HALLGATÓI MŰHELYTANULMÁNYOK 3.
REJUVENATING SCHOLARSHIP
COLLECTION OF GRADUATE SCHOOL STUDIES IN HISTORY

EDITED BY:
PÉTER FORISEK– KATALIN SCHREK– ÁKOS SZENDREI

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UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY

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FOREWORD

The Department of History and the Doctoral School of History and Ethnology of the University of Debrecen, as well as the Association of History Students of the University of Debrecen have already organized several talent nurturing conferences in the previous years. The most outstanding lectures were assorted from two previous conferences in this volume under the title *Rejuvenating Scholarship*, alluding to the fact that the future of erudition lies with the young people, who take upon themselves being engaged in scholarly research, enlarging our knowledge with their results on the world surrounding us, or rather the history of it in this case.

Both conferences were organized within the framework of collaborating interregional Hungarian academic workshops. Our partners were the Institute of Hungarian History of the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, together with the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute of Beregovo, Ukraine. The conferences had been organized by Péter Forisek, associate professor of the Institute of History of the University of Debrecen, Katalin Schrek, PhD candidate of history at the University of Debrecen and Zsolt Molnár-Kovács, associate professor of the Babeş-Bolyai University. The first symposium was held on September 8 and 9, 2014 in Cluj-Napoca supported by the Campus Hungary exchange programme. The second conference was also orchestrated as the joint event of the University of Debrecen and the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, held in the Rezső Soó guesthouse of the University of Debrecen at Síkfőkút, on April 9 and 10, 2015. These conferences had an interdisciplinary approach, collecting papers on historical, ethnographic and anthropological researches.

Organizing the two conferences, our aim was to develop such professional connections, within the framework of the outstanding scientific and educational cooperation between the University of Debrecen and Hungarian scientific workshops abroad for our students participating in graduate and postgraduate studies, by which they will become acquainted with Hungarian cross-border workshops and enhance further cooperation with them.

For the present volume, we have selected studies from each historical period. In the classical history section, Balázs Antal Bacsa examines the role of *garum* within the Roman culinary, an utterly important condiment of the empire, while the study of Tamás Szebenyi demonstrates a section of ancient commerce

through the segment of trading partnership between the Roman civilization and a barbaric culture, the Sarmatians.

Ádám Novák surveys the diplomatic connections between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Poland. He presents the characters, whom have played an important role in it. Through the analysis of the contemporary seals and the correspondences of the key figures, he tries to present the characters playing the most important role in the Hungarian–Polish relation. Rita Papp assays the crimes committed by the soldiers deployed in Debrecen, from a social historical point of view. Csaba Kis examines the history of the renowned Castle of Eger, after the era of the Ottoman rule in Hungary. The strategic role of the formerly border castle had significantly changed by the eighteenth century, Eger had become the central garrison of the Habsburg army in Hungary.

The paper of Katalin Schrek belongs to modern history, where the author, using the travelogue of a Frenchmen, unveils the political, social and economic nexus of the Caucasus area, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The antecedents of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the most significant political and diplomatic event of the nineteenth century Europe, is presented by Katalin Váradi in her paper. The British Vernacular Press Act was passed in the very same year, and Márta Kovács summarizes the opinions of the political parties on the subject, focusing primarily on the British conservative press and views.

The block of the twentieth century begins with the paper of Tamás Tóth, who describes the press lawsuit towards Jūichirō Imaoka, a Japanese scientist who was living in Hungary during the 1920s. Imaoka had a consequential role in the Hungarian familiarization of Japanese history and culture. Dániel Molnár presents the role of Géza Sóos, a politician who can be linked to the Horthy-emigration, during the opposition against the Nazi Germany and its Hungarian retainers. The study of Máté Gál is concerned with the relations between the Hungarian government and the Roman Catholic Church after 1956, revealing the anti-ecclesiastical activity of the communist regime through a casework having occurred in the Archdiocese of Eger. Csongor Cserháti examines the specific political and social role of the Hungarian rock music via the history of Hungaroton, the state owned record company, during the communist dictatorship. Júlianna Orosz demonstrates the afflictions and everyday life of the Transcarpathian Hungarians during the socialism, through the reminiscence of three Transcarpathian Hungarian women. At last but not least, the volume is closed with the contemporary study of Tímea Kulcsár, who presents the development of the Carpathian Eurore-

gion after the fall of the Soviet Union and the transition of power in Central and Eastern Europe, focusing primarily on the interregional connections between Hungary and Ukraine.

The editorial works of this book had already come to an end when Prof. Imre Papp, the former director of the Doctoral School of History and Ethnography of the University of Debrecen had passed away. The editors and the authors offer this volume with honour to the memory of their deceased tutor.

Péter Forisek

Balázs Antal Bacsa

FIFTH TASTE –THE CIVILIZATIONAL EFFECTS OF GARUM

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to briefly present the role that *garum*, the famous fish sauce had fulfilled in Roman culinary. It touches upon themes such as preparation, trade and consumption of the product, based on classical literature and some of the most recent publications on the subject. Why distinct, if it was at all, from our taste, and what was the relation of the authors of antiquity to this fish product. Recent research fields of the fifth taste, and modern experiments on reproducing this ancient fish sauce also have a place below.

Keywords: Garum, umami, production, trade, Roman cuisine

Filtered liquid of salted fish and viscera that had been fermented in stone tubs on the sun for up to three months. Broadly speaking that is how we can identify what *garum* is. Being aware of this, it is not surprising that most people welcome this condiment that was so beloved by Greeks and Romans, with a measure of aversion. But do we have to condemn it at first site, or it rather stands closer to our sense of taste than we previously have thought? Only the urban elite could obtain this condiment labeled as *pretiosam*[1] by Seneca, or the demand for it was far greater than the needs of the *nobilitas*? This paper seeks the answers for these questions.

The main cause of this precarious response mentioned above should certainly be sought in classical literature. Seneca bluntly asks: *„(…) Illud sociorum garum, pretiosam malorum piscium salinem, non credis urere salsa tabe praecordia?" – „(…) the costly extract of poisonous fish, burns up the stomach with its salted putrefaction?"*[2] Artemidoros writes similarly to Seneca when he states *„(…) garum is nothing but putrefaction."*[3] The prominent classical scholar of the first half of the 20th century Ugo Paoli neither conceives otherwise, since in his opinion *"Our stomachs would probably revolt at a dish prepared with garum."*[4]

Notwithstanding the situation is far from drastic, thanks to the works of Claude Jardin, Théodore Monod, Pierre Grimal and Robert Curtis, just to mention a few. Since, the base of the Worcestershire sauce is anchovy too, and the *Nước mắm* fish sauce is still made similarly to the ancient method in Vietnam and under the name *Ishiri* in Japan. The latter two are the traditional ingredients of the far-east cuisines and can be added at any time of the cooking process.

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[1] *Seneca:* Epistulae morales. 95. 25. Transl.: Richard Mott Gummere.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Artemidoros:* Onirocriticon 1. 66. Transl.: Daniel E. Harris-McCoy.
[4] *Ugo Paoli*: Rome, Its People, Life and Customs. Bristol 1964. 91.

Its name derives from the Greek noun *garos/garon* from around the 5th century BC, which was being used to name a today unknown type of fish, or rather a fluid condiment made of that fish.[5] Throughout its presence, this condiment was called in several names. The most frequently used were *garum* and *liquamen*. In accordance with the current state of classical historical research, the *liquamen* was the most probably used term for naming a condiment separate from *garum* in the 1st century AD, and was later applied as a synonym for it by the 5th century AD.[6] It is also possible however that *garum* was made only by the blood of selected fish[7], while liquamen was made by whole fish.

According to the only cookbook from antiquity that survived, the *De re coquinaria* noted under Marcus Gavius Apicius, *garum* in the Roman nourishment has fulfilled a highly identical role to the dietary in the Far East today. The renowned master chef of our time Heston Blumenthal had recently revived the mysteries of Roman culinary on the bases of this very work. Naturally, due to his reputation he was bound to use modern technology during the process, since he had simmered the blood and viscera of the mackerel in brine, then clarified the liquid with the help of a vacuum pump, significantly cutting down the duration of the procedure. He came to the conclusion that the liquid resembles the taste of a rich, aromatic, slightly salty broth made of *„(…) some roasted langoustine or shrimp shells.”*[8]

The first written source on the production of the condiment is from the astrological treatise of Manilius, the *Astronomica* from the 1st century AD. According to this, only the blood of the fresh catch was mixed with salt to make *garum*, while the fish itself and the entrails were used to produce *allec*. The *liquamen* here was made by using the smaller fish, which otherwise would have been neglected. [9] These were salted and fermented in large jugs rather than in stone tubs. In the words of Pliny, *garum* consists of *„(…) the guts of fish and the other parts that would otherwise be considered refuse; these are soaked in salt, so that garum is really liquor from the putrefaction of these matters.”*[10] In accordance with him, the most often used fish was mackerel, however other types of fish could be also used such as tuna, sprat, European weather loach, sea urchin,

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[5] The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville. XX. III. 19. (Transl.) Stephen A. Barney – W. J. Lewis – J. A. Beach – Oliver Berghof. Cambridge 2006. 399.

[6] See *Grüll Tibor*: Halászat, haltenyésztés és halszószgyártás a Római Birodalomban. Ókor 3. (2014) 36–51.

[7] *Martialis*. XIII. 102. In: Ajándékok könyve. (Transl.) Bálint Gábor. Ókor 3. (2007) 75.

[8] See Garum Sauce by Heston Blumenthal. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mPX8dpKG48M (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).

[9] *Manilius:* Astronomicon V. 656–681. http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/manilius5.html (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).

[10] *Pliny*: The Natural History. XXXI. 43. Transl. John Bostock – H.T. Riley. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:31. (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).

oyster and different sea shells.[11] As stated in the Astronomica, the cleaned fish were layered on salt bed, then salt was poured on top of it, then fish and salt again until the stone tub was full. Then it was pressed with heavy weight and left in the sun. The condiment was made of selected fish with herbs often added. Regarding the amount of salt that had to be mixed with the fish, we can only rely on the Bithynian Geophonica. Here the two must be combined in a 1:8 ratio.[12] After the fermentation process the fluid was filtered, and the leftover paste at the bottom of the tub, which was called *allec*, was also used in cookery as fish paste. According to Pliny the Elder, *allec* could also have been made separately from *garum*.[13] The salty liquid that was used during the fermentation was called muria[14], which was also the name of the cheap fish sauce, according to Martialis.[15]

He reckons that prime garum is made of mackerel, and it is oftentimes given as a gift to the noble.[16] This must be the *garum sociorum*, which he calls the blood of small mackerel – *scombri de sanguine primo*.[17] While it is possible that garum sociorum was solely made of mackrel, not necessarily was every mackrel dressing garum sociorum.[18] But if it was, it must had been high-priced. Discussing this matter, our finest source is the edict of Diocletian from 301 BC. The edict does not just maximize the price of the sauce, along with many other consumables, but also divides it into two groups – *liquamen primum* and *liquamen secundum* – by its quality.[19] One sextarius[20] of the higher quality garum was sixteen denarii, while the same quantity of the lower quality could only reach up to twelve denarii. Although many authors have found the sauce expensive, the higher quality garum was still cheaper than one sextarius of the lower quality honey. It can be suggested that despite the words of Pliny, fish sauce was not outstandingly overpriced, based on the edict. We must admit after all that prices were commonly higher in the capital's, than in other cities' markets.

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[11] See *Grüll T.*: Halászat op. cit. 46.
[12] *Cassianus Bassus*: Geoponicorum. 20. 46. 3.
[13] *Pliny*: The Natural op. cit. XXXI.44.
http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1: 31.44. (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).
[14] *Cassianus Bassus*: Geoponicorum op. cit. 20. 46. 5.
[15] *Martialis*. XIII. 103. In: Ajándékok op. cit. 75.
[16] *Martialis*. XIII. 102. In: Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] *Robert Curtis:* In Defense of Garum. The Classical Journal 78. (1983: 3.) 232–240.
[19] Edict of Diocletian. 3. 6–7. See *Alfredo Carannante – Claudio Giardino – Umberto Savarese*: In search of garum. The "Colatura d'alici" from the amalfitan coast (Campania, Italy): an heir of the ancient Mediterranean fish sauces. In: Proceedings of the 4th Italian Congress of Ethnoarchaeology, Rome, 17–19 May, 2006. Eds.: Francesca Lugli – Alessandra Assunta Stoppiello – Stefano Biagetti. Oxford 2011. 69–79.
[20] 0.547 litre. See Ókori római szakácskönyv. Budapest 1999. 89.

Interestingly, the Romans did not only make main courses and different sauces with it, but have applied it to desserts as well.[21] More than eighty percent of the recipes in the cookbook uses garum, or garum-based sauces. Although we must add that Apicius was an offset of an excessively rich patrician family, his spendthrift feasts had already drawn the attention of his own contemporaries. Pliny writes that he was *„(...) nepotum omnium altissimus gurges (...)" – „(...) that very deepest whirlpool of all our epicures (...)"*[22]. Even though he had gained his reputation by cooking extravagant meals such as the liver of a goose fattened on fig, or the fake hake from rabbit liver – not to mention turning red wine into white – it is highly improbable that the frequent usage of garum had only been addressed to the elite. Since we not only encounter it in the recipes of special dishes, but in common meals too. While the condiment could be used in its plainness to season, it was frequently mixed with other liquids[23], such as wine (oenogarum), vinegar (oxygarum), water (hydrogarum), oil (elaeogarum) and honey (mellogarum).

The Romans were not only seasoning the food with it, but also used it instead of salt, as modern gastronomists say. In addition its flavor pleasantly accompanies several types of meat or vegetable, and straightly tops off seafood. It is only the tip of the iceberg that plenty of its beneficial physiological effects are known. The ancient had also been familiar with those effects, since they were not just using it in cookery, but in medicine as well.[24] Robert Curtis has also pointed out in his article *„Salted Fish Products in Ancient Medicine"* that the garum is extremely nutritive, full of vitamine B, amino acids, minerals and on top of that contains a good deal of protein.[25] Besides these, fish sauces contain a nowadays highlighted amino acid, the so called *umami.* This new taste was named by a chemistry professor of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Kikunae Ikeda in 1908. Its name derives from the noun *umai*, which means delicious. Ikeda was searching for the primary taste of dashi[26], since its flavor is dissimilar to the four basic tastes. After series of chemical experiments, he was able to retrieve the amino

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[21] *Apicius*: De re coquinaria.VII. XI. 9. In: Ibid..

[22] *Pliny*: The Natural op. cit. 10. 68.
http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:10.68. (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).

[23] See *Apicius:* De re coquinaria. I. XXXI.; II. II.

[24] *Pliny*: The Natural op. cit. 31. 44.
http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:31.44. (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).

[25] For details on nutrition value see: *Carannante, A. – Giardino C. – Savarese U.*: In search of garum op. cit. 70.

[26] Japanese soup base, which's basic ingredient is a seaweed, the Laminaria japonica. See *Bernd Lindemann – Yoko Ogiwara – Yuzo Ninomiya*: The Discovery of Umami. Chemical Senses 27. (2007: 9.) 843.

acid in a crystallized form.[27] Since then, synthetic amino acids are used to enhance the flavor of food.

The extensive amount of salt that was used during the preparation of the condiment had prevented putrefaction, since they have always salted the fresh catch right on the coast.[28] Expressing it with modern terms, they were bacterially fermenting the fish. This is something not so strange to our taste either, than the already mentioned Artemidorosian *„nothing but putrefaction"* point of view. Just think of the *Surströmming*, the Swedish fermented herring, or the utmost favorite cheese of Napoleon, the *Époisses de Bourgogne*. The former delight is prohibited to carry by air, because overpressure can occur in the tin due to the fermentation process, meaning it may explode, and the letter is banned from public transportation in France because of its penetrative odour.[29] Both are considered to be amongst the most putrid smelling foods of the world.

A vast number of archeological evidences prove the incidence of this sauce throughout the whole empire. Several fish salting establishment remains had been found in Egypt, Gallia, Africa Proconsularis, Sardinia, Corsica, surrounding the Black Sea and of course Hispania. According to the authors of the antiquity, the very best and most expensive garum originated from the letter area.[30] The largest fish salting installation found so far in the western part of the empire lies in Lixus, Morocco, with its extensive 1000 m^2. For producing fish sauce, a vast amount of salt and fresh water was needed. Thus the garum-works were established where both were available, close to the mouth of rivers, where freshwater was accessible from the river, and salt from the sea or from salty swamps by distillation.[31] Due to the penetrating smell of the fermentation process, the installations were placed further from the cities. The size of the stone tubs found so far, vary between 1,5 × 1,03 × 1,85 meters and 4,0 × 3,7 × 2,0 meters.[32] Several hundreds of amphora vessels have been found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, many of which were entitled *garum, liquamen, allec* or *muria*.[33] Garum sociorum could had also been purchased in Pompeii, 3 amphora vessels had been found there so far with that label.

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[27] Ibid.
[28] See *Grüll T.*: Halászat op. cit. 46.
[29] World's smelliest cheese' named. BBC News, 26 November 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/beds/bucks/herts/4044703.stm (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).
[30] See *Pliny:* The Natural op. cit. 31. 43. http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0978.phi001.perseus-eng1:31.43. (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).
[31] *Grüll T.*: Halászat op. cit. 46.
[32] *Curtis, R.:* Garum and Salsamenta: Commerce and Production in Materia Medica. Studies in Ancient Medicine 3. Leiden 1991. 53–54.
[33] *Curtis, R.:* In Defense op. cit. 236.

We are able to find the answer to the above mentioned question as well in Pompeii, namely, which social strata could come by this condiment. The response may be all, since several garum storing vessels had already been found both in the houses of the noble and the common people.[34]

Fish sauce trading was outstanding within the empire. There were various sauce-traders, such as the *negotiatores allecarii*, who transported their goods in amphora vessels, and the *negotiatores murarii*, who used wooden barrels.[35] Due to its geographical location, most probably Gades was the western center of the garum trade.[36] We know several garum merchants by name, which appear on the labels of the amphoras, both from Hispania and Pompeii. The most outstanding of these merchants was probably Aurus Umbricius Scaurus, since his amphoras take up 30 percent of all fish sauce amphoras found in Pompeii, and his vessels appear in two distant locations of the empire, in Britain and Egypt as well.[37] The commercial gimmick was already known in antiquity, namely that certain goods are easier to sell, if a catchy label can be found on them. This was no different in the case of our condiment either. The various garum-works assembled in *societates*, contesting with each other did not only write the content of the vessels on the *tituli picti*, but provided them with majestic attributes too. Such were *„Garum Flos"* – flower of garum, and *„Garum Optimum"* – the best garum, which titles could be found on some of the amphora vessels. While some writers consider garum sociorum utterly expensive, we must admit that several other types and brands were available for the less wealthy to buy.[38]

From all of this we can conclude that the Fifth Taste that was used from Gallia to Egypt, from Hispania to the Black Sea in everyday cookery, might not be so alien to our sense of taste either. Garum production and fish products trade was an extensive industry, since fish and fish products were commonly used in Roman cuisine, and is still in use throughout the Mediterranean. The large-scale of archeological evidences show that not only the elite could come by this condiment. While there were some expensive brands, most were more than affordable for the common people. Its taste was not so distinct to our taste either, since similar sauces are still being used in the Far East, and their usage is more and more frequent nowadays in Europe as well. Garum was a condiment of everyday life, bracing the multiracial, multicultural Roman Empire.

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[34] C.I.L., Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum, Vol. IV., Incriptiones Parietariae Pompeianae Herculanenses Stabianae. Ed. Carolus Zangemeister, Richardo Schoene. Berolini 1871. 9390, 9388, 5671–5672

[35] *Grüll T.*: Halászat op. cit. 47.

[36] Ibid.

[37] *Curtis, R.:* The Salted Fish Industry of Pompeii. Archaeology 37. (1984: 6.) 75.

[38] *Curtis, R.:* In Defense op. cit. 235–236.

