent lack of the inclusion of historical names of the settlements discussed, and inaccuracies with name forms (e.g., King Matthias/Mathias), but one point is certainly worth to be raised. The

case studies presented in the volume are meticulously researched and their above arguments are always based on analysis of understudied archival or edited sources but in many contributions the results are not contextualized in the broader context of disaster studies. Consequently, one may miss how the cases help to understand historical resilience to crises. Despite this shortcoming, the volume is well worth reading and will hopefully make it to audiences in East Central Europe and outside.

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The Outstanding Life of an Outstanding Artist

The Art of the Calligrapher George Bocskay. By Borbála Gulyás. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Art History, 2023. 408 pp.

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The revised English edition of Borbála Gulyás's 2020 *Bocskay György kalligráfus művészete*, which derived from her PhD thesis defended in 2013, was published in 2023.[1]

The monograph introduces the lifework of George Bocskay, who was the sole calligrapher of Hungarian descent recognized for his contribution in calligraphy at the Habsburg court in Vienna. After giving a historiographic survey, Gulyás delves into the history of George Bocskay's family.[2] Born into the Slavonian side of the family, also known as the 'Raszinyai branch,' he was the second cousin of Stephen Bocskay, the later prince of Transylvania, who belonged to the 'Kismarja branch.' The family had owned estates in the southern region of the Kingdom of Hungary since the fifteenth century. Concerning Bocskay's family, in this richly illustrated chapter we see the letters patent in part (p. 28) and in full (p. 34), along with its verbatim Latin text (pp. 32–34), issued to Bocskay and his siblings, which is addressed in a separate subchapter, indicating the thorough scholarly research conducted by the author. The following subchapter presents Bocskay's immediate family, his wife and his children, while the subsequent one exhibits the calligrapher's last will and testament. The recently discovered testament is crucial due to its reference to Bocskay's calligraphic activity, because in it he bequeathed his related books and tools to his sons. The verbatim Latin text of his will is also displayed (pp. 38–41).

The second chapter follows Bocskay's administrative career from the inception to the conclusion of his thirty-year tenure at the Habsburg court in Vienna. He embarked on his journey as a scribe *(notarius)* at the Hungarian Court Chancellery, later served

1 Gulyás, *Bocskay György kalligráfus művészete*.

2 For the author's other works on the topic, see: Gulyás, "Festivities Celebrating the Coronations," 77–95; Gulyás, "The Second Letters Patent," 37–50; Gulyás, "Triumphal Arches in Court Festivals," 54–82.

as a Hungarian Royal Court Secretary *secretarius*, and ultimately attained the position of Royal Councilor *secretarius et consiliarius*. The development of Bocskay's administrative career was significantly influenced by his connections to certain members of the Hungarian nobility. His first patron was Miklós Oláh, through whom he was admitted to the Hungarian Court Chancellery. Apart from Oláh, the Batthyány and Nádasdy families were crucial, as Bocskay was in patron-client relationship with them. This relationship is the focal point of the last subchapter of the second chapter. In this section, the Nádasdys are emphasized with good reason, as this was the family that maintained the closest relation with Bocskay. Their strong relationship is proved by his involvement in preparing the inscriptions on the sepulchral monuments of Tamás Nádasdy and his wife, Orsolya Kanizsay.

The third and, at the same time, largest chapter, divided into five subchapters, covers Bocskay's art. The first subchapter focuses on the art of calligraphy or, more precisely, on the process of its gaining autonomy and becoming a 'distinct art form' in the sixteenth century. The recognition of calligraphy as an art form first emerged in Italy, but by the end of the sixteenth century took root in other parts of Europe, including England and the Netherlands. This shift was especially notable after the organization of the *Prix de la Plume Couronnée* calligraphy competition in Rotterdam in 1589. The chapter offers a thorough description of Bocskay's contemporaries and the artistic influences he had experienced, which not only shaped his own art but also defined his position among his peers. The role of the Flemish illustrator and painter Joris Hoefnagel is vital in this context, as his illuminations repeatedly feature in Bocskay's own work. Among these, his epigram seems to stand out: it is depicted in the chapter (p. 73) where Hoefnagel identifies himself and Bocskay with Zeuxis, one of the greatest painters of antiquity. This subchapter is also illustrated lavishly, guiding the reader through the influences that Bocskay was exposed to and the path leading to the development of his calligraphy. The following subchapter focuses on Bocskay's calligraphic work. Gulyás shows us the way Bocskay utilized printed manuals by Italian and German masters, remaining faithful to tradition while producing unique works of the highest quality. Bocskay was proficient in both the Gothic script and the humanist hand, a versatility that was uncommon among his contemporaries. Not only did he merely imitate the prominent personages of his field but also transformed and varied the letter types of printed manuals. In addition, he adorned his works with distinctive decorative elements that distinguished him from his contemporaries. The third subchapter explores the writing model books Bocskay compiled for Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, visualizing not only their interior contents but their exterior designs (pp. 158–59). The fourth subchapter delves into the charters and letters patents Bocskay designed for some members of the Hungarian nobility, which have been largely ignored by historical research.

Similarly, this subchapter also highlights the exceptional nature of Bocskay's calligraphic art and his utilization of various stylistic variations. His single-folio letters patents can be divided into two groups: the *Neudörffer* and the *Amphiareo* groups. Within the latter, there are two additional subgroups, the combinations of Gothic and Antiqua typefaces, which this subchapter thoroughly examines. This analysis is again supplemented with visuals. The final subchapter examines Bocskay's inscriptions on sepulchral monuments, among which that of Maximilian I is one of the most significant. We read extensively about the circumstances of how this inscription was produced. The details, their visualization, and the Latin transcription offer an insight into the meticulous study conducted by the Gulyás (pp. 210–11). The inscriptions were designed in *all'antica* style. This can explain why Bocskay imitated ancient epigraphic works in his manuscript dedicated to Ferdinand I in 1562, which might have been the reason behind Bocskay accepting the commission. In this subchapter, the author describes the Nádasdy family crypt in Léka (Lockenhaus in present-day Austria) and the inscriptions made by Bocskay, for which the Latin transcription, along with the illustrations are also provided (pp. 244–45).

