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LÁSZLÓ BÓNA

**Contributions to the Ethnic Changes of Késmárk in the 19th Century
I.**

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Abstract

The study examines the ethnic changes of Késmárk in the age of dualism. In the course of my research, I attempted to map the operation and contemporary situation of the city in a complex way. The extremely voluminous source material did not allow us to present Kežmarok in an arc of studies, so this study is only with the nationalization of the Dualism era, the local historical society, local schools, local newspapers and the state of community norms. The study also includes research on religious differences, as well as local Hungarian and Slovak national building efforts.

Keywords: Késmárk, Kežmarok, Dualism, National struggles, Ethnicity in Austria-Hungary

In the second half of the 19th century, the belief that all inhabitants of the Austrian Empire belonged to one of the ethnolinguistic nations had spread among the middle classes and was acknowledged by the state. Despite differences of opinion, the classification of languages and nations also stabilized. After the Compromise of 1867, the Austrian legal framework guaranteed equality to these nations, while in Hungary, which defined itself as a nation-state, laws protected the linguistic rights of non-Hungarian nationalities. In practice, however, Hungarian nationalists increasingly attempted to restrict minority rights languages, because they promoted a view of French nationality, the “hungarus consciousness” with its emphasis on the origins of a common, thousand year history, the ownership of the state by force and the supremacy of the Hungarian culture. There were many minorities within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, one of them being the Saxons-German mining settlers present in the area from the middle ages in northern part of the country. The first mention of the city is from the year 1251. This document mentions a settlement of “Saxonus” located near the village of Saint Michael, and which was transferred by IV. Béla to the property of Premontrei monastery in Znióvárálja.¹ The settlers appeared in the document as “...in Schypis villam Saxonum...”² The ethnic image of the population did not fundamentally change, so the German population retained its dominant role until the middle of the 20th century. In the 19th century, supporters of its Hungarian name tried

¹We are left with only a transcript from 1286, MOL Budapest, DL 346. “ecclesia sancti Michaelis” and “villa Saxonum apud ecclesiam sancte Elisabeth” the name of the temples where probably better known, hence the name. *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*. eds. Baráthová a kol. eds, (Kežmarok: Jadro, 2014).

²Baráthová a kol. *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*. 77. Quotes: Maršina Richard, Codex diplomaticus patrius IV. Budapest 1867. 370 sz., 258. 2014.

to have Kevesmark, or quadsmark, geyzmarkt (after Géza) accepted as well. However, we cannot derive a single explanation of any of these names from the Hungarian or Slavic language. The German “guests” formed a much stronger ethnic unit than the surrounding Slavic population and this fact persisted for almost 700 years. The city of the Szepesség is intended to be a hallmark of cities where, according to the census of 1880-1910, the number of Slovaks increased (on average + 12.55%), and the proportion of Hungarians increased (on average + 7.91%), and that of Germans significantly decreased (on average -18.10%). Here we can find 22 urban settlements, e.g.: Gölnicbánya, Vágújhely and the case study discussed below, Késmárk. The group, in accordance with the other four, can be called a “Slovakized” one due to the increasing importance of the Slovak and Hungarian ethnic groups.³ I started my research by analysing the current Slovak and early 20th century Hungarian academic literature on its socio-economic development. The modern academic literature of the 19th and 20th centuries primarily consists of works of Hungarian and German historians and authors. Slovak authors did not deal with this topic as until the Second World War Késmárk was not considered a Slovak city, but rather a German or even a Hungarian one. On the other hand, today’s modern Hungarian academic literature is mostly concerned with the Szepesség and not with a specific city.⁴ No one dealt with the ethnic history of Késmárk in the era of Dualism in any depth. My actual starting point was mapping the social, ethnic, economic and educational structure of the contemporary city utilising archival materials. The most important of these were the minutes of the general assemblies of the city. In addition to these, I also examined school supervisor reports, ministerial petitions and rescripts, mayor’s and county correspondence, medical reports, police reports, city ordinances, infringement procedures, association regulations, economic documents, the activities of the railway and the local Upper Hungarian (Felvidék) Cultural Association (FMKE). In my research, I primarily used the documents of the Poprád (Szepesszombat) archives and the documents of the National Széchenyi Library. The local press was extremely diverse; I particularly used the *Szepesi Lapok* from 1885 until 1904.⁵

³ For more details on groups and case studies, see the manuscript of the PhD dissertation, László Bóna: „*A nemzetiségi viszonyok változásai a magyar-szlovák kontaktzóna kiválasztott városaiban a dualizmus idején. (Gazdasági, politikai, demográfiai, társadalomtörténeti elemzés)*”, [“*Changes in ethnic relations in selected cities of the Hungarian-Slovak contact zone during the era of Dualism. (An economic, political, demographic and social historical analysis)*”], Supervisor: József Pap, Eger, 2017.

⁴ Baráthová kol., *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*, 159.

⁵ The *Szepesi Lapok* openly supported the idea of the Hungarian nation-state and reported on all forms of nationality matters, which also affected the Szepesség, and thus Késmárk. They were published in Igló in 1885, and their publisher and owner was József Schmidt. The first editor-in-chief was also the president of the Hungarian self-education circle of Igló grammar school. The first editorial: “The Hungarian language has never gained so much prominence as it has in recent times. The reason for this lies in the spirit of our time.

The Ethnic Changes in Késmárk in the Decades of Dualism

While the town had 4,475 inhabitants in 1880, by 1910 that number had grown to 6,307. The city, far north of the language border in the classical sense, the Slovak-Hungarian contact zone was a place where many ethnic and religious communities coexisted. According to the 1880 census, it was considered to be a German-majority settlement making up 72% of the inhabitants although the proportion of Slovaks was 16% and the proportion of those who declared themselves Hungarian was 8%. Thus, the multilingual city, like the other cities of the Szepesség was German-dominated, but it displayed a multi-ethnic character. According to the data of the 1910 census, the proportion of Slovaks in the German-majority city (51%) increased to 25%, while the proportion of the population declaring themselves to be Hungarian increased to 21%. In addition to census data, we also have annual city registers, the *popularis ignobils* available, which continued every year from 1810-1819 to the end of Dualism.⁶

[...] Nationality as a dominant idea is the closest link between the individuals of the state [...]. There has never been a Hungarian newspaper in Szepes County so far..." Thus the editorial staff became a chronicler of this 'event', moreover, they also welcomed articles written in German, which they translated, and they expressed their hope that the Hungarian-minded population would help maintain the paper. Although it focused mainly on Lőcse and Igló, Késmárk also appears prominently in the columns of the newspaper. In the November 8, 1885 issue of the paper, we read that it "has more than 400 subscribers although "there are many who take German newspapers in the county and [...] they support [BL: our newspaper] feeling a liking for Hungarianization". From the 1890s onwards, in the lower-case letter "Social and Cultural Weekly", and then in upper case letters "Official Gazette of the Municipal Authorities of Szepes County", again in lower case letter "F.M.K.E. Gazette of the Szepes County Committee" at the same time. However, later it also occurred in the paper that the Saxons of Transylvania were scolded, being depicted as unfaithful to Hungary although they owed everything to it. In fact, this paper was not published in Késmárk, but until the end of Dualism, the *Karpaten Post* of Késmárk was predominantly written in German. As the *Szepesi Lapok* were more sensitive to the ethnic issues of the area, the choice fell on them. In Szepes County, several attempts were made to launch another, monolingual Hungarian newspaper, but with no lasting success. Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, Mikrofilm-tár, [National Széchenyi Library, Microfilm Library], FM3/969 1, *Szepesi Lapok* [Szepes Papers] 1885-1919. By 1904, with the help of increasing state support, it had become a daily newspaper. Lőcse Archives. Spišská župa (Szepes county) 35 karton, 1903. 3041/ III, and 1904 4061/222.

⁶ Štátny Archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Poprad. (ŠAPAP – Hereinafter Szepesszombat Archives) Magistrát Mesta Kežmarok (hereinafter Késmárk Magistrate) Ig-111, Ig 112, *Popularis Ignobilum* 1810-1918. Until the middle of the 19th century, it includes the house number, name, age in some places, and occupation, number of dogs and horses, and without exception, religion. Recorded in Hungarian from 1890, but we can find language proficiency data only from 1910.

Source	Year	Total population	Hungarian	Can speak Hungarian	Hungarian %	Slovak	%	German	%
Census Joseph II.	1784	4284 (4487)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Austrian Census	1869	3938	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hungarian Census	1880	4475	347	815	7.75	705	15.75	3222	72
Hungarian Census	1890	4897	574	1 582	11.72	1005	20.52	3225	65.86
Hungarian Census	1900	5606	952	2 380	16.98	1074	19.16	3408	60.79
Hungarian Census	1910	6317	1314	3 385	20.80	1606	25.42	3242	51.32
CzechSl. Census	1921	6466	280	-	4.33	2507	38.77	-	37,9%
CzechSl. Census	1930	7228	133	-	1.84	3025	41.85	-	35,7%

Table 1. The ethnic composition of Késmárk according to the 1784-1930 censuses

Year	Total population	Jewish	Roman catholic (Latin)	Augustan (Evangelical)	Reformed	Greek catholic
1869	3938	272	1684	1918	-	47
1880	4475	541	1949	1801	84	92
1890	4897	-	-	-	-	-
1900	5606	907	2829	1610	103	155
1910	6317	1050	3454	1543	95	138
1921	6466	1250	3590	1393	19	149
1930	7228	1166	4090	1533	44	227

Table 2. The main denominational data of the population of Késmárk 1880-1930⁷

⁷ In 1910 instead of the term Roman Catholic Latin was used while instead of the term Helvetic only Reformed, instead of the term Augustan Augustan Lutheran was used. <http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/>

As my research reveals, Késmárk cannot truly be examined without taking into consideration the strongly marked environment of Szepes County.⁸ The city of Késmárk belonged to the group where the proportion of Hungarians increased, but clearly to the detriment of the German rather than the Slovak population. It is noteworthy that, apart from a few settlements, the largest increase in the Slovak population of the cities of the studied area⁹ was due to the small towns of Szepes County. In the case of the villages of the Szepesség, the Slovak historian Michal Kaľavský wrote of the rise of Slovaks to the detriment of both the German and the Polish-Goral population in the 18th century. The same was also confirmed by several articles in the *Szepesi Lapok*. However, the city of Késmárk was defined by most sources as a pure German, Zipser or Saxon city. By the 19th century, however, the change in the ethnic composition of the region surrounding the city had become more strongly marked. According to Mišík Štefan from the Szepesség, Slovakia (who wrote his thought below in 1903): “Today we can say without any exaggeration that the days of the Germans in the Szepesség are numbered, they still hold their own for a while compared to the Slovaks and Poles...”¹⁰ Frigyes Sváby, an archivist of Szepes County also wrote something similar in 1901: “In Késmárk we can witness a sad social phenomenon, native families and names that have survived for centuries die out because the poorer ones emigrate, those who got used to working in the field do not want to work in a factory. However, it is a fact that the owners of factories established there bring workers from the Czech Republic and Moravia, Silesia and Galicia...”¹¹

After the Compromise, the city, which was economically stagnant for another decade, began to develop rapidly in the 1880s. Previously, in the city, which mostly struggled for the survival of guilds, offices, and the local military, the sewer network was built at this time, and then about half a dozen schools were opened.¹² In the first half of the 1890s, the stone sidewalks of the main streets were also laid. Until then, there was only

ksh_neda_nepszamlalások/, http://sodb.infostat.sk/SODB_19212001/slovak/1930/format.htm, <http://telepulesek.adatbank.sk/>

⁸ In addition to the administrative framework, the cohesion of the towns of Szepesség is also indicated by the Szepesség Public Hospital, the alms house, the Szepes County Historical Society, the county universality of the press, and many other associations.

⁹ When designating the area, I considered the statistical districts of the era of Dualism, within which the counties on the left bank of the Danube and the right bank of the Tisza.

¹⁰ Franková, Líbuša, “Národný vývin na Spiši v 19. storočí,” in *Spiš v kontinuite času - Zips in der kontinuierat der zeit*, ed. Peter Štvorc (Presov-Bratislava-Wien, Universum, 1995), 123.

¹¹ Frigyes Sváby, *A Szepesség lakosságának sociológiai viszonyai a XV. és XIX. században* (Lőcse, 1901), 68.

¹² For example, the competition between Szepesbéla and Késmárk for the location of the Royal District Court, which remained in Késmárk at the end of the battle. Or the issue of where to locate the office of the lord-lieutenant in Podolin and Ólubló in 1883.

mud or at best there were sandstone sidewalks in the city. In the mid-1890s, electric lighting, afforestation, and the “telephone” for a certain part of the city also arrived. At that time, tourist roads and tourist houses had been built in the nearby High Tatras for more than a decade, due to the department of the Hungarian Tatras Association. The Poprád-Késmárk railway line also boosted the industry, and the city spent 160,000 Forints in capital. By the turn of the 20th century, mainly due to the textile industry, there were about 1700–1800 permanent factory jobs in the city. At that time, the natural increase of the city’s population was around 50 people a year.¹³ The prestige and attractiveness of the town did not decrease at all; the villages and small towns of the area consider only Késmárk to be a town, Stadt. “A person living in this region never says that he or she goes to Késmárk, he or she comes from Késmár, but: he or she leaves for the “city”, he or she returns from the “city”.¹⁴ Nevertheless, by the end of the era, Késmárk drifted towards the brink of insolvency, and alcohol use caused the biggest social problem to the people of the city.¹⁵

A Society in the Spirit of Local Patriotism, Nationalization of Urban Space

By the end of the era, the German elite of Késmárk had successfully linked its local history with the great national narrative. The people in Késmárk renamed a few streets in the early 1880s. The street names at that time did not yet reflect the Hungarian national identity; streets were renamed mostly for practical reasons. The square in front of the district court changed to Thököly Square, which is the only street name change in Késmárk in the 1880s that can be linked to local identity. After a comprehensive nationwide “national awakening” of the closing millennium of the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin around 894-896, it took a decade and a half for German or German-sounding streets to be renamed in the German-majority city. A total of 48 “street” names were changed or replaced by designated committee members, following a proposal advanced by the city council. This proposal was then accepted by the General Assembly with a slight modification. However, almost two-thirds of these were more of a spelling change *utcza-utca* (street), hyphen addition, the addition of “köz (alley)” or “tér (square)” to it, and the like. On the whole – including the previously named Kossuth, Thököly Square and Erzsébet Street, and Ilona Zrínyi Square and Thököly

¹³ Population data: there were had 198 births and 154 deaths in Késmárk. in: Szepesi Lapok January 17, 1897.

¹⁴ Győző Bruckner and Károly Bruckner, *Késmárki Kalauz* (Késmárk, 1912), 12.

¹⁵ See previous footnote.

Street named in 1909 – 16 new streets were created with Hungarian names. Of these 16, two can be connected mainly to local identity: Vértanúk útja (the Way of Martyrs) and Vérmező (Field of Blood) – to the uprisings of the Upper Nobility, and the other five were streets that can be connected to local identity (Kray, Hunfalvi, Késmárk, Lányi and Topperczer).¹⁶ Two streets are the best examples of the successful integration of national identity (Kossuth and Erzsébet street), and another two are those of the integration of mixed, i.e. local identity (Thököly square and street, Ilona Zrínyi square). Thus, the balance is 14 Hungarianized streets, 5 new streets connected to national identity and 10 new ones connected to local identity.¹⁷ However, almost all of these could be integrated organically into the narrative of Hungarian national history, and thus local patriotism in Késmárk was successfully integrated into the great national narrative.

The decades of the Dualistic era abounded in events that provided an opportunity to nationalize urban space and community. One of the most memorable national “experiences” of Késmárk in the age of Dualism rivalled the millennium celebrations that took place throughout the country. It was a commemoration, namely the death of the city’s honorary citizen, Lajos Kossuth.¹⁸ In addition to the mayor’s extremely lengthy and ornate mourning speech, who called Kossuth “the greatest glorious son of our country”, the city council ordered that the funeral be attended. The portrait of Kossuth was placed in the city council hall, a worship service was ordered for all three denominations with the participation of the city council, and the three bridge streets were named Lajos Kossuth street. The city, which was always struggling with financial problems, voted to donate 200 Forints for the Kossuth statue, having all the shops and windows in the city closed for the time of the funeral. The respect of the hero of the War of Independence did not fade for the 100th anniversary of his birth either; more voluminous speeches were given at the General Assembly than for the Millennium. The peak around the Green Lake in the High Tatras on the outskirts of the city was also named after Lajos Kossuth.¹⁹

The millennium celebration took place in Késmárk at the suggestion of the mayor as follows:²⁰ All the representatives of the General Assembly gathered at the ceremonial

¹⁶ Szepesszombat Archives, City Assembly Inv. No. 21-50 fasc. 6-13 (1885-1919) (hereinafter referred to as the minutes of the General Assembly MGA) 1902. No. 204. During the Rákóczi II’s War of Independence, the historical society of Szepes County began to take an interest in the execution of the citizens defending the city in 1902, namely, in the “subject of the graves of national martyrs.” It then transpires that it is only the tomb of Sebestény Topperczer that needs to be searched as the other two have been restored. The graves are photographed and then sent to Kassa for the Rákóczi ceremony, in: MGA. 1909. No. 264.

¹⁷ See previous footnote.

¹⁸ MGA. 1894. No. 39.

¹⁹ MGA. 1902. No.14. Although the number of Representatives present is only 27.

²⁰ MGA. 1896. No. 39/49/130.

assembly, the city prosecutor made a patriotic speech in German, then the passage of “unlimited attachment to the Hungarian homeland” was included in the minutes, signed by all city representatives on the page of the minutes of the general assembly in national colours. They also voted to set up a permanent children’s shelter and accepted the offer of a candidate, Dr. József Hajnóczy, the royal school inspector, to write a city monograph in German and Hungarian for 500 Forints. However, this work was never done. The ceremonial assembly then went to the main square, where a tree was inaugurated as a millennial tree, followed by worship services from all three denominations with representatives of the city-based authorities. After the service, the people of the city took part in a folk festival costing nearly 200 Forints, and the citizens were requested to illuminate their windows on May 9, “to express their patriotic feelings”.

What about Imre Thököly, who is known in the public consciousness as an anti-Habsburg rebel of Késmárk? Even though the return of his ashes dates back to the period under study, and the celebrations were also large-scale, they cannot hold a candle to the commemorations in honour of Kossuth or Queen Elizabeth. The circumstances of the return of Thököly’s ashes are a good indication of the city’s relationship with Thököly and the mentality of the urban elite. First in 1904, city representative Izidor Hartmann told the citizens that His Majesty József Ferencz had ordered that his ashes be brought home from Nicodemia. According to Hartmann, the “relic in the eyes of all Hungarian patriotic people” was in danger because according to one of the rural country newspapers, the ashes should be placed in Eperjes. He therefore asked the General Assembly to “exert their influence” to prevent this.²¹ The General Assembly scheduled the discussion for the next meeting, at which not even a third of the representatives appeared. Késmárk had about 56 representatives at that time, and it rarely happened that more than half of them were missing.²² Barely a third of the representatives present expressed their gratitude to the Prime Minister for this matter.²³ In my opinion, the explanation for this is very simple; the relationship of the city of Késmárk with Imre Thököly was extremely bad. The Thököly family brought the once free royal city under a “half” landlord yoke, which was difficult for it to throw off. Nora Baráthová called the rule of the Thököly family the darkest period of Késmárk. It did not forget the loss of previous

²¹ MGA. 1904. No. 130.

²² Rarely, in about 15% of cases. At the beginning of the era, the city of Késmárk had about 45-47 representatives elected for 6 years and together with the virile representatives (three-six of whom attended the general assemblies) while by the end of the era it had grown to 61 in three stages, in proportion to population growth. In fact, throughout the era, most representatives appeared at the Millennium General Assembly and the Poprad-Késmárk railway negotiations.

²³ I recorded a similar rate of appearance less than half a dozen times in the era, and they also occurred rather in the 1880s. MGA. 1904. No. 138.

privileges, and the curtailment of the freedom of the German city of the Szepesség after two centuries, either. In 1905, the rescript arrived that the ashes would be placed in Késmárk, which was simply “taken notice of” by the General Assembly. This is very unusual, as at other similar events, I found speeches, ovations, gratitude notes, or at least the passage in the General Assembly books that the city’s people were happy to take the event described.²⁴ Of course, the situation changed when the citizens felt the national importance of the situation.²⁵ However, nothing shows their general attitude better than the fact that Aladár Gyurgyán, a parliamentary representative, appealing for the placement of Thököly’s ashes in Késmárk was subsequently elected honorary citizen on the urgent proposal of the city council and not on the proposal of an enthusiastic representative.²⁶ The mausoleum was built over the ashes of Imre Thököly between 1907 and 1909.²⁷

I did not find other symbols of the nationalization of the space than e.g. the traces of the successful erection of statues in Késmárk. It was only in 1901 that the city voted a financial assistance of 20 crowns²⁸ for a statue of Mihály Vörösmarty, erected together with Szepes County.

In addition to the nationalization of the space, it is a local historical society that best shows that a need emerged for local identity construction within the local citizenship.

²⁴ MGA. 1905. No. 206.