Tamás Szebenyi

THE MANIFESTATION OF TRADE ALONG THE LIMES IN THE DISTRICT OF AQUINCUM TOWARDS THE SARMATIAN BARBARICUM

ABSTRACT

The intensity of the Roman–Barbarian relationships depends on numerous different circumstances. Perhaps the most important of these is the distance measured from the Roman limes (besides the chronological and economic status, or the type of the excavation itself). Therefore in the recent paper I study the region near the Pannonian border in the aspect of trade. For this I use the ceramic material of the huge pottery center of Üllő 5–9., which lies only 24 km from Aquincum in the vicinity of the Aquincum–Porolissum road. The amount and variety of the terra sigillata, the glazed pottery or the painted hemispherical bowls shows an anomaly in the Sarmatian Barbaricum. In comparison with another Sarmatian settlements from various geographical regions the importance of the aforementioned factors are not questionable in the case of Üllő 5–9.

Keywords: Roman–barbarian trade relations, Aquincum, Sarmatian Barbaricum, comparative analysis of archeological materials

It is an accepted fact in the archaeological research of the Sarmatian Barbaricum in the Carpathian Basin that the richest regions of Roman imported products can be placed in the frontiers indicated by the limes of the neighboring provinces. In the case of Pannonia Inferior, the scenes of the interaction between the Romans and the Barbarians must have been in the district of Aquincum. Next to the direct Roman presence,[1] the areal diffusion of the *„most important"* imported products seems to reinforce this assumption.[2] In my paper, I concentrate on the Sarmatian settlements situated in the district of Aquincum, which show the characteristic features of the trade near the limes, and I illustrate my work with examples from the outstanding imported pottery material of the site of Üllő 5–9.[3]

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[1] Here I mean the trade routes starting from Aquincum and the watchtowers along these roads. Recently summarized by *Gabler Dénes*: Utak Pannonia és Dácia között a „Barbaricumon" át. In: Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából 2008–2010 III–IV (XIII–XIV). Szerk. Bajusz Istvan – Benkő Elek–Emődi Tamás–Kovács András–László Attila. Kolozsvár 2011. 43–61.

[2] At the moment the location of the terra sigillata fragments show the intense relations: *Gabler Dénes – Vaday Andrea*: Terra sigillata im Barbaricum zwischen Pannonien und Dazien. Teil 2. Acta Archaeologica Hungarica XLIV. (1992) 83–160., 87–89. Other imported pottery show later.

[3] The information presented following represent the early phase of my PhD thesis, so my statements must be treated as working hypotheses.

The concept of the trade near the limes appears in the descriptions of the settlements being near to the province.[4] Valéria Kulcsár provides statistically valuable data in connection with the site of Lajosmizse-Felsőlajos for the first time. She highlights the high rates of imported pottery as we approach the province.[5] Considering the terra sigillata fragments, Andrea Vaday defines the left side of the limes as a regional group of the Sarmatian-Roman trade, where in her views the trade along the limes can be measured, too.[6] In addition, she argues that the qualitative and quantitative composition of the findings of the Sarmatian settlements can be defined by the following factors: ethnic and chronological differences, the attributes of the settlement (size, kind and potential of the local economy), and the distance from the Roman provinces.[7]

Although in the foreground of Aquincum several archaeological researches have been carried out, the results of the excavations were published only in the form of preliminary reports. Such short and informative reports tell us about the Sarmatian settlements of the flatland of South-Pest,[8] or about the sites of Dunakeszi, Alagi major.[9] The reports about the excavated settlements being situated in the later M0 motorway and the Main Road 2 were published in a summing-up volume, too.[10] In the region, we have to highlight Újhartyán, which

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[4] Such as *Pető Mária*: Szarmata falvak a dél-pesti síkságon (Beszámoló az M0 autópálya nyomvonalán 1987–1989-ben végzett leletmentésekről). In: Régészeti kutatások az M0 autópálya nyomvonalán (BTM Műhely 5/ II.). Szerk. Havassy Péter – Selmeczi László. Budapest 1992. 7–39., 15.; *Kulcsár Valéria*: Császárkori telepásatások a 2. számú főút nyomvonalában (Előzetes jelentés). Pest Megyei Múzeumi Füzetek 4. (1997) 374–377., 377.; *Vaday Andrea – Szekeres Ágnes*: Megjegyzések az Alföld kora szarmata telepeinek kérdéséhez (a jazyg bevándorlás és a megtelepedés kérdésköre). A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica 7. (2001) 231–298., 244–245.

[5] *Kulcsár Valéria–Vörös István*: Szarmata telep Lajosmizse határában. Leletmentés az M5 útnál. Cumania 11. (1986) 67–94., 88–90.

[6] *Vaday A.*: Kereskedelem és gazdasági kapcsolatok a szarmaták és a rómaiak között. In: Jazigok, roxolánok, alánok. Szarmaták az Alföldön. Gyulai katalógusok 6. Szerk. Havassy Péter. Gyula 1998. 119–143., 128.

[7] *Vaday A.*: Late Sarmatian Settlement at ÖRM0052. In: Archaeological Investigations in County Békés 1986–1992. Szerk. Vaday Andrea – Jankovich B. Dénes – Kovács László. Budapest 2011. 405–585., 491.

[8] Soroksár-Várhegy, III. munkahely *(Pető M.*: Római kori (szarmata) település Soroksáron. Budapest Régiségei 28. (1991) 223–235.; *Pető M.*: Dél-Pesti síkság op. cit. 7–8.); Soroksár I/B (*Pető M.*: Dél-Pesti síkság op. cit. 8–11.); the boundary of Dunaharaszti, I. munkahely (*Pető M.*: Dél-Pesti síkság op. cit. 11.); the boundary of Dunaharaszti-Taksony, II. munkahely (*Pető M.*: Dél-Pesti síkság op. cit. 11–13.); Rákoscsaba (*Pető M.*: Római kori (szarmata) telep maradványai Rákoscsabán. Budapest Régiségei 28. (1991) 237–255.

[9] *Kulcsár V.*: Császárkori telepásatások op. cit. 376–377.

[10] From the sites presented in the volume, I would like to highlight the relevant items from the perspective of imported pottery: [On the trace of M0] Ecser 7. (Régészeti kutatások másfélmillió négyzetméteren. Autópálya és gyorsforgalmi utak építését megelőző régészeti feltárások Pest megyében 2001–2006. Pest Megyei Múzeumi Füzetek 7. Szerk. Simon László. Szentendre 2006. 21–25.); Maglód 1. (Régészeti kutatások másfélmillió négyzetméteren op. cit. 36–38.); Üllő 5–9. (Ibid. 42–48.); Vecsés 67. (Ibid. 59–62.); Vecsés 83. (Ibid. 63–64.); [On the trace of the main road 2]

is a fully analyzed settlement,[11] and the published terra sigillata finds of Cegléd and Abony,[12] or Vác-Csörögi rét.[13]

The imported pottery material of the site of Üllő 5–9. provides a good basis for examining the phenomenon of the trade near the limes, since in the unpublished[14] material of the site, nearly 8000 tile fragments belonging to 3500 inventory items are Roman imported products. In the following, I present the groups of pottery being relevant for the trade near the limes.

The main part of imported pottery belongs to painted pottery: more than 75% of the import of Üllő consists of the fragments of brown or orange-red hemispherical bowls [Figure 5; Figure 6/1].[15] Based on the main concerns of this paper, it seems to be the most important task to define the origins of the fragments from Üllő. The findings are rather fragmental; those decorated with stitching can bring us closer to the parallels from the Barbaricum[16] and from Pannonia, too.[17] Because of the great amount of the imported findings, the exporter must have been nearby, and we can assign Aquincum as the place of origin, or the place of distribution.

Cegléd 4/1. (Ibid. 81–82.), 4/3. (Ibid. 83.), 4/4. (Ibid. 84.), 4/6. (Ibid. 84–85.), 4/7. (Ibid. 86–88.), 4/14. (Ibid. 105–108.); Abony 39. (Ibid. 89.), 42. (Ibid. 91.).

[11] *Vaday A. – Szekeres Á.*: Megjegyzések op. cit. 235–298.

[12] *Gabler D.*: Terra sigillaták Cegléd és Abony határából. Studia Comitatensia 31. (2011) 254–284.

[13] *Kulcsár Valéria – Horváth Friderika*: Die Terra Sigillata-Funde der kaiserzeitlichen Siedlung Vác-Csörögi-Rét im Barbaricum. In: Zwischen Rom und dem Barbaricum: Festschrift für Titus Kolník zum 70. Geburgstag. Hrsg. Klára Kuzmová. Nitra 2002. 313–324.

[14] About the site see Régészeti kutatások másfélmillió négyzetméteren op. cit. 42–48. and *Istvánovits Eszter − Kulcsár Valéria −Mérai Dóra*: Roman Age Barbarian Pottery Workshops in the Great Hungarian Plain. In: Drehscheibentöpferei im Barbaricum Technologietransfer und Professionalisierung eines Handwerks am Rande des Römischen Imperiums. Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 11. bis 14. Juni 2009. Hrsg. Jan Bemmann – Morten Hegewisch – Michael Meyer − Michael Schmauder. Bonn 2011. 355–369. The published segments of the findings: *Kulcsár V. – Mérai D.*: Roman or Barbarian? Provincial Models in a Sarmatian Pottery Center on the Danube Frontier. In: The Roman Empire and Beyond: Archaeological and Historical Research on the Romans and Native Cultures in Central Europe. BAR International Series 2236. Eds. Eric C. de Sena – Halina Dobrzanska. Oxford 2011. 61–80.; *Szebenyi Tamás*: Pecsételt kerámia Üllő 5. lelőhely szarmata telepéről. In: Acta Iuvenum Sectio Archaeologica Tomus I. Szerk. Révész László. Szeged 2013. 9–31.; *Péterdi Bálint – Szakmány György*: Bazaltos andezit nyersanyagú szarmata szerszámkövek kőzettani és geokémiai vizsgálata (Üllő 5. lelőhely). Archeometriai Műhely 2. (2009) 43–59.

[15] About this type of finding Kornél Sóskuti and Gábor Wilhelm writes in detail in connection with the site of Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő (*Sóskuti Kornél – Sz. Wilhelm Gábor*: A Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlőben (20/77, Nr. 85. lelőhely) feltárt szarmata településrészlet római eredetű leletanyaga. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 1. (2014) 61–99., 68–71. The findings of Üllő are in form identical with the descriptions of the authors.

[16] Exact parallels from the area Soroksár-Várhegy, III. munkahely (*Pető M.*: Soroksár op. cit 8. Plate 3–4.).

[17] Paralells from Aquincum: *Póczy Klára*: Die Töpferwerkstatten von Aquincum. Communicationes Archaeologica Hungarica 17. (1956) 73–137., Abb. 10, 1–2; *Bónis Éva*: Töpferei an der Südmauer der Aquincumer Zivilstadt neben dem „Schütz-Gasthof". Budapest Régiségei 30. (1993) 229–243.., Abb. 9.2.

One of the special groups of painted pottery are streaked jugs [Figure 6/3].[18] In the pottery fragments, strikes and stitching can be unmistakably recognized only a few times. According to previous research, the vessels were produced in Brigetio,[19] so this kind of pottery must have arrived to Barbaricum through Aquincum.

Although the terra sigillata findings of the sites of Üllő 5–9. are not processed, they attracted attention because of their high number of occurrences,[20] nearly 760 fragments can be found at the site[21] (at the Sarmatian areas 1052 findings are known out of 283 sites).[22] The fragments of Üllő distributed by the manufactories fit in the picture of Dénes Gabler observed in the district of Abony and Cegléd,[23] since the rate of the products from Rheinzabern and Westerndorf are balanced.[24] As far as form is concerned, the decorated Dragendorff 37 fragments are dominant, and compared to them, the numbers of the Dragendorff 18/31 and 33 fragments are negligible. We can find more decorated (and expensive) bowls compared to the not decorated ones, which points to the fact that the pottery settlement in Üllő used to have a high purchasing power. The appearance of the terra sigillatas from Nord-Italy and South-Gallia, being unique in the Barbaricum, shows a better connection with the province.[25]

The glazed findings from Üllő are also overrepresented, since in the settlement 32 fragments[26] can be found, which is the biggest amount in the Sarma-

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[18] About the provincial finds see *Bónis É.*: A brigetioi sávos kerámia. Folia Archaeologica 21. (1970) 71–90., and with newer types *Kelemen Márta*: Római kori fazekaskemencék Balatonfűzfőn. A Veszprém Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve 15. (1980) 49–72., 60. In the Sarmatian Barbaricum Kiskunfélegyháza, Pap-dűlő (*Sóskuti K.*: Szarmata településrészlet Kiskunfélegyháza, Pap-dűlő [451/3.] lelőhelyen. A Szántó Kovács Múzeum Évkönyve 7. 2005. 235–272., 248.); Pusztaszer-Csöngölei oldal II.; Balástya, Felső-Gajgonya, Gajgonyai csatorna II. (*Sóskuti K.*: Szarmata településleletek egy gázszállító vezeték Csongrád megyei szakaszáról, Pusztaszertől Algyőig. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Monumenta Archaeologica II. 2010. 171–191., 181.) and Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő sites's findings are identified (*Sóskuti K. – Sz.Wilhelm G.*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő op. cit. 70.).

[19] *Bónis É.*: Sávos kerámia op. cit. 80.; *Kelemen M.*: Balatonfűzfő op. cit. 61.

[20] *Gabler D.*: Utak op. cit. 47; *Gabler D.*: Abony és Cegléd op. cit. 255.

[21] The exact amount is in question: 763 items (*Gabler D.*: Abony és Cegléd op. cit. 255.); 758 items (*Kulcsár V.– Mérai D.*: Roman or Barbarian?, op. cit. Plate I.) (758 inventory items from the report containing the definitions of Friderika Horváth. I am grateful for it for Friderika Horváth, Róbert Patay and Dóra Mérai).

[22] *Gabler D.*: Abony és Cegléd op. cit. 255., 262. This number does not contain the fragment from Üllő.

[23] *Gabler D.*: Abony és Cegléd op. cit. 262.

[24] The phenomenon can be connected to the trade near the limes, since the bowls with lower quality from Westerndorf spread in the district of the limes (*Gabler D. – Vaday A.*: Terra sigillata im Barbaricum op. cit. 89.).

[25] *Gabler D. – Vaday A.*: Terra sigillata im Barbaricum zwischen Pannonien und Dazien. Budapest 1986. 32.

[26] *Olgyay János*: Római mázas kerámia Üllő 5. és 9. lelőhelyen. BA thesis. Szeged 2010. 31–37. Thanks for János Olgyay for letting me use his thesis.

tian Barbaricum.[27] In comparison, we can mention only the collection of Anita Vári in Csongrád and Békés counties, where the author mentions the fragments of 35 vessels out of 16 sites.[28] Also, the rare early glazed finds found in Üllő in the Sarmatian settlements show the complexity of trade relations.[29]

The occurrence of the barbotine decorated bowls proves the presence of the import from Aquincum [Figure 5/2, 4].[30] The material of the examined site contains 12 such fragments[31] which are identical in form and decoration with the provincial ones. These fragments reinforce the assumption that the origins of the bowls must be looked for in Acquincum.[32] The way how they spread goes by the trade routes starting from the province.[33]

In the site of Üllő 5–9., fragments of amphoras can be observed which are identical with the Zeest 90 (Dressel 24) type, a form was identified earlier in Kiskunfékegyháza-Pap-dűlő.[34] Although the amount of the amphoras produced on the west bank of the province of Asia Minor[35] grows fast in the Sarmatian Barbaricum,[36] such as the number of the unanswered questions in connection with the research: one of the problems is the great amount of the fragments in Bar-

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[27] The glazed findings of the site of Ecser 7. are similarly rich (almost 15 glazed mortars, which number is outstanding in a Sarmatian settlement).

[28] *Vári Anita*: Néhány római mázas kerámia a Dél-Alföldön. A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 34. (2011) 93–122., 97–102. Most of the fragments are from Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő (7 items, later republished by *Sóskuti K. – Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő op. cit. 73–74) and from Sándorfalva-Eperjes (6 items).

[29] Lid with semi-lune applications and fragment of a jug with conical neck (*Olgyay J.*: Mázas op. cit.). Other early glazed bowls: Szarvas (*Juhász Ilona*: Mázas római edény Szarvasról. A Békés Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 23. (2002) 93–98.); Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő (*Sóskuti K.*– Sz. *Wilhelm G.*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő op. cit. 74.).

[30]Summarized by *Korom Anita*: Adatok a barbotindíszes meredek falú tálak kérdéséhez a káposztásmegyeri császárkori telep kapcsán. Budapest Régiségei XXXIX. (2005) 71–88.

[31] The site of Ecser 7's unpublished material contains a similar amount of fragments with barbotine decoration.

[32] *Korom A.*: Barbotindíszes op. cit. 76.

[33] Ibid. 9. Picture 6. compared with *Gabler D.*: Utak op. cit. Plate 3. The later published fragments make the picture clearer: Pócspetri M3–201. (*Masek Zsófia.*: Római császárkori települések Kántorjánosi és Pócspetri határában. In: Ante Viam Stratam. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum megelőző feltárásai Kántorjánosi és Pócspetri határában az M3 autópálya nyírségi nyomvonalán. Szerk. Szabó Ádám – Masek Zsófia. Budapest 2012. 197–342., 236., 37. Plate 2.); Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő (*Sóskuti K.– Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő op. cit. 70.).

[34] About the fragments from Barbaricum in more detail see *Sóskuti K. – Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Bor és olaj a szarmatáknál? (Amphorák az alföldi Szarmata Barbaricumban). Múzeumi Kutatások Csongrád Megyében 2004. Szeged 2005. 101–117.

[35]*Gabler Dénes – Hárshegyi Piroska – Lassányi Gábor – Vámos Péter*: Eastern Mediterranean Import and its Influence on Local Pottery in Aquincum. Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 60. (2009) 51–72., 64.

[36] *Sóskuti K.– Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Bor és olaj op. cit. 101–117., 104: 24 sites; *Sóskuti K.*: Szarmata településleletek egy gázszállító vezeték Csongrád megyei szakaszáról, Pusztaszertől Algyőig. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Monumenta Archaeologica II. (2010) 171–191., 181: 80 sites; *Sóskuti K.– Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő op. cit. 73: more than 150 sites.

baricum compared to those of the neighboring provinces,[37] or we could mention the stand-alone dominance of the Zeest 90 type.[38] Amphoras are the only pottery types among the imported products in Üllő which are not much more in number than the amount of the fragments in central Barbaricum.[39]

The site of Üllő 5–9. is also outstanding in the variety of the types of imported Roman pottery. More Roman copies of the Dragendorff 35/36 terra sigillata plates can be found, which are unknown from the central Barbaricum. Based on the shiny, orange-red coating and the stiched decoration, we assume that they connect to Aquincum, such as the painted pottery.[40] The unique tile fragments, such as the *Spruchbecher* fragment from Rhineland show the complexity of the trade relations.[41]

The above facts imply that the intense trade in the district of the limes can be described with qualitative and quantitative factors. Both factors are determined by the trade and military routes between Pannonia and Dacia through the Sarmatian Barbaricum. The Sarmatian settlements being next to these routes[42] could possibly obtain products from the Roman-Barbarian trade, and in this way

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[37] Pannonia: 6 sites. (*Hárshegyi, P.*: Roman Amphorae from the East along the Ripa Pannonica. Rei Cretariae Romanae Acta 40. (2008) 173–178., Fig. 3.); Moesia: 9 sites (*Ljiljana Bjelajac*: Amfore gornjo Mezijskog Podunvlja. Beograd 1996. 53–55.); Dacia: 24 sites (*Adrian Ardeț*: Amforele din Dacia romană. Timisoara 2006. 106–108.).