In conclusion, *The Art of the Calligrapher George Bocskay* is a pioneering work. Previously, no comprehensive study had been conducted on the activities, administrative career, and calligraphic endeavors of George Bocskay, despite the significance of his persona as the sole artist of Hungarian descent acknowledged for his contributions to calligraphy. The monograph is excellently structured; the first of the three main chapters presents the life and activities of the calligrapher in the context of Bocskay's family, the second chapter deals with Bocskay's administrative career, and finally we are introduced to Bocskay's outstanding art. The book highlights Bocskay's artistic and technical prominence, illustrating how he shaped his own style while adhering to contemporary calligraphic traditions. Beyond these, what makes the book impressive is that the chapters are richly illustrated. In addition, numerous illustrations come with Latin transcriptions, thereby fully visualizing the abundant source material. The analysis introduces Bocskay the calligrapher; as Borbála Gulyás wrote: "Bocskay was unequivocal in identifying himself as a calligrapher, a scholarly artist who hoped his fame would live on eternally" (p. 83). This monograph greatly contributes to fulfilling his aspirations, as it not only acquainted us with the calligrapher Bocskay, but also helped ensure that his fame would indeed 'live on eternally.'

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Björnståhls Resa. Europa och Konstatinopel 1767–1779 [Björnståhl's Journey. Europe and Constantinople, 1767–1779]. By Carla Killander Cariboni, Catharina Raudvere, Vassilios Sabatakakis, and Johan Stenström.

Göteborg–Stockholm: Makadam förlag, 2021. 563 pp.

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For the Kingdom of Sweden, the eighteenth century revolved around seeking ways out of political and economic isolation. After losing the Great Northern War, the country became vulnerable and was in need of new friends and allies. By supporting travellers who would report from their journeys, the country could build up new interests with the world, not only diplomatically but also the fields of economy, culture and science. One of these travellers was the philologist Jacob Jonas Björnståhl (1731–1779), who travelled across Europe. His voyage started in 1767 when he left Sweden and ended in 1779 in Thessaloniki, where he died of illness.

Jacob Jonas Björnståhl was born in 1731 in Näshulta. After studying in Uppsala, in 1761 he graduated with a master's in philosophy and became a docent (a senior academic) in Swedish philology, but after two years, he switched to being a docent in Semitic languages. As the private tutor of the twelve- and thirteen-year-old Adolf Fredrik and Carl Fredrik Rudbeck—the grandsons of the well-known scientist Olof Rudbeck the younger—he started his European journey accompanying them on their study tour. With the support of the Rudbeck family and Uppsala University, he travelled to France, Switzerland, Italy, England, Germany, the Netherlands and the Ottoman Empire, and especially to Constantinople and the monasteries of the Meteoras and other Greek towns. Björnståhl started to report about his experiences with the people he met, the natural environment and local cultures in letters to his friend Carl Christoffer Gjörwell (1731–1811), who was a publisher and royal librarian in the National Library of Sweden. Gjörwell periodically published the letters in five volumes altogether, which included *Tidningar om lärda saker* (Journals of Learned Things, 1768–1769), *Almänna Tidningar* (General Journals, 1770–1772),

Nya Almänna Tidningar (New General Journals, 1773), *Nya Lärda Tidningar* (New Learned Journals, 1774–1775) and *Samlaren* (Collectors, 1773–1778) and as a series which was published in a six-volume collection titled *Resa* (Journey) after Björnståhl's death. Both the original edition and the six-volume edition became successful.

Besides the analysis of the Swedish traveller's work, the book present the reader with an image of the late eighteenth-century Northern and Western Europe, of Björnståhl and the travel writing of the Enlightenment era. The authors of the current book (each contributing two chapters) come from different branches of the humanities, which results in a comprehensive but sometimes incoherent picture. The consecutive chapters basically proceed in chronological order, but due to the subjects of the chapters, gaps emerge in the timeline. Another aspect of the fragmanted character of the volume is the lack of a unified bibliography. Instead, there are bibliographies at the end of each chapter, although there is a general index of persons at the end of the book.

The introduction paints Björnståhl's journey with broad strokes and summarizes the history of past research on him and his work. In the first chapter, the literary scholar Johan Stenström draws a picture of the intellectual environment of the 1760s–1770s. There are subchapters discussing travel writing as a genre, the grand tours and published travel letters through eighteenth-century Swedish history and how members of western and northern societies thought about meeting other cultures. Being an important person for Björnståhl, the second half of the first chapter describes Gjörwell's life in brief and his role in relation to the *Resa* as Stenström zooms in to the main subject matter, which is contained in the following chapter, "Möten, människor, miljöer" (Meetings, people, environments). For Björnståhl, being a Swede was always something to be proud of; he looked for other Swedes and signs or traces of Sweden throughout his tour. With this perspective, Björnståhl looked around and reflected on the cultural atmosphere. As a learned man, he sought out other intellectuals; thus, he established good connections with Jean le Rond d'Alambert, Denis Diderot and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in France, Albrecht von Haller in Switzerland, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Germany. Although Björnståhl was a philologist, as a former student of Carl von Linné, he also paid great attention to the natural environment and listened to Linné's instructions about what to look out for in a foreign country. He had such great respect for Linné that his impact can only be compared to that of the ruling monarch, Gustav III. Björnståhl visited many universities, including the Sorbonne, academies such as the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Letters, and major libraries like the Vatican Library in Rome. He proudly saw how many botanical gardens—like one in Bologna—used Linné's method of systematisation.

Carla Killander Cariboni contributed the second and third chapters. Her chapters shed light on Björnståhl as a writer and his style of writing. The chapter "Björnståhls *Resa*—Texterna och deras upphovsman" (Björnståhl's *Resa*—The texts and the author) analyses the *Resa*'s structure through his sojourn in France and Italy. Although Björnståhl wrote about his experiences in chronological order, the *Resa* itself is not fully chronological. Of the six volumes, the first three contain the eighty-three letters that Björnståhl sent to Gjörwell. In the fourth and the first half of the fifth volume, his own diary of the tour is presented. That piece of work was compiled by Carl Petter Blomberg, a pastor who became Björnståhl's friend in Constantinople and maintained connections with Gjörwell after Björnståhl's death. The second part of the fifth volume and the sixth contain those letters which were sent to Gjörwell by other travellers and contain information about Björnståhl. In this way, the reader can choose to read according to the types of the texts or completely chronologically. In this chapter, there is an analysis of the structure and schematics of Björnståhl's letters. These analyses lead the reader to the second chapter by Cariboni about what kind of narrator Björnståhl was. Was he a reporter or a storyteller? What was important for him? He wrote much about the persons he met—for example, Albrecht von Haller was "a living lexicon with a good heart," and Le Fardier de Cugnot (who made the first steam-powered chariot in 1769) was a "polite and deep man like Rousseau." In contrast, Björnståhl did not like Voltaire, who he found a bit foolish. Sometimes, Björnståhl reported about the women he met in a manner that belied his era. He never described them by their looks but by their learning and refinement. Björnståhl did not write much about himself, but from the texts, we can assume he was an obedient person who clung hard to the truth. When necessary, he argued with Polybius and Livius about Hannibal. He can be ironic, as well, but in general, he paints a positive picture of himself.