²⁵ At the large-scale ceremony, the citizens organized a guard of honour, who wore Thököly-era suits. The government’s ceremony of 20,000 crowns indeed suggests a day of national significance, which was attended by: 1. Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle, 2. Ferenc Kossuth, Minister of Trade, 3. Béla Roszinyi, royal councillor, 4. Baron Dezső Prónay member of the Upper House, 5. Kálmán Thaly, parl. Representative, 6. Burgán Aladár, Representative, 7. Lord-Lieutenant Géza Salamon, 8. vice Lord-Lieutenant Dr. Lajos Nosznóczy, 9. the headquarters of the 6th Corps, 10. the headquarters of the Kassa Gendarmerie District, 11. Directorate of the Kassa-Oderberg Railway, 12. Szepesbela City Council, 13. Leibitz city council, 14. The Augustan Lyceum Board, 15. State Civil Upper Commercial Directorate, 16. State Weaving School Board, 17. The Augustan civic school and elementary school board, 18. The board of the Rom. Cath. public elementary school, 19. the board of the Jewish public elementary school, 20. the directorate of the electrical works, 21. choral society Késmárk, 22. Leibitz choral society, 23. Szepesbela choral society, 24. the fire brigade of Késmárk. Then the fire brigades of Szepesbela and Forberg continue in the rank order, and then the list ends with the village fire brigades. It is remarkable what rank order the urban elite establish; on the one hand, we can see the rank order of local schools, the so-called level of prestige of associations and organizations. They thanked those up to number 6 in the rank order in a written note under the leadership of the mayor, they thanked those down from there personally, and they expressed their thanks to the inhabitants of the city collectively in the local paper.

²⁶ MGA. 1906 No. 100, 142.

²⁷ Szepesszombat Archives – unprocessed material. 1907 A statue to Imre Thököly! Notice. The chairs of the committee are: Dr. Lajos Neogrády, vice Lord-Lieutenant of Szepes County, Dr. Ottó Wrchovszky, Mayor, Dr. Gergely Tátray, Chief Physician and superintendent of the Augustan Church and Frigyes Dianiska evangelical pastor.

²⁸ The crown was introduced in 1892, by the 1892. year XVII. law, the forint was used until 1900. One forint was worth two crowns.

According to Bálint Varga, the museum, the monograph and the historical society were the most suitable and most frequently used means to place the counties in the discourse of national historical science.²⁹

The *Szepes County Historical Society* was founded relatively early, in 1883. The city of Késmárk joined the association as a regular member for three years at the invitation of the society, and then it promised that it would circulate the invitation of membership from house to house.³⁰ The city then renewed its membership every six years, paying its annual contribution of 10 Forints to the operation of the society. In order to justify these renewals of membership, the city fulfilled [...] “fulfilling its patriotic duty and a noble goal [...]”.³¹ Local patriotism can be seen in the same way in the 1883 request of the *Hungarian National Carpathian Association* for the construction of an alms house, which was also supported by the General Assembly from a patriotic duty. The historical society started with 4 founding and 95 regular members. In 1889, it had 9 founding members and 213 regular members, but there were problems in paying the membership fee: “unfortunately we experience that [...] each of the county historical societies in many parts of Hungary has 500–700 members while according to Kálmán Demkő that of Szepes County is just scraping along.”³²

In spite of this, the society published 14 yearbooks, 11 proceedings, and 7 millennial proceedings during the era of Dualism.³³ Many public figures also took part in the activities of the association. The first president of the society, Count Albin Csáky, resigned from the presidency in 1889 for the position of Minister of Religion and Public Education. At that time, the bishop of the Szepesség, György Császka, became the president, who considered the principle of one nation – one homeland as the standard in his inaugural speech. Board meetings were held quarterly in cities in Szepes County where at least 20 members lived. The number of members then gradually increased, to 356 by 1895, to 500 by 1900, and then to 555, but in 1908 it decreased to 485.³⁴ By the second half of

²⁹ Bálint Varga, “Vármegyék és történettudományi reprezentáció a dualizmus kori Magyarországon,” *Történelmi Szemle* 56, no. 2 (2014):179-202.

³⁰ MGA, No. 102. 1883.

³¹ MGA, 1889. No. 124. and 1895. No. 74.

³² Kálmán Demkő, *A Szepesmegyei történelmi társulat évkönyve, Volume V* (Lőcse, 1889), 179.

³³ In addition to meetings and other society activities, the yearbooks also published the studies of its members, and the vast majority of the studies of the yearbooks, which contain about half a dozen ones, contain local, medieval and early modern research. In addition, local geological, biological, and literature studies were also published in them.

³⁴ Kálmán Demkő, *Bevezetés A Szepesmegyei történelmi társulat 12 évi működésének ismertetése* (Lőcse, 1895), 280. (Demkő became headmaster of the secondary school for sciences and modern languages in Lőcse by that time) and Elek Kalmár, *Emlékkönyv. A szepesmegyei történelmi társulat fennállásának huszonötödik évéről 1883-1908* (Lőcse, 1909), 18-25.

the era, the association had its own collection of antiques, a library, and a large county monograph was planned for the millennium, which, however, fell through. Citing financial reasons, the society published five smaller monographs and a map instead.

The work of the society was truly diverse. In its decision of October 15, 1888, the association was also appealed to by the county municipal board “in the subject matter of the re-Hungarianization of the localities of Szepes County”.³⁵ The members of the society were willing to assist in determining the appropriateness of the place names. The society also assisted in the restoration of frescoes in local churches. In the yearbooks, the authors of the studies also wrote about the past of the Szepesség, the situation of the local archives and the bibliography of the Szepesség. The historical studies were of varying quality, but fully met the scientific requirements of the age. The studies deal mainly with early modern times and the Middle Ages. However, the period after Ferenc Rákóczi II’s war of independence was almost always a dividing line for the authors’ interest. It can be said that – at least according to the executive chairman – the members declared themselves Hungarians and local patriots as “every soil is part of the homeland” and that is why they dealt with Szepes County.³⁶ Reviewing the yearbooks, we can find only one or two studies of a national character among the more than a hundred pieces of writing: The argument for their Hungarianness is time, – he said –, which “[...] even to artificial excitements – had made all the inhabitants of Hungary a compassionate nation for centuries.”³⁷ As for their Hungarianness, the members of the association had the opportunity to prove it after the First World War, because in addition to remaining loyal to that “soil” of the Szepesség in the bond of the Czechoslovak state many of their members continued to function in the spirit of Hungarian self-consciousness.³⁸

³⁵ Demkő, *A Szepesmegyei történelmi társulat évkönyve*, 175.

³⁶ Publications about the past of Szepes County. Journal. ed. Dr. Jenő Fröster County archivist, Vol. IV (Lőcse, 1912).

³⁷ Demkő, *A Szepesmegyei történelmi társulat évkönyve*, 13.

³⁸ After 1918, the association published studies mainly by German-Hungarian but also Slovak writers, and several complaints were also submitted to President Vidor Csáky and Vice-President Márton Pirhalla that they did not want to acknowledge the formation of Czechoslovakia because even in 1921 Hungarian publications were sent to their members. The new president, Elemér Kőszeghy (originally Winkler), working in this position between 1923 and 1935, was the editor-in-chief of *Szepesi Híradó* (Szepes News), and had to leave his homeland on charges of irredentism in 1937. See: Peter Zmátlo, *Kultúrny a spoločenský život na Spiši v medzivojnovom období* (Bratislava: Chronos, 2005), 316.

The “loyalty to the state” of the Zipser German administration

The German ethnic population was known for its strong loyalty to the state, the best-known historical scenes of which included the attempt to establish the Szepes Republic in Késmárk³⁹ in 1918 or its active role in the War of Independence in 1848-49 (in the 19th Battalion, thousands of Szepes national guards fought).⁴⁰ Indeed, it can be seen that they accepted the increasingly deeper administrative role of the Hungarian language almost without resistance, and then, after a short period of resistance, the change of the language of instruction of local schools.⁴¹ However, the picture formed is not so clear-cut. In fact, we have to talk more about German pragmatism, and it could have been more about the authoritarianism towards the administration and the state. Of course, the fact that in the early 19th century intellectual groups were able to separate the most relevant factor of nationality, the mother tongue also contributed to this.⁴² By the end of the era, it can be said that the vast majority of the people of Késmárk taking part in the administration accepted the idea of a political nation as it was interpreted by the Hungarian state in the era of Dualism. Frigyes Sváby, who was well acquainted with the Szepesség, said: [...] although a Szepes nobleman who was more like Slovak or German in terms of his language with the lively consciousness of his “Hungarianness” all the more so because he owed all their precious prerogatives only to being a Hungarian nobleman [...], the inhabitants of the city were all mere Germans who, in the 18th century, held more cosmopolitan views...⁴³ Nevertheless, the city’s German administration wrote most documents where it could in German. The Késmárk Casino, founded in 1838, also operated almost as a closed association throughout the period, without spectacular participation in the Hungarian national ceremony.⁴⁴ The Lutheran church books and the baptismal register were also

³⁹ See Rezső Förster: “A Szepesség politikai képe 1918-1934,” in *Különlenyomat a Városok Lapja* 6 (1934).

⁴⁰ See Kalmár, *Emlékkönyv*, 307.

⁴¹ The mentality of the General Assembly and the citizens is well illustrated by the following examples: A ranger will be unfit for work, his wife asks for a donation, which will be voted for, but even at the general assembly a decision will be made that new rangers should insure themselves against diseases. The local traders request that vocational school classes be rescheduled from Wednesday afternoon to Sunday, and the answer from the city council reveals that there is no obstacle to this if they contribute 600 Forints to the salaries of teachers (the amount of the holiday allowance).

⁴² For a description of the different German patterns, schemes and assimilation strategies in Hungary, see Béla Pukánszky, *Német polgárság magyar földön* (Budapest, 1940).

⁴³ Sváby, *A Szepesség lakosságának sociológiai viszonyai*, 20.

⁴⁴ By the end of the period, it had about 162 members, with an annual membership fee of 20 Forints, and its president was Tivadar Genersich, and it subscribed to 12 German, 6 Hungarian newspapers, 10 German and 4 Hungarian journals. Bruckner and Bruckner, *Késmárki Kalauz*, 70-76.

kept in German, and in 1917 there was only one Hungarian entry in it.⁴⁵ The Késmárk pastors sent the demographical data to the county in Hungarian from 1883, but only after the vice lord-lieutenant specifically requested it.⁴⁶ As far as the mandatory administration in the Hungarian language is concerned, the offices probably operated as was customary with the minutes of the general assembly. Official documents were kept mainly by officials who wrote well in Hungarian and mainly by translators. The strange word order in the city assembly books, mirror translations, and German expressions every now and then, as well as other sources, support the fact that administration was mainly in German, and it was only much later that the assembly became bilingual.⁴⁷ Some of the proposals submitted were also written in German and then a translation was sent to the ministry. Rescripts were translated into German: “After reading the vice lord-lieutenant’s [...] Circular [...] and translating it into German...”⁴⁸ The situation did not change much in the following decades either, as e.g. in the case of the draft pension regulations of 1897, the ordinance still had to be translated into German in order that the matter could be discussed in a meaningful way.⁴⁹ In 1902, there was also a justification for this fact that “the draft budget should be translated into German with regard to the mother tongue of the local population and with regard to the inexperience (crossed out) of the majority of the city council in Hungarian [...]”⁵⁰ Although the minutes written in Hungarian were read at every subsequent national assembly until 1904, this changed the fact very little that the majority wanted the most important documents to be read in German. At that time, due to increased administration and the habit of representatives being deliberately late for the beginning of the general assembly due to the reading, this procedure was abolished.⁵¹ The fact that the discussion was carried out in German was also confirmed by the 1893 report of the *Szepesi Lapok*.⁵²

⁴⁵ Moreover, until 1940 there was no Slovak Lutheran community in Késmárk.

⁴⁶ MGA 1883. No. 485.

⁴⁷ For example, hawthorn (weiszdow) Monday meat fair (volnicza), etc.

⁴⁸ For example, guild rules translated by the chief notary Imre Szontágh: MGA. 1884. No. 130.

⁴⁹ MGA. 1897. No. 181.

⁵⁰ MGA. 1902. No. 9. Corrected during re-reading – justification for correction No 30 in the margin: “to a lesser degree of inexperience of a part.”

⁵¹ MGA. 1904. No. 110. A four-member committee of variable members is then responsible for the authenticity of the minutes.

⁵² The article titled “The language of administration and negotiation in our cities”. In Szepes-Váralja, the new mayor introduced Hungarian as the language of negotiation. “As far as we know, of the cities of our county it is only in Lőcse, the seat of our county where the language of city administration and negotiation is Hungarian.” in *Szepesi Lapok*, 12 November 1893.

As for the city documents, no Slavic-Slovak texts were found in the 1880s.⁵³ About 15% are in German (these are mainly submissions of committees and various civil persons and accounts), and 85% are documents in Hungarian.⁵⁴ If the county records are removed from this, the proportion of records in Hungarian drops to about 75%. By the 1890s, this proportion had practically not changed; only Hungarian documents written in Slovak spelling had disappeared. By the 1900s, the proportion of documents written in German was around 5-10%, and after 1910 it fell to around 5%.⁵⁵

In addition to corruption, Késmárk's leaders were at the forefront of supporting the government. The 1893 government bill on civil registration of births, marriages and deaths, free practice of religions, and reception of the Jewish religion was fully and unanimously endorsed and supported. Their submission assured the government of their support, but they also declared that they asked the government for a greater degree of autonomy although the General Assembly later "found that it should be abandoned" from the submission. Originally, they asked the government to give cities "a freer hand [...] to take care of their cultural and material interests [...] and also greater political autonomy [...] as only then would the cities fulfil the vital mission they are destined for in public life adequately."⁵⁶ The following year, when the public became aware that the king sanctified the government's proposal, they were the first to seek to welcome the decision, "... with sincere inner joy [...] as a sign of our unbroken loyalty to our glorious king and our serf reverence". When the Association of Hungarian Cities was formed under the leadership of Zalaegerszeg in 1904, in addition to the Hungarian national development, Késmárk also hoped that this association could easily strengthen the right of the cities' self-government.⁵⁷ There are several articles in the local press about strengthening the right of cities' self-government.⁵⁸ In their line of argument, they extolled the liberation and

⁵³ However, it should be pointed out that the author of about half a dozen documents wrote in Hungarian with Slavic diacritics in the eighties (mainly Lutheran pastors and some external civil servants).

⁵⁴ Szepesszombat Archives, unprocessed material I-II-III-IV 1883.

⁵⁵ Szepesszombat Archives, unprocessed material I-II-III-IV 1894, 1907, 1911.

⁵⁶ MGA. 1893. No. 15. The *Szepesi Lapok* also write about it. March 5, 1893 "Two particularly important and fundamental factors have not been enforced yet, such as the nationalization of administration and the realization of the practice of true religious freedom."

⁵⁷ MGA. 1904. No. 87.

⁵⁸ In 1876, the towns of the Szepesség were merged into the jurisdiction of the county municipal authority without friction as it only simplified the local administration. Cities sought to keep their own municipal authority on an equal footing with counties and to treat it as equal. In 1869, jurisdiction and administration were separated, thus the powers of the cities were reduced, but the Public – Municipality Authorities Act of 1872 was the greatest grievance for the cities. This was because it introduced the supervision of lord-lieutenants, so the lord-lieutenant was above the mayor. Several cities asked for special regulations, there were also some which associated with the county out of necessity. The cities also spoke out against virilism, according to which

prosperity that they achieved after the 1848 era, and demanded strong self-government rights to be able to act in order to fulfil their “today” duties. One of these was assimilation, according to which “[...] it is only the city that can assimilate, retain and Hungarianize.”⁵⁹ In the same year, at an extraordinary general assembly, after a close vote, they welcomed and supported István Tisza’s strong action “against the terrorism of the minority” without any legal basis and risking local political strife. Although these small scenes do not call into question the city of the Szepesség’s loyalty to the government, they show that they were not satisfied with Budapest’s centralization policy. Outwardly, however, at least in terms of loyalty to the state, the city communicated well.⁶⁰

In the era of Dualism, a change in the content of the keyword “patriotic” can also be observed. In the early period of Dualism, it occurs only about half a dozen times in the minutes of the general assembly, and was usually associated with some kind of title or award won. In the 1880s, it was also a patriotic act or duty to join a local fish farming or tourism association. Thus, the elite of Késmárk was known for its local patriotism, philanthropy, food and even school assistance patriotism. This local-social “patriotism” of the Szepesség became so differentiated in the 1890s. At that time, in similar cases it was already about noble philanthropic or noble public affairs. The patriotic adjective continued to be used, in addition to its widespread national meaning, in a local sense as well.

The local Hungarian-minded German elite in the early 1990s believed that the appearance of the third language, Hungarian, would further worsen the position of the patriotic German element, “... [...] since now it is only the historian who knows which village was once a German one, [...] our cities are also half Slovak...” It is Germanization that can successfully prevent the spread of Slavism because although Pan-Slavism is negligible in the county, Hungarianization at all costs is not only a futile endeavour, but also one of the surest ways for Slavism gaining ground.⁶¹ The development of the manufacturing industry was also less welcome for the German element as it caused further Slavic immigration from the villages, and the habit of German craftsmen to “give their sons a genteel career” further aggravated the situation. “Time and the spirit of the age are moving forward hurriedly. In a century, the Szepesség will be either Hungarian or Slovak.”⁶²

According to Jankovič, both the elite and the “majority of German writers” adapted to the prevailing Hungarian views. Although there was little trace in the documents and in

it sinned against the free spirit of 1848. According to the government, those who pay the highest tax rates have the right to have a say in the life of the city, and the taxation of intellectuals was also double counted.

⁵⁹ *Szepesi Lapok* 16 June 1901. No. 25. Vol. XVII.

⁶⁰ MGA. 1904. No. 209. 24 representatives voted in favour of the proposal, 16 against (42 present).

⁶¹ *Szepesi Lapok*, 29 January 1888 and 5 February. Editorials. (Signed them as Str. and responses received)

⁶² *Szepesi Lapok*, 11 March 1888. Editorial.

the press, the local “German renegades” also made their voices heard. However, they turned mainly to literature and specific sciences. Aurél Münnich, a parliamentary representative for the Igló constituency, for example, received an anonymous German letter criticizing the mentioned representative for speaking in support for the draft Place Names Bill. The writer of the article of the *Szepesi Lapok* immediately condemned this saying that the critic tried to find such Saxons in the Szepesség as the ones who were in Transylvania in vain, the Germans in the Szepesség fully identified with the Hungarian nation, had a fondness for it, but in their family, they were Germans and did not break away from the German culture.⁶³

The first Hungarian worship service in Késmárk was held by the decision of the General Assembly of the Lutheran Church in 1897.⁶⁴ At the end of the period, “we are pleased to mention [...] that both the Lutheran and the Catholic Church hold Hungarian worship services for the sake of the Hungarian-speaking students attending the institutions of Késmárk and the Hungarian citizens living here ...”⁶⁵

The Local Slovaks

Besides Lőcse, Késmárk became the cultural centre in the wider region. With its institutions, libraries and printing houses “in Késmárk, it was more difficult to lay the foundations for the spirituality of Štúr’s national concept due to the fact that part of the teaching staff became Hungarianized and the German magistrate also had an influence on school affairs.”⁶⁶ Nora Baráthová dates the strengthening of the Slavic vein to the 17th century, when religious persecutors from the Czech lands, Moravia and Silesia came to Hungary, several of whom worked in the school in Késmárk: Ján Metzelius Moravus, Václav Johannides, Slezania Valerian Berlinius, Daniel Fabry and others were preachers and deacons in the Slavic Lutheran congregation. Michal Kaľavský writes that in 1754 the Catholics of Késmárk had one priest and three cantors, two of whom were Slavic, from which he concluded that “the number of churchgoers was balanced...”⁶⁷

⁶³ *Szepesi Lapok*, 19 December 1889. Issue 51. „Szepesi német renegátok” [Szepes German Renegades].

⁶⁴ *Szepesi Lapok*, 21 March 1897: On March 14, the first Hungarian service was held in Hungarian in Késmárk. (At that time Hungarian services in Igló had been held four or five times a year for years).

⁶⁵ Sándor Belóczy, *A késmárki állami felső kereskedelmi iskola értesítője (1916/17-iki tanévről)*, 7. After the turn, according to Győző Bruckner, *A Szepesség múltja és mai lakói*, the local Lutheran church maintained its linguistic monopoly until 1940, when the first Slovak-speaking Lutheran community was formed. in Baráthová kol., *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*, 209.

⁶⁶ Franková, Libuša, *Národný vývin na Spiši v 19. storočí*, 118.

⁶⁷ Michal Kaľavský (65) refers to the research of Jozep Špirka, according to whom Thela founded the Slovak church in Padua in 1468.

Indeed, from the 17th century onwards, several sources in the town allude to the presence of the Slavic population as the area was already dominated by Slavic-majority villages. One of the most obvious pieces of evidence of the old Slavic community of Késmárk is that the city (formerly Pauline) church was called the “Slovak church” at the end of Dualism.⁶⁸ In 1823 the Slovak Society (Slovenská Spoločnosť) was founded for Slavic students by Slavic, mainly Czech teachers, who worked in the Lutheran Lyceum of Késmárk in the first half of the 19th century. This society later became a model for associations in Eperjes, Lőcse and Pozsony as well. In Késmárk, however, the Slavic society in the Lyceum fell into lethargy and scepticism after initial enthusiasm.⁶⁹ It should be mentioned that in 1821 Ján Chalupka established a similar society for German students while in 1824 a Slavic teacher Ondrej Kralovanský established a similar society for Hungarian students. The Slavic Society had about 40 members.⁷⁰ In the Slavic society students studied Czech grammar, wrote and performed prose and poetry. The Ústav reči a literatúry československej [Institute of Czechoslovak Speech and Literature] was founded in 1838, but J. Bendikti did not undertake to lead it claiming that he did not know the “Czechoslovak” language and that the Lutherans tended to use the biblical Czech language enriched with local flavours.⁷¹ In 1845, the “Jednota mládeže slovenskej and the spolok miernosti a striezlivosti [Slovak Association of Youth and the Association of Sobriety and Temperance]” operated in the town with their own Slavic library. In Késmárk, Ján Chalupka,⁷² junior and senior, Ján Benedikti Blahoslav, both fellow mates of Ján Kollár and Pavol Jozef Šafárik in Jena, represented the Slavic and Slovak spirit in the Késmárk Lyceum.