[38] We have to note that the Zeest 90 arrives to Aquincum with other amphoras used for wine transport (such as Kapitän II) (*Hárshegyi P.*: Ripa Pannonica op. cit. 173–176), which cannot be found in Barbaricum. It is often problematic to define other types appearing in the literature: for example the Dressel 6/A fragment from the site of Cegléd 4/6. (Régészeti kutatások másfélmillió négyzetkilométeren op. cit. 84). The Barbarian imitations serve as evidence for the existence of other forms, too. These forms show not only the shaping of the Zeest 90, but also another type of neck/rim appears: defined as jug with double handle from Szabadka-Mácskovits téglagyár (*Sóskuti K. – Sz. Wilhelm G.*: „Sárkányok az Alföldön" II. Meanderes-spirális díszítésű edények a Kárpát-medencei szarmata Barbaricumban. In: „Hadak útján" – Népességek és iparok a népvándorlás korában. A népvándorláskor fiatal kutatóinak XVI. konferenciáján elhangzott előadások. Nagykovácsi, 2005. szeptember 26–28. Szerk. Újlaki Pongrácz Zsuzsánna. Nagykovácsi 2006. 53–83., 62, fig.1, 4.)

[39] See Figure 1.

[40] As a terra sigillata imitation: *Bónis É.*: A császárkori edényművesség termékei Pannoniában. A Terra Sigillatákon kívül. Dissertationes Pannonicae II. Budapest 1942. 11–12. XXI. table. 39–40. From cemetery: Aquincum, Bécsi út (*Topál Judit*: Roman Cemeteries of Aquincum, Pannonia. The Western Cemetery, Bécsi Road 1. Budapest 1993. 14. Plate 11., 12.).

[41] The fragment from Üllő 5–9. is mentioned by *Olgyay J.*: Mázas op. cit.*; Kulcsár V. – Mérai D.*: Roman or Barbarian? iop. cit. 62.

[42] Without using the routes going through the Sarmatian Barbaricum, the Aquincum–Porolissum road is 934 km long, which can be done within 32,8 days. See http://orbis.stanford.edu. (Downloaded: 23 May 2015). However, using the shorter Aquincum–Porolissum road (through the Sarmatian territory), the distance can be shortened to cca. 340 kms, which could have been done in 11,3 days with a speed of 30 km/day (the author's calculation based on *Gabler D.:* Utak op. cit. Plate 3.) The distance can be done with the speed of 18–21 km/day recommended by Andrea Vaday (*Vaday A. – Horváth F.*: A szarmata telep értékelése. In: Kompolt-Kistér. Újkőkori, bronzkori, szarmata és avar lelőhely. Leletmentő ásatás az M3 autópálya nyomvonalán. Szerk. Petercsák Tibor – Szabó J. János . Eger 1999. 179–231., 192 in 16,2–18,8 days.

they could get more diverse imported pottery. The pottery fragments found at the sites of Kiskunhalas-Tesco[43] or Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő[44] are good examples, since they show a variety of pottery products in spite of the distance from the limes [Figure 2]. Along the roads, the amount of Roman pottery lessens as we get further and further from Pannonia.[45] Roman watchtowers and river crossing places are also determining, since they used to be trade centers and they could obtain Roman goods even from further districts.[46]

In order to compare the trade relations of the settlements, we can take a look at the map which shows the proportions of local pottery/imported pottery ratios [Figure 3]. However, the data is strongly influenced by the circumstances of the excavation, since the small-field excavations[47] and the not equal distribution of the imported products can distort the picture.[48]

It is an important question whether the structure of the Roman–Barbarian relation can be observed in other parts of the limes in Pannonia. We can assume that the same kind of structure existed in the district of Lugio, too. The assumption is based on the following facts: in this district, along the road on the east side of the limes there was Roman presence, too.[49] In spite of this, in this area only Parthiscum was considerably affected by the intensive import.[50]

Approaching the limes of *Pannonia Inferior*, the Roman export towards the neighboring quad areas show several known elements. Through the trade with the Germanic tribes, the barter seems to be the most intense in the border zones,

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[43] *Rosta Szabolcs – Lichtenstein László*: Egy szarmata telep a 2–3. század fordulóján. In: A Barbaricum ösvényein. A 2005-ben Kecskeméten tartott tudományos konferencia előadásai. Archeologica Cumanica 1. Szerk. Somogyvári Ágnes – V. Székely György. Kecskemét 2011. 85–117. About the assumed trade routes see ibid. 98. Picture 19.

[44] *Sóskuti K.– Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő op. cit. 76.

[45] See the data of Figure 1compared with Figure 2.

[46] Taking into consideration the situation before the river controlling can specify the trace of the roads (Figure 5). Although in the foreground of Aquincum the investigation gives no relevant results, the assumed traces of the roads towards Porolissum and Resculum show that they bound the flooded area. The same flooded area can be the reason why the road from Aquincum towards Szolnok breaks (or joins another route). Because of the configuration of the terrain and the small amount of findings it can be a question whether the road towards Porolissum through the valley of Berettyó joins the road towards Resculum. The roads based on *Gabler D.*: Utak op. cit. Plate 3.

[47] On the site of Nagyszénás–Svábföld there is 31 Roman products out of 71 pottery fragments in only 1 feature (43,66%). See *Lichtenstein L.*: 2–3. századi szarmata településnyom Nagyszénás határában. Mozaikok Orosháza és vidéke múltjából 4. (2011) 3–9.

[48] In the case of Üllő 5–9., the majority of terra sigillata fragments (740 out of 758) comes from the 1/10th of the area. *Kulcsár V.– Mérai D.*: Roman or Barbarian? op. cit. 62. This can be the case in the import of the site Kiskunfélegyháza, Pap-dűlő, where according to the author the findings could be defined in 20%. (*Sóskuti K.:* Kiskunfélegyháza-Pap dűlő op. cit. 252.).

[49] Such as Contra Florentiam (*Kőhegyi Mihály – Novotny Iván*: Adatok és megjegyzések a Contra Florentiam római kori kikötőről. A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve 12. (1967) 39–48., 48.).

[50] Next to other things, we can explain this phenomenon with research deficiency. For example in the research of the amphoras (*Sóskuti K. – Sz. Wilhelm G.*: Bor és olaj op. cit.) or the glazed pottery (*Vári A.*: Néhány római mázas kerámia op. cit.), the role of Csongrád county seems to increase.

too;[51] here the foreground of Brigetio and Aquincum must have been the most influential areas. The trade routes in the valleys of the rivers possibly had a big role in spreading the products.[52] It is important to note that the pottery types participated in the trade are identical with the products arriving to the Sarmatian areas.[53]

In my paper, the site of Üllő 5–9. must be seen as the integral part of the trade zone along the limes near Aquincum. The above presented types of imported pottery are connected (directly or indirectly) to Aquincum, so in the case of the barbotine decorated bowls we can speak about local production, while in the case of terra sigillatas or the amphoras we can assume the distribution of Empire wide common goods. These findings are present in the Sarmatian Barbaricum in a so far not experienced amount and variety, and in order to explain this situation, we have to take into consideration more factors at the same time. Aquincum, the limes in Pannonia and the nearness to the trade route going through the site of Üllő 1.[54] are determining. The size[55] and the economic potential[56] of the pottery settlement in Üllő are other important factors, although less palpable. In the case of the site of Üllő 5–9., based on the 48 pottery kilns,[57] the industrial character of the settlement is not to doubt. The economic potential and the size of the market differentiates between the outstanding settlements regarding the imported products (in the area of Üllő 5–9. or Ecser 7.) and the other, not outstanding sites in the Sarmatian Barbaricum (such as Vecsés 63. and 87.). Because of the industrial character, the proportion of the imported fragments in Üllő does not reach 1%, since the locally produced cooking pots raise the numbers of

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[51] *Prohászka Péter*: Pannonia és a szlovákiai kvád Barbarikum kereskedelmi kapcsolatai a leletek tükrében. In: „Hadak útján" – A népvándorláskor kutatóinak IX. konferenciája. Eger 1998. szeptember 18–20. Heves megyei régészeti közlemények 2. Eger 2000. 51–70.

[52] It is especially true for the pottery. (*Prohászka P.*: Kvád Barbarikum op. cit. 54–56., 60.).

[53] Marbled pottery, bowls with dent body, glazed pottery (especially mortars), stamped pottery from Pannonia, terra sigillata, painted pottery, granular grey-black pottery (*Prohászka P.*: Kvád Barbarikum op. cit. 59- 60).

[54] About the route being near to Üllő see *Kulcsár V. – Mérai D.*: Roman or Barbarian? op. cit. 61.

[55] Üllő5+Üllő9=322500 m²+25180 m² (*Istvánovits E. – Kulcsár V. – Mérai D.*: Barbarian Pottery Workshops op. cit. 339–341.), which is 1/3 of the estimated extension (Régészeti kutatások másfélmillió négyzetméteren op. cit. 42.).The great amount of the imported pottery could be explained with this, since this area is three times as big as the Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő. However, even 1/3 of the imported products are more than what can be experienced there.

[56] We can assume that for example the site of Gyoma 133. can have industrial character based on the workshops (*Vaday, A.:* Roman Period Barbarian settlement at the site of Gyoma 133. In: Cultural and Landscape Changes in South East Hungary II. Prehistoric, Roman Period Barbarian and Late Avar Settlement at Gyoma 133. (Békés County Microregion). Ed. Sándor Bökönyi. Budapest. 1996. 51–305., 79–82.). Ibolya Nepper assumes industrial character in the case of Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb (*Nepper Ibolya*: Császárkori szarmata telep Biharkeresztes Ártánd-Kisfarkasdombon. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve (1981) 67–114., 109.) and Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb (*Nepper I.*: Császárkori szarmata telep Biharkeresztes Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdombon. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. Debrecen 1982. 101–239., 236.) too.

[57] *Kulcsár V. – Mérai D.*: Roman or Barbarian? op. cit. 63.

Barbarian pottery fragments.[58] In the case of the settlements which were populated for longer time, we can find a much more diverse import pottery collection.

It goes without saying that based on the findings of one site we cannot draw conclusions which are valid for the entire region. However, observing the pottery fragments of the above mentioned settlements, it is obvious that getting closer to the province from central Barbaricum, we can find a bigger amount of imported pottery which is more diverse in form. The intensity of trading relations is determined by the trade routes, the distance from the limes, the size of the settlements and their economic situation. The absence of one of these factors can influence the amount or the quality of the import, and their presence together can lead to an anomaly similar to the one in Üllő. In the near future it might be possible to define the extent of the trade near the limes by presenting the pottery material related to Aquincum on a map.

[58] It happened that 10.000 tile fragments were identified as waste of workshops (Ibid. 64.).

APPENDIX

Nr.	Site	Terra sigillata (Samian ware) (S)	Amphora (A)	Glazed P. (G)	Barbotine decorated P. (B)	Painted P. (P)	Other (+)	Ratio	Bibliography
1.	Ártánd-Kisfarkasdomb	3	-	2	-	-	-	2,29%	NEPPER 1981
2.	Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb	19	-	4	-	5+1	-	5,23%	NEPPER 1982
3.	Bánhalma (Kenderes)	1	-	-	-	-	-	1%	VADAY 1977
4.	Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlő	87	226	7	1	211+1	18	2-2,5%	SÓSKUTI-WILHELM 2014
5.	Földdeák	1	-	-	-	-	-	2%	PÁRDUCZ 1941
6.	Gyoma 133.	110	4	2	-	9	6	1%	VADAY 1996
7.	Kántorjánosi 52-52d	5	-	-	-	-	-	1<%	MASEK 2012
8.	Kiskunfélegyháza, Pap-dűlő	2	4	-	-	5+1	-	20%*	SÓSKUTI 2005
9.	Kiskunhalas-Tesco	38	46	1	1	85	51	8-9%	ROSTA-LICHTENSTEIN 2011
10.	Kompolt-Kistér	28	-	-	-	10	-	1<%	VADAY-HORVÁTH 1999
11.	Kunszentmárton	3	-	-	-	-	-	1%	VADAY-VÖRÖS 1980
12.	Lajosmizse-Felsőlajos	5	-	-	1	1	1	8,51%	KULCSÁR-VÖRÖS 1986
13.	Pócspetri 201.	23	-	-	1	-	1	1,90%	MASEK 2012
14.	Rákoscsaba	6	-	-	-	-	3	11,90 %	PETŐ 1991B
15.	Szegvár-Orom-dűlő	2	[2-3]	-	-	1+1	3	1,3-1,4%	ISTVÁNOVITS-LŐRINCZY-PINTYE 2005
16.	Tiszavasvári (x3)	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,9%; 2,19%; 0,26%	(KULCSÁR-VÖRÖS 1986)
17.	Üllő 5-9.	758	<93>	32	12	<1863 +5?>	<737>	1<%	(RKMN)
18.	Újhartyán	7	-	1?	-	4	2	1,8-2%	VADAY-SZEKERES 2001

Figure 1

(*Legend*: brown/red painted pottery + streaked pottery; [] number of full vessels instead of fragments; <> the number in items according to the inventory; * obviously false ratio; x unknown number)

DEREFERENCING OF THE LIETERATURE APPEARED IN FIGURE 1

NEPPER 1981 = *Nepper Ibolya*: Császárkori szarmata telep Biharkeresztes Ártánd-Kisfarkasdombon. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve (1981) 67–114.
NEPPER 1982 = *Nepper Ibolya*: Császárkori szarmata telep Biharkeresztes Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdombon. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve (1982) 101–239.
VADAY–VÖRÖS 1977 = *Vaday Andrea – Vörös István*: Szarmata telep Bánhalma határában. Archaeológiai Értesítő 104. (1977) 98–105.
SÓSKUTI–WILHELM 2014 = *Sóskuti Kornél – Sz. Wilhelm Gábor*: Felgyő-Kettőshalmi-dűlőben (20/77, Nr. 85. lelőhely) feltárt szarmata településrészlet római eredetű leletanyaga. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 2014/1. (2014) 61–99.
PÁRDUCZ 1941 = *Párducz Mihály*: Szarmata kori telep és temető Földeákon. Dolgozatok XVII. (1941) 90–101.
VADAY 1996 = *Andrea Vaday*: Roman Period Barbarian Settlement at the Site of Gyoma 133. In: Cultural and Landscape Changes in South East Hungary II. Prehistoric, Roman Period Barbarian and Late Avar Settlement at Gyoma 133. (Békés County Microregion). Ed. Sándor Bökönyi. Budapest 1996. 51–305.
MASEK 2012 = *Masek Zsófia*: Római császárkori települések Kántorjánosi és Pócspetri határában. In: Ante Viam Stratam. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum megelőző feltárásai Kántorjánosi és Pócspetri határában az M3 autópálya nyírségi nyomvonalán. Szerk. Szabó Ádám – Masek Zsófia. Budapest 2012. 197–342.
SÓSKUTI 2005 = *Sóskuti Kornél*: Szarmata településrészlet Kiskunfélegyháza, Pap-dűlő (451/3.) lelőhelyen. A Szántó Kovács Múzeum Évkönyve 7. (2005) 235–272.
ROSTA–LICHTENSTEIN 2011 = *Rosta Szabolcs – Lichtenstein László*: Egy szarmata telep a 2–3. század fordulóján. In: A Barbaricum ösvényein… A 2005-ben Kecskeméten tartott tudományos konferencia előadásai. Archeologica Cumanica 1. Szerk. Somogyvári Ágnes – V. Székely György. Kecskemét 2011. 85–117.
VADAY–HORVÁTH 1999 = *Vaday Andrea – Horváth Friderika*: A szarmata telep értékelése. In: Kompolt-Kistér. Újkőkori, bronzkori, szarmata és avar lelőhely. Leletmentő ásatás az M3 autópálya nyomvonalán. Szerk. Petercsák Tibor – Szabó J. János. Eger 1999. 179–231.
VADAY–VÖRÖS 1980 = *Vaday Andrea – Vörös István*: Szarmata település Kunszentmártonban. A Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve 1979–1980. (1980) 117–139.
KULCSÁR-VÖRÖS 1986 = *Kulcsár Valéria – Vörös István*: Szarmata telep Lajosmizse határában. Leletmentés az M5 útnál.Cumania11. (1986) 67–94.
PETŐ 1991a = *Pető Mária*: Római kori (szarmata) település Soroksáron. Budapest Régiségei 28. (1991) 223–235.

ISTVÁNOVITS–LŐRINCZY–PINTYE 2005 = *Istvánovits Eszter – Lőrinzcy Gábor – Pintye Gábor*: A Szegvár-oromdűlői császárkori telep. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica 11. (2005) 51–114.
RKMN = Régészeti kutatások másfélmillió négyzetméteren. Autópálya és gyorsforgalmi utak építését megelőző régészeti feltárások Pest megyében 2001–2006. Pest Megyei Múzeumi Füzetek 7. Szerk. Simon László. Szentendre 2006.
VADAY–SZEKERES 2001 = *Vaday Andrea – Szekeres Ágnes*: Megjegyzések az alföld kora szarmata telepeinek kérdéséhez (a jazyg bevándorlás és a megtelepedés kérdésköre). A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica 7. (2001) 231–298.

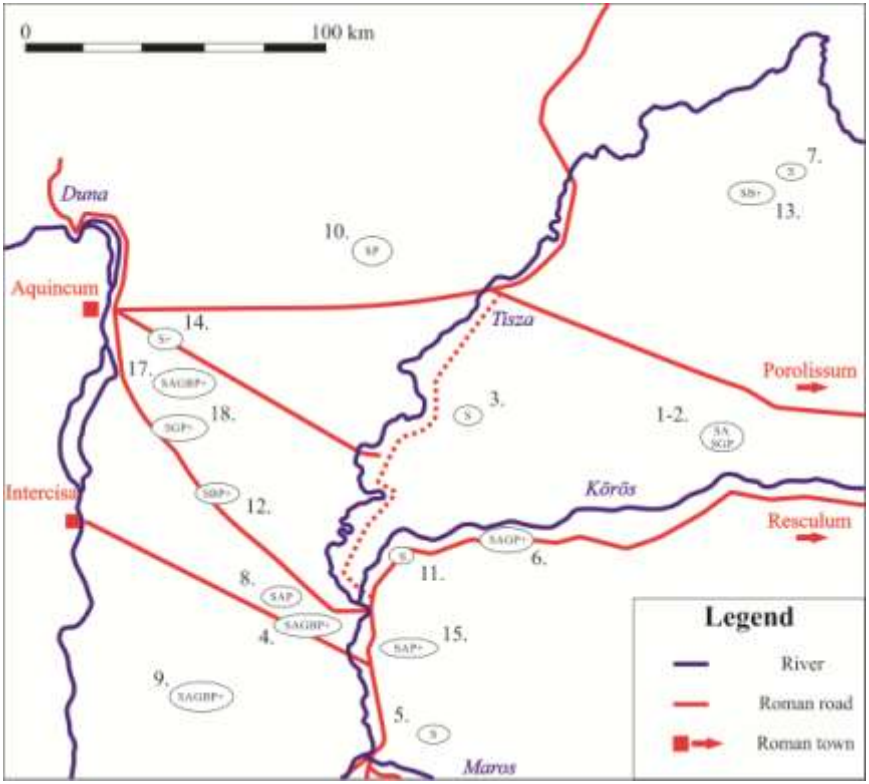

Figure 2
(For sites see *Figure* 1)