Catharina Raduvere is a professor at the Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies at the University of Lund. Her contribution concerns Björnståhl's meeting with Eastern cultures. The two chapters cover his experiences in Europe and Constantinople. These experiences started at Uppsala University, where he met the Hebrew and Arabic languages. Besides the historical connections between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Björnståhl had a thorough knowledge of the travel letters and journeys to different countries of Carl von Linné, who was the most influential man in Uppsala at that time, and whose students ended up visiting many parts of the eastern world (like Peter Forsskål). He met many orientalists on his journey with the Rudbecks, and they were in England in 1775 when Gustav III requested that he travel to Constantinople. Adolf Fredrik Rudbeck stayed in England, but Carl Fredrik Rudbeck (who by that time had become Björnståhl's closest friend) went with him to the Ottoman Empire. Constantinople proved a difficult experience for Björnståhl. He could not master the Turkish language and culture; instead, he stayed largely close to the Swedish legation. He struggled with the Turkish language

and criticised much of the Turkish culture and the mentality of the Turkish people he encountered, describing them as uncultured and ignorant of their own culture. But when he found fault, it was not rooted in any aversion to Muslims, because he favorably compared Arabs to Turkish people, who—to him—were much more cultured and open-minded. Concerning the issue of knowledge transfer, he described the clothes, habits, and beliefs of the people in Constantinople, but he did not explain many Eastern words and terms; he expected the readers of his letters to understand them. Generally, he wrote much about Muslim cultures, but, for example, he included no exact quotes from the Quran. Not much time was spent in Constantinople before Carl Fredrik Rudbeck had to travel to the Levant; therefore, he told Björnståhl that he would find a more appealing empirical setting at the Greek monasteries.

The last author of *Björnståhls Resa* is Vassilios Sabatakakis, a lecturer in the modern Greek language at Lund University. His two chapters embrace Björnståhl's sojourn in Greece, how he described his own work, and how important his job was for future travellers. For Björnståhl, this detour was a much better experience than the one in Constantinople. He described the Greek people as much friendlier and more open than the Turks. He could speak Greek with them and had more intellectual experiences. Although Greece was a very poor region at that time, Western knowledge of its history helped build connections with the Greeks. The most interesting part of his journey was visiting the Meteoras, a series of monasteries that were built in the fourteenth century on the steep cliffs of Thessalia. Björnståhl encountered much ignorance from the monks of the monasteries—they had not preserved the valuable manuscripts they had in good condition, and many of them were very poorly educated—but he found a couple of monks who were intellectually his equals. With one metropolitan in the Mega Meteoron monastery, he could even talk about Linné, Haller, Boerhaave and van Swieten. In these times, Björnståhl also wrote about the Albanian people who were quite unknown to northern readers.

In 1779, Björnståhl became severely ill in Thessaloniki, where he died on 12 July 1779, leaving many books and manuscripts behind. He had no family, leaving it up to his friends to manage his legac. Björnståhl's writings were very important not just for those who sought the travel journals but indirectly for the whole of Greece. He was one of the first travellers to describe the Meteoras and the circumstances of the Greek people. Later, travellers like William Martin Leake, François Pouqueville, and Robert Walpole used and referred to the translations of the *Resa*, helping to shape the opinions of Western countries that supported Greece in its wars of independence in the 1820s.

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Kraj Habsburške Monarhije: intelektualna povijest debata i prijepora u britanskoj i američkoj historiografiji [The End of the Habsburg Monarchy: An Intellectual History of Debates and Controversies in British and American Historiography]. By Nikolina Šimetin Šegvić.

Zagreb: Plejada, 2022. 335 pp.

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At the end of 2022, the Zagreb publisher Plejada released a new book titled *The End of the Habsburg Monarchy: An Intellectual History of Debates and Controversies in British and American Historiography* by Croatian historian Nikolina Šimetin Šegvić. With this volume, Šimetin Šegvić has undertaken a very ambitious research endeavour, especially considering that this is her first scholarly monograph.

The theme of the book is logically structured, and the content is evenly organised. A brief "Preface" (pp. 7–10), in which Šimetin Šegvić explains her motivation for tackling the subject and outlines the history of her research, is followed by somewhat more detailed introductory considerations (pp. 11–44). The central part of the book is divided into two well-balanced chapters: "British historians' main interpretations of the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy" (pp. 45–168) and the corresponding "American historians' main interpretations of the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy" (pp. 169–284). The book ends with a brief "Conclusion" (pp. 285–94), in which the author precisely recapitulates several answers to the main problems of the subject, followed by an impressive "Bibliography" (pp. 295–322), an "Index of names" (pp. 323–34) and a "Note on the author" (p. 335). After reading 335 pages of her dense, cogently argued and nuanced texts, the book comes across as an instance of ambition achieved, thanks to the comprehensive character of the survey and the attention to analysis.

The subject is discussed in a structure manner, prefaced by the theoretical introductory remarks. Šimetin Šegvić notes that outside the Central European area, studies on the Habsburgs have been systematically dominated by British and

American experts in terms of visibility and importance. But this extensive body of research has so far demonstrated little autoreflexivity by attempting to explain the roots of this phenomenon, just as it has failed to provide a complete answer as to why British and American Habsburg studies have for decades remained mired in controversies and debates about the last period of the Habsburg Monarchy's existence and its disintegration. This query remains at work in marking out the focus of the subsequent discussions, as well.