According to Čibor, the only documentable case of nationality took place between Hungarian and Serbian minority students in Késmárk in the first half of the 19th century.⁷³ During the 19th century, among others, P. J. Šafárik, Karol Kuzmány, Jonáš Záborský, August Horeslav Škultéty, Janko Kráľ and Pavol O. Hviezdoslav attended the city’s educational institutions. Towards the end of the era, Ladislav Nádaši-Jégé, Pavol Sochán and Janko Jesenský also graduated from here. Most of them became figures of national significance of the Slovak literature, many of whom are considered to be significant Slovak nation-builders in the academic literature. Slovak students were reactivated by the 1890s, when their nation-

⁶⁸ Bruckner Győző – Bruckner Károly. *Késmárki Kalauz*, 33.

⁶⁹ Čibor, Tahy, *Národnobuditeľské tradície Kežmarku*, 15.

⁷⁰ Baráthová kol., *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*, 40.

⁷¹ See previous note.

⁷² Although Ján Chalupka did not write his famous *Kocúrkovo* here, this work of his must have been inspired later by the ethnic and minority world of Késmárk and its surroundings. (Moreover, at that time he himself did not write in Slovak).

⁷³ Čibor, Tahy, *Národnobuditeľské tradície Kežmarku*, 59.

building efforts ended several times in exclusion. Thus, the students of the Lyceum were at the forefront of organizing the local Hungarian and Slovak national life.⁷⁴ In February 1894, the school board expelled four students from all schools in Hungary on charges of Pan-Slavism.⁷⁵ A further five people received the *consilium abeundi* (literally “advice to leave”) allowing them to stay until the end of the school year. The members of the “Pan-Slavic” group studied Slovak, read Slovak books, and published a newspaper in which they published poetry and prose. The group had been operating under the name Kytka since 1890, and their journal was called Lúč. According to a witness, the activities of the group were revealed that in the summer of 1893 one of them had spoken of “the operation of the association to some untrue Slovaks”, and then some students of Késmárk who had been trying to find information about them unnoticed since the autumn of 1893 heard about it.⁷⁶ Since the search was fruitless at the time, “then a ‘Slovak Ephialtes’ came to us, who palmed himself off as a Slovakian, gained our trust, found out everything and reported us.”⁷⁷ According to the witness, who was the brother of one of the Kytka’s students, the students, including a certain István Lénárd, entrusted the infiltrator (“Ephialtest”) with this task.⁷⁸ The headmaster

⁷⁴The lyceum was already the centre of the local Hungarian self-consciousness during the War of Independence. It was closed in 1851 under the pretext of the reorganization of the Austrian state, but the real reason was different. Some teachers fought in the war of independence, e.g. the Hunfalvy brothers and many students, and even the Lutheran pastor of Késmárk, who was sent to prison, also took part in it. The advanced German intelligentsia of Szepesség sided with the Hungarian War of Independence, and many even adopted Hungarian surnames or simply translated them into Hungarian (Hunsdorfer-Hunfalvy, Witchen-Wittényi, Schneider-Szelényi, Gooldberger-Bethlenfalvy, Steiner-Kövi). Otherwise, Hungarian was taught as a foreign language in the lyceum from 1835, and from 1839 it became more and more common. School registers and certificates were written in Hungarian from 1841. School reports, on the other hand, were written in German until 1855. At that time, Pál Hunfalvy himself taught law in Hungarian, though with a German accent. Petőfi also visited the Hungarian self-education circle in 1845, adding two copies of his poem called ‘A helység kalapácsa’ to the circle’s own library. In 1852, the Lyceum became an eight-grade grammar school. In the 1861-62 school year, its name was changed to Lutheran Lyceum again, and from then on, the language of education in the upper classes was Hungarian as well. In 1867, Frigyes Solcz, a Hungarian teacher also taught German and was also the president of the Hungarian self-education society. József Dihányi, who taught Slovak, also taught Hungarian. (Palcsó 1867) From 1881, the Hungarian language was also used in the lower classes. In 1884 the number of subjects taught in German increased while in 1902 all classes were taught in Hungarian, and German only functioned as an auxiliary language in the two lowest classes. The lyceum had many private and corporate supporters throughout the era. The list of supporters donating only money comprised multiple pages in this era.

⁷⁵Szepesszombat Archives. The fonds of the Lutheran Lyceum of Késmárk, *Memorabilia Lycei Kesmarkiensis magistro discipulorumque dicta et facta, edit Carolus Bruckner rector emeritus Kesmarkini, Pauli Satner, MCMXXXIII*. prof. Miloš Ruppeltdt. 101-103. This volume is in German, Slovak and Hungarian. The volume was published in 1933, on the 400th anniversary of the lyceum.

⁷⁶See previous note. For example, a fake letter was written to the group encouraging Slavic cooperation.

⁷⁷See previous note.

⁷⁸See previous note.

of the Lyceum didn't make a fuss about it at first saying it was just a literary circle, and what is more if they only learned our language, it's even commendable. However, "most of the students were against us [...] and the pressure was growing."⁷⁹ According to the recollection, the fact that there were a few Romanian and even four Russian books among the Slovak volumes sealed their fate. There were traces of the same event in the lyceum bulletin and in the press. However, the two texts are the same word for word, so they do not contain any commentaries, their arguments have the following set of overtones: "the Slovak-speaking students at the Késmárk Lyceum founded a Slovak circle prohibited by school laws, incited anti-patriotic sentiments, they circulated a newspaper, in which they glorified Kollár, mourned for the discontinued Slovak lyceums, called upon their brothers to carry on a nationalist fight, called Hungarians their enemies and constantly glorified their enormous neighbour."⁸⁰ According to the disciplinary board, students who had hitherto been well-behaved and with outstanding ability, supported by tuition exemptions and scholarships, who were led astray by Pan-Slavism, committed the same crime as capital treason.⁸¹ However, none of the eight students involved were from Késmárk, not even from the Szepesség but mainly from Liptó and Árva counties. Two students came from Szatmár and one from Gömör.⁸² An eerily similar case took place in the early part of 1913, when the Slovak student association called *MOR HO!*, the publisher of the *Púčky* journal was excluded from all schools in Hungary.⁸³ The composition of the students was similar even then, including Ferdinand Čatlos, a former student of the state civil and upper commercial school, who later became the Minister of Defence of the later independent Slovak state.⁸⁴ It can be said, therefore, that the Slovak nation-building efforts did not affect the local Slovak student body. If Slovak nation-building was not successful, then what is the reason why the proportion of Slovaks still increased?

In the second half of the 19th century, Slovak worship services were abolished in the city due to increasing Hungarianization.⁸⁵ However, Franková also admits that after reviewing the reports of the vice-Lord-Lieutenant and police commissioner in Késmárk, the nationalist movement of local Slovaks did not develop.⁸⁶ According to Franková, there

⁷⁹ See previous note. On the part of the fellow students, at school, in the dining room, and even on the street.

⁸⁰ Zvarínyni Sándor, *A Késmárki Ág. Hitv. Evang. Kerületi Lyceum Tanévi Értesítője*, 38.

⁸¹ The article titled Exclusion of Pan-Slavic students in *Szepesi Lapok* 25 February 1894.

⁸² The following work of fiction was also inspired by the case: Martin Rázus: *Maroško študuje*.

⁸³ Izál. Quoted by: Baráthová a kol. *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*. 48.

⁸⁴ Hungarian and German self-education groups had also operated in the state commercial school since the turn of the century. There were also high school students in the secret society.

⁸⁵ Baráthová a kol. *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí*. 206.

⁸⁶ Franková 117. However, I strongly doubt that she examined 600-700 files per year at the beginning of the era, and by the end of the era, more than double the reports. It took a full day and a half to review only the police files of 1894 and 1907 (dates of nationality events) and I found nothing, either. However, this does not

could be several explanations for this, on the one hand, officials and police officers were either not informed about the movement or they only formally responded to the rescripts and did not want to harm those working for the Slovak national cause. But Franková also believes that it may also have been that they wanted to present their neighbourhood to their own superiors as immaculate in this respect. In my opinion, this explanation can only be accepted if we consider the possibility that there was indeed no organized ethnic movement operating other than the imported student movements. Neither in the city nor in the wider area was a Slovak national press, with the exception of *Kresťan*, *Krajan*, *Naša Zástava*, which were state-oriented, and the masses of the local Slovak population were still at an early level of ethnic identity. Both secret Késmárk student associations were “imported” and thus they were operated by Slovak-minded students from outside the area. The fact that no local Slovak students could be involved, either, is perhaps more than just a signal. Although Franková’s study,⁸⁷ contradicting herself, presented about a dozen nationally-minded priests or teachers who played an active role in terms of nationality in the Szepesség in the era of Dualism, they actually dealt with anti-alcoholism, farming and fruit-growing, and thus philanthropic and socially motivated topics. Barely half a dozen of them were born in the Szepesség and belonged to the Slovak self-conscious intellectuals. A similar path was taken by Chalupický,⁸⁸ who discusses the diverse Slovak nation-building intelligence and national resources of the Szepesség. However, Ctibor Tahy publishes downright misleading data.⁸⁹ He gives erroneous figures regarding the ethnic composition of the Lyceum, and several of his statements are not sufficiently substantiated by footnotes. These examples also show the forced effort that “would have liked” to put the German-style city on the map of the Slovak national awakening from the second half of the 20th century.

There are, without exception, negative answers to the Ministry’s and the Lord-Lieutenant’s questions in this case: For example, “no pan-Slavic agitation from America can be observed in the area of [...] my district.”⁹⁰ Moreover, according to another servant judge, there is no individual in the whole city to whom the patriotic paper *Naša*

mean, of course, that the national movement operated within sight of the police. For example, in response to a ministerial decree, the mayor of Késmárk states that “according to the attached report of the Chief Medical Officer, there are no imbecile (idiotic) or stupid (cretinous) people in the area of our authority...” 2263/883, 7 November 1883. Dániel Herczogh’s letter to the vice lord-lieutenant.

⁸⁷ Franková, Libuša, *Národný vývin na Spiši v 19. storočí*, 118.

⁸⁸ See: Chalupický, Ivan, *Pramene k dejinám slovenského národného hnutia v r. 1860-1918 v archíve Spišskej župy*.

⁸⁹ Ctibor, Tahy, *Národnobuditeľské tradície Kežmarku*, 28.

⁹⁰ Lőcse Archives. Szepes County 35 loose card, No. 3012. 906. bis. Késmárk’s chief servant judge to the lord-lieutenant.

Zástava, published in Eperjes could (should) be sent free of charge.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the list is completed, in which we can read the names of 62 Slovak individuals living in the Késmárk district, mainly farmers, and some teachers and pastors. Unfortunately, there is no information about the number of people reading the *Národné Noviny*, *Vlast' a Svet*, *Krestaň*, *Obzor* or *Královna Sv. Ruznica* in the district as police commissioner of Késmárk did not send it to the vice Lord-Lieutenant referring to the fact that the postal statement had not been completed. In the other districts of the Szepesség, however, we know of an average of half a dozen readers⁹². According to the Slovak historian Ladislav Tajták, the situation of the local Slovak in the Szepesség became a little better when the Slovaks who had emigrated to the USA returned and became actively involved in civic life.⁹³ Frigyes Sváby, the archivist of Szepes County, and several articles in the *Szepesi Lapok* also reported on the decline in the German population. Accordingly, it was mostly Slovakization that could be observed in the county, which “always begins here with the Catholics as also evidenced by the history of the Counter-Reformation of the 17th century.”⁹⁴ He brought forward the “proliferation” and tenacity of the Slovaks as well as the demographic habits and education of the Germans (internal migration). In his view, the increase in the number of Slovaks was limited only by emigration and high child mortality. Emigration, on the other hand, made it possible for Slovaks from villages, returning with smaller fortunes to buy small-town houses from Germans in a demographic recession, thus strengthening the Slavic base in the area. According to the *Szepesi Lapok*, the Germans of the Szepesség were continuously moving away from these settlements, and according to the editorial board, two – three Hungarian nursery school teachers would have been needed in the local nursery schools, and the problem would have been solved. According to the idealistic lines of the writer of the article, “our Slovaks do not oppose Hungarianization, they do not form pan-Slavic associations like in other counties.”⁹⁵ However, Slovak historians belonging to the newer generation already describe the counties of north-eastern Hungary with completely different adjectives: “... sleepy Szepes, stupidly silent Sáros and dark Zemplén.”⁹⁶ However, referring to electoral practices and the contemporary nationalist press, they continued to draw attention to certain facts, such as “In the 1910 elections, officials were able to change the election

⁹¹ Lócsa Archives. Szepes County 35 loose card, 4 November 1904. Késmárk.

⁹² Either it was not sent or it did not survive.

⁹³ Nadežda, Jurčišinová, *Na Slovenskú ústrednú tlač o živote a dianí v šarišskej a spíšskej župe začiatkom 20. storočia*, 84.

⁹⁴ Sváby Frigyes, *Szepes megye*, 7.

⁹⁵ *Szepesi Lapok* 24 January 1886. „Eltótosodás” [“Slovakization”]

⁹⁶ Nadežda, Jurčišinová, *Na Slovenskú ústrednú tlač o živote a dianí v šarišskej a spíšskej župe začiatkom 20. storočia*, 84.

results of the Slovaks.⁹⁷ Despite all this, it can be stated with relative certainty that in the city of Késmárk, even the imported Slovak nationalism could not deliver results, either. The increase in the Slovak ratio was most likely due to the influx of Slovaks and the strong decline in the German population. The Slovak language itself, at least in administration, was completely marginalized. I did not find any applications of city civil servants for employment but it is clear from the documents and the minutes of the city assemblies and committees that excellent command of the Hungarian language was a necessity in certain positions. Namely, in order for the notaries to be able to translate and write the language of discussions in German immediately, the highest level of language proficiency was required. As for the city council subcommittees, the German-speaking administration remained until the end of Dualism, they wrote only their submissions to the city council in Hungarian. So, let us see what language was used by the Késmárk elite at the end of the 19th century:

Command of language	Yes	No				
Can you read and write in Hungarian?	226	0				
Of the languages used in the country	Hungarian-German-Slovak	German-Hungarian	Only Hungarian	Only German	Only Slovak	German-Slovak
which do you speak?	163	51	11	1	-	-
which do you use predominantly?		6	117	102	-	1
What is your native language?		-	82	136	8	-

Table 3: Basic register of the free royal city of Késmárk (for men qualified for jury service in 1907).

Based on the table, it can be seen that all the men qualified for jury service, i.e. 226 people could write Hungarian well, and as far as speech is concerned, only one person declared that he spoke only German. About 70% knew Slovak and more than 95% German. This means that it was almost only those who came to Késmárk in the last few years that did not speak German. The fact that more than two-thirds of people knew the Slovak language is also a good indication of the Slovak majority in the area and their presence in

⁹⁷ Stoličné voľby. Spiš. In: *Slovenský Týždenník*. 1910, 50 No. 2. Quoted by: Jurčišinová: 87.

the city. The neglect of the Slovak language in the administration is well illustrated by the language use, i.e. which language was used more often. The use of only the Hungarian language is not far ahead of that of German, and how German and Slovak were used is indicated by the Késmárk sawmill worker [even if he was the only one who confessed it]. Due to his work, he was able to come into contact with the Slovak and local German village craftsmen much more often. Let us see what results were delivered by the awakening of the Hungarian self-consciousness and the Hungarian nation building in the city based on the principle of a political nation.

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“The water facility is expected to be our salvation”
The Construction of a Water Facility and Sewerage System in Kolozsvár
in the Age of Dualism

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Abstract

In this study, I propose to outline those processes and events that led to the construction of a modern water and sewerage network in Kolozsvár. First, I am going to examine the sanitation of the city. Here I am mainly interested in how demographic changes taking place in the second half of the century affected the sanitation of Kolozsvár and to what extent they influenced the implementation of the water and sewerage system. After that, I am going to examine the economic aspects of the project, more specifically whether the city’s economic operators supported the establishment of a reliable water supply and sewerage system, if they were indifferent or actively opposed it. Furthermore, I will also examine what role the 1872 establishment of the university played in the establishment of the city’s first waterworks. Finally, I will outline the consequences of the 1893 cholera epidemic, which, although it was the last and least virulent epidemic in Kolozsvár, had a major impact on the construction of the sanitation system.

Keywords: Kolozsvár, Transylvania, water facility, sewerage system, cholera, sanitation, public health, economy

Introduction

Economic and social changes in the 19th century presented challenges for the cities of the time. Due to intensive population growth and the subsequent rise in population density, water supply and disposal of sewage became of increasing concern. In order to alleviate these problems, cities were forced to construct modern water and sewerage lines. In certain cities, however, the need for constructing sanitation systems arose for different reasons: to facilitate the smooth operation of industry and trade, to protect against fire damage as well as the desire for modernisation.

Although both economic and social changes occurred in Hungary considerably later and at a significantly lesser rate than in Western Europe, modern water supply and sewage systems were constructed as well. Their creation was mainly determined by the need for public sanitation combined with safety, economic, and aesthetic considerations. With very few exceptions, the newly established utility networks were owned by the city. This was mostly due to the urbanisation policy emerging and expanding in the last third of the century.¹

¹Thirring, Gusztáv *A magyar városok statisztikai évkönyve* [Statistical yearbook of Hungarian cities] (Budapest, 1912), 432; Sipos, András, *Várospolitikai és városigazgatás Budapesten 1890–1914* [Urban politics and (urban management]

The country's first modern waterworks was officially inaugurated in 1868 in Pest, but its commissioning was somewhat hasty and was intended to be only temporary. The water supply system that covered the entire city was completed several decades later in 1893. Water supply constructions in other parts of the country also began in the 1890s. By the end of the era, 31% of Hungarian cities had modern waterworks and water supply.²

As far as Transylvanian³ cities were concerned, the first waterworks was commissioned in Kolozsvár in 1887, but it supplied only a small part of the city with water since the larger-capacity waterworks was launched only in 1898. The waterworks in Brassó and Szeben were completed in 1894 but that in Marosvásárhely was only opened at the end of 1908. In Transylvania, as in the rest of the country, there was a large lag among the towns with settled councils.⁴ These cities provided sourced their water supply largely from public wells. In 1908, waterworks were not in operation in the following Transylvanian settlements: Beszterce, Csíkszereda, Dés, Gyulafehérvár, Kézdivásárhely, Medgyes, Nagyenyed, Szamosújvár, Székelyudvarhely, Vajdahunyad, Zilah. Among the towns with settled councils, Gyergyószentmiklós was in the worst situation since no public wells were functioning and the water was supplied by the Békény stream.⁵

It was widely accepted by the public that only a combination of water supply and sewerage could solve a city's health and sanitation problems. Nevertheless, there were many more waterworks under construction in Hungary than sewage systems. The first concrete sewage system was built in Pest and Buda in 1870 but the more modern type of sewage system was not built until the 1890s. Kolozsvár, Arad, Besztercebánya, Fiume, Szeged and Szombathely also had their first sewage systems in these years. Most cities mainly focused on the sewerage of central areas while suburban parts were overlooked for the time being. There were financial and practical reasons behind this as sparsely populated peripheral areas did not require as much modern sewerage as the more populated and densely populated central part of the towns did. By 1910, three-quarters of the towns (83

Budapest Főváros Levéltára, Budapest, 1996), 5–6.

² Melega, Miklós, *A modern város születése. Szombathely infrastrukturális fejlődése a dualizmus korában*, [The birth of the modern city. Infrastructural development of Szombathely in the dualism era] (Vas Megyei Levéltár, Szombathely, 2012), 23; In Sipos, *Várospolitika*, 208.

³ A historical region of the Kingdom of Hungary. From 1570, a sovereign state dependent of the Ottoman Empire. Then it was part of the Habsburg Empire up until the compromise of 1867.

⁴ A legal and administrative category of Hungarian cities.

⁵ Thirring, Gusztáv, *A magyar városok*, [Hungarian Cities] 431–433; Schustler, József, “Városok vízellátása és csatornázása az ezredéves országos kiállításon II,” [*Water supply and sewage of cities*] *Magyar Mérnök és Építész Egylet (MMÉE)* no. 2 (1897): 86; *Magyarország városainak háztartása az 1910. évben*, (Budapest, 1916), 34–35.

with a settled council and almost all municipalities⁶ had some form of sewerage system. However, only 13% of the cities had a modern sewage line covering the entire town.⁷

The Construction of a Water Facility and Sewerage System in Kolozsvár – Preliminaries

The Transylvanian Government-General Office⁸ moved to Kolozsvár in 1790, leading to the city becoming the most important administrative centre of Transylvania. Accordingly, the reputation and prestige of Kolozsvár also increased. As a result of this, officials, high-ranking officers and aristocratic families became beneficiaries of the town’s new status and they longed for a more sophisticated and cleaner environment. At that time, however, the city did not have a detailed public cleanliness policy and those limited number of regulations that were made to keep the town clean were not always enforced. Due to this, litter and manure were often piled up in the streets of Kolozsvár.⁹ At the same time, it is worth noting that at that time many other Transylvanian cities had similar public cleanliness conditions, with the difference being that in certain settlements hygiene problems occurred to a greater extent while in others to a lesser extent. However, the basic problems were the same everywhere therefore Kolozsvár was not unique in this respect. In his book published in 1787, István Mátyus, the county’s chief physician, reported on the state of public cleanliness in some Transylvanian cities and wrote about conditions similar to those in Kolozsvár.¹⁰

In 1791, 1793 and 1800 the Government-General Office took steps to alleviate the situation in Kolozsvár and to improve the conditions of public cleanliness. According to Elek Jakab, a historian of Kolozsvár, the measures resulted in “better constructions, paving of streets and squares and the cleaning of the main square”. However, due to high costs, the planned sewage line could not be built and therefore the water supply remained unresolved. The subsequent problems occurred during the 1831 cholera epidemic. At that

⁶ A legal and administrative category of Hungarian cities.