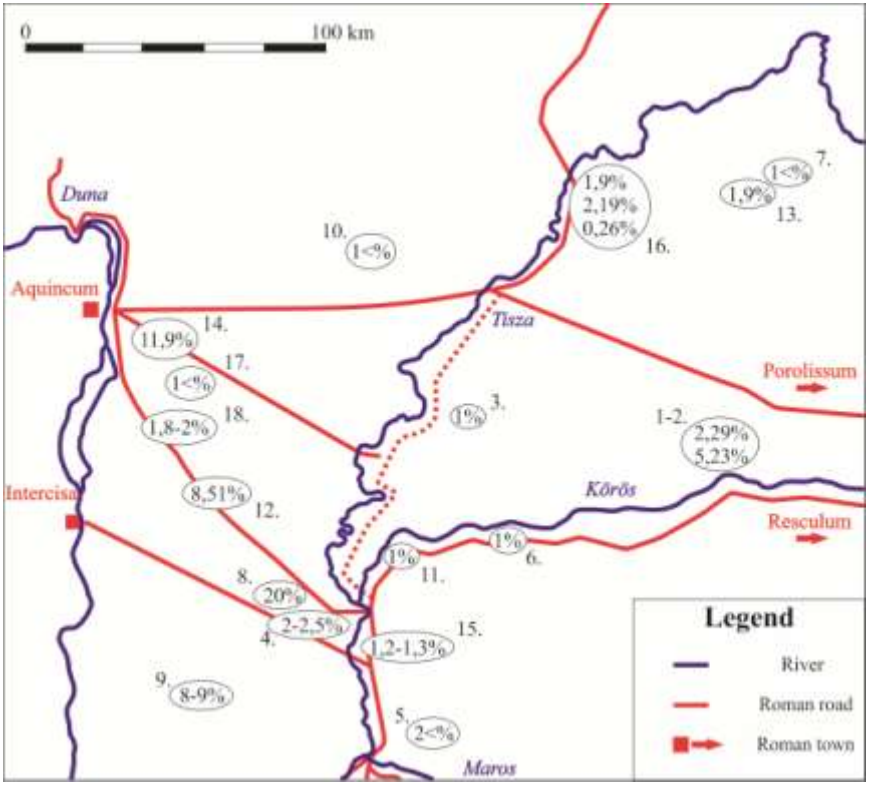

Figure 3
(For sites see *Figure* 1)

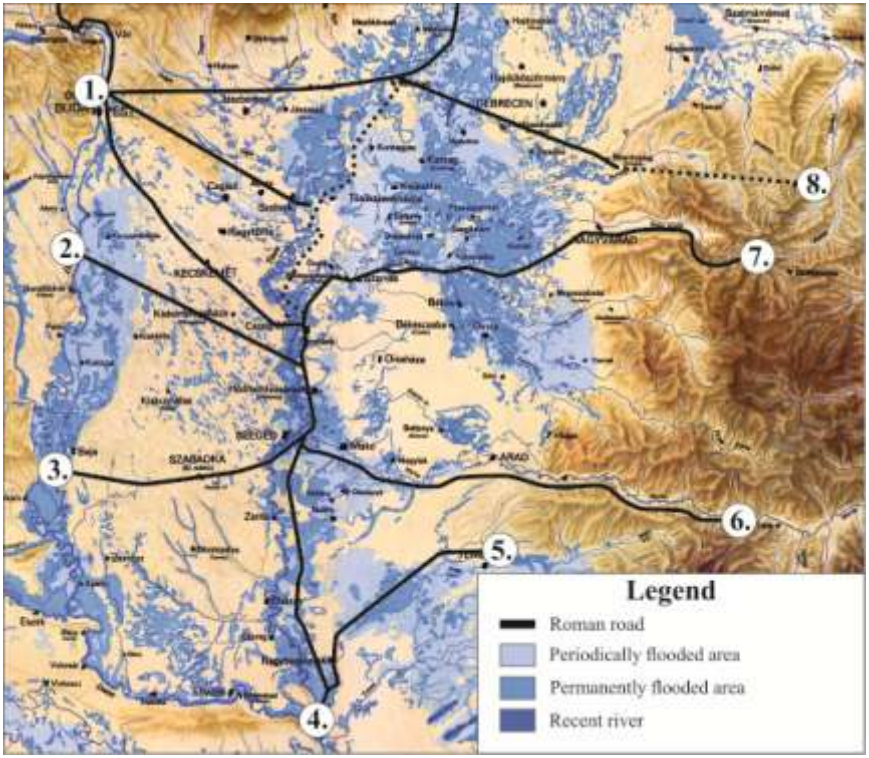

Figure 4
Roman towns: 1. Aquincum; 2. Intercisa; 3. Lugio; 4. Acumincum; 5. Tibiscum; 6. Micia; 7. Resculum; 8. Porolissum

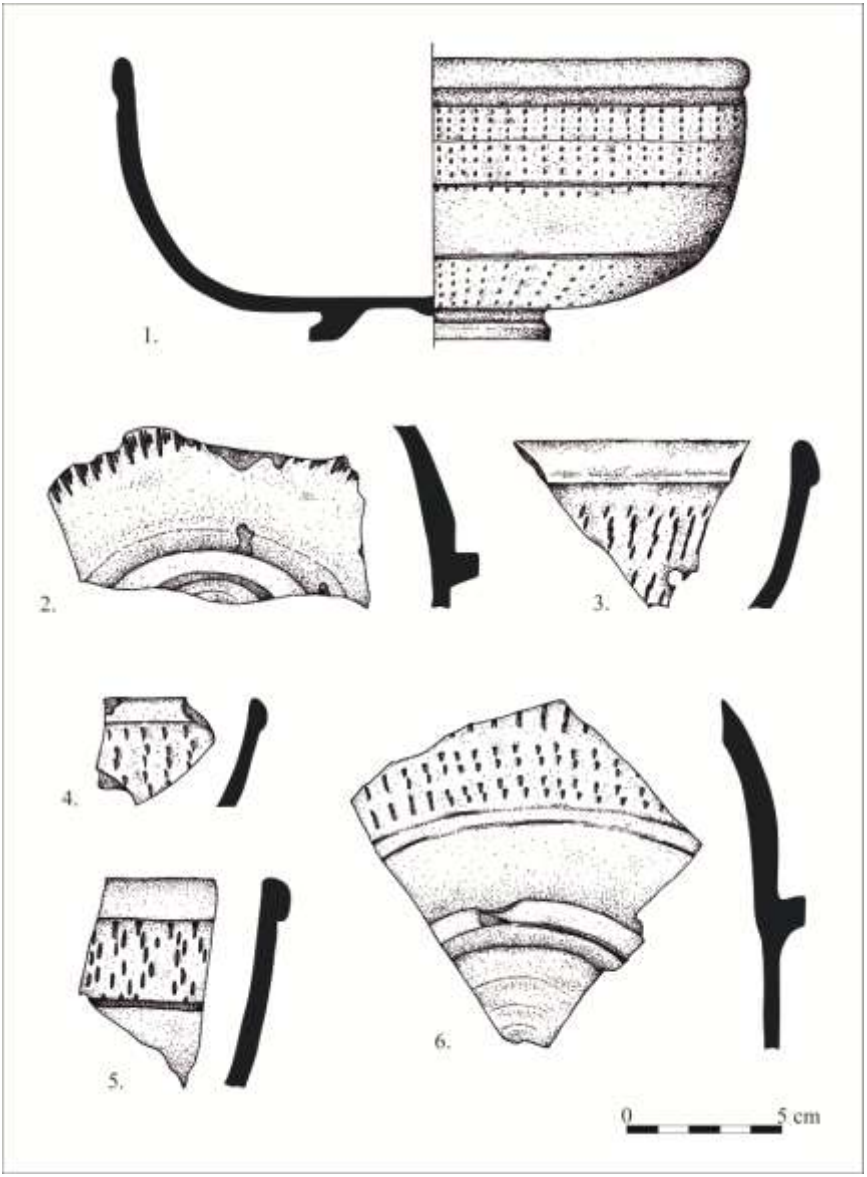

Figure 5
Üllő 5.: 1–6

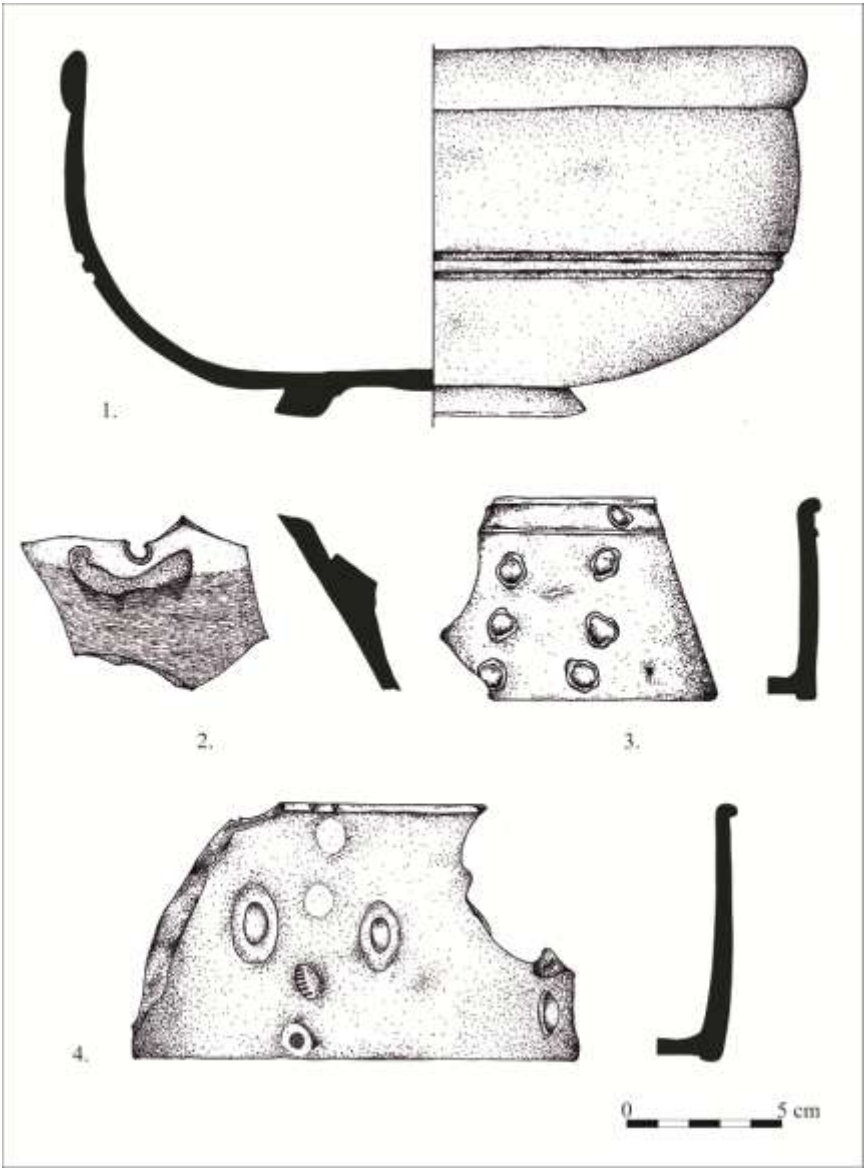

Figure 6
Üllő 5.: 1–4

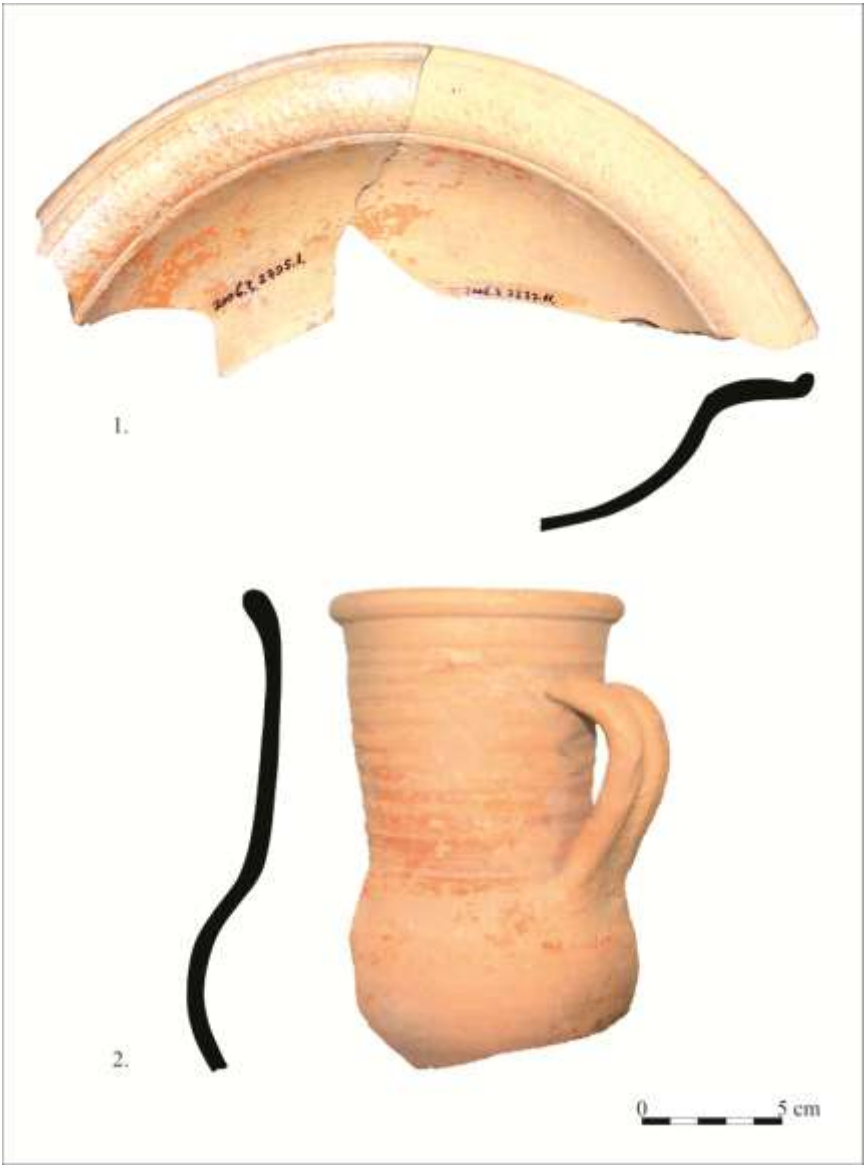

Figure 7
Üllő 5.: 1; Üllő 9.: 2

Ádám Novák

POLYSIGILLIC CHARTERS OF THE 1411–1412 POLISH–HUNGARIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS[1]

ABSTRACT

The Polish–Hungarian relations were valorized through the Middle Ages several times, thus our source material tends to be in connection. Diplomas and letters of the royal diplomacy, documents of the trades in the cities and the narrative sources all have a segment in common. Namely, they all provide information to Poland's and Hungary's medieval history. Historians of both countries strive to explore those materials.

The framework of the MTA–DE Lendület Research Group *„Hungary in Medieval Europe"* enables us to carry out basic researches, since the exploration of the foreign source material is far from an end. The task is supervised by the Hungarian National Archives, yet results come slowly due to financial issues.

With the help of the research group, in the first week of December 2014, I was able to carry out a research in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. In this paper, I try to publish the seals of the polisigillic safe-conducts of the 1411–1412 ceasefire and peace talks.

Keywords: Polish–Hungarian relations, sphragistics, 15th century

INTRODUCTION

In the Middle Ages the Polish–Hungarian relations gained importance several times, so their source material meets in many places. Royal letters of diplomacy, trade documents of cities, and narrative sources have common intersections: they provide additions for Polish and Hungarian medieval history. The historians of both countries make efforts in processing these charters.[2] The Hungarian researchers' work was carried out in Poland within the framework of the Hungarica researches.

The importance of these Hungarica materials was recognized as early as the 19th century and at the turn of the 19–20th centuries, and it already worked in organized conditions. The milestones of this work were the launch of a series of thematic source documents; and in the 1920s, the build-up of the institutional system of the Collegium Hungaricum. The Treaty of Trianon – among many other

[1] The article is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen Lendület Research Group *„Hungary in Medieval Europe"*. This article's lector was Pál Lővei, who gave advices for the author, took marks. Without his contribution the article would not have been published. We would like to thank him for this right here.

[2] Even the historians of the 18th century like István Katona, György Pray, Márton Kovachich used the documents of the Polish archives. For the similar attitude of the Polish historians see: *Stanisław A. Sroka*: Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier IV. Krakow 1998–2000.

things – overwrote this research project as well. The documents of the Upper Hungarian cities and the well-guarded family archives also had become the part of these Hungarica materials. To reveal them – by the development of new technological methods – the microfilm was used. It made possible to record more archival material in a short time, and the researchers were able to carry out their research at home. Antal Fekete Nagy and Bálint Ila were the first pioneer in using of this method in 1935, while research was made in the archives of the Szepes (Spiš) chapter, which was one of the places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) in the Middle Ages. From that point on the Hungarica research was carried out in shorter or longer research trips, using microfilm technology. Its complete process can be followed through the papers of Iván Borsa and István Kollega Tarsoly published in the *Levéltári Szemle*.[3] The result has been published in the MNL (Hungarian National Archives) OL DF database dreamed up by Borsa, and has been realized by György Rácz.[4]

Poland was the destination of Hungarian Hungarica researchers many times.[5] They made microfilm copies of the materials of the local archives, museums, and libraries too, which (the ones from the medieval era) became part of the MNL OL DF database. The most important part of the collection of parchment charters is kept in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD). The research of this was conducted by Péter Tóth in the 1980s.[6] Through his selection 82 charters were filmed, which is today researchable online in black and white microfilm shots.[7]

As part of the MTA–DE (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen) *„Hungary in Medieval Europe"* Lendület Research Group, in December 2014, I was able to spend a week in Warsaw researching the archives. My goal was to view the polysigillic charters of 1440 in particular,[8] but the technological achievements of the 21st century made it possible for me to review the complete section of the Zbiór Dokumentów pergaminowych (Collection of Parchment Documents). During my research, I discovered that many charters related to Hungary escaped the attention of previous researchers. It is due to the

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[3] *Borsa Iván*: A magyar medievisztika forráskérdései. Levéltári Közlemények 44–45. (1974) 114.; Borsa Iván: A hungarikakutatás aktuális kérdései. Levéltári Szemle 36. (1986: 2.) 8–13.; *Kollega Tarsoly István:* Levéltári hungarika kutatás. Levéltári Szemle 42. (1992: 2.) 40–52.

[4] A Középkori Magyarország Levéltári Forrásainak Adatbázisa (Henceforward: MNL OL DL–DF 4. 2.) CD–ROM. Szerk. Rácz György. Budapest 2003. Online from 2009: Collectio Hungarica Diplomatica. Szerk. Rácz György. http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf.

[5] For accounts see: *Fábián Istvánné*: Lengyel levéltárakban. Levéltári Szemle 20. (1970) 233–240.

[6] Péter Tóth shared his experiences with me personally. His statements, comments, and assistance in preparing this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

[7] MNL OL DL–DF Database.

[8] 18 January 1440: MNL OL DF 289 005. AGAD 5574.; 9 March: MNL OL DF 289 004. AGAD 5572.; 12 March: MNL OL DF 289 127. AGAD 5573.; 29 June: MNL OL DF 289 006. AGAD 5575.; 17 July: MNL OL DF 289 009. AGAD 5581.

reason that the concept of the Hungarica is still unexplained. István Kollega Tarsoly even cites the relating decree of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in his work.[9] However, these categories are quite vague and it is sometimes the researcher's responsibility to define something as Hungarica. The number of the relevant but missed charters, of course, is not too high. I found only 4 diplomas from the age of King Sigismund, which had been not microfilmed.[10] Three of these were included in the *Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár* (Collection of Charters from the Age of King Sigismund).[11] From its third volume onward, the editors used the manuscript of Elemér Mályusz, complete with the initially blue-labelled catalogue of the Diplomatikai Levéltár (Diplomatic Archive) and the Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (Diplomatic Photo Collection) and later on the DL-DF database. The main principle of editing the subsequent volumes have been based on the latter,[12] so the missing diplomas – even if they had already been published – were not included in the *Oklevéltár*.[13] Therefore, it is important to draw the attention of the researchers to unknown charters, so these could be included in the DL-DF database, which is the starting point for all researchers.[14]

The „Lendület" programs working with early modern sources already pointed out that this may be the right form of a systematic source-surveying work.[15] Our MTA-DE *„Hungary in Medieval Europe"* Lendület Research Group regards it as a viable way too. Therefore, we try to publish every result of the Hungarica research we have carried out. Therefore, the best technical realization is an online database has been made available, which is now in beta testing phase. We have the agenda of making this database accessible to the public by 2016.[16]

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[9] *Kollega Tarsoly I.*: Levéltári hungarika op. cit. 45–46.