On the basis of the book's title alone, one might think at first glance that it is essentially an extended bibliographical survey. This would be wrong because the book cannot be reduced to that by any means—it is a deeper and more complex undertaking. It does not strive for (unnecessary) completeness but offers a nuanced problematisation and systematisation of various historiographical positions, approaches and methods of key syntheses and works devoted to the last chapter of the Habsburg Monarchy's existence (the nineteenth century), perhaps missing some less influential works and historians not close enough to the canon. In order to explain certain phenomena in British and American historiography, the author sometimes extends the context to include (mostly) French historiography (L. Eisenmann, V. L. Tapié, J. Berenger) or thematically within American historiography to influential historians whose works, do not deal directly with the dissolution of the Monarchy (W. Johnston, C. E. Schorske, G. Cohen). The book partially fulfils the bibliographical purpose, if unintentionally, for the literature contained in almost a thousand footnotes and collected in the bibliography at the end can serve as a reliable overview of the state of research in Habsburg studies in the Anglo-American world—and beyond.

One of the greatest methodological and conceptual challenges for the author is the question of how to systematise such a large number of heterogeneous authors and their works in a meaningful way. Šimetin Šegvić approached the problem in a multidimensional manner, aiming for a comparative analysis focusing on approach, interpretation, theoretical profile and methodology, as well as the writing style and general characteristics of how the key topic is discussed. For the purposes of his study, helpful collective terms are used and added to the names of the British and American experts, introducing a division into different groups: 'the founders' of Habsburg studies, 'essayists' and, in the case of British historiography, 'reporters,' whose ideal type would be Henry Wickham Steed. In this way, a practical categorisation is made according to groups of experts—rather than generations—in order to be able to classify different historians both diachronically and according to the period of their activity.

The way in which this systematisation works and in which various British and American historians fit into this research can be checked in a tabular overview for

American (p. 20) and British scholars (p. 22). Take, for example, the historian A. J. P. Taylor and his seminal work *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815–1918* (1941; 1948). Because of his scholarly production and his services to the establishment and popularisation of Habsburg studies in Britain, Taylor has been accorded the dual role of 'founder' and 'essayist,' in contrast, for example, to Alfred F. Přibram, who, through his teaching and mentoring activities, is classified only as a 'founder' but not as an 'essayist' because he left no capital outline of Habsburg history. In contrast to Přibram, Taylor's student Alan Sked is only categorised as an 'essayist,' which also applies to other scholars from different generations and schools of history. According to his approach to the subject and his interpretation, Taylor is placed in the British historiographical tradition, of which he himself laid the foundations, in contrast to, for example, C. A. Macartney, who, due to his transatlantic contacts, also intersects with the American tradition. According to Šimetin Šegvić, Taylor's distinctive approach, style, and interpretation make him an 'individualist' within the British tradition, which places him in a school by himself.

As far as American historiography is concerned, a division into 'founders' and 'essayists' is perhaps less appropriate since Habsburg studies in the USA show a different, delayed, and more institution-centric development than British historiography. Overall, the tables mostly function well, yet in some places, they could be questioned. Indeed, the systematisation of the experts in the table does not always correspond to the interpretation of their work and impact as given in the text. For example, Edward Crankshaw is said to have been a borderline case between 'reporter' and 'essayist,' whereas the table classifies him as an 'essayist,' although in view of his work and career, one could say that according to the established criteria, he certainly belongs to the group of 'reporters.' In any case, Z. A. B. Zeman belongs to a separate group of outsiders, representing a noticeable discontinuity within British historiography, as the author notes, but in the table, he is positioned together with Taylor, and not as an outlier. Since methodological and theoretical positions of the individual Habsburg scholars considered during the research often did not correspond to the general trends or directions of the time (Šimetin Šegvić, for example, cites the book *The Fall of The House of Habsburg* by Edward Crankshaw, written in 1963), the systematisation has obvious limitations. It is, like any alternative, not definitive and partially open to different interpretations, but as a model for this book, it is applicable and should be commended despite some minor inconsistencies.

Šimetin Šegvić examines two linguistically and culturally similar historiographical traditions in which she easily finds common origins, as their foundations were laid by emigrants from the territory of the former Habsburg monarchy, who were able to make the Central European space an important segment of general/European/imperial history. In Britain, this role was taken on most convincingly by

Lewis Namier and Alfred Přibram, and in the USA by Oszkár Jászi and Robert A. Kann, without whom, according to the author, American Habsburg studies would be unthinkable. The transfer of ideas that followed such intellectual intertwining was also accompanied by the transfer of sentiments, prejudices and generalisations that remained visible to some extent for a long time in both of the historiographical traditions studied. Šimetin Šegvić argues that this is best seen in the examination and juxtaposition of interpretations of the collapse of the Dual Monarchy. By juxtaposing key theses of various scholars, she claims that the most common starting point for British 'essayists' was the inevitability of the fall of the Monarchy, with *reporters* such as Henry Wickham Steed and R. W. Seton-Watson playing an important role in establishing this view. Both were important British war propagandists during World War I. According to Šimetin Šegvić, they wrote the Monarchy's death sentence during the war and subsequently tried to present the collapse of the Monarchy as more certain than it actually was (also judging by their own pre-war texts).

On the other hand, under the influence of Jászi, American experts tried to find ways in which the fall of the Danube Monarchy could have been prevented, wondering whether the disintegration came from within or from the outside. Thanks to the canonical works of Jászi and Kann, which Šimetin Šegvić calls the 'Old and New Testaments of American Habsburg Studies' in reference to Paula Sutter Fichtner, who introduced the terms in an article, younger generations of scholars are thoroughly familiarised with the main themes of late Habsburg history. Robert A. Kann personally, together with other 'founders' (S. Harrison Thomson, A. May, R. J. Rath, etc.), was involved in the institutionalisation of American Austrian/Habsburg studies after World War II—its most important achievements became evident with the launch of the *Austrian History Yearbook* (1965) and the founding of the Center for Austrian Studies (1977).

Šimetin Šegvić notes that the topic of the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy was taken up several times depending on the geopolitical changes in Central Europe/Eastern Central Europe (the *Anschluss*, Cold War, fall of the Iron Curtain). Strategic thinking in relation to Central Europe as the 'problematic European centre' also directed the vision of historians. A detailed analysis of the intellectual inclinations of individual experts, which also includes a prosopographical survey, reveals that a large number of the scholars were recruited by various information and intelligence services of Great Britain and the USA. The frequency of such arrangements (H. W. Steed, R. W. Seton-Watson, E. Crankshaw, L. B. Namier, A. J. P. Taylor, C. A. Macartney, S. A. Thomson, P. Sugar, W. E. Wright, C. E. Schorske) suggests that this is a collective feature of British and American historians that requires additional attention and analysis.