⁷ *Magyarország városainak háztartása, [Household of Hungarian cities]* 34–35; Schustler, „Városok vízellátása,” [Water supply of cities] 17; Melega, *A modern város születése*, 24. [Birth of the modern city]

⁸ A.K.A.: Gubernium. The most important political and administrative unit of the province

⁹ Egyed, Ákos, “Kolozsvár vonzáskörzete a XIX. században,” [The area of Kolozsvár in the 19th century] *Korunk*, no. 4 (1982): 281; Jakab, Elek, *Kolozsvár története III*, (Budapest, 1888), 617.

¹⁰ Mátyus, István, *Ó és Új diaetetica az az: az életnek és egészségnek fenn-tartására és gyámolgatására, Istentől adattatott nevezetesebb természeti eszközöknek való elszámolása*, [Old and new dietetics: to sustain and pamper life and health, considering well-known natural tools given from God] (Pozsony, 1787), 273.

time, Mihály Pataki, the judge of Kolozsvár, put the issue of water supply back on the agenda.¹¹ The acquisition of water was mainly ensured by drilling artesian wells and the establishment of a modern water supply was not considered at the time. Presumably, a lack of finance was the main obstacle here as well.

The issue of water supply was not addressed in the following decades either. However, this also includes the fact that during the revolution of 1848-49 and with the introduction of neo-absolutism, Kolozsvár suffered significant material damage and the town lost its administrative role.¹² Due to this, larger budget developments were mothballed. The water and sewage line design devised by architect Antal Kagerbauer in 1858 was probably rejected for this reason.¹³ Due to the new building regulations, Kagerbauer claimed that the construction of modern water supply and sewage systems had been crucial. He calculated that those sections of the regulation which concerned toilets, wells, digestion pits and sewage disposal required amendments that would be extremely costly. For that reason, he concluded that, in the long run, it would be better for the city to spend this amount on building a water and sewage network. In the case of both networks, he mentioned the benefits of convenience, aesthetic, security and cleanliness aspects but he did not go into the details. The main point of his design focused on financial considerations.

Despite all of Kagerbauer's efforts, the town disregarded his ideas, and the water supply and sewage line plan was not put on the agenda. The unfavourable financial situation of the town did not allow for the financing of such a large investment, moreover, the leaders of Kolozsvár were suspiciously reluctant to put a strain on the budget.

Changing Times

In the field of water supply and sewerage utilities, the first minor change came after the compromise of 1867 and the union with Hungary. Although Kolozsvár lost its status as the country's capital due to the union, the university and a number of new administrative offices have been established and in the meantime the railway system also reached the town. As a result of these changes, Kolozsvár became the second most important city in Hungary in terms of education, administration and culture. However, this sudden rise was not accompanied by a

¹¹ Jakab, *Kolozsvár*, [Kolozsvár] 612–613; 617–618; 670; 672–673; 898.

¹² Egyed, Ákos, „A korszerűsödő Kolozsvár három évtizede,” [3 decades of the modern Kolozsvár] in *Kőfallal, sárpalánkkal. Rendí társadalom – Polgári társadalom 7*, edited by Németh, Zsófia – Sasfi, Csaba (Debrecen, 1997), 90.

¹³ Kagerbauer, Antal, *Kolozsvár városa vízerezét, vízvezetését, kövezését, kanálisátíóját s a többi rendező terve*, [Plan of Kolozsvár's water, sewage, paving, channels and others] (Kolozsvár, 1858), 1–28.

modernizing of the city's infrastructure. The town's public lighting was provided by dimly lit kerosene lamps, the streets were mostly unpaved with only thirteen two-story buildings throughout the whole city while the city's centre alone had more than a hundred stables.¹⁴ At the same time, the established administrative and educational institutions significantly increased the prestige of Kolozsvár and had an impact on the way of thinking and the attitude of the urban elite. As the “capital of Transylvania”¹⁵, many believed that Kolozsvár should be worthy of its reputation and should move with the times. This can easily be found in the tone of articles published in contemporary dailies. In addition, the writings of the elite also show that Kolozsvár could not afford to lag behind. Obviously, this approach was characteristic of other cities as well but in the case of Kolozsvár it was even more emphatic as the authority, built over the centuries, greatly influenced urban public thinking. The most spectacular manifestation of this was the liveable environment and public cleanliness which were considered to be one of the most important measures of urban civilization: “The standard of a city's civilisation is expressed in the development of a sense of public cleanliness.”¹⁶ László Kőváry claimed.¹⁷ However, this could only be achieved by building a modern water and sewage system. In Kolozsvár, but, this only existed in theory as no concrete steps had yet been taken. At that time no Hungarian city had a sewerage network or water supply, only Budapest had a temporary waterworks. This fact certainly played a pivotal role in this situation.

The situation changed after the 1873 cholera epidemic.¹⁸ The epidemic highlighted the city's public sanitation problems as a result of which the issue of sewage and water system became a topic of public discourse. The leaders of the town planned to build a water facility but the unfavourable financial situation of Kolozsvár, which was further aggravated by the stock market crash of 1873, did not allow for it.¹⁹ From then on, the importance of public cleanliness and the water and sewerage system became more and more pronounced among the people of Kolozsvár.

¹⁴ Egyed, „A korszerűsödő,” 91; Kőváry, László, *Kolozsvár sz. kir. város lakosai és lakásai az 1869-70-ki népszámlálás szerint*, [Inhabitants and apartments of Kolozsvár, royal free city according to the 1869/70 census] (Kolozsvár, 1870), 11–12.

¹⁵ This one refers to the town's previous status as the title is used even today: Kolozsvár is the region's economic, educational and cultural centre.

¹⁶ Kőváry, László, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági és közegészségügyi mozgalmi és kívánalmi*, [Sanitation and public health movements and needs of Kolozsvár] (Kolozsvár, 1892), 12.

¹⁷ Kolozsvár resident, historian, statistician.

¹⁸ The 1873 cholera epidemic affected the population of Kolozsvár very severely. More than a thousand became ill and five hundred died from health complications of cholera. In Gál, Edina, „A kolozsvári kolerajárványok a sajtó tükrében,” [Kolozsvár's cholera epidemic in the press] *Erdélyi Krónika*, May 27, 2018, <https://erdelyikronika.net/2018/05/27/a-kolozsvari-kolerajarvanyok-a-sajto-tukreben/>

¹⁹ Simon, Elek, *Visszatekintés Kolozsvár sz. kir. törvényhatóságának hat évi önkormányzati közgazgatására 1874-79*, [Throwback to 6 years of Kolozsvár's public administration] (Kolozsvár, 1880), 10–12; *Magyar Polgár*, October 10, 1874.

In addition to the cholera epidemic, the medical department of the university, founded in 1872, the public health movement originating in England and arriving through Germany, the development of health science²⁰ and a wide-ranging information campaign in the local press may also have played an important role in changing attitudes. Perhaps the latter had the greatest impact on Kolozsvár. The opposition and pro-government press, often in competition with each other, demanded the establishment of a public sanitation infrastructure. Meanwhile, they were constantly following the progress of other cities and as soon as they learned of the development of a particular settlement, they expressed their deep disappointment: “Kolozsvár has just been overtaken by the city of Pozsony in the construction of the water facility. The foundations have been laid there recently.”²¹ Or they expressed their shock: “The small capital of Serbia, Belgrade, wants to build water supply and sewerage system Kolozsvár has been desperately waiting for so long”.²² Clearly, the press tried to put pressure on city administration by publishing this type of news.

In addition to the press, prominent inhabitants of the city, engineers, doctors, university professors decided to express their views in short essays and articles explaining why it was necessary for Kolozsvár to build a sewage and water system.²³ Most of them urged this for to public cleanliness reasons as the worsening hygiene conditions had a number of unfavourable consequences on public health.

Treasure town²⁴, Dirty town

The constantly deteriorating public cleanliness situation in Kolozsvár was mainly related to the growth in population and livestock. During the first 30 years of the compromise of 1867, the population of Kolozsvár grew by 75 per cent. As far as regional centres are concerned, only Zagreb witnessed greater population growth.²⁵ However, this rapid reproduction caused a severe cleanliness and housing crisis: “The number of permanent inhabitants is multiplying and the countryside is flooding in increasing proportions. In

²⁰ According to the Kolozsvár Medical and Natural Sciences Association, a water supply and sewerage system would greatly improve Kolozsvár public health conditions. In *Magyar Polgár*, April 27, 1877.

²¹ *Ellenzék*, August 27, 1884.

²² *Ellenzék*, November 5, 1884.

²³ Without aiming to give an exhaustive list: József Salamon doctor, Leó S. Pataky doctor, Rudolf Fabinyi professor, chemical engineer, Vilmos Gamauf teacher, agricultural specialist, Mihály Kugler city chief engineer, László Kővári historian, statistician.

²⁴ Nickname of Kolozsvár.

²⁵ Beluszky, Pál, “A polgárosodás törékeny váza – városhálózatunk a századfordulón,” *The fragile frame of civilisation – city network at the turn of the century*] *Tér és társadalom*. no. 3-4 (1990): 22.

the first place, everyone is shouting for an apartment...”²⁶ A slum near the downtown called Sáncaľja was in one of the worst situations. This settlement, mostly inhabited by marginalised day labourers and maids, without any kind of planning, was completely organic and even the most basic conditions of public cleanliness were lacking.²⁷ In Pata street, in the slum between Külmonostor street and Séta quare^{28 29} and in the Kétvízköz and Hidelve districts, conditions were very poor. These neighbourhoods had the highest number of people per room (one room / 3 - 3.2 people). Most of the one-story houses here had extremely low interiors. The rooms were small and dark and the walls were constantly wet. In the winter, the whole family crowded into a single room.³⁰ József Salamon, doctor in Kolozsvár, was examining the Kajántó street belonging to Hidelve district and he concluded that “there is no runoff of rainwater and it floods every time, stops there and becomes very smelly. The water evaporates only slowly by the heat of the sun always leaving rotting organic matter behind”. As a result, floors of the apartments are soaked, the walls were damp and “these are the nests and breeders of the malaria, typhus and scrofula especially in small children.”³¹

In addition, cesspools and manure hills multiplied throughout the town and it became increasingly difficult to dispose of faeces. Only a quarter of the human waste produced by the inhabitants was removed. Chemical analyses have shown that by the 1880s, almost all public wells contained some harmful substances.³² According to chemical engineer Rudolf Fabinyi, “some wells, almost without exception are immediately adjacent to rubbish hills and excrement and their water is yellowish and has a disgusting smell.” As the site plan shows, the Talpas well, for example, “is surrounded by rubbish hills and large cesspools.”³³ Therefore, the main cause of contamination was the improper construction of the toilets and cesspools which were not enclosed with masonry and the faeces entering there leaked into the wells.³⁴ “If we had cemented and emptied our

²⁶ cited by Egyed, *Korszerűsödő*, 97.

²⁷ Filep, Gyula, *A kolozsvári munkáslakásokról*, [About the workers' apartments of Kolozsvár] (Kolozsvár, 1902), 6–8.

²⁸ The biggest park in Kolozsvár.

²⁹ Kőváry, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági*, 14. [Sanitation of Kolozsvár]

³⁰ *Magyar Polgár*, August 11, 1883.

³¹ Salamon, József, *Kolozsvár népesedésének akadályai és javaslatok ezek elhárítására*, [Obstacles to the population of Kolozsvár and suggestions for overcoming them] (Kolozsvár, 1880), 23.

³² Fabinyi, Rudolf, *A vízről, levegőről, talajról, különös tekintettel Kolozsvár egészségügyi viszonyaira*, [About water, air, soil, and especially about the health conditions of Kolozsvár] (Kolozsvár, 1882), 47; S. Pataky, Leó, *Kolozsvár közegészségügye*, (Kolozsvár, 1893), 1; *Magyar Polgár*, March 18, 1881; *Magyar Polgár*, March 20, 1881.

³³ Fabinyi, *A vízről*, [About water] 41. 48.

³⁴ Salamon, *Kolozsvár népesedésének*, [Population] 23.

pits, would our soil be contaminated today?³⁵ – Kőváry asked the question years later. The water of Little Szamos, which used to be used for drinking, also became polluted. The contamination was again caused by the toilets.³⁶

Since Kolozsvár did not yet have systematically developed public cleanliness regulations, certain problems were present throughout the town: “the sludge is poured from every house onto the street in front of the gate, right next to the sidewalk rotting and stinking there in the summer and turning into an iceberg in the winter; it disintegrates into disgusting puddles in the spring, finally these turn into a disgusting conservatory of dangerous rot crops of animal and plant materials.”³⁷ In the absence of higher water pressure, the rudimentary ditches and ramparts could not wash away the dirt. “In the bed of our streets, [...] clean, fresh streams do not flow like diligent, agile carriers of the dirt gathered and accumulated through the ages; it hurts the sense of beauty, hurts our sense of smell and respiratory organs and it poisons both our soul and our body.”³⁸ In addition, there was a shortage of water in the town causing more and more problems for the population in obtaining the right amount and quality of water.³⁹

The resulting sanitary problems had an impact on the public health situation in Kolozsvár. If we take a look at the mortality rate in towns with municipal rights between 1880 and 1891,⁴⁰ we can see that the number of deaths per thousand people was remarkably high in Kolozsvár (1000 / 34.8). In the list of the towns with municipal rights (25), Kolozsvár ranked 22nd. However, according to the calculations of József Salamon, the death toll topped 40 in 1878. In addition, he claimed that: “The mortality rate is higher in Kolozsvár [...] than anywhere else in Europe.”⁴¹ According to his calculations, in the largest cities of Europe the number of deaths per thousand people was between 22 and 30 while in Kolozsvár it was over 40.⁴² The 1877 report by Mayor Simon Elek confirmed Salamon’s calculations. The Mayor’s report counted 39 deaths per thousand inhabitants.⁴³ Obviously, the European comparison seemed an exaggeration, but nonetheless, the mortality rate in Kolozsvár was incredibly high. The press described this as “another argument in favour of

³⁵ Kőváry, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági*, [Sanitation] 38.

³⁶ Kőváry, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági*, [Sanitation] 25.

³⁷ Salamon, *Kolozsvár népesedésének*, [Population] 25.

³⁸ Salamon, *Kolozsvár népesedésének*, [Population] 25.

³⁹ *Ellenzék*, May 2, 1882.

⁴⁰ *Közgazdasági és statisztikai évkönyv*, [Economic and statistical yearbook] (Budapest 1894-1895), 157.

⁴¹ Salamon, *Kolozsvár népesedésének*, [Population] 4. 10.

⁴² Salamon, *Kolozsvár népesedésének*, [Population] 20.

⁴³ Simon, Elek, *Évi jelentése Simon Elek kir. tanácsosnak, mint Kolozsvár sz. kir. város polgármesterének Kolozsvár sz. kir. város önkormányzati, igazgatási, anyagi és szellemi állapotáról az 1877-dik évben*, (Kolozsvár, 1878), 69. [Elek Simon’s annual report on the municipal, administrative, material and intellectual status of Kolozsvár in 1877]

the urgent need for a water and sewage system.”⁴⁴ According to contemporary observations, some of the deaths were indeed related to the lack of water and sewerage.⁴⁵

The Stimulant of the Economy?

In some cases, the construction of the water and sewage network was built due to pressure from the manufacturing industry. In the case of Kolozsvár, however, we cannot speak of a significant manufacturing industry. At the end of the 1860s, with the exception of the state-run tobacco factory, there were only three minor factories in Kolozsvár.⁴⁶ None of the 34 industrial joint-stock companies established between 1867 and 1873 in Transylvania and its smaller neighbourhood was located in Kolozsvár: this fact shows the considerable backwardness of the town.⁴⁷ The arrival of the long-awaited railway did not move things forward in the manufacturing industry either, only two new factories were established.⁴⁸ However, the factories in Kolozsvár had one thing in common: without exception, each was located next to a natural watercourse which meant that the amount of water needed for production - and everything else - was fully available. Therefore, the majority of the factory owners were not interested in building a water facility covering the entire town. Although there were some plants that were located far from the Szamos and the water supply would have been important for them. However, these were not influential enough to encourage the town start a development that would have cost hundreds of thousands of forints.

Nevertheless, some experts in Kolozsvár considered the economic significance of the water and sewage system crucial. In his work published in 1880, József Salamon claimed that two hundred people - or as he wrote “200 hundred adult workers” - a year could be saved as a result of the establishment of public sanitation infrastructure. He also calculated that the town would be “richer as we would save two hundred thousand forints with all this.”⁴⁹ The 1881 design of chief Engineer Mihály Kugler approached the economic significance

⁴⁴ *Ellenzék*, April 13, 1882.

⁴⁵ *Magyar Polgár*, April 27, 1877; *Magyar Polgár*, May 22, 1879; *Ellenzék*, February 15, 1881; *Ellenzék*, February 18, 1882; *Magyar Polgár*, December 17, 1903.

⁴⁶ A gyáripar fejlődésének akadályairól lásd: [Obstacles to the development of manufacturing industry, see]: Fazakas, László, “A kolozsvári gyáripar fejlődését gátló tényezők a dualizmus korában,” [Factors hindering the development of the Kolozsvár manufacturing industry in the age of dualism] *Erdélyi Krónika* May 29, 2020, <https://erdelyikronika.net/2020/05/29/a-kolozsvari-gyari-par-fejlodesenek-gatlo-tenyezoi-a-dualizmus-koraban/>

⁴⁷ Egyed, Ákos, *Falu, város, civilizáció*, [Village, city, civilisation] (Kolozsvár, 2002), 223–224.

⁴⁸ Fazakas, László, “Ipar és infrastruktúra kapcsolata a dualizmus kori Kolozsváron,” [The relationship between industry and infrastructure in Kolozsvár in the age of dualism] *Erdélyi Múzeum*, no. 1 (2020): 101–102.

⁴⁹ Salamon, *Kolozsvár népességének*, [Population] 35.

of the water and sewage system from a different perspective.⁵⁰ Kugler believed that the two utility networks would increase the value of local properties, bring new life to construction, and lead to significant investment. In his view, if they created those conditions of public cleanliness that met the needs of richer citizens, they would be happy to move into the city and build houses and, more importantly, they would also bring their property and capital as well. They would spend or invest their money there which would significantly assist in expanding the town's economy. At the same time, he was also aware that such a development would cost a sizeable amount of money. But, according to him, this could be solved in a manner that would also strengthen the economy of Kolozsvár eventually. Kugler suggested that the construction of the water and sewerage network should be established by local craftsmen and their salaries would remain in the town: in this way, a part of their tax would go back to the Treasury of Kolozsvár: "Bear in mind that at least half of the invested money would remain in Kolozsvár since day laborers, carriers, and such craftsmen involved in technical work as masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, household joiners, locksmiths and tinsmiths would find this a good source of income for at least half of the amount". In addition, a modern water facility could significantly help the town's economy by reducing the severity of accidental fires. Among the inhabitants of the town, the memory of the 1876 fire was still very much alive: 88 houses were burned down and 167 families became homeless.⁵¹ In his account, Mihály Kugler wrote: "If they do not meet with human resistance, natural forces know no boundaries in destruction: a town without a water facility could be burned down overnight, millions of belongings could be lost in an hour: all of these could have been saved by spending a few hundred thousand forints."⁵²

Although it is unknown to what extent Mihály Kugler's account influenced the decisions of the town leaders, the general assembly soon put the issue of water and sewage network on the agenda and they even announced a tender to which three companies applied. Eventually, referring to the town's unfavourable financial situation, none of these were accepted: "Yes, yes, water facilities and sewage systems would be great, but we shouldn't go over the top because Kolozsvár is a small and poor town and spending hundreds of thousands or millions would be a disaster for us" – recalled Antal Salamon, councillor, referring to the economical, cost-effective view of the town leaders.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Magyar Polgár*, April 1, 1881.

⁵¹ Simon, Elek, *Simon Elek polgármester jelentése Kolozsvár sz. kir. város 1876. évi önkormányzati, igazgatási, anyagi és szellemi állapotáról*, Elek Simon's annual report on the municipal, administrative, material and intellectual status of Kolozsvár in 1877] (Kolozsvár, 1877), 30.

⁵² *Magyar Polgár*, April 1, 1881.

⁵³ Cited by Ferenczi, Szilárd: *Kolozsvár várospolitikája 1890–1914*, PhD disszertáció, [Urban policy of Kolozsvár 1890-1914. PhD dissertation] (Kolozsvár, 2018), 156.

Ministry intervention

The Ferencz József University, founded in 1872, was one of the most important milestones in the development of Kolozsvár (as it is even today). In addition to science, education, culture and economy, it has also had a significant impact on the modernisation of the town. For example, the town established a waterworks thanks to the medical, life and public health institutes of the university. Later this functioned as the basis of the entire water supply system of the town.

The buildings of the university’s research institutes were almost completed by 1885 and a constant water supply was essential for their optimal operation. In order to solve this problem, the Minister of Religion and Public Education notified the council of Kolozsvár and ordered the construction of a waterworks for the university institutes.⁵⁴ Taking advantage of the opportunity and after a series of debates and negotiations, (the city council did not want to accept the financial plan submitted by the ministry), Kolozsvár’s leaders finally decided to finance the waterworks.⁵⁵ “The city has excellent intellectual and material interests in the university...” – that was the reason. The waterworks in Fásberek⁵⁶ was inaugurated in 1888. However, at this stage it only supplied water to the university, the promenade and two streets of the town.