[10] 27 April 1410. AGAD 36.; 21st of June, 1410. AGAD 62.; 26 March 1412. AGAD 67.; 19 March 1423. AGAD 5565.

[11] Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I–II/1–2. (1387–1410). *Összeáll. Mályusz Elemér*.; III–VII. (1411–1420). The manuscript of Elemér Mályusz was edited by Iván Borsa; VIII–IX. (1421–1422). *Borsa Iván – C. Tóth Norbert*; X (1423). *C. Tóth Norbert*; XI. (1424) *Neumann Tibor – C. Tóth Norbert*; XII. (1425). *C. Tóth Norbert – Lakatos Bálint*. Budapest 1951–2013. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II: Forráskiadványok l, 3–4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39,41, 43,49, 52.) (Henceforward: ZsO). ZsO II. 7525.; 7709.; ZsO III. 1902.

[12] See the prefaces of ZsO III. and V.

[13] Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia. Pomniki dziejowe wiekóv srednich do objasnienia rzeczy polskich sluzace. Tom. I–XIX. Cracoviae 1874–1927. XII. 127. reg. According to this we can be certain that King Sigismund waited for the King of Poland and his retinue in Ófalu since 19 March 1423.

[14] For the importance of documenting unknown charters and the history of Hungarica research see: *Horváth Richárd*: Újonnan előkerült középkori oklevélszövegek a Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltárban. Levéltári Szemle 54. (2004: 3.) 3–13.

[15] For example see the publication of the MTA–PPKE *„Lendület – Church History"* Research Group: Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/9. Szerk. † Lukcsics József – Tusor Péter – Fedeles Tamás (et al.). Budapest –Rome 2014.

[16] http://lendulet.memhung.unideb.hu:8080/momentum-web/Momentum_web.html

The advantage of the database is not the open description and text of the charters, but also the pictures of the charters and seals.

As part of the project, the Hungarian-related charters kept in Warsaw will be also published. In the decades after the death of King Louis the Great, the Polish–Hungarian conflicts had recurred several times. To preserve the territorial integrity of his kingdom and his throne, King Sigismund of Luxembourg had to face with the King, Vladislav II of Poland. The introductory section of the recently published study of Norbert C. Tóth is a good summary of the diplomatic events of the time.[17] The polysigillic charters providing *salvus conductus* to the negotiators or recording the agreed terms are additional mementos of the declarations of war and treaties of peace described in detail in the above mentioned paper. Their contents have been well-known to the Hungarian historians, for their texts are available to study in the aforementioned DL-DF database. However, the seals hanging on them have not been published, because the microfilming did not permit their capture and their publication. Among these there are eight charters from the Age of King Sigismund, ranging from an oath confirmed by four seals to an agreement of nearly fifty seals.[18] Our aim is to take pictures of these diplomas and seals, and to register them in the database described above.[19]

From the researches of Pál Lővei, we already know that by examining the polysigillic charters we make an easy way to reveal the entire corpus of medieval Hungarian seals.[20] My aim concerning the polysigillic diplomas issued between 1439 and 1457 is to examine all the relevant charters – its first results can be seen in this recent study.[21] In this paper, I try to publish the seals of the polysigillic safe-conducts of the 1411–1412 ceasefire and peace talks, now kept in Warsaw.

About the seals

The three diplomas originally have been tagged with a total of forty-four seals, seven of which are now lost. Out of the thirty-seven examined pieces twenty-five

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[17] *C. Tóth N.*: Zsigmond magyar és II. Ulászló lengyel király személyes találkozói a lublói béke után (1412–1424). Történelmi Szemle 56. (2014: 3.) 339–356.

[18] 4 April 1403: MNL OL DF 288 984. AGAD 5542.; 31 March 1411: MNL OL DF 288 985. AGAD 5543.; 17 February 1412: MNL OL DF 288 991. AGAD 5558.; 9 March 1412: MNL OL DF 288 992. AGAD 5559.; 15 March 1412: MNL OL DF 288 993. AGAD 5560.;16 March 1412: MNL OL DF 288 994. AGAD 5561.; 19 March 1423: MNL OL DF 288 998. AGAD 5566.; 30 March 1423: MNL OL DF 288 999. AGAD 5567.

[19] The work is really important in the case of the charter written on 4 April 1403. The narration of the diploma do not make any mention of the sealing barons, so the work has a value both in prosopography and political history.

[20] *Lővei Pál*: Sokpecsétes oklevelek a 14–15. századi Magyarországon. Ars Hungarica 39. (2013: 2.) 137–144.

[21] *Novák Ádám*: Egy kutatási program első eredményeinek bemutatása – Sokpecsétes oklevelek 1439 és 1457 között. In: Micae Mediaevales IV. Szerk. Gál Judit – Kádas István – Rózsa Márton – Tarján Eszter. Budapest 2015. 199–212.

are different, coming from twenty-three different persons: five prelates and eighteen lay barons and nobles, many of them are previously unknown. Its primary reason is that from the Sigismund era only a few polysigillic charters have been published so far.[22] Another reason is that many people did not hold an office having practiced the issue of charters, for example the court officials (Steward, Master of the Horse, cup-bearer), counts (*comes*) (of Szepes [Spiš], of Temes [Timiş, Tamiš], of the Székelys), the Bans of Macsó (Mačva), and the Voivodes of Transylvania. The latter's seals would be enough material for close study, but due to their nature, most of them can only be researched today in Romania personally. The seals of the Masters of the Treasury (*magister tavernicorum regalium*) can also be included; in this regard, however, the researcher's job is greatly eased by the fact, that the archive material of the Sopron, the only intact Hungarian town – staying under the jurisdiction of the Master of the Treasury – was digitalized into the DL-DF database. Among the seals of the prelates usually only the pontifical seals were published. From the report of Pál Lővei we know, however, that in the 15th century the use of this type of seals gradually diminishes on the polysigillic diplomas.[23] Finally, it should also be noted that in these documents the general judicial office-holders did not use their well-known *„official"* seals, but their *„personal"* ones. Of these, the private seal of Palatine Miklós Garai and Lord Chief Justice (*judex curiae regiae*) Simon Rozgonyi has been published already.

Generally it can be said that in the examined charters, the seals always follow each other in a special order. First, from left to right are the seals of the prelates in strict ecclesiastical hierarchy, then those of the country's secular officials in order of their dignity. Between the two orders is the red wax seal of imperial Count Hermann of Celje. As a side note, the charter dated 9 March 1412 is worth having a special attention. The seal of Hermann of Celje was followed by the seals of the palatine, the Voivode, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Steward. However, the Master of the Treasury, János Bebek Nagy of Pelsőc is preceded by two former baronial officials, Miklós Treutel, former Master of the Treasury and Miklós Csáki, former Voivode of Transylvania. Thus, in addition to keep their baron title, they could place their seals in more prominent place than the current Master of the Treasury. The most significant counts (*comes*) like Péter Perényi, Count of the Székelys (*Comes Siculorum*), Fülöp Kórógyi, former Count of Temes, and Péter Berzevici, Count of Szepes precede the Queen's Master of the

[22] 21st of September, 1402: MNL OL DF 287 045. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA) AUR 1402. IX. 21. (112 seals); *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak és előkelőinek 1402. évi oklevelén függő pecsétek. In. Honoris causa. Szerk. Neumann Tibor – Rácz György. Budapest–Piliscsaba 2009. 149–182.; 10 July 1408: MNL OL DL 9432. (10 seals): Művészet Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437. I–II. Szerk. Beke László – Marosi Ernő –Wehli Tünde. Budapest 1987. II. 21: No. Zs. 10. (Imre Bodor); II. 463–464: No. D. 1. (Imre Bodor); II. 464–466: 25 May 1424 MNL OL DL 39 284. (14 seals) No. D. 2. (Imre Bodor).

[23] *Lővei P.*: Sokpecsétes oklevelek op. cit. 141.

Horse Dezső Garai and even the cup-bearer János Perényi of Alsán. In the following the descriptions of the charters and the seals, as well the pictures of eight seals are published.

REPOSITORY

The three charters were marked as "A" "B" and "C". In the description I impart the date, the place, the brief contents, the DF number, the details of the full text publication and the condition of the charters. In order to assist its retrieval, I give the assumed order of the sealing persons and in brackets the publication number of the seal. The elicitation order of the seals was determined on the basis of the dignity of the owners. To the exact position of the seals I refer with the letter of the charter and the original seal number calculated from the left. I impart the size, the condition, and the image displayed on the seals. I attempted to transcribe the inscriptions - if the condition of the seal made it possible. Finding an analogy in the DL-DF database is crucial, if that may be possible. To the seals which have already been published elsewhere, I give a publication data (even to those of the owner's other seal impressions). For the biographical data of each person I indicated further literature in the footnotes as well.

Charter "A"

Date: 31 March 1411.
Place: Igló (Spišská Nová Ves).
Original serial number: AGAD 5543.
MNL OL number: DF 288 985.
Abstract: Based on the authority given by King Sigismund, the Hungarian envoys in order to settle the feuds between Hungary and Poland consent that 12 Hungarian and 12 Polish prelates and barons shall meet on 11 November in Ófalu (Spišská Stará Ves) to make a valid decision together. (ZsO III. 289.)
Published in: Monumenta medii aevi i. m. XI. 74. reg.
Description: The parchment is stained in some places. Originally 9 seals hang from the plica on unwritten parchment tags in natural color seal nests. Today, two red wax seals of prelates, and six green wax seals of nobles remained.
Assumed order of the sealing persons: János Kanizsai (1), János Hédervári (3A), Miklós Garai (7), Stibor Stiborici (8), Simon Rozgonyi (9A), Miklós Marcali (13) János Pelsőci Bebek, János Maróti (14), Péter Perényi (16).

Charter "B"

Date: 18 February 1412.
Place: Ófalu.
Original serial number: AGAD 5558.
MNL OL number: DF 288 991 (date 18 February).

Abstract: The Hungarian prelates and barons grant *salvus conductus* to the Polish prelates and barons coming to Ófalu to discuss the Hungarian–Polish conflict. (ZsO III. 1767.)
Published in: Monumenta medii aevi historica i. m. XII. 47. reg.
Description: Parchment. Originally 10 seals hung from the plica on unwritten parchment tags in natural color nests. Today, two red wax seals of prelates and seven green wax seals of barons remained.
Assumed order of the sealing persons: Bishop Stibor (2), László Farkasfalvi (5), Voivode Stibor Stiborici (8), Simon Rozgonyi (9B), János Pelsőci Bebek (15), Péter Perényi (16), István Kompolti (21), Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici, János Homonnai (22), János Nagymihályi (23).

Charter "C"
Date: 9 March 1412.
Place: Lubló (Stará Ľubovňa).
Original serial number: AGAD 5559.
MNL OL number: DF 288 992.
Abstract: The Hungarian prelates and barons swear an oath to Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania and grant *salvus conductus* to Vladislav, King of Poland and his retinue on the occasion of the negotiations in Lubló. (ZsO III. 1839.)
Published in: Monumenta medii aevi historica i. m. XII. 48. reg.
Description: Parchment. Originally 24 seals hung from the plica on unwritten parchment tags in natural color nests. Today, three red wax seals of prelates, one red and fifteen green wax seals of barons remained.
Assumed order of the sealing persons: Cardinal Branda Castiglione, János Kanizsai, Bishop Stibor, János Hédervári (3B), István Upori (4), Fülöp, Bishop of Vác, László Farkasfalvi (5), Hermann of Celje (6), Miklós Garai (7), Voivode of Transylvania Štibor Štiboricz (8), Simon Rozgonyi (9B), János, son of Henrik Tamási (10), Miklós Treutel (11), Miklós Csáki (12), János Pelsőci Bebek (15), Péter Perényi (16), Fülöp Kórógyi (17), Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici (18), Dezső Garai (19), Máté Pálóci (20), István Kompolti (21), János Homonnai (22), János Nagymihályi (23).

Descriptions of the seals:
1. János Kanizsai, Archbishop of Esztergom:[24] A1.[25]
Size: 17x14 mm.

[24] For biographical data see: *Engel Pál*: Zsigmond bárói. In: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 424–427.
[25] Publication of the seal: *Körmendi Tamás*: Az Osl nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban. Turul 83. (2010) 3–24. Picture: 16. Description: 20. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. The fourth impression from the left.

Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are both intact.
Description: Around its octagonal field is a minuscular inscription. The charge in the middle is the winged eagle-foot of the Osl family.
Inscription: +IOh(an)nIS ArchI EPI(scopi) STRIGOnI(ensis)[26]

2. Stibor de minori Stiboric, Bishop of Eger:[27] B1.[28]
Size: 35 mm.
Condition: Round red wax seal. The nest is intact; most part of the coat-of-arms in the field is missing, but its outlines are still visible.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated on both sides by continuous lines. In the middle of the round field is a rounded base escutcheon party per cross. First and the fourth quarters: dragonhead issuing from a crescent; second and the third quarters: between an increscent and a decrescent cross. Above the escutcheon a mitre.
Inscription: +sigillum+domi(ni)+stibor[…]+epis(copi)+agri(en)sis

3A. János Hédervári, Bishop of Győr:[29] A2.[30]
Size: 18x14 mm.
Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are both intact, slightly blurred.
Description: Among two dotted lines a majuscular inscription. In the octagonal field a heater-shaped escutcheon, paly of six. Above it in the right a mitre, in the left the upper end of a crosier, below it on the right the other end of the crosier.
Inscription: S IOHANI(s) EPI(scopi) IAU(r)IEN(sis)[31]

3B. János Hédervári, Bishop of Győr: C4.[32]
Size: app. 30 mm.
Condition: Round red wax seal, the impression and the nest are intact, the middle slightly blurred.
Description: The four-lobed field on the top and bottom overlie the minuscular inscription between two continuous lines. In its field an escutcheon leaning right, over it a squashed helmet, wings in crest.
Inscription: +marie […] epi(scopi) +

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[26] Based on: *Körmendi T.*: Az Osl nemzetség op. cit. 20.
[27] For biographical data see: *Sugár István*: Az egri püspökök története. Budapest 1984. 141–144.
[28] Publication unknown. Analogy: MNL OL DL 53 756.
[29] For biographical data see: Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból. Szerk. Hegedűs András. Esztergom 2000. 132.
[30] Published in: *Lővei P.:* Az ország nagyjainak op. cit. 159. 7th seal. Analogy: MNL OL DL 92 458.; MNL OL D 49 790.
[31] Based on: MNL OL DL 49 790.
[32] Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix I.

4. István Upori, Bishop of Transylvania:[33] C5.[34]
Size: app. 18x28 mm.
Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are intact, the inscription blurred.
Description: In the dexter and sinister of the octagonal field is a minuscular inscription, in the middle Archangel Michael on the left-hand side, killing a dragon with a spear. Below a round base escutcheon, in nombril a six-petalled rosette, in honour the estoile of the Upori family are depicted.
Inscription: Blurred, its reading is uncertain.

5. László Farkasfalvi, Bishop of Knin:[35] B2; C7.[36]
Size: app. 17x20 mm.
Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are intact. B2: The field blurred; C7: the inscription blurred.
Description: The inscription is separated by a thin line from the octagonal field, in which is a heater-shaped escutcheon with charge of a divided star (?).
Inscription: Blurred, its reading is uncertain.

6. Hermann of Celje:[37] C8.[38]
Size: app. 26 mm.
Condition: Round red wax seal. The nest intact, the coat-of-arms in the field is partly blurred.
Description: In the three-lobed field the Celje family's round base escutcheon, party per cross. First and fourth quarters: three (2+1) estoiles; second and third quarters: barry of five. From the base of the escutcheon are issuing the supporter plants.[39]
Inscription: none.
7. Palatine Miklós Garai:[40] A3; C9.[41]
Size: 30 mm.

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[33] For biographical data see: *Bunyitay Vincze*: A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig. Nagyvárad 1883. II./3. 107–109.
[34] Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix I.
[35] László Farkasfalvi, Bishop of Knin (1387–1412): 1387 Abbot of Savnik, 1397–1401 then 1409–1412 Bishop of Knin again. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája1301–1457. In: Arcanum DVD library IV. Budapest 2003.
[36] Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix II.
[37] *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 410–412.
[38] *Katja Žvanut:* Pečati grofov Celjskih = Seals of the counts of Celje. Ljubljana 2001. 84. I/2. Analogy: MNL OL DL 105 647.
[39] See *Žvanut, K.:* Seals of the counts op. cit. 99–100.
[40] *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 416–420.
[41] Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 463–64. D. 1/d. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. the 6th impression from the left.

Condition: Round green wax seal. A3: the nest is damaged, one fifth of the impression is lost, and the remaining part is shabby. C9: The nest is intact, the upper half of the impression is missing, and the left side is slightly blurred.
Description: The two lines of minuscular inscription are divided by the elongated four-lobed field. In the field is the leaning escutcheon of the Garai family, serpent erect to dexter. Above the escutcheon a mantled helmet, the crest is the same as the charge.
Inscription: S Nicolai d(e) gara – regni hungar(iae) palate(ni) – filii q(uon)da(m) – nico(lai) palati(ni)[42]

8. Stibor Stiborici, Voivode of Transylvania:[43] A4; B3; C10.[44]
Size: app. 30 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. A4: the nest and the impression are both intact, in good condition. B3: The nest and the impression are both intact, slightly blurred, soiled. C10: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a dotted line. In the field is a round base escutcheon party per cross, first and the fourth quarters: a dragonhead issuing from a crescent; second and the third quarters: between an increscent and a decrescent a cross. The escutcheon is surrounded by gleams.
Inscription: + stibor […]
Analogy: MNL OL DL 26 767.

9A. Simon Rozgonyi, Lord Chief Justice:[45] A5.[46]
Size: app. 27 mm.
Condition: Round green wax impression of the judicial seal. The nest is broken; the right half of the impression is missing.
Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a high rim. In the field the feathers of a swan without escutcheon.
Inscription: +S(igillum) COMITIS SIMONIS DE ROZGON IUDI(cis)[47]

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[42] Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 463–64. D. 1/d.
[43] *Dvoráková Daniela*: A lovag és királya – Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond. Bratislava 2009.; *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 444–448.
[44] Publication unknown. The impression is very similar to: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/h. Only differs in inscription, and the dragon is missing from the fourth quarter. For picture see appendix II.
[45] For biographical data see: *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósága (1409–1414). In: „Fons, skepsis, lex." Szerk. Almási Tibor – Révész Éva – Szabados György. Szeged 2010. 49–75.; *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 440–444.
[46] *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósága op. cit. 52. Judicial seal. Analogy: MNL OL DL 78 892.
[47] Based on the judicial seal in: *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósága op. cit. 52.

9B. Simon Rozgonyi, Lord Chief Justice: B4; C11.[48]
Size: 22 mm.
Condition: Round green wax impression of the private seal. B4: The nest and the impression are intact, very soiled. C11: The nest and the impression are intact, clean, in good condition.
Description: The majuscular inscription is bordered with continuous lines. In the middle of the field is a round base escutcheon, swan with wings displayed and elevated.
Inscription: +S(igillum) COMITIS SIMONIS DE ROZGON[49]

10. János, son of Henrik Tamási, Steward:[50] C12.[51]
Size: 21 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are both intact and in good condition.
Description: The majuscular inscription is bordered by continuous lines. In the middle of the field is the Héder family's round base escutcheon, paly of seven.
Inscription: +S . IOH(ann)IS . F(ilii) . HENRICI . DE . TAMASI[52]

11. Miklós Treutel, former Master of the Treasury:[53] C 13.[54]
Size: app. 20 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, slightly shabby, blurred.
Description: The majuscular inscription borders the field without separation. The field displays a charge (possibly a squirrel) without escutcheon.
Inscription: Its reading is uncertain.