As a reaction to lasting instability in Central Europe, more favourable views of the Habsburg Monarchy's existence eventually emerged. Such changes were

particularly visible in American historiography, which, after 1945, gradually came to revise the theses about the apparent gradual decline of the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e., about the necessity of its demise in general. Šimetin Šegvić sees the culmination of these efforts in British historiography in the appearance of new texts such as *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815–1918* (1989) by Alan Sked, who, in contrast to Gibbon's principle of structural decline, argues for the thesis of 'fall without decline'. The author does consider more contemporary historiographical output as well, but despite notable contributors (R. Okey, M. Cornwall, M. Rady), she considers that Habsburg and Austrian studies in British, in contrast to American universities, are experiencing a sharp decline in interest and a rather unpredictable future.

Positive revisionist tendencies, best expressed in the British tradition by Alan Sked, can also be observed in American historiography in the 1970s; this is also a new point of significant convergence between these two traditions. Historiographical discourse is fragmenting, so that the dominant historiography, which focused on political-institutional history, and the tendency to outline Habsburg history, is increasingly being replaced by case studies that focus on cultural, intellectual and economic content. The established institutional background gradually transformed American historiography, in the author's words, "into a laboratory for theoretical and methodological approaches" relevant not only to Austrian/Habsburg studies. Šimetin Šegvić is very much aware of the 'New Habsburg History', especially when it comes to intellectual and cultural history, and she is no stranger to such approaches in her own research, which in this book she complements with references to economic history (especially the works of David F. Good) and military history, while also surveying the historiographical production on the occasion of the centenary of World War II. A high point of the wave of 'New Habsburg History', she claims, can be found in the work by the 'essayist' Pieter M. Judson entitled *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (2016), in which she identitifies the revisionist potential implied in the title. The final chapter not only compares the analytical depth of the two revisionist approaches (British and American) but also points out the interestingly long duration of the heated arguments between some British historians, led by Sked, and their American counterparts. At the same time, the author herself points out the great weakness of the American approaches, which ignore the perspective of the Hungarian and thus also the Croatian, Serbian, Slovak and Romanian experiences in the Habsburg Monarchy: The dominant conclusions are too often derived from Cisleithanian examples.

Nikolina Šimetin Šegvić's book is indeed a necessary guide, especially for Croatian historiography, which lags behind in the reception of Anglo-American production and understanding of general methodological shifts in the field of Habsburg studies. As the author expertly addresses the core of many major works of

British and American Habsburg studies, this book could, with some delay, popularise these works among the scholarly and general public and thus partially compensate for the lack of translations into Croatian of the vast majority of key syntheses (even those by Alan Sked). Before the Croatian translation of Judson's book, the last such synthesis published was that of A. J. P. Taylor—this speaks volumes. By cleverly interweaving intellectual history and the history of historiography, Šimetin Šegvić also affirms a neglected field, that of historiography, and an underdeveloped sub-discipline (intellectual history) within Croatian historiography. In this skillfully written book, which represents an original scholarly contribution by bridging a major gap, the hundred-year history of important segments of two major historiographies, the British and the American, are brought to the light in incisive manner, which would very much justify an English translation of this volume.

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Összeomlás és útkeresés 1917–1920. A magyar külpolitikai gondolkodás útjai [Collapse and Quests for Direction, 1917–1920: The Paths of Hungarian Foreign Policy Thinking]. By Gergely Romsics.

Trianon-dokumentumok és tanulmányok 13. Budapest: HUN-REN Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet, 2023. 664 pp.

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The book systematically and comprehensively analyses the evolution of Hungarian thinking about foreign policy in four political systems (late Dualism, Octoberist governments, the Council Republic, and the Counter-Revolution) between 1917 and 1920. The period of just over three years, especially the year and a half preceding the peace treaty, represents a sort of 'transformation history,' an important episode in Hungary's twentieth-century history, primarily from the perspective of the Treaty of Trianon. This is one of the main reasons for the nearly overwhelming abundance of relevant contemporary sources and the related literature, and also for the decades-long sustained professional and lay interest in trying to understand what happened between 1918 and 1920. By offering a foreign policy-focused perspective alongside the prevailing domestic political narratives and by highlighting—in an unexampled manner—foreign policy thought from under the shadows of intellectual, ideological, and political history, the book will significantly promote our understanding especially of how contemporaries viewed these processes.

Gergely Romsics had been engaged with the topic, both in a broader and narrower sense, for at least a decade before this publication, as evidenced by his numerous studies and books.[1] However, his interest in international political thought was

1 *The Memory of the Habsburg Empire in German, Austrian, and Hungarian Right-wing Historiography and Political Thinking, 1918–1941*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2010; *Nép, nemzet, birodalom: a Habsburg Birodalom emlékezete a német, osztrák és magyar történetpolitikai gondolkodásban, 1918–1941* [People, Nation, Empire: Memory of the

also fuelled by his experience in cultural diplomacy. For a decade (2007–2017), he worked as a research associate, and from 2010 as a senior research associate, at the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs, later the Institute of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Subsequently, he joined the Institute of History at the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. There, he was involved in the work of the Trianon 100 Momentum Research Group, where modern Hungarian foreign policy thought was his main research area for five years. The result is a monumental, yet digestible synthesis built on new sources, showcasing Romsics's own relevant theoretical and/or methodological innovations, as well as a vast amount of relevant literature produced by the historical profession over the past sixty years.

The main novelty of the book—fulfilling its objective—is that it provides insight into the mindsets that make the contemporary witnesses' (including politicians, economic decision-makers, and members of the intellectual elite) understanding of the autumn 1918 collapse and the ways to recovery comprehensible. The success of Romsics's endeavour is ensured by his consistent effort to understand the reasons behind the actions of the individuals studied from the perspective of the actors of the time (identifying with them). This approach allows him to avoid the so-called 'fundamental attribution error', which, according to social psychologists, stems from the differing perspectives of an external observer and the subject in judging the motives of actions.[2] Former historians often incorrectly explained actions with the actors' subjective reasons, personality traits and capabilities, while the subjects themselves attribute their actions to external causes: opportunities and constraints presented by the environment, in this case, primarily foreign policy constraints.