The Ministry of Religion and Public Education and the university established in 1872 played a crucial role in the construction of the first modern waterworks and water facility in Kolozsvár. Negotiations with the ministry or in the general assembly were not straightforward. The main cause of the conflicts was the cost of the facility. The long hesitation of the local representatives demonstrated that, even if there were water supply problems in the town, they did not want to spend money to solve them. This is also confirmed by the fact that the water supply system built with the Ministry was only a partial solution as neither the water supply nor hygiene problems were solved. There are several reasons as to why the the town’s leaders were satisfied with this partial solution. Firstly, the waterworks implemented with the Ministry did not pose such a financial risk. No substitute taxes had to be imposed and this way, a politically sensitive and unpopular measure could be avoided. At the same time, the investment allowed them to claim that the town’s administration had done its best to improve the public cleanliness of

⁵⁴ Román Nemzeti Levéltár Kolozs Megyei Igazgatóság, Fond. 1. Kolozsvár Polgármesteri Hivatala - Közgyűlési jegyzőkönyvek, mikrofilmen [Romanian National Archives Cluj County Directorate. Cluj Mayor’s Office - Minutes of the General Meeting, on microfilm] (hereinafter: RNLt KMI, F1. Kgy. jk.): 1885. 96–97. f.

⁵⁵ RNLt KMI, F1. Kgy. jk. 1886. 218–219. f.; *Magyar Polgár*, 1886. október 16; *Ellenzék*, 1886. október 16.

⁵⁶ It is located in the eastern part of the city, enclosed by the Szamos and the mill-run.

Kolozsvár. Furthermore, they expressed their intention to extend the Fásberek water line to the entire town. This is indicated by their aim to advertise a tender for the works for which they started negotiations in the following years. It is important to note here that the construction of the sewage line was also planned at this time. However, both issues progressed very slowly, due to this, demands for the construction and expansion of the two systems increased. “The water facility is expected to be our salvation.”⁵⁷ – László Kőváry summed up the situation.

Consequences of the 1893 Cholera Epidemic

The Cholera epidemic reached Hungary in 1892. Considering the rapid spread of the epidemic, the city council of Kolozsvár took a series of preventive measures. A cholera hospital was built and passengers arriving at the train station and their luggage were disinfected daily. Meanwhile, aware of the city’s water supply and hygiene problems, Kőváry stated that: “[...] at whatever cost, the water facility is absolutely necessary...”⁵⁸ Regardless of Kőváry’s statement, the city assembly decided to extend the sewage line to the town’s main square.⁵⁹ Although there is no specific evidence of this, it can be assumed that the social background – “where the houses of our lords and wealthy people stand...”⁶⁰ – of the main square inhabitants played a major role in the extension of the sewage line. In addition, in May 1893, a new regulation of public sanitation entered into force stipulating that some of the public cleanliness tasks shall henceforth be carried out by the city authorities. This meant that the town would take care of the cleaning of streets, public spaces, pavements and the removal of litter (this did not include animal waste and manure as it was still to be disposed of by the owner of the apartment). However, the main points of the regulation were only relevant to certain parts of the town, mostly to the downtown and its surroundings.⁶¹

Despite the hasty measures, the cholera epidemic, compared to other Transylvanian cities, severely affected the population of Kolozsvár in 1893. If we take a look at the public health statement of the Hungarian Statistical Bulletins, we can see that in 1893, 128 people died as a result of the cholera epidemic in the town. The number of deaths alone was not high but if we compare this with the number of deaths in the surrounding counties

⁵⁷ Kőváry, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági*, [Sanitation] 27.

⁵⁸ Kőváry, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági*, [Sanitation] 30.

⁵⁹ Ferenczi, *Kolozsvár*, 159; Kőváry, *Kolozsvár köztisztasági*, 29.

⁶⁰ *Magyar Polgár*, Jun 12, 1883.

⁶¹ RNLt KMI, F1. Kgy. jk. 1893. 41–42. f.

and cities, significant differences can be observed. For example, in Marosvásárhely, only one person died from cholera while eleven deaths were registered in the whole county. 54 deaths were reported in Torda-Aranyos county, 8 in Beszterce-Naszód county and 61 in the county of Kolozs. In addition, in Transylvania, only 453 people died from cholera. From this perspective, the 128 registered deaths in Kolozsvár is comparatively high. This accounted for 28% of the total deaths in Transylvania. In Kolozsvár, the first cholera disease was registered on 21st July 1893 and the last on 30th October. During this time, 209 people became infected, 0.58% of the population. Out of the 209 registered patients, 128 died accounting for 61.24% of all infections. Therefore, over half of the patients died from health complications caused by cholera. The most critical month of the epidemic was August when 151 people became infected and 91 died.⁶²

The inhabitants of Kolozsvár were deeply affected by the cholera epidemic in several ways. On the one hand, the severity of the epidemic and the high mortality rate caused panic among the residents. On the other hand, the prestige of the town was also seriously impacted. The city produced the highest number of deaths in Transylvania despite having the second most excellent medical department in the country since 1872 with several prestigious medical professors founding the Medical-Natural Science Society in 1876 as well as launching a prestigious medical journal. In addition, the Institute of Chemistry was founded in 1882, while the State Chemical Experimental Station and the Institute of Life and Public Health were established in 1887. The first modern waterworks of the town was also inaugurated in 1887. Although the latter provided water to only a small part of the town, it did not matter in this case: the fact that Kolozsvár (for the first time in Transylvania) had established a waterworks was much more important. This symbolized progress and, as many contemporary studies claimed, the water facility played a significant role in preventing the epidemic.⁶³ Conversely, the local press reported that the sewage system transported contaminated water during the worst period of the epidemic.⁶⁴ Although it is unknown to what extent it was related to the spread of cholera, it certainly reflected negatively on the city administration and on local health institutions. In addition, the cholera epidemic was deliberately called “acidic gut inflammation”⁶⁵ which also give the authorities a bad name. It is unexplained why this was done, their goal was probably to conceal cholera. This step

⁶² “*Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1894*,” [Hungarian Statistical Bulletins] (Budapest, 1895), 83–85.

⁶³ Of course, only if the sewage line carried uninfected water. In a study by Asa Briggs, it was claimed that many people in Hamburg fell ill due to the sewage line. This is explained by the fact that the sewage carried contaminated water and there were no filtering facilities: therefore, nothing could prevent the spread of the cholera. In Asa Briggs “Cholera and Society in the Nineteenth Century,” *Past & Present*, no. 1 (1961): 78.

⁶⁴ *Kolozsvár*, August 28, 1893.

⁶⁵ Gastritis.

was somewhat counterproductive and made things even worse. The suburban population had no confidence in public health measures, and they were constantly revolting as a result, Kolozsvár came to the attention of the national press.⁶⁶ These events significantly reduced public confidence in the authorities.

After the epidemic, it became clear that the situation of public cleanliness, the regulation of water supply and the issue of a sewage system required immediate solutions. Accordingly, the construction of water and sewage system became paramount. In 1894, the town administration signed a contract with the Zellerin Corporation (which was responsible for the construction of the water facility) and Melocco (which was responsible for the sewage system) and building work started during that year.⁶⁷ The main pipes of the water and sewage network were laid within four years. By that time, however, the capacity of the Fásberek river basin, which had been built jointly with the Ministry, had been reduced to a minimum.⁶⁸ Some city councillors suggested that it should be expanded immediately, however, another group of city representatives did not support this idea since the river basin was constantly criticised from the public health point of view.⁶⁹ Eventually, the Interior Minister intervened and the two parties finally came to an agreement: they decided to build a new basin which was finally put into operation in 1898. By February 1897, only 315 lands had their own water facility (160 of them even had their own sewer), the demand for water and sewage had increased after the construction of the new basin. By 1903, 1,400 lands had their own water and drainage, with 3609 flush toilets and 925 bathrooms in use.⁷⁰

Summary

The construction of a modern water supply and sewerage infrastructure in Kolozsvár was primarily determined by the needs of society and the education sector while economic considerations were secondary in this case. As far as causes and events are concerned, four played a pivotal role in the town's life. The first was the growth of the population, the

⁶⁶ *Fővárosi Lapok*, August 22, 1893; *Pesti Napló*, August 22, 1893; *Pesti Hírlap*, August 22, 1893; *Budapesti Hírlap*, August 23, 1893.

⁶⁷ RNLT KMI, F1. Kgy. jk. 1894. 160–164. f.

⁶⁸ As soon as the water facility was established in a street, it was immediately used by the residents causing the water level in the catchment area to fall.

⁶⁹ Without water, neither the water supply nor the sewage network could function properly: therefore, water and sewage charges could not be levied. Due to this, they were unable to start repaying the loan. At the same time, there was a barn near the catchment area; later a pig farm was also established and it turned out that the adjacent plots were used as dumps.

⁷⁰ Riegler, Gusztáv – Filep, Gyula, *Vezető Kolozsvár városába*, [Leader to Kolozsvár] (Kolozsvár, 1903), 91–93.

deteriorating public cleanliness situation and the unfavourable mortality rates. The second was the increasing prestige of Kolozsvár and the resulting desire for modernization which was mostly represented by the press and the local elite. The third was the newly established university promoted by the ministry. Finally, the fourth was the 1893 cholera epidemic which forced the city administration to take action.

All these events made it possible for Kolozsvár to have one of the most modern technology-based sewage and water supply networks in the country before the turn of the century. The two utility networks brought immense benefits to the people of Kolozsvár and contributed greatly to the development of the modern urban way of life.

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ZSUZSANNA FEKETE

**Hungarian Adriatic Association in the Age of State-Building Nationalism.
Opportunities for a Hungarian ‘marine researcher’***

Pro&Contra 4

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Abstract

The Hungarian Adriatic Association (HAA) is evidence of the relationship between cultural nationalism and science in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. By examining the cultural and scientific activities of the middle class, which provided the association both with members and with audience, this article shows that at the time of the development of oceanography, cultural nationalism in Hungary had an impact on the development of numerous disciplines, e.g. history, geography. Through the connection between cultural nationalism and oceanography and by means of the seaport of dualistic Hungary (Fiume/Rijeka), the idea of the Hungarian empire is also manifested as a kind of condensation of the imperial attitude of the Monarchy. The emergence of the HAA followed Austrian and Italian models, and the professional career and relations of the founder and president of the association, Béla Gonda, help to understand the Hungarian oceanographic aspirations and to explore the results of the foundation and operation of the association.

Keywords: Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, cultural nationalism, Hungarian imperial thought, association, development of scientific disciplines, oceanography, geography, Hungarian Adriatic Association

If an individual at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was concerned with the geography and history of Hungary, then this person most likely participated in the activities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, secondary and higher education and was also a member of one of the related associations. (S)he would have had publications in the official gazette or been a publisher of the association and participated in international conferences representing her/his community. (S)he would have endeavoured to establish as many professional contacts as possible in the related institutions. After all, the era, particularly the age of Dualism, was beneficial for the rise of civic society and also for the formation of associations and the development of sciences. All of these were influenced by the dominant ideology of the era which was called nationalism.

With the establishment of the Hungarian Adriatic Association (HAA) on February 26, 1910, a small number of Hungarian marine researchers and oceanographers had similar opportunities. HAA was tasked with establishing by relying on the proverb¹ of the

¹ Go to the sea Hungarians! Go to the sea! In 1846, volume 8 of the weekly called *Hetilap* included one of his influential editorials (170–172) which later became a proverb: “*Go to the sea Hungarians!*”

prominent Reformist politician, Lajos Kossuth; however, the association wanted to combine this with the modernity of its own time and to lay the foundations of a new science² called oceanography at the service of the Hungarian state. Therefore, the primary question of this study is to what extent can oceanography be considered a nation- and state-building science and does it follow the example of history or geography in the Hungarian context? Although Hungarian efforts in the field of oceanography were influenced by Austrian and Italian research, mainly due to the Adriatic involvement, this international outlook and comparative analyses are not included in this study.

The second section of this study will focus on the career of Béla Gonda (1851–1933), the first head of HAA, who combined modern engineering and scientific knowledge with Hungarian state-building nationalism. It will examine his inauguration speech, as well as the annual progress reports presented by Nándor Koch at the 15th and 25th anniversary of the association with the aim of ascertaining the success of the association's activities and the efficiency of Béla Gonda's leadership. In terms of the functioning of cultural nationalism, the work of Gonda and the oceanographic activity of HAA will also be analysed. Our primary source is the association's own journal called "*A tenger*" [The Sea]. In addition, Béla Gonda's letters are also useful sources as he wrote about the organisation of the association and the editing of the above mentioned journal. The analysis of Béla Gonda's professional writings and HAA members are not included in this study: these will be the subject of a later research.

Nationalism in science

A significant number of scholars and writings dealt with the relationship between the nation and science: from these, historical science and geography play the most important role in nation-building. Therefore, based on his qualifications, his membership in the association and internal division, these are the most relevant for the examination of HAA and Gonda. Closely related to geography, oceanography is a discipline dealing with the description and research of the natural environment and the human dominated landscape. This was however supplemented by a strong historical approach during the operation of the association. Other departments and areas such as ethnography or administration could be examined as well but this study does not include these aspects.

²Observations of the sea date back to the ancient times but its scientific investigation began with the development in shipping in the Western world with the formation of committees, the establishment of institutes, and the organization of expeditions. For the history of modern oceanography see Eric Mills, *Biological Oceanography: An Early History 1870–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). 9–10., 13–17.

The Hungarian Historical Society, established in 1867, or the Hungarian Geographical Society, established in 1872, served as a point of reference for the HAA. With their foundation, these associations emphasized the autonomy of the discipline and carried out activities in which they organised a museum, published a yearbook, a journal and so on. They were of national importance but were often supplemented by smaller associations organized in a given county seat. The Transylvanian Museum Society was another point of reference for the HAA. With several internal departments, it had a diverse cultural profile and operated as a smaller academy of science.³ This idea was in line with the concept of cultural and scientific nationalism which claimed that the elaboration of modern European national consciousness was the task of historians and philologists. A national identity is created by the definition of national characteristics: by relying on myths and symbols, a common remembrance essentially equates to a cultural community. Nationalism is not just an ideology or a political doctrine. It creates a national community which is also an identity construct with a cultural entity: this includes religion and beliefs. It is a permanent system of ideas that is suitable for state-building and community organization. Complemented by historicism, it thus became a social treasure beyond the narrow elite of the era.⁴ During the construction of a nation, nationalism was also often associated with the need to create a national culture. Thus, in nation construction, we distinguish between political and cultural nationalism. The former serves to create a sovereign nation-state while the latter fights for community cohesion. The actors of cultural nationalism are primarily artists and scholars who endeavour to synthesize national feeling and thought by filling political nationalism with moral content (e.g. equality of its citizens or language unification). The national philosophy of cultural nationalism is organic and is built by the intellectuals.⁵ It aims to construct and strengthen a spiritual community and to renew the system of collective identity. In the 19th century, there was an increased demand for a professional, rational cognition. The role of sciences had increased and the national aspect as a topic and approach had also started to appear in all disciplines. The nation as a constant factor was to be constantly present in thought, institutions and in political will. As a result of cultural nationalism, historical

³ Kósa László, *Magyar művelődéstörténet [Hungarian Cultural History]* (Budapest: Osiris, 2006), 364.

⁴ Gyáni Gábor, "Kulturális nacionalizmus és a tudományok: a történetírás példája," [Cultural Nationalism and Science: An Example of Historiography] in *Nemzet és tudomány Magyarországon a 19. században* ed. Bollók Ádám and Szilágyi Adrienn (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2017), 11-12.

⁵ Political and cultural nationalism are not necessarily separate but their sources are different. In the case of political nationalism, the voluntarist conception of the nation is a characteristic feature, which can be traced back to the Age of Enlightenment. Cultural nationalism is characterized by romanticism and the organic conception. John Hutchinson, "Kulturális nacionalizmus," [Cultural Nationalism] in *Tudomány és művészet a magyar nemzetépítés szolgálatában* ed. Cieger András and Varga Bálint (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2017), 21.

science examines the national spirit and the national self-consciousness. It also conveys them to the present as a result of which it ensures the survival of cultural nationalism.⁶ Based on these, it can be stated that cultural nationalism was also manifested in the objectives of HAA: the association wished to research the Adriatic Sea as scientifically as possible, as well as to introduce it to the whole society. It can therefore be assumed that Béla Gonda met the expectations of the era when formulating these goals at the HAA.

The Adriatic Sea as a Location and a Tool

An important part of national identity is the location where the nation lives. Geography, a science institutionalized in the 19th century, has always been characterized from a historical point of view: on the other hand, however, it has also served to describe this location mentioned above. Geography later made a distinction between natural geography and social geography: this way, it sought connections between locations created by nature and human beings. Since the territorial dimension is part of national identity it also indicates the individual's attachment to his or her environment. Geography sought to describe this space, creating a tangible, perceptible landscape. On its drawn maps, geography legitimized the nation's state territory and its own place in the field of sciences.⁷

According to the HAA, the Adriatic Sea is the space to which the nation must be attached: this could occur via the only seaport of the country (as a separate entity without an actual land connection), called Rijeka. In the age of Dualism, the nationalization of the natural landscape was characteristic but the creation of the internal cohesion of the nation had the opposite effect on ethnic underdevelopment. (See the stereotype of modernizing Hungarians and underdeveloped Croats.)⁸ On the Hungarian side, it was a motivating factor that the 1868 Croatian-Hungarian settlement did not solve the legal situation of Rijeka and its surroundings: as a result, the Hungarian elite attempted to seize the territory and nationalize it. During the Compromise of 1867, it proved its worth on the initiative of

⁶ Gyáni “Kulturális nacionalizmus és a tudományok: a történetírás példája,” [Cultural Nationalism and sciences: an example of history writing], 17–19.

⁷ Szilágyi Adrienn, “A tudományos nacionalizmus szolgálatában – A 19. századi földrajztudomány a nemzetépítő diszciplínák között,” [At the service of scientific nationalism - 19th century geography among nation-building disciplines] in *Nemzet és tudomány Magyarországon a 19. században*, ed. Bollók Ádám and Szilágyi Adrienn (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2017), 58–59.

⁸ Eszik Veronika, “A magyar horvát tenger mellék, mint nemzetiesített táj. Adalék az intézményesülő földrajztudomány és a nemzetépítés kapcsolatához,” [The Hungarian Croatian coast as a nationalized landscape. An account of the relationship between institutionalized geography and nation building] *Korall* 16, no. 62 (2015): 75–96.

Ferenc Deák but the territory was provisionally placed under the direct rule of Hungary by a royal decree. However, this situation was unacceptable to the Croats throughout the age of Dualism. This had a double effect as, on the one hand, the legal situation of Rijeka was the subject of constant controversy and, on the other hand, the Hungarians initially sought to start a moderate nationalisation procedure and they rather set their goals in the North Adriatic region according to economic and trade aspects. With the help of modernisation, the Hungarians endeavoured to expand and consolidate their sovereignty by gaining and retaining the support of Rijeka residents paying special attention to the Italian⁹ elite who ruled the city. That's why they did not concentrate on great nationalist demonstrations or such direct manifestations of Hungarianization as the national coat of arms and flag or parades. However, in political pamphlets, literary works and in the press a concept of the "Hungarian sea" was promoted. They wanted to introduce it scientifically and educationally both in the Hungarian environment and in the international scene as well. Nevertheless, in the light of the events following the First World War, it can be said that the standard of living and economic progress could not conceal or resolve the growing nationalist Slavic or irredent Italian voices following the Hungarian millennium in 1896 which sought to overthrow Hungarian rule. Despite the fact that it was not the "Hungarian repression" that caused the greatest tension among the locals, Slavic, (mainly Croatian) nationalism and Italian irredenta aspirations could not be neutralized by the Hungarian state's investments and developments. The social problems of the rapidly developing city and the combined effect of the parallel growing nationalisms stretched this diverse environment.¹⁰

Returning to the Hungarian aspects, the Hungarian state attempted to initiate state-building on its "separate entity" by strengthening the Hungarian cult of the area in the given multicultural environment and using its integrative effect both in Rijeka and in Hungary. This effort had the greatest impact on the mobile urban middle class who were then encouraged by the Hungarians to protect their individualized home.¹¹ An example of state-building in Rijeka is the series of developments that started with the construction of the port initiated by Minister Gábor Baross. By following the tendency of ship names, the growing influence of cultural nationalism could be clearly seen. With the help of state

⁹ 1881 Census: 214 and 1910 Census: 458-459. According to the 1880 census, the population of Rijeka was 20,981, of which 8,999 were Italian, 7,669 were Croatian-Serbian and 367 were Hungarian. The 1910 census involved 49,806 people of whom 24,212 were Italians, 12,926 Croats (and a further 425 Serbs), and 6,493 Hungarians.

¹⁰ For more about Hungarians at the turn of the century and Croatian-Hungarian/Italian-Hungarian relations see : Juhász Imre, *Fiume. Egyközép-európai város és kikötő a hatalmi érdekek metszéspontjában [Rijeka. A Central European city and port at the intersection of power interests]* (Budapest: Heraldika, 2020), 236-267.