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[48] *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósága op. cit. 53. Private seal. Analogy: MNL OL DL 10 056.
[49] Based on the private seal in: *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósága op. cit. 53.
[50] János, son of Henrik Tamási (1387–1416): 1387 *familiaris* of the King, 1389 relator of the Queen, 1390–1395 Master of the Horse of the Queen, 1402–1403 Master of the Horse, 1403–1409 Voivode of Transylvania, 1403–1409 Count of Szolnok, 1409–1419 Steward, member of the Order of the Dragon. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[51] Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/i. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. Third impression from the left.
[52] Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/i.
[53] Miklós Treutel of Nevna (1369–1421): 1387–1408 Count of Pozsega, 1394–1397 Ban of Macsó, Count of Baranya and Bodrog, 1402–1408 Master of the Treasury. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[54] Publication and analogy unknown. For similar impression see: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 470. D. 15.; *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak op. cit. 162. Seal 23. For picture see appendix III.

12. Miklós Csáki, former Voivode of Transylvania:[55] C14.[56]
Size: app. 20 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, clear, slightly blurred.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a strong line. In the middle of the field is a charge (a head with a hat) without escutcheon. The charge overlies the inscription on the top.
Inscription: Blurred.

13. Miklós Marcali, former Voivode of Transylvania:[57] A6.[58]
Size: app. 26 mm.
Condition: Green wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are both intact, but soiled.
Description: The octagonal field is bordered by a majuscular inscription. In the field a heater-shaped escutcheon, bend sinister, in honour fleur-de-lis (?).
Inscription: Blurred, its reading is uncertain.

14. János Maróti, former Ban of Macsó:[59] A8.[60]
Size: 18 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact but soiled.
Description: The minuscular inscription is not separated from the field. In the field a round base escutcheon, triple pile.
Inscription: + S . (io)hannis . bani . de . marot[61]
15. János Pelsőci Bebek, Master of the Treasury:[62] B5; C15.[63]

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[55] Miklós Csáki (1379–1426): 1394–1402 Count of Krassó (Caraş), 1395–1402 Count of Zaránd (Zărand), 1398–1403 Count of Békés and Bihar, 1399 Count of Csongrád, 1409–1426 Count of Békés and Bihar, 1402–1403 Voivode of Transylvania for the first time, 1415–1426 for the second time, 1415–1426 Count of Szolnok, member of the Order of the Dragon. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[56] Publication and analogy unknown. For different impressions see: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 465. D. 2/f. For picture see appendix III.
[57] For biographical data see: *Engel P. – Lővei P. – Varga L.*: Zsigmond-kori bárói síremlékeinkről. Ars Hungarica 11. (1983: 1.) 29–30.
[58] Publication and analogy unknown. For different impression see: *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak op. cit. 161. 14th seal. For picture see appendix IV.
[59] János Maróti (1391–1434): 1393 courtly knight, 1397 Ban of Macsó for the first, 1398–1402 for the second, 1402–1410 for the third, 1427–1428 for the fourth time, 1406 Governor of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa, count of several counties, member of the Order of the Dragon. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[60] Published in: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/f. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. Eighth impression from the left. Compare with MNL OL DL 24 705.
[61] Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/f.

Size: 22 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. B5: The nest and the impression are intact but soiled. C15: The nest and the impression are intact, but the green wax is thin, the natural color of the nest shows through, slightly blurred.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated by a dotted line from the three-lobed field, which breaks the inscription on the top and the bottom. In the field's lower lobe is a round base escutcheon leaning right, cross patriarchal. Above the escutcheon is a helmet, in the crest a woman issuing between two fishes addorsed.
Inscription: + S ioanis – tavarni[64]

16. Péter Perényi, Count of the Székelys:[65] A9; B6; C16.[66]
Size: 20 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. A9: The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition. B6: The nest and the impression are intact but shabby and soiled. C16: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.
Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a continuous line. In the field a helmet to dexter, its crest is the Perényi family's eagle-winged, bearded head to dexter. The eagle-wings broke the inscription on the top.
Inscription: S CO(mitis) . PETRI . DE . PEREN[67]

17. Fülöp Kórógyi, former Count of Temes:[68] C18.[69]
Size: app. 30 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a thin continuous line. In the middle of the field is a round base escutcheon, party per cross, leaning right. Above it a helmet with elaborated mantling and a crest dog sejant to dexter.[70]
Inscription: S domini . philippi . de . gorog

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[62] For biographical data see: *Rácz György*: Az Ákos nemzetség címere. Turul 67. (1995) 15–34. 31th seal.
[63] Publication unknown. Analogy: MNL OL DF 202 036. For different impression see: *Rácz Gy.*: Az Ákos nemzetség op. cit. 34.
[64] Based on: *Házi Jenő*: Sopron szabad királyi város története. I–II. Sopron 1921–1943. I/2. 55. reg.
[65] For biographical data see: *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 437–440.
[66] Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 470. D. 14. Analogy: MNL OL DL 87 771.
[67] Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 470. D. 14.
[68] For biographical data see: *Neumann T.*: Találkozó Konstanzban. In. Turul 86. (2014). 104–108.
[69] Publication and analogy unknown. Interestingly, this is the last non red wax impression of the Kórógyis before they earned the title Count (Graf). For its picture see appendix IV.
[70] See *Neumann T.*: Találkozó Konstanzban op. cit. 108.

18. Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici, Count of Szepes:[71] C19.[72]
Size: 15 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.
Description: On a trimount an ibex rampant, to sinister. On its right an unidentifiable mark.
Inscription: None.

19. Dezső Garai, Queen's Master of the Horse:[73] C20.[74]
Size: 16 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition.
Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a continuous line. In the middle of the field is a heater-shaped escutcheon, serpent erect, crowned, mound crossed in its mouth.[75]
Inscription: Its reading is uncertain.

20. Máté Pálóci, Castellan of Diósgyőr:[76] C21.[77]
Size: app. 19 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the charge by a continuous line. In the middle of the field a round base escutcheon, bearded man's head.
Inscription: + […] . d(e) . paloc . .

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[71] For biographical data see: *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 408–410.
[72] Publication unknown. Analogy: MNL OL DF 202 277.; 202 341.; 202 515.; 204 793.
[73] Dezső Garai (1399–1440): 1408–1415 Master of the Horse of the Queen, 1419–1427 Ban of Macsó for the first, 1431–1438 for the second time, count of several counties. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[74] Published in: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 463. D. 1/a. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. First impression from the left.; MNL OL DL 79 650.
[75] See *Novák Á.*: The Seal Usage of Hungarian Aristocrats in the 15th Century. In: Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában (Education and social roles: aristocrats in Hungary and Europe). Ed. Attila Bárány – István Orosz – Klára Papp – Bálint Vinkler. Debrecen 2014. 67.
[76] For biographical data see: *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 434–436.
[77] Publication and analogy unknown. To compare with the seal of Imre Pálóci, Castellan of Diósgyőr see: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 466. D. 2/m. For picture see appendix V.

21. István Kompolti:[78] B7; C22.[79]
Size: app. 15x22 mm.
Condition: Green wax impression of a signet ring. B7: The nest and the impression are intact, shabby, slightly blurred. C22: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.
Description: The octagonal field is surrounded by a majuscular inscription. In the field is a charge without an escutcheon: helmet, its crest: eagle, wings displayed and elevated, issuing from a coronet.
Inscription: Its reading is uncertain.

22. János Homonnai:[80] B9; C23.[81]
Size: app. 18 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. B9: The nest and the impression are intact; the natural color of the nest shows through, strongly shabby, blurred. C23: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly shabby.
Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a continuous line. In the field a heater-shaped escutcheon, party per cross, its charges are possibly the arming-buckles and thrushes overt of the Drugeth family.
Inscription: DRVGET […]

23. János Nagymihályi:[82] B10; C24.[83]
Size: app. 20 mm.
Condition: Round green wax seal. B10: The nest and the impression are intact; the natural color nest partly shows through. C23: The nest and the impression are intact; the natural color nest strongly shows through.
Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a dotted line. In the field is a round base escutcheon, charge unidentifiable, possibly a gate.[84]
Inscription: + magister . iacob . fi(lii) . ianus The fourth quarter of the inscription-field is occupied by floral ornaments.

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[78] For biographical data see: *Körmendi T.*: Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban. Turul 84. (2011) 109–122.; 129–130. 120th seal.
[79] Publication and analogy unknown. For different impression see: *Körmendi T.*: Az Aba nemzetség op. cit. 130. For picture see appendix V.
[80] János Homonnai (Druget) (1398–1415): 1403 Count of Ung (Užská župa) and Zemplén, appointed by the rebelling barons, 1411–1415 member of the royal court. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[81] Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix VI.
[82] János, son of Jakab Nagymihályi from the Kaplyon family (1393–1421): 1398 young courtier, 1415 member of the royal court. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.
[83] Publication and analogy unknown. To compare with the seal of János Nagymihályi, Vice-count of Ung: MNL OL DL 31 319. Middle seal. For picture see appendix VI.
[84] To compare with the coat-of-arms of the Nagymihályi family see MNL OL DL 85 682.

Assumed owners of the lost seals:
1. Cardinal Branda Castiglione: C1.
2. János Kanizsai, Bishop of Esztergom: C2.
3. Stibor Stiborici, Bishop of Eger: C3.
4. Fülöp, Bishop of Vác: C6.
5. János Pelsőci Bebek, Master of the Treasury: A7.
6. János Alsáni, cup-bearer: C17.
7. Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici, Count of Szepes: B8.

Translated by Sándor Kiss

Appendix I.[85]

C4: János Hédervári, bishop of Győr

C5: István Upori, bishop of Transylvania

Appendix II.

C7: László Farkasfalvi, bishop of Knin

A4: Stibor Stiborici, Voivode of Transylvania

[85] The photos were made during my research in the AGAD by the freely available machines. The images are provided with the watermark of the archive, I only made amendments for the better disclosure. The photos are the property of the MTA–DE Lendület *„Hungary in medieval Europe”* Research Group.

Appendix III.

C13: Miklós Treutel, former Master of the Treasury

C14: Miklós Csáki, former Voivode of Transylvania

Appendix IV.

A6: Miklós Marcali, former Voivode of Transylvania

C18: . Fülöp Kőrógyi, former count of Temes

Appendix V.

C21: Máté Pálóci, count of Diósgyör

C22: István Kompolt

Appendix VI.

C23: János Homonnai

B10: János Nagymihályi

Rita Papp

SOLDIERS IN DEBRECEN: BURDENS, CONFLICTS, CRIMES AT THE TURN OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

ABSTRACT

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were stormy times. The reoccupation of Hungary and Rákóczi's war of independence put a big burden on Hungary and Debrecen as well. The various military services like taxes (in money and in kind) and transport were very burdensome for the town and the armies billeted in the town or passing through on campaign caused a lot of damage. In addition, the inhabitants suffered from the soldiers' violence, too. For instance, they often fell victim to masterfulness of the billeted imperial soldiers. This masterfulness was usually manifested in assault and battery, robbery or killing of inhabitants' animals and sometimes in sexual assault. The town leaders tried to protect their people and they applied to higher military leadership for help believing they could stop soldiers' excesses and masterfulness. Besides the imperial soldiers, Rákóczi's peasant soldiers, called Kuruc, were also very dangerous and harmful. But soldiers could not be only perpetrators. Sometimes they became the victims of the crimes. This paper is a survey of wartime burdens and crimes related to soldiers based on the minutes of the town council and the documents of the courthouse dating from 1697 to 1705.

Keywords: A social history of Debrecen, crime, misuses during wars, 17–18th century

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were stormy times for the country. In 1683, after the unsuccessful Turkish siege of Vienna, began the reoccupation of Hungary and the sixteen-year-long struggles against the Turkish put a big burden on Hungary and Debrecen as well. As it is widely known, the Treaty of Karlowitz signed on 26 January 1699 did not bring a long-lasting peaceful period. Shortly after its signing, in the spring of 1703, Ferenc Rákóczi II started a war of independence against the Habsburg oppression. In the first part of this paper, as an introduction, I write about burdens which were caused by these fights. This subject is discussed thoroughly in other works – for example, in the five-volume History of Debrecen – therefore I just examine some interesting details.[1]

We know a lot about the role of the town in the struggles against the Turkish as well as during Rákóczi's war of independence. István Balogh treated thoroughly the sources related to burdens during these struggles. He also examined the life and the career of János Pósalaki, notary of Debrecen, and in this re-

[1] *Balogh István*: A rendi állam várospolitikája. In: Debrecen története 2. 1693–1849. Szerk. Rácz István. Debrecen 1981. 91–138.

gard, he wrote about some significant assaults, for instance, Caraffa's cruelty and Kuruc soldiers' attacks against the notary (see later).[2] These events appear in other authors' studies as well.[3] But these works do not tell much about other conflicts and crimes. For this reason the further part of this paper attempts to discover these crimes related to soldiers, *id est* the perpetrators or the victims were soldiers. This part is mostly based on the minutes of the town council and the documents of the courthouse dating from 1697 to 1705. These sources are very good for such research because they are very informative and detailed documents. The minutes contain the crimes themselves and a lot of useful details about armies and soldiers appeared in Debrecen.The later documents contain testimonies which tell about the circumstances of the cases. They give an insight into the life of Debrecen in those times and we can learn how inhabitants came into contact with soldiers. The most mentioned soldiers in the records are billeted imperial soldiers and Rákóczi's peasant soldiers called Kuruc. Many records show that the population of Debrecen often fell victim to masterfulness of the billeted soldiers. This masterfulness was usually manifested in assault and battery, robbing or killing inhabitants' animals and sometimes in sexual assault. However, in many cases we cannot talk about violence. A lot of women stood in front of the courthouse because of fornication with soldiers and in one case a woman procured young girls to them. Moreover, drinking or dancing with them was also enough for proceedings. Soldiers could not be only perpetrators, sometimes they became the victims of the crimes.

Although these affairs were not surprising during wars and insurrections, I believe an examination of some examples would be interesting and useful. It would be good to know, for example, which crimes were the most common or whether the short peacetime made a change in the frequency and type of these crimes. The aim of this paper is the examination of these questions in order to learn more about the life in Debrecen in those times.

As I mentioned, struggles for the reoccupation of the country were very burdensome for Debrecen causing a hard time for the town and its population. In addition to various military services like taxes (in money and in kind) and transport, people had to face the cruelty of an imperial commander-in-chief called Antonio Caraffa. He was the military governor of Upper Hungary and he imposed 480 000 forints on the inhabitants in the winter of 1685–1686. It was an enormous sum and Caraffa claimed it within six months. Unfortunately, the town leaders could not take in the whole sum, therefore, the commander-in-chief tried

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[2] Ibid.; *Pósalaki János*: Debrecen siralmas állapotának megvilágosítása 1685–1696. Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár forráskiadványai 17. Ford. és életrajzzal elláta. Balogh István. Debrecen 1987.

[3] For example, *Papp Klára*: A szabad királyi városi cím megszerzésétől az országgyűlési becikkelyezésig. In: Debrecen város 650 éves. Várostörténeti tanulmányok. Szerk. Bárány Attila – Papp Klára – Szálkai Tamás. Debrecen 2011. 301–318.; *Szendrey István*: Debrecen a Rákóczi-szabadságharcban. Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár évkönyve. I. Debrecen 1974. 7–25.

to get the missing amount by force and torturing.[4] János Pósalaki, notary of Debrecen, wrote about this event. *„Fourteen men and women of the tortured people died, some of them between the hands of torturers, the others later. Besides them a lot of people became crippled, unable to work for their whole life. But because collection of the sum was not possible in this way with money, gold and silver, soldiers had resort to other measures. They took away the grain, the barley, the wine, the cloth, the cattle and all sorts of things."*[5] Caraffa collected about 60 000 forints again in the autumn of 1686.[6] According to Pósalaki, the sum, which was paid for Caraffa and the damage caused by his soldiers reached the 2 000 000 forints between 1685 and 1687. István Balogh conducted research on this issue and he found out from the extant receipts that 700 000 forints were verifiable from this amount. But it was also a huge sum in those times.[7]

The focus of the war moved from this part of Hungary in the second half of the 1690s. For this reason Debrecen and its surroundings served only as quarters.[8] The financial burden of quartering reduced somewhat by then, however, in 1696, 1698 and 1699 the billet was not only in winter but in summer. In addition, the inhabitants had to take care of the provision of the passing armies in each year. All in all, Balogh remarked that the accumulated wealth and floating capital of approximately two or even three generations' accumulated wealth and floating capital were lost because of the different tributes during the war.[9]

Rákóczi's war of independence caused a hard time for Debrecen as well. The prince's claims caused a lot of expenses because the town had to carry weapons, different accessories, food and fodder as a supply to his camp. Thus, in return, Debrecen was exempted from quartering and the inhabitants were not constrained to take up arms. As stated by István Balogh, the town had to carry 10–12 000 loaves of bread, 200 *„köböl"* flour, 1200 *„köböl"* fodder, 100 cattle and 60 wagonloads of hay to the camp of the prince between July 1703 and July 1704.[10] For example, on 19 December 1703, the notary made an entry of 200 *„köböl"* flour, 200 *„köböl"* fodder, 2000 loaves of bread, 60 cattle and 60 wagonloads of hay. They had to be transported to Rákóczi. The leaders of the town sent *„the half of each thing except the hay"* to his camp on that day.[11]

The supply system of the army was changed after July 1704. In the new system, it was determined how much flour, fodder and meat had to be provided

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[4] Ibid. 94–95.; *Papp K.*: Szabad királyi városi cím op. cit. 302.
[5] *Pósalaki J.*: Siralmas állapot op. cit. 35.
[6] *Papp K.*: Szabad királyi városi cím op. cit. 302–303.
[7] *Pósalaki J.*: Siralmas állapot op. cit. 37.; *Balogh I.*: Várospolitika op. cit. 96.
[8] Ibid. 105.
[9] Ibid. 108.
[10] Ibid. 111. On avarage *„köböl"* is about 64 liter of grain.
[11] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltára. Debrecen Város Tanácsának iratai. Tanácsülési és közgyűlési jegyzőkönyvek (Henceforward: MNL HBML IV A. 1011./a.) vol. 25. 692. 19 Dec 1703.

for the military per houses. Debrecen sometimes fulfilled the assessment in kind with money, labour and transport. According to the extant accounts, the town spent almost 27 000 forints on the provisioning of officers and their companies, gifts and clothes. In addition, it sent 40 900 loaves of bread, about 3000 *„köböl”* fodder, 166 wagonloads of hay and 287 cattle to the siege at Várad and Szatmár as well as to Sándor Károlyi's soldiers.[12] Moreover, the prince asked the town leaders for approximately 13 500 forints *„for the need of the country*".[13] István Balogh examined thoroughly these outgoings therefore they are not necessary to be discussed in this paper.[14]

Besides the financial and other burdens we have to mention the damage caused by soldiers. The billeted and passing armies caused a lot of harm in and around Debrecen. For instance, in 1697 the town leaders complained about damage caused by billeted German soldiers and about their high costs.[15] These soldiers belonged to General Solari's regiment and they did so much damage that the town leaders claimed compensation. This claim made the commander of the regiment so angry that he did thousands of forints loss in the herds of the inhabitants. After a three-year-long litigation and after negotiations with General Nigrelli and Vienna War Council the town leaders could partly prefer their claims.[16] Many records describe depredation during Rákóczi's war of independence, too. According to an entry dated on 3 August 1703, Miklós Bercsényi arrived in Debrecen with his army and *„(...) the infantry, the soldiery gave a lot of troubles, they ravaged and despoiled houses in the town on this day.”*[17] A big part of the culprits was former inhabitant who had become Kuruc.[18] In the autumn of 1705, the prince ordered the people of Debrecen to leave the town because of the approach of the imperial troop. Damage caused by different soldiers and looters was so huge in the abandoned town that the notary discussed it through pages. For example, the documents of the town hall were dispersed, about three hundred books of the famous college were destroyed, the wooden chests of the students were despoiled and the tools of the pharmacy were stolen as well as the wine from the pubs. Inhabitants tried to hide their valuables but these attempts remained unsuccessful. Many people buried their important properties to save them but the freshly moved ground was noticeable, therefore soldiers and looters could find and take these valuables easily. Our source highlights that a part of these depreda-

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[12] *Balogh I.*: Várospolitika op. cit. 122–123.
[13] Ibid. 124.;MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 819. 10 Aug 1704.
[14] *Balogh I.*: Várospolitika op. cit. 124–127.
[15] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 104. 12 Aug 1697.
[16] *Pósalaki J.*: Siralmas állapot op. cit. 14.
[17] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 650. 3 Aug 1703.
[18] Ibid.

tions and damage was caused by Hungarians instead of Germans. Thus not only imperial German soldiers ravaged but Rákóczi's soldiers also did the same.[19]

As stated above, the inhabitants of Debrecen often fell victim to masterfulness of different soldiers. In minutes dated between 1697 and 1705 we can find nine records related to homicide or assault and battery: one from 1697, three from 1698, one from 1699, one from 1701 (this record is about a case from 1688), two from 1703 and one from 1704. It does not mean that only nine cases occurred in this period but not all incidents were registered separately. Four of these nine records show that violence of the soldiers became widespread in Debrecen.