For this approach, the author uses a large quantity of contemporary sources from various locations, including the Hungarian National Archives, the Manuscript Collection of the National Széchényi Library, the Library and Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Archives of the Hungarian Reformed Church Synod, the Military History Archives, and the Parliamentary Library. Since

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Habsburg Empire in German, Austrian, and Hungarian Political Thought about History]. Budapest: Új Mandátum, 2010; *A lehetetlen művészete: diplomácia, erőegyensúly és vetélkedés a klasszikus realizmus elméletében* [The Art of the Impossible: Diplomacy, Balance of Powers, and Competition in the Classical Theory of Realism]. Budapest: Osiris, 2009; *Myth and Remembrance: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in the Memoir Literature of the Austro-Hungarian Political Elite*. Wayne, NJ: East European Monographs, 2006; *Mítosz és emlékezet: A Habsburg Birodalom felbomlása az osztrák és a magyar politikai elit emlékirat-irodalmában* [Myth and Memory: The Dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in the Memoir Literature of the Austrian and Hungarian Political Elite]. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2004.

2 Hunyady, György. "Történelem és pszichológia: folytatódó diskurzus" [History and Psychology: Continuing Discussions]. In *Szociálpszichológia történelemtanároknak. Tanulmánygyűjtemény,* edited by György Hunyady. Budapest: Ökonet, 2002.

some of the sources are fragmentary or entirely missing from Hungarian institutions, he also relies on primary sources, in several cases gathered abroad, specifically from the Diplomatic Archives in Paris, and the French and Austrian National Libraries, to present the foreign policy intentions and thoughts of Hungarian political actors.

Gergely Romsics's most original thesis arises precisely because he devotes special attention to perspectives contemporary to the time studied. Accordingly, following World War I, the foreign policy thinking of regimes with differing ideologies exhibited constant features and similar reflexes in crisis situations. He shows that the challenges (foreign policy constraints) that each government's representatives had to face stemmed from a relatively unchanged international situation. These were also the so-called common points of foreign policy: a disintegrating multi-national state, a collapsed army, and the hostile small states gathering strength around Hungary, on whose military forces the war-weary great powers consciously relied starting from the autumn of 1918.

Romsics draws the ultimate conclusion that the only way representatives of the various regimes could face the constraints of the international environment was by realistically considering their options; consequently, their foreign policy behaviour was more coherent than previously assumed. This finding also indicates that the author made every effort to keep in mind the social psychological assertion that the likelihood of an event occurring seems much greater in retrospect after the event has happened than it did prior to the event.

According to the author, the realistic consideration of options also meant that representatives of all three political systems successfully identified with their weaknesses and thus—in contrast to the illusions of the Late Dualism era elite—consciously chose the path of adaptation, which most often resulted in cooperation and compromises, and only in exceptional cases did it lead to resistance (in crises or collapses). At this point, through a consistent analysis of perspectives, the author manages to supplement our previous knowledge with new explanations. Among other things, he demonstrates that exchanges during compromises never involve items of equal value. However, the Hungarian governments—as he shows—did not consider this fact (i.e., the costs of accepting offers); they failed to anticipate the perspectives of the winners.

The author's conclusions about the four political systems follow from the results described in over five hundred pages. He demonstrates how informed the contemporary elites were in terms of foreign policy and how they acquired their knowledge. He also depicts the international system of the time as seen by contemporaries. Finally, he examines the extent foreign policy steps were in harmony with theoretical conceptions.

Essentially, Romsics intends to capture the mindset of contemporary decision-makers and reveal their worldviews. To do this, he uses the ideas and key

concepts of British historian Martin Wight, a representative of international political theory, as an interpretative framework. The essence of this framework is that political thinking about foreign policy can be described by three intellectual traditions that exist in parallel: realism, rationalism, and revolutionism. Accordingly, Romsics describes the foreign policy thinking of the four political regimes as a journey segmented by revolutionary phases, ranging from rationalism to realism.

Gergely Romsics's book approaches a complex topic fraught with challenging, unprocessed, and controversial issues in a narrative manner. This fits well with the author's intention to understand the perspective of the contemporary person, ultimately offering an interpretation that could provide the foundations not only for professional discourse but, due to its digestible and invariably calm and balanced style, also for broader society's future discourse.

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Urban Heritage in Europe: Economic and Social Revival. Edited by Gábor Sonkoly.

Routledge Advances in Regional Economics, Science and Policy. London: Routledge, 2024. 240 pp. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003346999

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Urban Heritage in Europe: Economic and Social Revival is a collective book edited by Gábor Sonkoly that addresses one of the most pressing challenges in contemporary urban planning: balancing the need for economic and social development with the preservation of historical urban environments. It takes a critical, multidisciplinary approach, drawing on diverse case studies across Europe to show how heritage can be a vehicle for both cultural preservation and urban regeneration. By using the framework of "regimes of urban heritage," the authors outline how European cities are navigating these complexities. Although diverse regions of Europe are spanned, particular emphasis is placed on Central Europe, with chapters focusing on Kraków, Budapest, Ljubljana, Subotica, and Szentendre. This regional focus explores the distinctive challenges of urban heritage in post-socialist countries, where the transition from political upheaval to modern development frames the discussion. However, we are also offered broader insights into Western and Northern European cities, such as Edinburgh and Rome, allowing for a comparative perspective on heritage management across different historical and political contexts.

The book is structured into five parts, each focusing on a distinct aspect of urban heritage. Part I introduces the interconnectedness of historical preservation and current urban expansion, highlighting the importance of incorporating urban heritage into the framework of contemporary city planning. Gábor Sonkoly starts by unpacking the history and evolution of urban heritage in Europe, outlining its development from the reaction of urban places to the modern onslaught of industrialization to its foundational role in modern planning. Using his framework of "regimes of urban heritage," he explicates an evolution of approaches to conservation and heritage preservation from the narrow monumentalism framework to the modern regenerative and sustainable urban heritage city. Case studies of Kaunas

and Leipzig illustrate how these approaches are reshaping urban identity. Similarly, Jacek Purchla's study of Kraków highlights the city's challenges in balancing heritage preservation with modern needs, particularly in managing tourism and maintaining cultural identity. Kraków's history, developing from being a historical city to being a modern heritage city, highlights the difficulties of conserving culture and heritage, as well as what it should do to exist as a contemporary metropolis. Purchla's analysis reflects one of the broader themes of the book: how heritage shapes the future of European cities.