¹¹ Hutchinson, "Kulturális nacionalizmus," [Cultural Nationalism] 27-28.

subsidies, the Hungarian Adriatic joint stock company started to develop steam navigation and the first ships were named after its board members like Jókai, Szapáry, Tisza or Baross.¹² However, when Baross was appointed as a minister in 1889, all ships were named after great figures of Hungarian history (e.g. Árpád or King Matthias): this clearly demonstrated that the given ship was financed by the Hungarian state and there to serve Hungarian interests. In order to increase Hungarian power in the city, they purchased several plots and land though they did not intervene in the main structure of the city. It is true however, that the place of the filling of the sea was built up. These were such emblematic buildings as the railway station, the market, the governor's palace and the Adriatic palace (its counterpart was later constructed in Budapest). Mór Jókai, the founder of the Adriatic cult in modern Hungarian literature¹³ also stated in his speech in the House of Representatives that the Hungarianisation of the coast can only be the result of very conscious work.¹⁴ The Hungarian coast appeared in children's literature thanks to Viktor Garády (director of the Institute of Biology in Rijeka, founded with state support in 1905¹⁵, strictly for scientific and professional purposes)¹⁵ and in travel descriptions by Géza Kenedi, writer and Member of Parliament. As for associations, the Hungarian Tourist Association had a department in Rijeka and later became part of the Carpathian Association. In addition, the Hungarian Geographical Society was another key factor thanks to one of its vice-presidents, Rezső Havass who considered Rijeka as a key to Hungary's expansion in the Balkans.¹⁶ Havass was also a member of HAA having a good relationship with Gonda. It is important to note that according to researchers, the activities of the Hungarian state in Rijeka should not be

¹² Eszik Veronika, "Közelebb hozni a tengert az ország szívéhez.' A magyar tenger megalkotása (1868-1914)," [Bringing the sea closer to the heart of the country.' The creation of the Hungarian sea] in *Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület I. szakosztályában*, ed. Egyed Emese and Pakó László and Sófalvi Emese (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2019), 241.

¹³ Jókai's three novels based on Adriatic: *A Player Who Wins* (1882); *The Three Marble Heads* (1887); *The Place Where Money Is Not A God* (1904).

¹⁴ Speech by Mór Jókai at the session beginning on September 24, 1881. Eszik, "Közelebb hozni a tengert az ország szívéhez.' A magyar tenger megalkotása (1868-1914)," [Bringing the sea closer to the heart of the country.' The creation of the Hungarian sea], 236.

¹⁵ "A fumei biológiai intézet," [The Institute of Biology in Rijeka] *Gazdasági Mérnök* 29, no. 16 (1905): 124–125.

¹⁶ Havass Rezső, *Dalmácia Magyarországhoz való vonatkozásaiban különös tekintettel Fiumére* [Relationship of Dalmatia and Hungary with special regard to Rijeka] (Budapest: Fritz Ármin, 1898). Havass 1898. Summarised by: Romsics Ignác, „A magyar birodalmi gondolat,” [The Hungarian imperial idea] in *Műltről a manak: tanulmányokéesség a magyartörténelemről*, ed. Romsics Ignác (Budapest: Osiris, 2004), Romsics 2004: 121–159.; Demeter Gábor, „A modernizációtól a kolonizációs törekvésekig. Magyar utazók, politikusok és gazdasági szakírók a balkáni feladatokról. (a 19. századi annexiós krízisig),” [From modernization to colonization efforts. Hungarian travelers, politicians and economic experts on tasks in the Balkans. (until the 19th century annexation crisis)] *Századok* 152, no. 2 (2018): 284–316. Demeter 2018: 284–316.

considered as expansionist or imperialist.¹⁷ At the same time, the Hungarian, south-east oriented imperial idea of thought dates back to the 19th century: just think of the activities of István Széchenyi, the “Greatest Hungarian”, on the development of steam navigation on the Danube and the Black Sea, or even the ideas of the former Minister of Finance of the Monarchy, Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Béni Kállay, on Bosnia in connection with the annexation. According to Kállay, in line with the era, the titles of the Hungarian great power were based on history, civilization and security policy.¹⁸ From an imperial point of view, Kállay found Bosnia and Herzegovina favourable for the construction of a political nation since Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of Hungary in the sense of public law, however, instead of a political unity, it had a cultural unity. He also connected all this with the Roman Empire claiming that the annexation was a direction of the Hungarian imperial policy along the routes built by the Romans: by this, the country could take its strength and civilization to the south.¹⁹ The main point of the Balkan expansion was to separate people living there from the Russian and Pan-Slavic influence: in this way, the Monarchy and Hungary could have a green light to go on a free path. The Hungarian great power fully played its role in the Habsburg Empire as they had the opportunity to manage common affairs. During his ministry of finance between 1882 and 1903, Kállay was in charge of these affairs.²⁰

Oceanography and State Building: Why are we on the Adriatic?

Oceanography was also a nation- and state-building science in the interpretation of the HAA – at least this is indicated by the speeches of Béla Gonda. At the inaugural meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Gonda said that the association has a dual purpose: scientific-social and cultural. His speech was certainly self- and programme-defining for HAA. He spoke not only about the structure of the association but also about the reasons for creating HAA. Their aim was to explore and disseminate Hungarian memories and to achieve Hungarian results in marine research. In addition, they wished to provide an expert report to support sea-related government work in ministries. Gonda repeatedly referred to

¹⁷ Eszük, “Közelebb hozni a tengert az ország szívéhez’. A magyar tenger megalkotása (1868-1914)”, [Bringing the sea closer to the heart of the country. The creation of the Hungarian sea] 243.

¹⁸ Romsics Ignác, “A magyar birodalmi gondolat,” [The Hungarian imperial idea] 121–159.

¹⁹ Dán Károly, “Kállay Béni és a magyar imperializmus. Egy bátortalan kísérelt maradványai,” [Béni Kállay and the Hungarian imperialism. Remains of a timid experiment.] *Aetas* 15, no. 1 (2002): 220–221.

²⁰ Ifj. Bertényi Iván, “A magyar birodalmi gondolatról’ – az I. világháború előtt,” [About the „Hungarian imperial idea” - before World War I.] *Kommentár* 2, no 4. (2007): 53–54.

Croatia and the negative tendency of the Croatian-Hungarian relationship however, he did not name them explicitly. According to Gonda, the association did not promote Hungarian occupation but only drew attention to the Hungarian aspects of Rijeka and the Adriatic. The task of the association was to find out what scientific research could do to strengthen those aspects in the field of state developments.²¹

In parallel, it is important to mention Gonda's contemporary, Sándor Márki (1853–1925), who graduated in history and geography and was a professor at the University of Cluj-Napoca where he taught universal history. In addition to university textbooks, he published works on local history and wrote a monograph on Francis II Rákóczi and György Dózsa who was the leading figure of the 16th century peasant war. Based on his professional and political views, Márki had a complex personality as he simultaneously supported the kuruc-based independence idea and the left-wing, plebeian-democratic views as well. Encouraged by Kálmán Thaly, a writer, poet and politician, Márki's trilogy on Rákóczi was national and romantic but in his local history writings he had an understanding of national aspirations. However, he was always dismissive of Vienna.²² Compared to Márki, Gonda was not dismissive of Vienna, as the organisation of the MAE was based on the Austrian model where Gonda envisioned it within the imperial framework of the dualistic Monarchy. However, his relationship with Croatia highlighted a contrasting picture as, on the one hand he had an understanding of their aspirations (like Márki) and he believed in a peaceful coexistence but on the other hand, he rivalled the Croatian oceanographic initiatives for the interests of the association. This was linked to the rivalry between Trieste and Rijeka and the strong West Slavic presence in Trieste. Due to Habsburg's imperial aspirations, the Czechs had a significant amount of capital in the North Adriatic.²³ This made the Hungarian strategy even more complicated in the multicultural area and Gonda surely recognised this. It is known that Gonda and Márki were friends and Gonda tried to involve him in the activities of the association. From 1914, he wrote that *“Let me recommend the significant operation of our cultural and patriotic association and let me kindly ask you to contribute to the realisation of the goals of our association with your diligent activities.”*²⁴ On the one hand, he relied on his historic works and asked him to submit such writings as Rákóczi's Adriatic

²¹ “Magyar Adria Egyesület,” [Hungarian Adriatic Association] *Budapesti Hírlap* February 27, 1910: 1.

²² More about Sándor Márki's life, political attitude, and historian's evaluation in Hungarian history see: Romsics Ignác, *Clio bűvöletében. Magyar történetírás a 19–20. században – nemzetközi kitekintéssel* [Under the spell of Clio. Hungarian historiography in the 19th and 20th centuries - with an international perspective] (Budapest: Osiris, 2011), 150–152.

²³ Klabjan Borut ““Scramble for Adria”: Discourses of Appropriation of the Adriatic Space Before and After World War I,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 42, (April 2011) 22–23.

²⁴ Béla Gonda to Sándor Márki. 1914. június 2. MTA KIK KtMs 5161/1025-1062

Plans, published in 1915, or Hungarian rule on the Adriatic: a historical sketch, published by HAA's own publisher, the Hungarian Adriatic Library. On the other hand, Gonda tried to involve Márki in such initiatives as the Hungarian Fleet Calendar²⁵ or teaching sea studies in public education. Márki kindly accepted these offers. They remained friends after WWII: he wrote that *"Our old connection to the Adriatic - hopefully not forever - was cut off by the Yugoslavs. But we must not give up the Adriatic. We will maintain our scientific work on the Adriatic and we will also keep historical traditions"*.²⁶ Gonda's friendship with Márki is important because, on the one hand, it indicates Gonda's network of contacts he used to promote the goals of the association and, on the other hand, he may have been influenced by Márki's historical work. Gonda's letters to Márki have a patriotic tone and are clearly about the nationalization of the Adriatic.

Self-evaluation and praise

At a ceremonial general meeting held on the 15th anniversary of the association on 25th March 1925, Nándor Koch gave a review of its activities in the Múzeum körút building where he evaluated HAA's performance in terms of its goals. According to his questionable statement, the association was organized entirely on its own without any government support. It should be noted here that after the formation of the association in 1910, before the First World War, the Hungarian government could not give a clear answer to the questions in connection with HAA. Gonda's request for supporting HAA's activities implementing its objectives was reviewed by the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Commerce and the Joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs: it raised a number of questions of public law and diplomacy. Recognizing the cultural significance of the association, governmental bodies did not reject material support however, HAA was harshly criticised by the Ministry of Commerce for questioning the feasibility of its goals and the strength of the social cohesion behind the association.²⁷ Due to his previous work and personal connections, Gonda was able to learn about this.

During the above mentioned anniversary, Koch stated claimed that HAA was a *"new cultural organization leading to the expansion of Hungarian science and became more widespread."*²⁸ Koch

²⁵ The release of this was not possible due to the war. MTI Daily News 1922. április 4.52.

²⁶ Béla Gonda to Sándor Márki, June 30, 1916. MTA KIK KtMs 5161/1025-1062. Márki Sándor, "A tenger történetének tanítása," *A Tenger* 5, no. 6 (1916): 209–221 It was published entitled 'Teaching the History of the Sea: 'A Tenger'

²⁷ Documents no. MNL OL K 26 1914-XLI-5225. A 6211-910, 6655-910, 778-911, 5061-911, 7128-911, 6652-912..

²⁸ Koch Nándor, "Tizenöt év a Magyar Adria Egyesület történetéből," [15 years of the Hungarian Adriatic Association] *A Tenger* 15, no. 4–6 (1925): 39.

stated that, with its development, HAA set itself a national task and in its second year, it had a firm social base (in 1911 it had 600 members!).²⁹ To be able to do this, HAA needed to launch *The Sea* journal which could help the association overcome the “indifference of Turan”. The significance of the association was defined culturally by *The Sea*, as the journal was the only Hungarian paper that contained knowledge and information about the sea. The journal provided an opportunity for Hungarian professionals to publish their writings and, by building its foreign relations, the association achieved its goal of operating a unique library in Budapest where Hungarian scientists who were concerned with the sea and its wildlife could share their knowledge internationally. Actually, Koch based HAA’s solid legitimacy on the two marine research expeditions,³⁰ which he said were the most important accomplishments of the organization and its leader, Béla Gonda. They managed to finance it through donations. They could not purchase their own ship due to the outbreak of the war. In addition to scientific management, Koch also emphasised HAA’s educational activities which were conducted through public lectures before the war: by this, the association reached rural audiences as well. HAA tried to establish further contacts with the actors and special writers of the navy, and they participated in such significant events as the launch of the battleship *St. Stephen*. Koch drew special attention to the fact that not only the representative of the Hungarian imperial ideal, the influential newspaper owner, Jenő Rákosi donated a silk flag to the battleship but HAA also made a plaque handed over by Béla Gonda at the ceremony. According to Koch, the importance of HAA has been enhanced by the rank of its patrons as Charles IV accepted the patronage of the association as the king of the country³¹ and Admiral Haus Antal (1851–1917), the head of the naval department of the Ministry of Defense of the Austro-Hungarian army

²⁹The only association census of Dualism was in 1878 but the usability and relevant information was questionable from the point of view of the Hungarian Adriatic Association. However, it can still show that the reason for Nándor Koch’s pride in connection with membership was justified as, according to the 1878 census, an association had an average lifespan of 10 years and a membership of 169 people. This was far surpassed by MAE. More about the census of associations see Kósa, *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* [Hungarian Cultural History], 362–363.

³⁰The Hungarian marine research expedition, organised by the Hungarian Adriatic Association, took place twice with the *Najade* ship in the autumn of 1913 and in the spring of 1914. The research work focused on water quality, seabed and the fauna and flora with comprehensive measurements and the collection of samples. These were processed and published by the association. Biologist Gyula Leidenfrost took part in both expeditions and he wrote his experiences in the books called *Keserű Tenger* [Bitter Sea] (1936. Budapest) and *Kék Adria* [Blue Adriatic] (1937. Budapest). In addition, other MAE members have also published. List of studies and books published up to 1940: Kolosváry Gábor, “A két ‘Najade’-expedíció irodalma,” [Literature of the two *Najade* expeditions] *A Tenger* 30, no. 10-12 (1940): 87–88

³¹Charles IV also sent his own lines and a portrait of him in a uniform: the association could have used this letter for the Calendar of the Hungarian Fleet.. MNL OL MTI 1922. április/11922-04-04.52. [MTI Daily News April 4, 1922 .52.]

was another patron of the association (this contradicts the lack of government support). Later, Governor Miklós Horthy also accepted the patronage request and, in his letter he encouraged all patriots to join the association. During World War I, the association was dedicated to conducting war reports about the sea and after Trianon it remained committed to rebuilding the country by all means of culture.³²

In his speech at the 25th anniversary assembly, Koch also evaluated the operation of the association. As a prelude to the MAE, Koch mentioned the booklet called *Hungarian Adriatic* published in 1909 by László Tápay-Szabó (1874–1941), a cultural historian and journalist, the Secretary General of HAA. The booklet was about the establishment of the association's predecessor, the Hungarian Adriatic Committee. The committee would have operated primarily as a scientific body but Koch admitted that in line with the established mission of the cultural association of the era, an association targeting a wider section of society would also have been added to the committee. The main reason for this was to obtain the resources needed for the operation of the committee, a significant part of which was brought by the association from membership fees and donations.

Béla Gonda, Minister Councillor and Aspiring Cultural Engineer

Szólóské is a village located in the immediate vicinity of Borsi, the birthplace of Francis II Rákóczi. Today, it is in the county of Kosice, Slovakia. Béla Gonda, engineer and minister councillor, was born there on 28th December, 1851. According to contemporary descriptions, the Bodrog-side village had 375 inhabitants at that time, 280 of whom were members of the Reformed.³³ Gonda, the father of Béla Gonda, served as the pastor of the community: thanks to his efforts, new church was built by 1838/39.³⁴ The Gonda family was an old noble family from Zemplén County. On 18th November, 1631, Balázs Gonda was awarded a Hungarian noble title by Ferdinand II.³⁵ Béla Gonda completed his secondary school studies in Sárospatak in 1869 and went on to study water engineering at

³² Koch, "Tizenöt év a Magyar Adria Egyesület történetéből" [15 years of the Hungarian Adriatic Association], 39–46.

³³ Fényes Elek, *Magyarország geographiai szótára, melyben minden város, falu és puszta, betűrendben körülményesen leíratik. IV.* [Geographical dictionary of Hungary in which all cities, villages and plains are described in details and in an alphabetical order] (Pest: Kozma Vazul, 1851).

³⁴ Szólóskéi Református Egyházközség. [Szólóské Reformed Church] http://www.refzem.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=94&Itemid=503

³⁵ Szinyei József, *Magyar írók élete és munkái. 3. kötet, [Life and Works of Hungarian Writers 3]* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvkereskedés, 1894), 1278.

the universities of Budapest and Vienna until 1875.³⁶ As flooding was a recurring problem in his home village near the Bodrog, this fact may have played a role in his career choice.³⁷ Gonda may have also been influenced by the general popularity of the cultural engineering profession in the 19th century as the works aimed at transforming the natural environment were being carried out to the greatest extent in that century.³⁸ A stable career could have been attractive to Gonda as well. In order to understand his personality and his life path, it is worth highlighting some important events, institutions and actors.

Gonda's life was defined by associations and professional journals. As an undergraduate, he began his career in 1873 in the Torontál Flood Relief Association. Throughout his life, he collected and published his professional experience and knowledge in the form of textbooks and studies. After having finished his task in Torontál county, he published his first 32-page paper called *Tisza Locks in Torontál County* supported by the Hungarian Society of Engineers and Architects. The other association called the Tisza-valley Association, was established to regulate the Tisza: at its meetings, Gonda was in charge of the minutes and he diligently took notes on the issues of the meeting. The official gazette of the association called *Economic Engineer* was also launched by Gonda.

Gonda reached his full potential in the ministry. From the 1880s, he worked in the Ministry of Agriculture where he dealt with water affairs and the regulation of the Iron Gates. After some reorganisation, he continued this work in the newly formed Ministry of Commerce. It is important to mention his colleagues here: Gonda presumably took inspiration from them for his professional work. Engineers graduated from the Technical University of Buda formed the expert staff of Minister Gábor Baross³⁹ providing an appropriate professional base in river regulation or port construction which were of national importance. Therefore, Gonda's career trajectory was similar to his talented contemporaries.

In the first half of the 19th century, water works were mostly carried out at the county level administered by manorials. However, there was a lack of technical intelligence to lead these. The first generation studied at the Institut Geometrico Hydrotechnicum in Pest; an engineering institute founded by Joseph II. Among others, Pál Vásárhelyi,

³⁶ Ágoston István, *A nemzet inžsellerei II. Vízmérnökök élete és munkássága XVIII–XX.sz.* [Engineers of the Nation II. The life and work of water engineers in the 18th and 20th centuries] (Szeged: Alsó-Tisza vidéki Vízügyi Igazgatóság, 2002) 115–118.

³⁷ Borovszky Samu, *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Zemplén vármegye és Sátoraljaiújhegy* [Counties and cities of Hungary. Zemplén County and Sátoraljaiújhegy] (Budapest: Apollo Irodalmi Társaság, 1905), 113.

³⁸ Kósa, *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* [Hungarian Cultural History], 318–319.

³⁹ Fejér László, "150 éve született Kvassay Jenő, a dualizmus korának kiemelkedő vízügyi vezetője," [Jenő Kvassay, an outstanding leader of water management at the age of Dualism, was born 150 years ago] *Honismeret* 28, no. 4 (2000): 46–48

the regulator of the Lower-Danube and the Tisza, graduated here.⁴⁰ Gonda considered him as a role model and he even wrote his autobiography.⁴¹ Another important phase in Gonda's consciously constructive professional career was his business trips in the 1890s. He travelled to France and Germany and he also attended the Hague Congress as Hungary's delegate. Hungary's 19th-century water works gained recognition at the European level as the largest proportion of flood-relief areas on the continent could be found in the Carpathian Basin on the continent (ahead of The Netherlands and Italy).⁴² It also received an entry in the lexicon of József Szinnyei (1830–1913):⁴³ according to this, his university professor, Kálmán Szily (1838–1924) encouraged Gonda to commence his specialist literary activity. Some of his studies were published in the *Journal of Natural Science* and in the *Hon.* In the autumn of 1876, on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture, he traveled all across the country. Based on his observations, he wrote a number of articles on soil improvement and rice production. He founded the *Economic Engineer* (1877), edited and published the *Technical Weekly* in 1881, the *Exhibition Bulletin* (1884–1885), and the *Water Management Gazette* (1886–1887).⁴⁴ Gonda also took part in the editing and writing of Samu Borovszky's edition called *Hungary's Counties*: Gonda was responsible for the section on Rijeka and Torontál county.

The Final Task – the Hungarian Adriatic

In the last third of his illustrious career, Gonda published a series of translations of foreign books and articles; he had several scholarly articles in the many journals he edited and the many books from his field. At this time, politicians and scholars elected him president of the Hungarian Adriatic Association. According to the report of *Budapesti Hírlap*, nearly one hundred and fifty people attended the meeting, academics, university and private teachers, museum leaders and representatives and a large number of high school teachers as well. Based on the elected positions, under the chairmanship of Gonda, historian Albert

⁴⁰ Kósa, *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* [Hungarian Cultural History], 319.

⁴¹ Béla Gonda's 284-page book called *The Life and Works of Pál Vásárhelyi* was published in 1896 by the Society of Engineers and Architects. He also asked József Szinnyei for help in his work when they were writing about the life and work of Hungarian writers.. Béla Gonda to József Szinnyei. September 10, 1902. MTA KIK Kt. Ms776/344-349.

⁴² Kósa, *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* [Hungarian Cultural History], 322.

⁴³ Béla Gonda to József Szinnyei, October 23, 1894 MTA KIK Kt. Ms776/344-349.

⁴⁴ Tisza István, "Gonda Béla műveinek bibliográfiája," in „*A Közlekedési Múzeum Évkönyve VII.*” [Bibliography of the works of Béla Gonda] (1983–84) III. rész. *A Közlekedési Múzeum gyűjteményeiből*, (Budapest: Közlekedési és Dokumentációs Vállalat, 1985), 635–641.