All of these four sources mention billeted German soldiers. One of them, dated on April 1698, tells that the townspeople were continually exposed to the disorderliness and excess of these soldiers. According to this text, the town leaders decided to send a delegation to General Solari *„because of the billeted Germans' excesses"*[20]. One and a half month later they came to the same decision.[21] Unfortunately, I did not find concrete records about the success of this deputation. But from an entry dated in July, we can draw the conclusion that it probably was not successful because the town leaders sent another delegation to General Gronsfeld. It was necessary because of *„the many thefts and thrashings"* happened in the lands of the town.[22] These delegates achieved their aim and the general strictly ordered the captain of the soldiers to keep discipline.[23] Perhaps the first delegation sent to General Solari was unsuccessful and this was the reason of the second try. One thing is certain, the second deputation was fruitful, at least for a short time. We know that the inhabitants suffered from the soldiers' violence even in the summer of 1699. The relevant entry tells that the billeted German soldiers were doing a lot of excesses, they were killing, gashing and beating people.[24] We do not have any information about the number of victims, but the large number of the relevant records as well as the fact that the town leaders applied to the captain's superior for help show continuous atrocities. As regards homicide, the expression *„they are killing people"*[25] means it was not a single case. Of course, we do not have to think of too many victims. Some deaths could be horrible enough to be entered into the minutes.

Not only imperial army was dangerous for the inhabitants of Debrecen. A record from July 1703 mentions unknown soldiers who were on the border of the town. As stated in this source, a few inhabitants were sent to keep watch out-

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[19] Ibid. 907–916. 21. Oct 1705. In January 1706, Debrecen had to be abandoned again. Similar to the previous year, besides German soldiers the Hungarian Kuruc caused a lot of damage in the town as well. See *Balogh I.*: Várospolitika op. cit. 114.
[20] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 230. 20 Apr 1698.
[21] Ibid. 252. 3 Jun 1698.
[22] Ibid. 282. 20 Jul 1698.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid. 486. 15 Jun 1699.
[25] Ibid.

side of the town and while they were doing their duty they found *„some kind of soldiers."*[26] These soldiers shot at the keepers and hit two of them. One of them, *„a good, meek man"* died from his wound.[27] The maraduers were caught and put in prison, but they were freed on the following day because some Kuruc went to Debrecen for them. After terrible swearing, the Kuruc got the prisoners.[28] We know that they were Kuruc too, and this led to their release.[29]

The minutes contain entries in which perpetrators were named Kuruc. For instance, in June 1703, the previous mentioned János Pósalaki was beaten and robbed at the ruined church of Bánk. The attackers *„called themselves Kuruc"*[30] and, according to the record, they had even murdered someone.[31] Pósalaki was attacked again in September 1704. He was going to his vineyard located in Diószeg when two Kuruc lieutenants called Demeter Pikó and Péter Török assaulted him in sight of the resting troop. They beat him so strongly that his arm got broken. The lieutenants also menaced the judge of Debrecen during the attack. They said they would beat him in the same way if he was there. In addition, they said they would cut him into pieces. According to certain assumptions, one of the reasons of the assault against Pósalaki could be his opinion of the Kuruc and of the insurrection. His opinion was generally known. He, such as almost every town leader, thought that the presence of the Kuruc could be dangerous for the freshly obtained free royal city title of Debrecen.[32]

Even though the following case is not related to the masterfulness, we have to mention it. It is a robbery with murder committed by János Oláh and János Bangó. They probably were Hungarian soldiers and they attacked a certain István Tót. The victim was beaten and shot and he died from his wounds. Even his horse was stolen by the perpetrators therefore this crime was more serious than a simple murder. Oláh and Bangó denied that they had caused the death but the barbers proved their guiltiness from the condition of the victim's wounds. The perpetrators were under the jurisdiction of the town and they were sentenced to death. A lot of witnesses were heard. One of them called Mihály Galgoczi said that János Oláh had talked about an alleged instigator in his presence. Oláh and his companion went to attack the victim after this instigator said: *„God bless the soldiers who would torture István Tót."*[33] Unfortunately, we do not have further

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[26] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 644. 23 Jul 1703.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid. 645. 24 Jul 1703. The mention of terrible swearing is very interesting because it shows the notary's (and the town leaders') opinion of Kuruc soldiers. Swearing was considered to be a serious sin so swearers were thought to be immoral and dishonest people.
[29] *Szendrey I.*: Rákóczi-szabadságharc op. cit. 14.
[30] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 610. 1 Jun 1703.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *Pósalaki J.*: Siralmas állapot op. cit. 16. Note 46.
[33] MNL HBML Debrecen Város Tanácsának iratai. Büntető-törvényszéki jegyzőkönyvek (IV. A. 1018./e.) vol. 2. 616. 28 Aug 1704.

information about this instigator but this deposition shows that the perpetrators have probably been soldiers.[34]

In the records, which are related to assault and battery committed by soldiers, there are also two cases which differ from the above-mentioned examples, but they are worth to mention. The first one is proceedings against a Hungarian soldier called Ferenc Mák. Mák, according to the accusation, went out of the town and beat, abused and gashed innocent people while he was drunk. Mák, such as Oláh and Bangó, was under the jurisdiction of Debrecen therefore he was punished by the magistrates. He was imprisoned and he had to give an acknowledgement in which he promised that he would never do the same.[35] I think this case is about an aggressive drunk man and not about a soldier who abused his power. As we do not know every circumstance, it is only a supposition.

The second one is more complex. A billeted German soldier appears in this case but not as the aggressor. In April 1699, a certain Istvánné Kolosvári proceeded against a man called János Rácz because of her husband's death. The woman stated that Rácz had had dinner with them at their place and when he had got sleepy, he had laid down next to the German soldier who had been billeted on them. Rácz fell asleep, but later in the night, he got up and lay down into Kolosvári's bed next to the sleeping man. Kolosvári suddenly woke up and shouted: *„What kind of person are you?"*[36] They jumped out of the bed quickly and Rácz began to beat Kolosvári with a candlestick then he went out for an axe. The accused explained another version of the event. According to his plea, after he got up from the soldier, he lay down into an empty bed, which was made for him and Kolosvári attacked him while the soldier was beating him, too. The witnesses' depositions confirmed the guiltiness of the accused. We learn that Rácz was drunk and he was the attacker. The German soldier indeed beat Rácz but just after he noticed his assault against Kolosvári. By the way, the soldier said in his testimony that he had wanted to kill the man but Kolosvári and his wife had not let him to do that. Despite the guiltiness of János Rácz, he was not sentenced to capital punishment because Kolosvári's death had not been solely caused by the beating. There were several reasons of his death. He had not obeyed the barbers' instructions and he had had another disease as well. Therefore Rácz was sentenced to corporal punishment and banishment.[37]

Still on the subject of masterfulness, I have found seven entries concerning robbing or killing inhabitants' animals: two from 1697 (either of them is about a case from 1696), one from 1698 (it is about a case from 1697), one from

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[34] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 820–821. 18 Aug 1704, ibid. 822–824. 25 Aug 1704, ibid. 830. 8 Sept 1704.; MNL HBML IV. A. 1018./e. vol. 2. 615–616. 28 Aug 1704. As I am not sure that the perpetrators were soldiers, I did not count this case among the attacks committed by soldiers.
[35] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 728. 16 Febr 1704.
[36] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 446. 2 Apr 1699.
[37] Ibid. 446–449. 2 Apr 1699; MNL HBML IV. A. 1018./e. vol. 2. 169–174. 6 Apr 1699.

1699, one from 1700 (it is about another case from 1696), one from 1703 and one from 1704.

Both of the two records from 1697 mention German soldiers. We can read in the entry dated in March 1697 that these German soldiers drove away strayed cattle and they kept them with violence. This entry is about a civil suit. A man called Bálint Terge claimed compensation from a certain István Márta because he had lost one of Terge's cattle. Márta stated in his plea that the cow had strayed with three other animals and they had been found and kept by a few German soldiers. The magistrates probably believed him because the adjudication says: *„(...) as the (...) cow was kept with violence by the German (...).”*[38] Although the cattle strayed by themselves, the fact that the soldiers kept them is almost as bad as if they would steal them from the herd, because it was not the appropriate behaviour in case of finding strayed animals. We can find an example for the appropriate behaviour from the following year. In 1698 a soldier – unfortunately we do not have any information about him – drove two lost cattle in front of the herdsman of Debrecen.[39] So the German soldiers ought to have done the same instead of keeping the animals.

The second record from 1697 is also about a civil suit. János Balog took action against a man because of his killed pigs. The defendant said that one of the killed pigs had been shot by a German soldier.[40] We can find similar cases in the sources. István Majtini claimed compensation from János Kis because Kis had lost three of Majtini's pigs within five years. It turned out, that one of them had been slaughtered by a soldier – we do not know what kind of soldier – in 1696.[41]

There are some records about horses which were driven away by soldiers. All of these are so-called *„appropriatio”, id est* entries in which people find their lost or stolen valuables – usually their animals – and they produce witnesses to prove that they are the real owners. For instance, a certain János Farkas recognised one of his horses which had been robbed by soldiers in the summer of the previous year.[42] Unfortunately, we do not get any information about these soldiers.

There are a few entries in the minutes which mention sexual assault. György Bónis and István Kállay, who conducted research on contemporary legal practice, rank this crime among fornication, such as, for example, incest and bestiality.[43] As I see it, in this case – during examination of the soldiers' violence

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[38] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 42. 18 Mar 1697.
[39] Ibid. 304. 4 Sept 1698.
[40] Ibid. 53–54. 22 Apr 1697.
[41] Ibid. 741. 21 Jun 1700.
[42] Ibid. 247. 23 May 1698.
[43] *Bónis György*: Buda és Pest bírósági gyakorlata a török kiűzése után 1686–1708. Budapest várostörténeti monográfiái XXIII. Budapest 1962; *Kállay István*: Városi bíráskodás Magyarországon 1686–1848. Budapest 1996.

against inhabitants – it is acceptable to count this crime among masterfulness. I have found four records about such crime: one from 1698, one from 1699, one from 1702 and one from 1704. Three of these four entries mention Hungarian soldiers. The fourth one tells that a woman called Ilona Király, who was accused of fornication, having been raped in the field by some kind of soldiers. The woman probably got pregnant because according to the record, she showed the signs of fornication.[44] The other three women stood in front of the courthouse because of fornication as well, and they spoke about sexual assault in their pleas. I did not find all of their statements confirmed but sometimes I did, as for example, in the case of Judit Juhász (Mihályné Tót). Even though she could prove the assault she was sentenced to corporal punishment because *„she did not avoid the opportunity"*[45]. It seems to be unfair at first hearing, but we learn from the witnesses' testimonies that she was married with children and she drank and danced with soldiers before the crime happened. Of course, it does not mean that she deserved it, but being aware of the circumstances, we can understand more easily why she was punished.[46]

The trial against Kata Cseh (Mátyásné Ádám) was very interesting as well. The indictment, dated on 2 February 1699, states that she had committed adultery, but she said she had been raped by hussars from Böszörmény. Thus the woman was ordered to prove that she had reported the violation to the soldiers' lieutenant in Böszörmény. For unknown reason, she failed to do it so she was sentenced to corporal punishment.[47] Usually soldiers were not under the jurisdiction of Debrecen. For that reason the reporting to lieutenants was very important in such cases because they had right to investigate and to punish the perpetrators.

Except for some cases, the above-mentioned masterfulness happened during wartime. Most of the entries which were written in peacetime – *id est* between the Treaty of Karlowitz and the outbreak of Rákóczi's war of independence – differ from these above-mentioned records. The majority of them are concerning fornication. We can find twelve entries of this kind. Only one is from 1698. The rest of them are from the short peacetime: five from 1699, one from 1700, four from 1701 and one from 1702. Six records mention German soldiers and we can suspect the same from two other entries. Hungarian soldiers are mentioned only once. The other entries do not give any information about the soldiers.

A particularly scandalous case was brought before the magistrates in July 1699. According to the indictment, a woman called Erzsébet Háló *„(...) took herself to procure and she procured an honest man's daughter to a German for fornication, she laid them together and guarded them at night."*[48]

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[44] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 418. 28 Aug 1702.
[45] Ibid. 761. 10 Apr 1704.
[46] Ibid. 760–761. 10 Apr 1704; MNL HBML IV. A. 1018./e. vol. 2. 583–584. (not dated).
[47] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 396. 2 Febr 1696, ibid. 402. 16 Febr 1699.
[48] Ibid. 524. 13 Jul 1699, ibid. 529–530. 16 Jul 1699.

The other women, who were in court charged with fornication. Usually they did not deny the charges because most of them had been seen by witnesses while they were kissing and hugging these men. For example, Erzsébet Péter (Jánosné Kis) did not deny either. She, the record says, *„(...) took herself to fornicate, conceived, her child is in her lap."*[49] The woman confessed that *„the bastard is from a German"*[50] so she was sentenced to corporal punishment and she had to leave Debrecen.[51] In spite of the witnesses, some women still denied. Such as Judit Kalmár who was accused that *„(...) she gave herself to a German, lay in the same bed with him undressed at night, she talked to him prurient lewdly talking and she fornicated with him."*[52] She did not confess anything but plenty of witnesses confirmed these statements. Even an aggravating circumstance turned out from these witnesses' depositions. The woman had an affair with a billeted German barber in the previous year so she was a recidivist. She was also sentenced to corporal punishment at first but this sentence was reduced at the request of her old parents.[53]

Such cases were so common because the presence of foreign soldiers meant excitement and temptation to a lot of girls and women in Debrecen. On the one hand, many women found uniform attractive in those times as well, on the other hand, the foreign culture made these men more interesting and they had often loose morals. Unsurprisingly, most of the harlots' customers also were soldiers.[54]

We can find cases from the peacetime as well, in which stolen animals were found at soldiers or stolen animals were sold by them. I have found five cases: two from 1699, two from 1700 and one from 1702. All of them are related to horses. For instance, a man from Terem called Mihály Oláh found his two stolen horses at a soldier of General Kolonics in April 1700. The horses were stolen from the stable nine days earlier.[55] Another interesting case was brought before the courthouse in October 1699. János Bukner proceeded against a man called György Jenei because of a horse that he laid claim to. Jenei stated that the demanded horse had been given to him by Kuruc soldiers. He had to take care of it and later these soldiers took away the horse. He had to prove his statement. Un-

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[49] Ibid. 576. 30 Nov 1699.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid. 519–520. 9 Jul 1699.
[53] Ibid. 519–520. 9 Jul 1699, ibid. 529. 16 Jul 1699; MNL HBML IV. A. 1018./e. vol. 2. 189–196. 9 Jul 1699.
[54] *Vajda Mária*: Szexuális bűnök és büntetések a XVIII. századi puritán Debrecenben és környékén. Tiscium: a Jász–Nagykun–Szolnok megyei múzeumok évkönyve XIV. Szolnok 2004. 257. http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MEGY_JNSZ_Evkonyv_2004/?pg=252&layout=s (Downloaded: 20 May 2015).
[55] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 697. 27 Apr 1700.

fortunately, I do not know if he was successful because I did not find the continuation of the case.[56]

Soldiers could get involved in another sort of theft as well. In the autumn of 1701, a man called Ferenc Csődör was sentenced to death because of stealing either 600 or 800 forints.[57] The man confessed that three Hungarian soldiers had been his accomplices. They were László Ebergényi's soldiers, but we do not get any further information about them or their punishment.[58]

As I have mentioned previously, soldiers could not be only perpetrators. Sometimes they became the victims of the crimes. It is understandable because they did a lot of damage and committed several violent acts in and around Debrecen so a lot of stress and anger could be accumulated inside the inhabitants. Of course, we must not forget that not only soldiers could be aggressive people but the inhabitants, too. Moreover, sometimes the alcohol could be responsible for the violence. There are four entries in the minutes which are concerning assault against soldiers. Except one, all of them are from the peacetime: two from 1701 and one from 1702.

The exception is from 1697 and it mentions a billeted German soldier who was attacked in the Kádas Street. This case is very interesting because we get information about it from a civil suit. György Paplancsináló claimed compensation from István Butka because Butka had attacked the above-mentioned German soldier twelve weeks before the trial and the soldier's officer had punished Paplancsináló by mistake. He was caught and taken to the German camp and he had to pay 112 forints to the officer.[59]

This case is an example for an officer who punished the *„perpetrator"* over the magistrates' heads. Fortunately, this kind of behaviour was not general. In February 1701, Mihály Báthori Szabó and András Fodor got drunk and they assaulted some of László Splényi's soldiers. The perpetrators shot at the soldiers and pulled them off their horses. They even beat them on the ground. Splényi demanded satisfaction, but he did not act arbitrarily. He recommended the attackers for punishment to the magistrates. Thanks to their influential friends the two men escaped the proceedings but they were fined 50–50 forints for the violence.[60]

Two months later a man called István Borbély had a conflict with a soldier, too. He began to argue with the soldier at his place (viz. at Borbély's place) then he suddenly drew someone else's sword to fight with the soldier. We know hardly anything about the antecedents and the circumstances or the soldier, but

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[56] Ibid. 569. 17 Oct 1699.

[57] We do not know the worth of the stolen sum exactly because 600 forints are mentioned in the first entry and 800 forints are in the second one.

[58] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 226. 13 Oct 1701, ibid. 231–232. 14 Nov 1701.

[59] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 112. 2 Sept 1697, ibid. 113. 5 Sept 1697, ibid. 134. 21 Nov 1697; MNL HBML IV. A. 1018./e. vol. 2. 82. 5 Sept 1697.

[60] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 25. 59. 10 Feb 1701.

we learn from the adjudication that Borbély was a drunkard who often got into trouble. It is not excluded that he was drunk in this case, too. No soldier was mentioned in the adjudication because the accused was punished for his lifestyle, his frequent disorderliness and not for the mentioned case. He had to sit on the wooden horse with a stone in his neck for three days and he was told that he would die if he did something wrong again.[61]

One of the reasons of such conflicts and attacks could be the inhabitants' negative opinion of the soldiers. For instance, the charges against György Szürke Szabó show this opinion well. According to the source, he was *„(...) an unruly, disobedient man, he even said, while the house of the town servant was in flames, that: Let it, let it, if only it killed the soldier!"* So he did not want the fire to be extinguished because he wanted the man's death.[62] The pejorative use of the word *„soldier"* is perceptible in the text. Soldiers were thought to be dishonest and unreliable men, getting in touch with them reflected in the civil population.

We have seen that the presence of soldiers led to numerous conflicts and crimes. The wartime, the armies billeted in the town or passing through on campaign put a big burden on Debrecen. In addition to the lot of damage, the inhabitants often fell victim to the violence of these soldiers. During the reoccupation of Hungary, the most common crimes were assault and battery. Most of the attackers were billeted German soldiers. The town leaders tried to protect their people and they applied to higher military leadership for help believing they could stop the soldiers' excesses and masterfulness. Sometimes these attempts were successful, but – as we have seen it – only for a short time. Another common crime was robbery. According to the minutes, all the plunders were animals, such as horses and cattle and we can read about two killed pigs in the sources. Of course, soldiers probably robbed other properties as well, but, as in the case of assault and battery, not all incidents were registered separately. As I mentioned, the town leaders complained about *„excesses"* and *„many thefts"*[63]. In my opinion, these expressions could include several cases of robbery, too. After the Treaty of Karlowitz the type of the crimes committed by soldiers changed and they became less violent. There were some examples for assault and battery, robbery as well as sexual assault, but the most mentioned crime in the records is the fornication in the peacetime. We can find a lot of stolen animals in the sources as well, but usually these entries do not tell about violence. The outbreak of Rákóczi's war of independence brought violence again. The Kuruc soldiers often attacked the inhabitants, robbed their animals and caused a lot of damage. If we examine the attacks against soldiers, we will notice that the big part of these cases were in the peacetime.