Part II focuses on the challenges of conserving historical sites in modern urban contexts, including balancing preservation with social demands and maintaining authenticity while adjusting to changes. Robert J. Morris examines the transformation of Edinburgh Castle from a military fortress to a heritage site and major tourist attraction, illustrating how its identity has evolved over 200 years through a series of renovations. The author expresses concerns regarding the impact of mass tourism on heritage integrity, particularly in the light of disruptions like COVID-19, and questions the ability of these sites to maintain authenticity amid commodification pressures. In parallel, Lilla Zámbó investigates the Subotica Synagogue, a prominent instance of Art Nouveau architecture, outlining its transformation from a religious site to a representation of local and national identity. She highlights the building's architectural significance and the social-political tensions it encountered throughout history. Zámbó advocates for further investigation into the impacts of ongoing urban development and rising tourism on the synagogue's status, asserting that its significance transcends aesthetic considerations and necessitates strategies that promote enhanced community engagement and sustainable preservation methods.

Part III examines the challenges urban spaces encounter in maintaining their historical and cultural identity while accommodating contemporary urban needs, advocating for a balanced approach that respects historical integrity while embracing necessary modernization. Kinga Szilágyi, Ana Kučan, and Richard Stiles examine the evolution of urban parks in Vienna, Budapest, and Ljubljana, introducing their transformation from aristocratic gardens to public spaces integral to urban heritage and landscape architecture. The role of Enlightenment ideals and urban planning in democratizing spaces is emphasized, underlining their contribution to public accessibility and social and urban development. They advocate for additional research on current issues, including conservation, modernization, and the significance of parks in contemporary urban life. Péter Erdősi examines Szentendre, Hungary, showing the influence of Serbian immigration and the town's architecture on its urban heritage. He examines the transformation of the town into a cultural centre for artists and the preservation initiatives following World War II, pointing out the significance of visual arts and the synergy between architectural and artistic

heritage in defining Szentendre's identity. Erdősi advocates for a dynamic methodology in heritage conservation, arguing for the reconciliation of the demands of tourism and modernization with the safeguarding of local cultural heritage.

Part IV examines the complexities of urban heritage conservation within different contexts, stressing that there is a delicate balance between local, national, and global narratives. Tanja Vahtikari, for instance, delves into the Nordic countries' collaboration on UNESCO World Heritage harmonization, exploring the balance between local, national, and global heritage narratives. She critically examines the integration of cultural and natural heritage within the 'cultural landscape' framework, emphasizing the evolving concept of Nordic heritage from rigid to more nuanced understandings. Yet, the investigation suggests a deeper analysis of regional harmonization's impact on local perceptions and that the prioritization of natural over urban heritage could enrich the discourse. Lucia Bordone focuses on Rome's urban heritage, particularly in the Ostiense district, across three historical periods marked by significant political and social changes: the modernization of Rome as the capital of the unified Italy in the late nineteenth century, the emergence of heritage as a controversial issue on the Roman public scene in the 1960s, and the rising and fading of a culture-led regeneration strategy by the end of the 1990s. She outlines the challenges of balancing heritage preservation with urban development and community needs, highlighting the shift in Ostiense's perception as a neglected to a culturally valuable district. The author calls for additional investigation into the effects of contemporary urban planning on heritage conservation and community engagement in a historically significant area like Ostiense.

Part V reveals the complex process of reinterpreting and integrating historical narratives into the contemporary urban identity of cities such as Gdańsk and Belgrade. Noémi Kertész examines the transformation of Gdańsk, explaining the literary reinterpretation of its German heritage following World War II. She analyses the significant role of literature in transforming the identity of the city, integrating individual narratives with collective history, which enhances the understanding of Gdańsk's intricate past. Jovana Janinović addresses the transformation in the perception of urban heritage in Belgrade, emphasizing the incorporation of the socialist heritage into modern tourism. She focuses on the 'Yugotour' demonstrating the revaluation of post-socialist urban landscapes through tourism, which challenges conventional heritage discourses and introduces new complexities in the processes of heritage creation and conservation.

To summarize, the edited volume emerges as a pivotal work in the discourse on heritage preservation. It successfully bridges the gap between historical preservation and the contemporary challenges confronting European cities, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. With both theoretical frameworks and practical

case studies, the book provides valuable insights for urban planners, policymakers, and scholars in heritage studies, highlighting the critical role of heritage in shaping both the identity and the future sustainability of urban areas. The book's multidisciplinary approach ensures its standing as a primary resource for individuals engaged in urban development and heritage management.

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Zgodovina zadružništva v Sloveniji (1856–1992) [History of Cooperatives in Slovenia, 1856–1992]. By Žarko Lazarević, Marta Rendla, Janja Sedlaček.

Ljubljana: Zadružina zveza Slovenije, 2023. 291 pp.

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Published by the Slovenian Cooperative Union, the volume entitled *The History of the Cooperative Societies in Slovenia (1856–1992)* offers a comprehensive overview of the history of the Slovenian cooperative movement from the mid-nineteenth century to the establishment of the independent Slovenian state in 1992. Žarko Lazarević, Marta Rendla, and Janja Sedlaček, experts in economic history from the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Nova Gorica and researchers at the Institute of Contemporary History in Ljubljana, have undertaken a significant task.

The project is multifaceted, involving two primary aspects: geographical and that of social and political history. 'A History of Cooperatives in Slovenia,' does not fully reflect the complexity of the authors' intentions. Considering the significant changes that the concept and content of cooperatives underwent between 1856 and 1992, it is necessary to distinguish at least two periods. The first period begins in the nineteenth century and encompasses cooperatives established under the conditions of free-market capitalism; the second follows World War II and covers cooperatives that emerged in socialist Yugoslavia. The structure of the book reflects this division into two fundamentally different eras.