Berzeviczy (1853–1936), president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Count Pál Teleki (1879–1941), later prime minister, renowned geographer and Dezső Csánki (1857–1933), head of the National Archives, later secretary of state and director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences became head of department.⁴⁵

Gonda may have been chosen based on his personality and expertise as his private life was not attached to the sea. In Rijeka, he only concentrated on his office work: he had no other interests there. He was not a member of the upper class so great opportunities did not come by simply mentioning his name. He had no capital that could have occasionally provided a financial base to his affairs. It may have seemed that, until then he had not been actively involved with the study of the Hungarian sea. However, this would not explain his later activity and his diligence as leader of the association. One of the early signs of his interest in the sea and Rijeka was when in a letter dated 10th September 1902, he asked József Szinnyei, the founder of the Hungarian newspaper collection, to provide him with the 8th edition of *Pesti Hírlap*. Gonda wanted to photocopy it since the edition contained Lajos Kossuth's famous call: "*Go to the sea, Hungarians!*"⁴⁶ Elected at the age of 59, Gonda was an unquestionable authority in water matters. He had gained a reputation as a specialist and had good relations in Budapest since he had lived in the capital for forty years. In addition, he had worked in public administration for several decades and had expertise in newspaper editing and publishing. He had received numerous honors in recognition of his work. Based on his translations and trips abroad, he was presumably fluent in English and German. However, the main reason for his choice may have been his personality.

An example of this is his friendship with Gyula Görzsönyi Vargha (1853–1929), a statistician, poet and translator and vice-president of the Kisfaludy Society. Based on their letters, Gonda asked Vargha to write a poem for HAA: "*I would very much like to be able to express the glory of our Adriatic rule this time in a patriotic poem in the hope of a more beautiful unfolding from our dismembered state today. I thought that perhaps among your many beautiful patriotic poems, there is an Adriatic-related one: so I ask you to send such a poem to me by March 10, if possible, with true respect and hope in your patriotic soul. This way, I can add your piece to the programme.*"⁴⁷ However, this was rejected by Vargha. Gonda acknowledged this with gratitude and understanding: "*I know very well that this requires a state of mind (since life is just a state of mind), but I also know that if there is a patriotic atmosphere in this miserable country, the very first is Gyula Vargha, whose patriotic poems ignite national souls and the fire of enthusiasm even in the souls of the most indifferent. I ask you again with confidence and look forward to the inspiring festive poem. Well... after all, we, old*

⁴⁵ Magyar Adria Egyesület. [Hungarian Adriatic Association] *Budapesti Hírlap* February 27, 1910. 10.

⁴⁶ Béla Gonda to József Szinnyei. September 10, 1902 MTA KIK Kt. Ms 776/344-349.

⁴⁷ Béla Gonda to Gyula Vargha. February 21, 1925 MTA KIK Kt. Ms 1017/84-89.

*people, have to plant a youthful heart in the disillusioned youngsters.*⁴⁸ Although the poem was not written, it proves Gonda's effort in this case.

Based on the tone of his HAA letters and his long-term presidency between 1910 and 1933, it can be stated that Gonda was a persistent organizer, with no divisive personality in the company. Gonda's religiosity may have also played a significant role since he was a Reformed believer and a member and a presbyter of the Kálvin square community in Budapest. He also founded the Bethlen Gábor Printing House which published calendars and some books. The printing house was also located in the Kálvin square church building.⁴⁹ Gonda's spirit at HAA was followed by leaders of the association after his death. This spirit was similar to the development of Hungarian geography which was established about 40 years earlier under the direction of János Hunfalvy.⁵⁰ It can be surmised that the figure and role of Hunfalvy can be related to Béla Gonda who also, due to his personal interest and professionalism, attempted to be systematic in his marine research.

Conclusion

The goal of HAA was twofold from the beginning as it was both a scientific and a cultural association. Therefore, its target audience ranged from the professional environment to educational activities in secondary schools, community centres and so on. On the one hand, they wanted to create a knowledge base about the Adriatic which they realized through publications, a magazine, a library and a museum; on the other hand, they wanted to establish these as manifestations of a proud national idea. Nationalism was thus present in the activities of the association, influencing both its scientific and cultural functioning. As the only professional forum of marine research, HAA wished to use oceanography to strengthen Hungarian national self-awareness (see the plan of integrating it into the school curricula), as had been done with geography and history at the time. According to the exemplary models of HAA, one of the most important goals of scientific research was to serve the growth of a nation, at least in accordance with the ideas of the given time. Therefore, oceanography can be considered as a nation-building science in this sense. From the very beginning, this was the aspiration of Béla Gonda, head of the association. Gonda remained true to this idea throughout his life. His letters, studies and articles clearly reveal his philosophy.

⁴⁸ Béla Gonda to Gyula Vargha. February 28, 1925 MTA KIK Kt. Ms 1017/84-89.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Szilágyi, *A tudományos nacionalizmus szolgálatában* [At the service of scientific nationalism - 19th century geography among nation-building disciplines], 72.

With the help of HAA, the emergence of Hungarian oceanography began to develop but slowly relative primary subject soon disappeared. Scientific research was then replaced with the construction and nurturing of the cult of the Hungarian Adriatic. However, thanks to the hard work of the association, the results of Hungarian oceanography can still be found in the *Tenger* journal and in Hungarian public collections.⁵¹

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⁵¹ Without claiming completeness: Hungarian Museum of Natural History, collection of Dr. Ferenc Juba's Hungarian maritime history.

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YULIIA TERENTIEVA

**Pilgrimage and Tourism:
The Role and Functions of Travelling in Selected Fiction of David Lodge**

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Abstract

Travelling is an essential part of everyday life, and it is hardly surprising that the subject is often treated in contemporary fiction. Not only does the acclaimed contemporary British novelist David Lodge send his characters on vacations, tourist trips and religious pilgrimages, but he also utilises the space of the road and the characters' perception of travelling to move his narratives forward. This paper investigates the distinct types of travelling presented in the novels *Paradise News*, *Therapy* and *Deaf Sentence* written by Lodge and aims to discover whether there are any connections and similarities between these forms of travel, relying on the insights offered by several leading critics and interpreters of the historical genre known as travel writing.

Keywords: David Lodge, pilgrimage, tourism, space, poetics of space, travel writing

The topos of the road is one of the oldest in literature, and it has taken several fascinating turns in its development — from early travel literature to contemporary reinterpretations. It is no surprise that David Lodge, a lover and devoted theoretician of literature, explores and utilises this topos — a term of pertinent polysemy here — in several ways in his writing. Even though his novels are not typically focused on the road and travelling specifically, many of his characters are often involved in several types of movement around and between cities in which the action of the novels takes place. It is both intriguing and necessary to investigate the role of the road and travelling in Lodge's fiction, since very often the topos of the road, the space of travelling, is not only a setting for the characters' actions but also a strong influence on their beliefs and actions, almost a character in its own right. Along with the process and the setting of travelling, it is also necessary to be aware of the locations that the characters move between, since they are as inherent to the process of travelling as the road itself. Hence, this investigation includes David Lodge's novels *Paradise News*, *Therapy* and *Deaf Sentence*, which are in many ways concerned with (but not necessarily focused on) tourism and pilgrimage, which are in a number of ways important and transformative for the protagonists of the novels. The means of transport used by the characters will also be explored to determine whether they can be rendered in some way important for the development of the narrative. Not only do the novels in question portray the spaces and process of travelling, but also investigate the changes in the characters that are sparked by the experience of travelling, thus providing a necessary background for the examination of the relationship between the described journey and character development in the novels.

Considering the fact that the topic of travelling, both pilgrimage and tourism, is a recurring theme in Lodge's fiction, it is not at all surprising that it has been touched upon by a number of researchers. The questions related to academic pilgrimage in particular have been addressed and investigated from multiple perspectives, including the representation and intertextual connections of Lodge's quest narratives¹, as well as the ethical problems and consequences that characters face due to travelling². Most of the aforementioned research is focused on the "Campus Trilogy" (which includes *Changing Places* (1975), *Small World* (1984) and *Nice Work* (1988) which, indeed, provides a variety of types of travel to be investigated. However, travelling is present in other novels written by Lodge as well; it takes various forms and allows for diverse interpretations of its representation and narrative functions. The present research focuses on travelling as represented in three novels that describe the main characters' experiences abroad. The novels in question, *Paradise News* (1992), *Therapy* (1995) and *Deaf Sentence* (2002), introduce the accounts of the protagonists' pilgrimage to the foreign countries, describe the settings of their adventures and investigate the outcomes of their expeditions.

The category of the road in this case should be understood metaphorically, since at present (and in the novels written by Lodge) it is not only on roads that travelling occurs on but a much wider range of spaces. Lodge's characters travel by plane as often, if not more so, as by cars. They move between cities, countries and continents, they commute and travel for pleasure, for work and in search of knowledge.

Tourism, an integral part of the 20th and 21st centuries, as well as an important process involved in a number of Lodge's narratives, is often defined as "leisure travel"³ which may pose a problem for the present research since the characters of Lodge's novels very rarely, if ever, travel for the sole purpose of pleasure: instead, the original purpose of the majority of journeys is related to academic activities (the main character of *Deaf Sentence* is invited to give a lecture in Poland, the protagonist of *Paradise News* attempts to resolve a conflict in his family). However, their travelling often involves some elements of tourism, such as recreational activities or visits to places of interest. It is important to understand the roots of tourism in its contemporary form, as well as the ways it has been presented in narratives throughout history, to be able to judge its representation in the three aforementioned novels written by Lodge.

¹ Daniel Ammann, *David Lodge and the Art-and-Reality Novel* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter University Press, 1991), 108; Robert A. Morace, *The Dialogic Novels of Malcolm Bradbury and David Lodge* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989), 163.

² Morace, *The Dialogic Novels*, 158; Kenneth Womack, *Postwar Academic Fiction: Satire, Ethics, Community* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 83.

³ Rachel Dodds and Richard W. Butler, *Overtourism: Issues, Realities and Solutions* (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 47.

While there is no immediate agreement regarding precise dates and names, according to most researchers, travel writing as such originates from ancient, if not prehistoric (if travel narratives passed verbally are included in the survey), times⁴. The main purposes of such travel narratives were twofold — the stories were used to entertain, as well as to pass the knowledge and memory on of the previous generations⁵. The *Histories* of Herodotus, for instance, provided an important, if somewhat simplistic, understanding of the Other⁶, and the *Odyssey* can be understood as a form of Bildungsroman, at least from the point of view of Telemachus. The purposes, styles and types of travel writing have changed much since then, while remaining at the margins of literary genres for most of ancient history, but they became more and more popular in medieval times.

One of the first well-documented styles of travelling was pilgrimage⁷, the earliest textual accounts of which date back to the Middle Ages. Although travel writing did not originate from pilgrims' accounts, it was developed by them in many respects. Medieval travel writing was “a constant of medieval literary culture, from empirical guides to the sites of the Holy Land to rhetorical satires of dubious activities during pilgrimages”⁸, as well as a detailed representation of foreign cultures⁹. The main focus of pilgrims' diaries and other texts related to pilgrimages was, however, not the experience of travelling itself, but rather the spiritual journey they were involved in¹⁰.

By the 17th century, travel writing had become one of the most popular literary genres in Europe, focusing not only on religious travel, but also on the journeys made by merchants and fishermen, on diplomatic trips, on geographic and, eventually, scientific discoveries¹¹. Interestingly, the attitudes towards travelling turned increasingly negative among religious authorities of the time, since they saw secular travel as having a “potential for moral corruption”¹².

As the variety of travel forms increased, so did the multitude of genres and sub-genres of travel writing: Picaresque novels that originated in Spain in the 17th century and gained

⁴ William Hutton, “Travel Writing in the Ancient Mediterranean,” in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 101; Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 34.

⁵ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 35.

⁶ Hutton, “Travel Writing,” 104.

⁷ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 153.

⁸ Anthony Bale, “European Travel Writing in the Middle Ages,” in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 152.

⁹ Bale, “European Travel Writing,” 154.

¹⁰ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 154.

¹¹ Matthew Day, “Western Travel Writing, 1450–1750,” in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 161-162.

¹² Day, “Western Travel Writing,” 162.

significant popularity in Britain in the 18th often consisted partly or fully of the accounts of their roguish characters travelling around the country and abroad¹³. Other sub-genres and themes ranged from philosophical reflections through political commentary to the pursuit of spirituality¹⁴. This variety of subjects inevitably included recreational travel as well.

Tourism, when understood as travelling primarily for pleasure, became popular comparatively recently, having probably originated from the Grand Tours of the 17th and 18th centuries. Then, young men (mostly wealthy British ones) travelled around Europe to learn and “see the world” by experiencing diverse cultures¹⁵. Not only was it a way to enrich one’s own knowledge of European cultures, but also a rite of passage: British elites believed themselves to be the heirs of ancient Rome’s power and culture¹⁶, which turned the Grand Tour into a journey of discovery and reimagination of their cultural roots. For a while, however, most of the Grand Tour narratives were mainly concerned with the objective descriptions of such enterprises, and only in the second half of the 18th century did the focus shift from collecting knowledge and experiences to the personality of the traveller and the effect of the tour on him¹⁷, thus placing the characters’ introspection at the centre of attention of the narrative. The Grand Tour is, of course, a quest in its nature — one embarks on it to attain a certain goal and state of mind.

The references to both religious pilgrimage and travelling on a Grand Tour are present in both the three novels of David Lodge and elsewhere in his fiction. Such allusions and connections, along with other significant accounts of travelling in the novelist’s oeuvre, are addressed in this investigation to discover the ways in which Lodge drew upon classical travel accounts and to determine whether the instances when travel experiences are mentioned, described and used as a setting influence the plot and the characters in any significant way. The novels in question specifically address the amalgamation of the secular and the spiritual in the characters’ understanding and experience of the journey.

¹³ J.A. Garrido Ardila, “The Picaresque Novel and the Rise of the English Novel: From Baldwin and Defoe to Smollett,” in *The Picaresque Novel in Western Literature*, ed. J.A. Garrido Ardila (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 118.

¹⁴ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 11.

¹⁵ John Towner, “The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism”, *Annals Of Tourism Research* 12 (1985), 302.

¹⁶ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 100.

¹⁷ Barbara Korte, “Western Travel Writing, 1750–1950,” in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2016), 178.

1. *Paradise News*

It is not immediately obvious whether tourism be perceived as pleasure or necessity in the case of Bernard, the main character of *Paradise News* (1991). On the one hand, it is a necessity both from the point of view of the story's progression (the need to visit a dying family member) and from the point of view of the character's development, as it would allow him to rediscover new aspects to his personality (the latter being a possibility often attributed to travelling in general). On the other hand, Bernard's journey of self-discovery and the unveiling of disturbing family secrets transforms at some point into a pleasing encounter with the local culture of Hawaii (or, in a sense, the absence of it). Even though the narrative seems to be preoccupied with the events of the trip, eventually it becomes apparent that the main focus of the story is on the spiritual journey Bernard has to take.

The novel's obvious parallels between a touristic destination and Eden start, quite logically, with Limbo, the role of which is played by an international airport: "Bernard and his father passed out of the limbo of the International Arrivals Hall, into the noise and bustle of the terminal's main concourse"¹⁸. This imagery is followed by a number of allusions which eventually become literal statements: Honolulu is Paradise. The contradiction with reality is immediately pointed out by one of the characters, Professor Sheldrake, who "is working on the theory that the mere repetition of the paradise motif brainwashes the tourists into thinking they have actually got there, in spite of the mismatch between reality and archetype"¹⁹. Interestingly, the rest of the novel seems preoccupied with the task of reminding the reader of this comparison. Sheldrake in his attempts to create a typology of tourism, investigates and compares various kinds of leisure travel:

Two basic types of holiday may be discriminated, according to whether they emphasize exposure to culture or nature: the holiday as pilgrimage and the holiday as paradise. The former is typically represented by the bussed sightseeing tour of famous cities, museums, chateaux, etc. (Sheldrake, 1984); the latter by the beach resort holiday, in which the subject strives to get back to a state of nature, or prelapsarian innocence, pretending to do without money (by signing chits, using credit cards or, as in Club Med villages, plastic popper beads), indulging in physical rather than mental pursuits, and wearing the minimum of clothing. The first type of holiday is essentially mobile or dynamic and strives towards fitting the

¹⁸ David Lodge, *Paradise News* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), 55.

¹⁹ Lodge, *Paradise News*, 132.

maximum number of sights into the time available. The latter is essentially static, striving towards a kind of timeless, repetitive routine typical of primitive societies.²⁰

In the background to the main story, that preoccupied with Bernard's family and personal life, another narrative slowly unfolds that investigates tourism itself, its effects on both the local culture and the visitors. Bernard comes across elements of local culture, which are increasingly difficult to find. One of the important topics being touched upon is the disappearing of ethnoscares, "landscapes of group identity"²¹, territories where a specific culture prevails. Such spaces are endangered by globalisation since spaces become more connected and cultures increasingly intertwined. Tourism as a destructive force as well as being in opposition to the notions of "holiday as paradise" and "holiday as pilgrimage", is one of the sub-themes explored, while Bernard's story is the one in focus and cannot avoid being interpreted in a similar way.

Bernard, invited to Honolulu to deal with the problems of his family, begins his trip not acknowledging the contradiction, but soon leans towards the "holiday as pilgrimage", experiencing all of the typical touristic adventures. However, it is possible to assume that it is these practices that lead him to rediscovering himself spiritually. Bernard's ascetic life in Britain is contrasted with the surrounding bliss of Honolulu, and this drastic change of setting brings Bernard to a better understanding of both his faith and his secular life.

"Ah, place," said Bernard. "That's the difficulty, isn't it? Thinking of heaven as a place. A garden. A city. Happy Hunting Grounds. Such solid things."

[...]

"There's a contemporary theologian who has suggested that the afterlife is a kind of dream, in which we all achieve our desires. If you have rather low-level desires, you get a rather low-level heaven. More refined desires and you get a more refined heaven."²²

The motif of paradise is present throughout the novel and, in opposition to Bernard's serious approach to the religion he abandoned, is primarily used for comedic effect: a few religious practices are mentioned rather ironically, as, for example, a swimming pool dip defined by Sheldrake as "[a] kind of baptism"²³. Such an attitude towards religious rituals can

²⁰ Lodge, *Paradise News*, 192.

²¹ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 48.

²² Lodge, *Paradise News*, 206.

²³ Lodge, *Paradise News*, 90.

be described and explained from the point of view of the Bakhtinian carnival. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, a scholar whose works David Lodge was very familiar (and on whose work he collected a number of essays in the 1990 volume *After Bakhtin: Essays on Fiction and Criticism*), not only do the practices related to carnival invert the binary oppositions of the serious (powerful) and the comic, but also “certain carnival forms parody the Church’s cult”²⁴ in particular, while being outside the realm of religiosity. This leads to the desacralisation of the Church and the ridiculing of religious practices for the duration of the carnival, which seems to be endless in Honolulu: on multiple occasions the descriptions suggestive of religious symbolism are subsequently revealed as forms the entertainment for the visitors, or vice versa - some elements of entertainment acquire features of the sacred, including such occasions as the aforementioned “baptism” in a swimming pool, the Limbo-like process of waiting at the airport or the absence of the change of seasons in Honolulu which is associated with “it gives [people] the illusion that they won’t die, because they are kind of dead already, just by being [there]”²⁵.

Such a carnivalesque approach, being prevalent in all descriptions of Honolulu, suggests that the secular and the spiritual parts of a tourist experience have merged to such an extent that it is impossible to separate one from the other; and it is this combination that Bernard finds his inner peace in.

Bernard’s shift to and acceptance of the spiritual side of his journey starts, paradoxically, with a sexual experience: it is the trust he puts in a woman who endeavours to help him rediscover the long forgotten and forbidden sides of his personality that allows Bernard to reconcile the two sides of his identity: the former priest and the secular man. Paradise, thought of as a place and even a particular spot on the map throughout the novel, turns out to be a state of mind, the internal balance of the secular and the spiritual.

A number of other novels written by Lodge involve and sometimes focus on a similar change in the life of the protagonist brought to light and investigated through the journey the character goes on.

2. Therapy

Therapy, a novel published in 1995, talks about pilgrimage in even more explicit, sometimes literal, terms. The main character of the novel, Laurence Passmore, is a middle-aged

²⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 7.

²⁵ Lodge, *Paradise News*, 142.

screenwriter suffering from a mid-life crisis and a health condition his doctor calls an Internal Derangement of the Knee. As the mysterious-sounding term is explained, “[t]hat’s what the orthopaedic surgeons call it amongst themselves. Internal Derangement of the Knee. I.D.K. I Don’t Know”²⁶. This dual ailment is what brings Passmore, Tubby to his friends, to both the exploration of new forms of alternative healing and a search for peace in his private life. The situation does not improve while he tries to fix his problems one by one, signing up for sessions in aromatherapy, acupuncture and other forms of alternative medicine to have his knee healed, and trying to find a sexual and romantic partner to “replace” his wife whom he has recently divorced.

It is scarcely surprising that Tubby finds a solution to both his medical problems and the difficulties in his personal life simultaneously, as the reason for both is neurotic in nature. However, before that happens, Laurence engages in various activities that are supposed to relieve his pain and Kierkegaardian angst — a term he finds of keen personal importance as he stumbles into reading the Danish philosopher.

The trips Tubby-Laurence throws himself into on his quest for peace are of particular interest for the topic of spatial poetics explored here. The first journeys he goes on are focused on sexual fulfilment and offer touristic experiences to him: he invites the women he is interested in to join his trips abroad, with the hope of romance. Although in one of the cases he is motivated by the pursuit of knowledge — being interested in the works and life of Søren Kierkegaard, he is enthusiastic about travelling to Copenhagen to find out more about the philosopher, — ultimately, his trip resembles a sightseeing tour more than a spiritual journey. A Kierkegaard room in the City Museum of Copenhagen turns out to be “a bit of an anti-climax”²⁷ for Laurence’s companion, while Laurence is fascinated by the experience, since he finds himself identifying with the existentialist thinker and especially with his dramatic love story. It should be noted that Laurence himself produces a reaction similar to his companion’s to the final destination of another journey: as he sets off to find his first love Maureen who went on a pilgrimage to Spain, he finds the view of the cathedral in Santiago de Compostela “a bit of an anti-climax nowadays”²⁸. The parallelism of response highlights the analogy between the psychological implications of exposure to the secular and the religious objects of modern pilgrimage as represented in the novels of David Lodge.