However, the phrase 'in Slovenia' in the title raises many questions. A unified Slovenian state territory did not exist before 1918. Slovenes lived in two state territories of the dual monarchy: in the Austrian provinces and in the southwestern parts of Hungary, under completely different historical circumstances. Moreover, the Slovenes in the Austrian territories lived in separate provinces cut off by provincial borders, each with slightly different conditions. In addition, there was a strong majority Austrian German influence in the Austrian territories, and a strong Hungarian influence in Hungary. And we should not forget that there were Slovenes living in Italian territories. These groups were mostly under the influence of centres

outside the borders of present-day Slovenia, such as Trieste, Graz, Klagenfurt, Vienna, Szombathely, and Budapest. However, the perspective of a unified state territory, which retrospectively extends to the pre-1918 state formation, seems fully acceptable when referring to the main area of the Slovenian ethnic region, and even the nineteenth-century Slovenian national movement referred to the Slovenian ethnic territory as Slovenia (Slovenija).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, approximately 80 percent of the Slovenian population made a living from agriculture. Due to industrialization, the emergence of market conditions in agriculture, and vulnerability to foreign competition, agriculture fell into crisis. Janez Evangelista Krek, a leading intellectual of the late nineteenth-century Slovenian national movement, sought a way out of this situation. As a representative of Slovenian conservative politics, he envisaged a solution based on the Christian social principles emerging at the time, primarily addressing low living standards, unsustainably low prices for agricultural products that threaten the economic viability of agricultural farms, creditworthiness issues, and the unregulated credit market. This is how the first credit cooperatives, inspired by the work of Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, whose works Krek translated into Slovenian, emerged in the Slovenian context in the final decades of the century.

But both the liberal Schulz-Delitsch model and the Christian social Raiffeisen model spread in Slovenian territories. The former offered protection against stronger competitors to the urban middle class, fruit growers, merchants, and small landowners. The latter operated primarily as a centralized credit cooperative and had a stronger element of solidarity. The Rochdale model, originating in England and subsequently referred to as the consumer cooperative model, had a smaller but noticeable impact on the history of the Slovenian cooperative movement, leading to the establishment of social democratic worker cooperatives.

As with any historical phenomenon, the question of primacy is important in the history of Slovenian cooperatives. The authors distinguish between the 'first first' and the 'second first' cooperatives. The truly first one was founded in 1856, the year that marks the beginning of the period covered by the book. They see the first distinct initial period as the so-called 'national period' associated with Mihael Vošnjak, and the second 'social period' as associated with Krek. The Schulz-Delitsch cooperative model was more characteristic of the first, while the Raiffeisen model was more characteristic of the second. Although the cooperative law was only enacted in 1873, in 1856 the Ljubljana fruit growers established an association that the book calls a 'proto-credit cooperative,' which was registered as a cooperative in 1874, with a predominantly German membership. The book describes its history in detail. The association referred to as the 'second first cooperative' is the one that the academic literature has so far considered the first Slovenian cooperative. The 1956 *Cooperative*

Encyclopaedia considered the Ljutomer cooperative to be the first. Its organisation started in 1868 by Slovenian patriots, the Vošnjak brothers, Josip and Mihael, primarily based on Czech models. After a long struggle it was finally registered in 1872.

The cooperative life of the last decades of the nineteenth century was determined by two fundamental features. One prioritized the national aspect, such as the Vošnjak brothers' Celje cooperative, which was important in the Slovenian–German national struggle. The Vošnjak brothers also founded the Slovenian Cooperative Union in Celje in 1905. The other was the cooperative associated with Janez Evangelista Krek, which prioritized social aspects. Built according to the Raiffeisen model, 481 such cooperatives were created between 1892 and 1905, and in 1895 the Provincial Credit Cooperative Union was founded in Ljubljana, followed by the Ljubljana Union of Slovenian Cooperatives in 1907. During World War I, social democratic consumer cooperatives with their headquarters in Vienna also appeared, the first being the Zagorje cooperative established in 1897. After 1918, these were incorporated into the Yugoslav Federation of Economic Cooperatives.

A year after the establishment of the Ljutomer cooperative, a law was passed which determined the conditions for the operation of cooperatives up to 1936. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the cooperative movement was a determining factor in economic life, publishing several newspapers *(Zadruga, Narodni gospodar, Zadružni vestnik)* and establishing a cooperative department at the Ljubljana Commercial School for the training of cooperative officials. Credit cooperatives provided approximately 40 percent of Slovenian banking capital, while alpine dairy cooperatives played a significant role in modernizing livestock farming. They also contributed to the modernization and democratization of society.

Following the formation of the South Slavic state, the Slovenian cooperative centre in Celje gained dominance. The first cooperative bank, the only one outside Ljubljana, was established there. In 1920, the Catholic conservative political wing associated with Krek also established a cooperative bank in Ljubljana. The decade after the Great Depression of 1929–1933 brought rapid development to the cooperative movement, and by 1937, there were already about 1700 cooperatives in operation.

The volume presents the socialist period as a completely new phase in the history of the cooperative movement. The period after World War II brought a radical change in rural life and a devaluation of the peasant lifestyle. It began with the agrarian reform of August 1945, which maximized the size of peasant farms and turned most of the land and forests into state-owned areas: 13.4 percent of the distributed land was transferred to peasant (often colonist) ownership, while 63.5 percent became state-owned. The classic form of cooperatives was abolished, and by 1949, a new type of cooperative, based on 'socialist cooperation' had been established, with one in every village and a total of 1160.

These were primarily distribution cooperatives, but as Edvard Kardelj stated in 1947, their ultimate goal was full collectivization, but done less overtly than in the Soviet Union. The cooperative law of 1946 established agricultural (KDZ), craft, and housing cooperatives. Agricultural cooperatives belonged to the Slovenian Cooperative Union, formed in 1952 from the former Republican Agricultural Cooperative Union, and from 1949 it was also the main actor in the collectivization process. However, in this economically more developed Yugoslav republic, only about 5 percent of the Slovene peasantry participated in it; therefore, collectivization was stopped in 1953. Based on ideological pragmatism, cooperatives were gradually transformed into work organization cooperatives; for example, from 1960 onwards, health insurance was also realized through them.

In parallel with the constitutional processes of the constituent republics, in the 1960s and early 1970s, the legal background of cooperatives in Yugoslavia underwent still more changes. In 1974, a new cooperative law was adopted. Regional food processing centres were established. Forest cooperatives created during the nationalization of 1949 received additional infrastructure and tourism development tasks. In the second half of the 1980s, the legitimacy of private and mixed ownership was also recognized. Following the establishment of independent Slovenia, after nearly two years of negotiations, a modern Slovenian cooperative law was adopted in 1992, facilitating the emergence of contemporary cooperative practices.

The volume offers a comprehensive overview of the Slovenian cooperative movement's history: each historical chapter is followed by a chapter on social history connected with the history of cooperatives. The richly illustrated volume is closed by an extremely informative and comprehensive bibliography.