Maureen Kavanagh, the goal of Laurence’s final quest, was his girlfriend in his teenage years. Laurence keeps mentioning her throughout his diaries, first without any particular

²⁶ David Lodge, *Therapy* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1995), 13.

²⁷ Lodge, *Therapy*, 184.

²⁸ Lodge, *Therapy*, 308.

reason other than pleasant memories, then as a comparison with other women in his life and, eventually, as the woman he should pursue. This almost obsessive idea forces Laurence on a quest to find Maureen, while she is on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in Spain.

Maureen is presented to the reader somewhat in a style of defamiliarization reminiscent of the technique familiar from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*: she only appears in the story after a number of fleeting mentions, a long flashback about Laurence's youth and a search for her along the highways and byways of rural Spain. The real pilgrimage of Maureen's is contrasted with Laurence's quest for romantic and amorous relationship, as well as the emotional peace he wishes to derive from "making amends" to his youthful lover whom he had rashly jilted on being denied sexual fulfilment.

Laurence starts his quest with a "touristic" attitude similar to that of his previous journeys, and the places he visits on the way only reinforce his frame of mind. He comes across villages, most of which he describes along the lines of "a curious place, halfway between a folk village and a shrine"²⁹, with the viewpoint of a foreigner on a tourist trip. Once he finds out that he might have found Maureen; however, his perception of the locations on his way changes significantly almost in an instant. It is at this point that he, while maintaining the tourist's attitude to the place, names his journey a quest:

The church contains relics of some gruesome mediaeval miracle, when the communion bread and wine turned into real flesh and blood, and the place is also said to be associated with the legend of the Holy Grail. It was certainly a crucial stage in my own quest.³⁰

Laurence's tourism changes its purpose acquiring some features of a proper, that is, religious pilgrimage. As he reflects on his own experience and refers back to Kierkegaard's philosophy, he summarises the types of pilgrims in the terms introduced by the philosopher describing the "stages on life's way" (Kierkegaard). Here is how Tubby transforms Kierkegaard's general theory of lifelong moral education into a typology of touristic pilgrimage:

The aesthetic type was mainly concerned with having a good time, enjoying the picturesque and cultural pleasures of the Camino. The ethical type saw the pilgrimage as essentially a test of stamina and self-discipline. He (or she) had a strict notion of what was correct pilgrim behaviour (no staying in hotels, for instance) and was very competitive with others on the

²⁹ Lodge, *Therapy*, 293.

³⁰ Lodge, *Therapy*, 293.

road. The true pilgrim was the religious pilgrim, religious in the Kierkegaardian sense. [...] The whole point was that you chose to believe without rational compulsion: you made a leap into the void and in the process chose yourself. Walking a thousand miles to the shrine of Santiago without knowing whether there was anybody actually buried there was such a leap. The aesthetic pilgrim didn't pretend to be a true pilgrim. The ethical pilgrim was always worrying whether he was a true pilgrim. The true pilgrim just did it.³¹

It is possible to state that this typology reflects Laurence's own quest, since he may be able to find himself in any of the three types of pilgrimage depending on the moment in the story he is at. This classification can also be reshaped to express the balance between tourism and pilgrimage in Laurence's case. Tourism, as a secular form of travelling, requires less introspection rather involving more in the way of seeking aesthetic gratification on the part of the traveller. In Laurence's case this manifests itself in his desire to enjoy the company of his partners on his first trips. The true pilgrimage he finds himself on is the one that makes him embrace the idea of spiritual rather than physical reunification with a long-lost love.

The fact that Laurence, after "tempting" Maureen to give up her difficult barefoot pilgrimage, joins her and walks the rest of the way instead of riding along in his luxury sedan, reflects his growth towards an understanding of what "true pilgrimage" is. His actions prove helpful to Maureen too, since her ethical pilgrimage turns into true pilgrimage once she understands that it is not the way she completes it that counts as she accepts Laurence's offer to drive her through a part of the way.

The "leap" of a true pilgrim mentioned in the quotation above is an image that is present throughout the book: Laurence discovers it among the first of Kierkegaard's concepts and questions the possibility of this action as such: "But in making that 'leap', man 'finally chooses himself'. A haunting, tantalizing phrase: how can you choose yourself when you already are yourself?"³². The answer appears to Laurence in the form of his own metamorphosis — the leap into the absurd (the trip into nowhere to find a person he has not seen in years) that he makes delivers him to the long-sought peace with himself. The carnivalesque inversion of the sacred and the secular brings Laurence closer to understanding and the finding of a solution to his problems. The "physicality" of the term "leap" itself is also of interest, since it can be taken quite literally in the setting of the novel: it highlights and contrasts with the slow movement of a barefoot pilgrim on the way to Santiago de Compostela.

³¹ Lodge, *Therapy*, 304–305.

³² Lodge, *Therapy*, 109.

Laurence, thus, turns what was intended as tourism into pilgrimage: with a greater respect for the final destination and a deeper emotional and spiritual connection with the location.

3. *Deaf Sentence*

The main character of *Deaf Sentence* (2008), Desmond Bates, experiences a similar shift in his travels. While the majority of the novel takes place in the same city and in the same few locations, the unexpected account of travelling at its end stands in contrast to the rest of the book. Desmond, a retired academic, accepts his colleague's invitation to conduct a lecture in Poland, which is in itself a "leap of faith" for him, considering the fact that he has been trying to avoid communicating with people as much as possible due to his hearing impairment. However, it should be noted that this decision is pragmatic rather than spiritual: Desmond is desperate to recuperate from the difficulties in his family life, his father's fast deteriorating health and his disturbing involvement with an apparently unbalanced PhD student and her demands on his time and attention.

Desmond's trip to Auschwitz can hardly be defined as a leisure activity, and yet, his journey can be seen as an act of tourism. It is, however, not immediately clear if it can be called a pilgrimage. Although, borrowing the fictional Sheldrake's term, Desmond is involved in "cultural pilgrimage"³³, Desmond does not perceive his trip to Poland as such. Unconsciously, however, Desmond, while describing his trip in his diary, chooses his spiritual and emotional experience over any other, thus emulating real pilgrims' narratives, which are characterised by the search for moral significance³⁴. The road to Auschwitz is described in detail and gives an impression of a difficult one giving further possibilities to interpret the experience as a pilgrimage, as the experience of hardship on the way to a higher spiritual goal:

After a few miles of motorway towards the airport, the road to Oswięcem (the Polish name of the town of Auschwitz) became a congested single carriageway. There had been a fall of snow in the night, and the fields and trees were virgin white, but the road was slushy, impeding progress.³⁵

³³ Lodge, *Paradise News*, 192.

³⁴ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 11.

³⁵ David Lodge, *Deaf Sentence* (New York: Viking, 2008), 251.

The touristic experience of the entrance to the camp itself, with its Visitors' Centre, "photographic displays, a cafeteria, and a cinema showing film footage of the camp when it was occupied"³⁶ and other attributes of a modern tourist's experience provoke a corresponding attitude in Desmond. He calls the famous gate to the camp "something of an anti-climax after the dread with which one approaches it"³⁷, replicating Laurence's (and, earlier, his female assistant's) perspective and, eventually, following a similar path towards the transformation of his tourist experience into that of a pilgrim while redefining the purpose of his visit.

It has been said often enough that there are no words adequate to describe the horror of what happened at Auschwitz, and in other extermination camps whose traces were more thoroughly obliterated by the retreating Nazis. There are no adequate thoughts either, no adequate emotional responses, available to the visitor whose life has contained nothing even remotely comparable.³⁸

The moment of emotional connection to the space of collective trauma redefines Desmond's attitude and turns what seemed an anti-climax to him into the climactic event of his journey. The tourist experience hence alters, acquiring the features of a pilgrimage, which requires a moral and spiritual significance. Desmond, ironically, only understands what the goal was when he reaches it.

In sum, all three novels at the centre of this paper seem to suggest that the perceived binary opposition of secular and spiritual is not, in fact, an opposition but rather a complementary combination of the two, in which each of these major aspects of travelling can manifest itself to a greater or lesser extent depending on the given circumstances as seen above. It is possible to associate such circumstances with the way the characters of the novels experience the locations, rendering them as either belonging to the secular world or to the spiritual one, a quality contingent on the given traveller's own understanding and readiness to accept both sides of the perceived opposition.

The transformative experiences that redefine the notions of the secular and the spiritual for the characters of the novels are intricately linked to the spaces and locations the narratives unfold in — the spaces provoke and facilitate action along other factors that influence the characters. In *Paradise News*, the "paradise" of Honolulu inspires Bernard to look into himself

³⁶ Lodge, *Deaf Sentence*, 252.

³⁷ Lodge, *Deaf Sentence*, 252.

³⁸ Lodge, *Deaf Sentence* 254–255.

and search for his own paradise be it a religious or a secular, metaphorical one, Bernard's pilgrimage opens a new understanding of life and purpose for him. In *Therapy*, Laurence is transformed by the unexpected pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and his meeting with Maureen. And in *Deaf Sentence* Desmond finds his inner peace in the space of trauma that helps him redefine his own traumatic experiences. Travelling, then, is a way of self-exploration and self-actualisation as much as it is a source of pleasure and profit for the characters of David Lodge's fiction — as it is for most other travellers, whether fictional or actual.

The locations on the way of these modern pilgrims, the experience of spaces different from the characters' usual and habitual ones, the destination points that often fail to meet the initial expectations of the protagonists create a certain level of alienation that, eventually, is resolved by the characters' acceptance and appreciation of the spaces around them. The carnivalesque liberation from fear and trauma provides the characters with a new perspective on their lives and actions. Tourism in these novels seems to become a source of growth when turned into pilgrimage, while the spaces of such travelling facilitate the change in the protagonists' perception of their journey from purely secular experience motivated by curiosity, legal questions or the need of entertainment towards a better understanding of the spiritual significance of spaces, locations and their journeys.

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Review on *The Engaged Historian: Perspectives on the Intersections of Politics, Activism and the Historical Profession*. Edited by Stefan Berger. 314 pp. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books. 2019. ISBN 978-1-78920-200-7

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Within the broader question of the public engagement of intellectuals, the place of historians, as those who deal with the events from the past, deserves a separate analysis. The “engagement” for a historian has multiple meanings, ranging from their scholarly production to their participation in everyday social and political issues. The book *The Engaged Historian* deals not only with the personal involvements of historians in the past as public intellectuals, but also with their engagements through their writings, where the notions of “impartiality,” “historicism,” and “memory” play important roles. The book is divided into fourteen different chapters, written by a number of researchers, who are mostly historians by their profession. There are also two chapters written as a prologue and epilogue of sorts by Stefan Berger and Georg G. Iggers, respectively.

Stefan Berger, in his introduction to this book, noticed how various forms of engagement were present from the onset of the professionalization of history as a science in the late eighteenth century. The romanticist historians were engaged in their respective national movements, which was reflected in their writings from the fields of national history. However, there were also early examples of the dissident intellectuals, as in the case of the *Göttingen Seven*, which included two historians as well. All of them lost their university positions in 1837, due to their opposition to the constitutional reforms in the Kingdom of Hannover (p. 7–8). There were also historians, especially in the latter part of the aforementioned century, whose writings reflected their own political or religious beliefs (p. 9–10).

Historians are engaged through their writing, as Emilia Salvanou noted in her chapter about refugees’ memory and historical practices in interwar Greece, due to the very nature of their intellectual engagement. They always wrote about the past, but they did it because of the contemporary needs of the society they lived in (p. 118). In her study, she analyzed the Greek communities from Anatolia and Thrace, which became part of Greece in the aftermath of the war with Turkey that ended in 1922. Their traumatic experiences were not represented in the official Greek narrative about the conflict, which robbed them from their past and left them in search for their identity in the new reality they experienced (p. 123). A number of amateur historians, many of whom came to Athens years prior to the arrival of the refugees, from the same region, would use their writings to create a collective memory. Their aim was to create a “new historical consciousness” that would help to incorporate the refugee community into the Greek interwar society (p. 124–125). On the other side of the globe, in the similar time period, historians gathered in Zhanguo Ce Clique, as Xin Fan showed in his chapter. Clique “weaponized” their historical research in order to tackle their contemporary challenges (p. 139). In the midst of the destruction brought on by the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), they politicized the ancient Chinese past in their writings. They mostly wrote about the Warring States Period, which took place prior to the unification

of China under the Qin dynasty in the third century B.C. (p. 141). Followers of Oswald Spengler's cyclical theory, the members of Zhanguo Ce Clique believed that the lessons from the past could be utilized in their present as well, in an effort to create a strong centralized national state. The historian Lei Haizong, who was a prominent member of this clique, was an ardent supporter of the militarization of society, cult-building around Chiang Kai-shek, and an orientation towards utilitarian and ruthless international diplomacy. All of this led the communists to label him and his colleagues as fascists (p. 142–143).

But what about the personal engagement in real-life events? If we follow the historicist view, the necessary distance between the present and the past becomes even murkier if the writer was a participant in the events they try to portray. In his chapter, Manos Avgeridis presented the case of historian C. M. Woodhouse, who was a British secret agent and military officer during the Second World War in Greece. Being a professional historian, he raised a controversy with his 1957 lecture held in Munich. There, he reasserted the historicist view of the necessity of waiting for the past to be distant enough in order for it to become an object of analysis. What raised voices of displeasure in Greece were his diminishing remarks about the importance of the Greek resistance movements in achieving the ultimate victory over the Axis powers on that territory, while praising the role of British intelligence. These remarks came during the ongoing Cyprus crisis, where the British also played a significant role (p. 154–156). Even though Woodhouse's views on the importance of the British intelligence came from his own personal bias, he later clearly emphasized the necessity of a professional and serious history writing. He even discarded his own memoirs, dedicated to his participation in the Second World War in Greece, as an unreliable source material, due to the provenly exaggerated data he used (p. 157).

Was Woodhouse ultimately wrong in his claims? The other example of an actively engaged intellectual from *The Engaged Historian* comes from one of the authors of the chapters themselves, although not intentionally. In her study about the *Workers' Defence Committee* (KOR), founded in 1976 in communist Poland, Nina Witoszek attempted to over-emphasize the importance of this intellectual clique and its ultimate contribution to the success of the oppositional workers' organization *Solidarnosc*. By presenting the cases of three historians and their social and scientific engagement, she argued that it was the KOR and its engagement that were the most impactful opposition force. However, what makes her chapter an object of analysis in itself could be explained in several ways. First, her direct participation in the events she tried to portray raises again the question of objectivity in historical writing. Second, a negative example of engaged writing is her discourse and clearly rosy portrayal of the nature of the KOR, including its comradeship and influence, referring to it as an "oppositional humanism" (p. 179). Therefore, she was engaged both in the real-life events she wrote about and in her writing as well. Even though participating in

the historical events tends to lead to a biased writing by historians, it could also give them a perspective, accumulated through their own engagement. In his chapter dedicated to the experiences of Japanese historians, collected in the book *History as Memory, Memory as History*, Michihiro Okamoto analyzed the conditions which influenced and formed their historical writing (p. 186). These researchers were mainly connected to the *Annales*-inspired journal *Social Movement History* (1972–1985) and the Zenkyoto student movement of the late 1960s. One of them, Kenichi Kinoshita, wrote about the Paris Commune, taking into account his own experiences from the participation in the Zenkyoto movement, and argued that both of these events were rather autonomous gatherings of people than being any models for the future dictatorship of the proletariat, as envisioned by Marx and Engels (p. 193).

One of the common themes of this book is the question of historical objectivity, which includes the notions of historicism and memory as well. Being an objective historian was often equated to being non-engaged in writing, as Jörn Rüsen noted, whilst trying to hold neutral scientific positions. However, Rüsen saw this view as unsustainable, as there was no real way to exclude one's subjectivity from their historical writing (p. 33). In his chapter, he presented an elaborate methodology, imbued with historical examples, stating that the division between engaged and non-engaged historiography was "too simple," because every historical writing would fall into the category of the former, and not the latter, as it "includes a constitutive relationship to practical life" (p. 38). Furthermore, Rüsen differentiated forms of engagement in historical writing to *political, aesthetic, ethical, and religious commitment* (p. 37–38). Was there a way to practice an engaged historical writing and keep the notions of impartiality and neutrality? Martin Wiklund, in his chapter about the ideal of justice and its significance for historians, argued that "impartiality as an ideal does not preclude engagement but can rather be understood as an *engagement for impartiality*" (p. 54). He used the analogy of the courtroom, where he called for historians to take not only the role of the prosecutors who are seeking to rectify an "injustice," but also to act as a defense lawyer or a witness, and to take a role of the judge, as well (p. 51). The ideal they should strive for is that of "historical justice," which should transcend all the political and ideological biases of the researcher, and would give the historians an opportunity to tackle more sensitive societal issues, while serving as a public conscience (p. 57–58). An interesting perspective on the nature of historical writing was provided by Kalle Pihlainen, and it could be connected with the Wiklund's ideas. In his chapter about history and narrative communication, Pihlainen argued that the historical writing followed rules of any other literary genre. If the historical narrative was less engaged, and it only presented facts without the aim or final conclusion, it would have less impact on the readers and its message would be harder to transmit. In order for the narrative of the past to have more meaning, it should be "moved into the realm of the aesthetic or that of the ethical" (p. 74).

The structure of the literary narrative, with its necessary closure, would inevitably lead to “judgement,” in this case the one made by a historian (p. 64).

Georg G. Iggers’s contribution to this book is a striking personal account of a person who was politically engaged since his childhood. From living in and emigrating from Nazi Germany, through his strong support for the African-American emancipation movement in the United States, followed by his engagement in the anti-Vietnam war movement, and finally, with his role in connecting the scholars from the two different sides during the late phase of the Cold War, Iggers constantly exhibited an example of a publicly engaged intellectual. His account of the nature of his historical writings reveals his conscious engagement as well, which he does not hide (p. 277, 292). Another contribution of this chapter to the general messages of the book is Iggers’s view of historicism. He structured his lectures at the universities he taught at in such a way that they were “problem oriented” and not the simple presentation of a “straight narrative” (p. 285). His idea was also to connect different scholarly circles, surpassing national and ideological boundaries (p. 289). His take on the classical German notion of historicism was to argue that it was never truly objective, even though that was its proclaimed goal, and that it ultimately served German nationalistic aims, which led to the destructions in both World Wars. His book on the German conception of history called for German historians to “rethink their past from a democratic perspective,” which was criticized by some conservative German historians. Iggers’s answer to them was that the German historians of the past and their historical writings could not be separated from their ideology. He admitted that this was also the case with his own writings, but that his own bias “did not necessarily invalidate it” (p. 293). Lastly, Iggers stated that his historical writings “reflected my commitment to social justice and peace,” while striving to “keep in mind standards of honest scholarship” at the same time (p. 296).

While Iggers’s criticism of Rankean historicism is valid in many ways, I would argue that one of its key aspects should not and cannot be abandoned among the professional historians. Separation of the past from the present is crucial for the emotional and ideological detachment from the object of analysis. Obviously, on a personal level, these temporal divisions are hardly distinguishable, and the notions of the past, present, and the future are often overlapping. The exact purpose of a historian is to attempt to create these divisions within themselves. Only then could they aim to reconstruct an event in the past. Naturally, there are dangers in thinking that the absolute objectivity in historical writing is a reachable goal, but striving towards it remains the only way. Otherwise, the role of historians diminishes, whether they were engaged or not, and the space opens up for various other actors who would rely on emotionally driven narratives in order to serve some ideological or political purpose in their contemporary realities.

Temporality and its perception among the public is one of the aims of the chapter of Antonis Liakos, who analyzed the “the street history” in late 2000s’ Greece, and tried to see “how history is experienced” among the protesters in the urban environment (p. 261). Their graffiti and other public expressions showed how history was used in the present, and how protesters used it only if it “proves useful for the future” (p. 262). It is understandable that historical writing, in its essence, is writing about the past for the present, as Liakos noted, but the historians should still aim for impartiality (p. 273). This is especially the case in the modern digital age, when abundance of information, as Effi Gazi rightfully noted in her chapter, is creating new challenges for deciphering the past. She argued that historians could gain more prominent public roles in the future, due to their ability to dissect data from the past and decide whether something should be preserved or forgotten (p. 255). However, the public will not always hear the opinions of historians about the importance of certain data, as it was the case with the deletion of the majority of sources from the Greek Civil War, during the 1990s. Vangelis Karamanolakis showed in his chapter how the destruction of security files, kept on the private citizens who participated in the civil war, was a joint political effort from a coalitional Greek government, consisted of both left and right parties. Even though the historians argued that only the analysis of those sources would lead to a national reconciliation in the Greek society, the public and the ruling political parties opted for the option of forgetting a mean of achieving national unity (p. 243–244).

As a final remark, the book *The Engaged Historian* is a remarkably cohesive work on the topic of engagement of not only historians, but of all intellectuals as well. What is missing is a case study of the politically engaged historians on the right of the political spectrum, potentially from the German example, which would better explain the downfalls of historicism. Even though the article of Gazi covers the topic of digital history and its challenges very well, there is also a need for a separate analysis of the role of historians in the “digital public sphere.” This would provide answers on how the development of social media in the past decade influenced the public perception of historians, on the one hand, and how they engaged themselves on these platforms as public intellectuals, on the other.