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[61] Ibid. 106. 16 Apr 1701, ibid. 107–108. 18 Apr 1701.
[62] Ibid. 806. 28 Jun 1704.
[63] MNL HBML IV. A. 1011./a. vol. 24. 230. 20 Apr 1698, ibid. 282. 20 Jul 1698.

We could examine even more interesting things in this theme – for example, the soldiers who lived in Debrecen or the minutes of the military court – but these could be the subject of another paper.

Csaba Kis

CHANGES IN THE FUNCTION OF THE CASTLE OF EGER AT THE TURN OF THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

ABSTRACT

As a result of the war against the occupying Ottoman Empire between 1686 and 1699, the Crown regained most of the territories of the Hungarian Kingdom and the control over it. Due to the pushing of the real borders of the country more and more to the south the majority of the fortresses of the state lost their temporary role as a border castle, therefore it became a substantive question within the imperial authority, how the earlier security system, then predominantly located in the middle of Hungary, could be reorganised according to the requirements of the era, in a way it fits the purpose of accommodating the newly organised regular army. In these attempts the period of Ferenc Rákóczi II's war of independence was wedged in which showed a high extent of continuity regarding the strategic concepts in connection to the castles. It thus follows from these circumstances that the change in the function of the castle of Eger at the turn of the 17–18th century can only be depicted with proper shades if taking the above events and tendencies of country-scale significance into consideration.

Keywords: Castle of Eger, alterations of strategical concepts in the 17–18th century, wars against the Ottman Empire, Rákóczi's war of independce

The investigation of the strategic role of the castles in the territories of the historical Hungarian Kingdom became more intense only in the last two centuries as a part of the Hungarian research of military and urban history. The studies dealing with the topic – almost without exception – investigate the changes and the circumstances of the changes in the function of a former border castle in the 1680s, 1690s, in the form of a case study, referring to the sources serving as the base of the research.[1] It is out of question that these cases presented randomly enriched our knowledge about this topic of the military history, however these have provided no comprehensive statements and even less comparative analyses. The first, and up until now sole undertaking aiming at a broad overview is that of An-

[1] A non-exhaustive list mentioning only some studies. *Bagi Gábor*: Szolnok visszafoglalása 1685-ben és jelentősége a török elleni felszabadító háborúk első szakaszában. In: Zounuk 16. (A Szolnok Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve). Szolnok 2001. 9–38.; *Gecsényi Lajos*: A 16-17. századi magyarországi városfejlődés kérdéséhez. Az erődváros megjelenése. In: Unger Mátyás Emlékkönyv. Szerk. E. Kovács Péter – Kalmár – Molnár V. László. Budapest 1991. 145–158.; *Oross András*: Végvárakból kaszárnyák. A Budai Kamarai Adminisztráció szerepe Magyarország új katonai berendezkedésében a 17–18. század fordulóján. Századok 6. (2006) 1441–1473.

drás Oross, who, in his work published in 2013,[2] described, in a detailed, synthetic way, not only the changes in the role of the border castles functioning as border security of the Hungarian Kingdom, but also the imperial governmental conceptions as the background of the process, and the financial relations and realization of the reform. Though Oross touches upon questions concerning Eger, the introduction of the changes with longer lasting, more up-to-date research results in terms of the events of Rákóczi's freedom fight is the main concern of the present study: in the form of a case study.

The war of independence led by Ferenc Rákóczi II, affecting most of the cities within the Hungarian Kingdom, heaved the era of outstanding significance in their history. This applies to the object of our research, Eger, too, which got into a special situation legally and administratively after the Reconquest Wars[3] of the 1680s,[4] besides it turned into a regional centre and, after the occupation of the settlement by the Kuruc people, one of the main base towns of the freedom fight. Since in the case of Eger one of the main bases of this function as a base town has been the fortress in the city, thus the analysis of the changes in the strateic role of the castle at the turn of the 17–18th century is a crucially important task.

As widely known, Eger functioned as a remarkably important border castle during the Ottoman conquest; kept from 1552 to 1596 under Hungarian and from 1596 to 1687 under Turkish authority it was one of the borders of the territories controlled by the Ottoman to the most North. As a result of the expulsion of the Ottomans starting in 1684, the overwhelming majority of the territories of the country and the control over it was handed back to the authority of the crown. With the pushing of the real borders of the Hungarian Kingdom to the South the majority of the fortresses in the area of the state lost their function as a border castle owned temporariliy, just like in the case of Eger. For the settling of the question raised by the situation a new military concept, the so called *Universal Systema* has been created by the Habsburg imperial authority already by the end of the 1680s. This concept, considering the difficult situation of the treasury, aimed at strengthening one main castle per region,[5] while the decision about the faith of the rest of the castles was postponed after the peacemaking with the Turks.[6] All these point to the direction of a significant military conception

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[2] *Oross A.*: A Magyar Királyság törökellenes határvédelmi rendszerének felszámolása és átszervezése. Budapest 2013.

[3] Also known as Turkish War (1684–1699).

[4] The special role of the city realized, from the legal point of view, in the loss of the rank free royal city (Fenessy Treaty, 1695) owned temporarily (1687–1695) and thus being requalified as episcopal city, and, from the administrative point of view, in the split of the settlement into two (until 1711 one half of the city belonged to Heves County, the other half to Borsod).

[5] Such main castles were e.g. Buda, Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky, Slovakia) and Pétervárad (Petrovaradin, Serbia).

[6] Regarding the concept no consensus prevailed within the imperial authority in the beginning, since the Court Chamber proposed the demolition of the castles qualifued as insignificant already during the

change, and its significance is expressed by the fact that the concept was included in Lipót Kollonich's plan, *„Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Ungarn"*,[7] too.

In the case of Eger the outcome of the conception change can be observed already after the reoccupation of the fortress in 1687: an anonymous expert's report called for its demolition in 1688. Among its arguments one can find the worse defensibility due to the lack of superstructures and the lack of potential to rebuild the castle taking the modern trends into consideration. According to the author of the report the castle of Szolnok, due to its much better condition and favourable strategic location, is much more appropriate for fulfilling the function of a main castle. The statements of the author of this account are supported by the report of Johann Buttler, captain of the castle of Eger, written in June 1700, in which he urges the reparation of the castle in bad condition. Though on the request of Buttler, after his death in February 1701 the new captain of the castle, Eduard de Wilson plans were made for the reparation of the castle, but the counties missed to deliver the timber for this, thus substantive changes in the condition of the fortress did not happen until the next spring.[8]

As already mentioned, regarding the fortresses of the country the notions of the Courtmartial were applied in the 1690s, however after the peacemaking in Karlóca[9] in 1699, closing the Reconquest Wars, the principles of the Courtmartial became dominant in the measures of the imperial authority. This tendency peaked in the decree issued on 7 February 1702 by Lipót I, which prepared the demolition of 18 castles of the Hungarian Kingdom, including the fortress of Eger.[10] The direction in the case of Eger required only the deterioration of the castle and the transfer of the weapons and ammunition to Buda, at the same time the walls of the town and the strongholds of the settlement was required to be kept, because the main objective was to solve the all-time problem of providing accomodation to the troops by the building of a barrack or a stronghold resembling a barrack. The plan aimed at a higher headcount, military garrison being stationed there,

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reoccupation wars referring to the rather difficult situation of the treasury. In opposition to the Chamber, however the Courtmartial – referring to the costly nature of the demolitions and to the potential usage of the fortresses against a potential *„internal enemy"* – found it more benefitial to return to the topic of the arrangement of the situation after peacemaking. These events clearly show that until the castle demolitions in 1702 the latter standpoint prevailed temporarily. *Oross A.*: Várrombolások a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 4. (2011) 1038.; *Oross A.*: Régi várak új szerepkörben a 17. század végén. Várak, kastélyok, templomok 4. (2011) 11.

[7] Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Ungarn (1688–1690). Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa Bd. 39. Quellen Bd. 1. (Geistwissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas E. V. an der Universität Leipzig). Hrsg. Kalmár János – Varga J. János. Stuttgart 2010.

[8] *Oross A.*: Végvárakból kaszárnyák op. cit. 1454–1455.; *Détshy Mihály*: Az egri vár története VII. (1687–1967). Az Egri Vár Híradója 8. (1969) 10.

[9] Sremski Karlovci, Serbia. Also known as Karlowitz.

[10] *Kis Csaba*: Eger megvétele és visszafoglalása a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején (1704–1710). In: Kuruc küzdelmek kora. Szerk. Peter Kónya. Prešov 2014. 301–303.

whose task would have been the control of the area judged to be insurrectionist.[11] The cost of carrying out the regulations of the direction had to be covered by chamber prefect Christoph Franz Penz, the necessary labour was provided by the County of Heves-Outer-Szolnok as *„gratuitus labor”*. The supervision of the deterioration works of the castle was devoted to the supreme commander Johann Ferdinand von Pfeffershoven and artificer officer Nicolaus Dumont in Vienna.[12]

The deterioration works started on 31 March 1702, but it became clear already within two weeks that the costs of the operation exceed the financial potentials of the chamber prefect. It is known from the reports of Penz that the demolition of the outer castle was finished on 1 July, at the same time, in opposition to the original plans the activity has not continued in the inner castle, moreover, Pfeffershoven ordered it to be fortified. In the background the costly nature of the deterioration must have stood, since it turns out from Penz's 17 July record that the activities up until then costed 2303 forint 49 denarii. Considering that the costs arose mainly from the wages, the deterioration of the inner part of the castle being much larger in territory would have demanded huge financial sacrifice exceeding the potentials of the chamber prefect of Eger. As a result the fortification proposed, requiring less investment, can be called a rational solution, however – except the strengthening of the counterslope between the two parts of the city – due to the difficult situation of the chamber and the outburst of the freedom fight in 1703 it could not be started.[13] Therefore the state of the fortress of Eger – similar to that of other fortifications – could not be called proper at that time, still it did not influence the faith of the castle significantly during the freedom fight, as the outcome of the siege was not the straight consequence of the state of the redoubts of the castle in neither the 1704 nor the 1710 siege.

It is important to note that the operations of the freedom fight bursting out in the spring of 1703 did not affect Eger until October the same year owing to the geographical location of the city. While the rebel troop occupied the whole area beyond the Tisza, Emperor Leopold I ordered colonel Count Herkules Pius Montecuccoli and his troop to stop the opposition evolving, to which Heves and Outer-Szolnok also contributed with their armed forces, and since 9 October 1703 for a while Count Simon Forgách attended the defensive tasks against the Kuruc in the region. By then, however – mainly after the fall of Szolnok on 21 September – the rebels were able to mobilize proper forces in the county, thus they encompassed Eger during their siege by 29 October, where the direction of the

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[11] *Bagi Zoltán Péter*: Eger kuruc ostromai és kapitulációja 1703–1705. In: Végvár és társadalma a korszakváltás idején. Studia Agriensia 30. Szerk. Berec Mátyás – Rémiás Tibor. Eger 2012. 53–71.

[12] *Détshy M.*: Az egri külső vár lerombolása 1702-ben. Az Egri Múzeum évkönyve. Annales Musei Agriensis 5. (1967) 117–118.

[13] *Détshy M.*: Az egri külső vár lerombolása op. cit. 119–122.; *Détshy M.*: Az egri vár története op. cit. 10–11.; *Oross A.*: Végvárakból kaszárnyák op. cit. 1457–1458.; *Sugár István*: Az egri vár históriája. Budapest 1991. 174–175.

protection of the castle was transferred to earl and colonel Ferdinand von Zinzendorf. The core of the military forces of the fortification consisted of the marooned soldiers of the free company of imperial colonel Eduard de Wilson, already mentioned, who were accompanied by the armed elements of German and South Slavic nationality and by a low number of Hungarian soldiers after the occupation of the city after 4 November. We can state regarding the headcount of the artillery belonging to the garrison that the transfer of the military equipment of the castle to Kassa[14] did not realize completely during the partial implementation of the 1702 decree aiming at the reorganization of the system of Hungarian castles, therefore a part of it, along with the staff referred to in the report created in August 1703 (with a responsible for the military equipment and with 8 artilleryman), must have had to be found within the walls of the fortress during the attack of the Kuruc people against the castle. The headcount of the garrison can be estimated to be around 350 based on the report of the English embassador of Wien George Stepney sent to secretary of state Hedges on 30 April 1704.[15] Of this 350 people 150 were German soldiers and 200 Hungarian and South Slavic cavalrymen.

A siege did not take place directly after the occupation of the settlement for a while, since general Miklós Bercsényi, the one occupying the city processed with his army further to Upper Hungary, and the uprising armies of the county led by János Almássy did not own siege cannons, furthermore resulting from their low headcount they could only concentrate on the upkeep of the encompassment of the castle.[16] The *„effectiveness”* of Almássy's troops is shown by the fact that the South Slavic cavalry of the castle carried out outbreaks along with raids several times,[17] by which they could at least partly refill the dwindling food supplies of the garrison.[18]

The temporary situation was solved when Rákóczi arrived to Eger on 6 March 1704. During the attack starting the next day the Kuruc troops bombarded the castle without transparent results for two months, but the offensive did cause serious shortage of water within the walls of the fortress. Thus the surrender of the imperial garrison became unavoidable anyway, but the Kuruc general staff not knowing anything about the difficult situation of the defenders applied a more

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[14] Košice, Slovakia.

[15] II. Rákóczi Ferenc Emlékiratai a magyarországi háborúról 1703-tól annak végéig. Ford. Vas István. Budapest 2004. (Henceforward: Emlékiratok) 78.; *Bagi Z. P.*: Eger kuruc ostromai op. cit. 58–64.; *Kis Cs.*: Eger megvétele és visszafoglalása op. cit. 302–303.

[16] Rákóczi intended to solve the headcount problems of the encompassment of Eger among others by the redeployment of the troops of 3 regions of county Nógrád to Eger. MNL NML XVI–3. C–5/5. 54–56.

[17] The success of these raids is shown by the fact that Rákóczi himself gives a command on 12 November 1703, to keep the Miskolc citizens in place, because he was afraid that the citizens of Eger could threaten the city in Borsod County. MNL BAZML Act. Pol. Mat. II. Fasc. I. Nro. 263.

[18] *Kis Cs.*: Eger megvétele és visszafoglalása op. cit. 304.

diplomatic solution, in which Earl Simon Forgách joining the riot in the meantime had a key role.[19]

As a result of the negotiations with the commander of the garrison, the peace treaty between Forgách and Zinzendorf was concluded on 17 April 1704. It ensured a favourable solution to both parties. According to the treaty the imperial garrison can stay until 17 December and the provision necessary could be purchased in the city market, but in case no rescue army arrives from the imperial side by the given date, the castle must be handed over to the rebels. The armed forces could then decide freely about which party to join and those choosing to remain faithful to the emperor could leave without being hurt. The contract dealt with the personal estate of the defenders: these properties could even be completely carried away, and under the order of Rákóczi the neighbouring counties (especially Borsod) provided the necessary carts for the transport,[20] thus the soldiers could surrender the fortress to the Kuruc without significant property damage. Due to the contract the situation in Eger could be consolidated and since no rescue armies arrived to Eger during the given 8 months the garrison of the castle surrendered the fortification to the deputy settler of the case, colonel captain Imre Szentpétery on 2 January 1705,[21] and then processed to Buda through Kál. However, the rebels, under cover of the fact that the surrender only happened two weeks after the originally pinpointed deadline, disarmed the defiling guards and took the officers together with Zinzendorf to Kassa.[22] After the real capitulation of the castle Gergely Ráthy became the first Kuruc commander of Eger.[23]

After the seizure of the fortress Rákóczi marched in Eger ceremoniously on 28 February 1705 and the centre of the war of independence was Eger from the point of view of the diplomatic as well the political and military organization by the end of his first dwell in the city on 18 July. Taking into consideration the strategic location of the castle of Eger besides the previous statements, we can consider Rákóczi's observation well-founded, when he used the expression „*the centre of the country*" in connection to Eger.[24] The fortress had an outstanding place in Rákóczi's politics owing to its military significance, since the leader wanted to guarantee the control of a given region with a braced and well-equipped castle,[25] therefore his concept shows a continuation of that of the court-martial defined in the 1680s. The outstanding role of Eger occupied by the rebels is proved by many primer founts, which primarily give evidence of the transfer of

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[19] Emlékiratok, 81.
[20] MNL BAZML Acta politica. Mat. II. Fasc. I. Nro. 311.; MNL HML Heves és K.-Szolnok vm. Nemesi Közgy. ir. IV–1/a/12. 64.
[21] MNL BAZML Acta politica. Mat. II. Fasc. I. Nro. 312.
[22] Košice, Slovakia.
[23] *Kis Cs.*: Eger megvétele és visszafoglalása op. cit. 305.
[24] *Köpeczi Béla – R. Várkonyi Ágnes*: II. Rákóczi Ferenc. Budapest 1955. 176.
[25] Such fortresses were Eger, Szolnok, Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), and the fortification of Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky, Slovakia).

the resources financial, in kind and other of the surrounding region to the castle.[26] Rákóczi watched the ensuring of the castle guards with provision and military equipment and the best possible bracing of the ramparts of the castle with marked attention all the while. Consequently, during the years of the freedom fight the fortification functioned as a well-supplied and well-equipped stronghold with proper defense potentials, and it seemed the castle will be able to fulfill all tasks devoted to it up to the turn of 1708–1709. Considering besides those stated that Eger had acquittance from all the movements of the enemy due to its geographical location during the period from the occupation of the Kuruc till 1710 the expectations of the Kuruc general staff can not be called visionary.

The situation, however, drastically changed within a short time after the defeat in the Battle of Trencsén[27] on 3 August 1708, which is considered to be the turning point of the war of independence. Although with the rebellion being after its vertex and being forced back the significance of Eger and the similar fortresses increased, the supplies of the castle already decreasing were depleted more and more frequently in order to support the North-Hungarian operations. The plague epidemic appearing in Heves County made the recruiting even more difficult and Rákóczi's decree issued about the Eger people fighting being tax-free[28] also proved to be only a temporary solution. Based on these facts Rákóczi's report sent to Bercsényi on 15 January 1710 may seem to be surprising: it found the troops of captain Miklós Perényi in an unexceptionable condition during the general military review at the beginning of the year.[29] Imre Szántó returns in his study that in the first half of 1710 besides the guards of the castle the population of the city and the castle consisted of the military employees, the supply officer, the accomodation and payment master, the military commissar, the doctor and the craftsmen, and he mentions the district military cash desk and the food storehouse with a centre in Eger,[30] but this positive effect picture is worth to be toned using the experience of our research with the fact that by that time neither the number of those fighting nor their equipment, nor the quantity of the ammunition available capacitated the castle for long term resistance in the case of a potential siege.[31] Despite the above-mentioned facts it must be admitted that after the forfeit of Érsekújvár[32] on 23 September 1710, Rákóczi must have rely on those few

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[26] Regarding this see *Bánkúti Imre*: A Rákóczi-szabadságharc dokumentumai Abaúj-Torna, Borsod, Gömör-Kishont és Zemplén vármegyékből. (Henceforward: ARSzD. II.) Miskolc 2003. 59.; ARSzD. II. 138.; ARSzD. II. 78.; *Bánkúti I.*: A Rákóczi-szabadságharc dokumentumai Abaúj-Torna, Borsod, Gömör-Kishont és Zemplén vármegyékből. (Henceforward: ARSzD. III.) Miskolc 2004. 74–75.

[27] Trenčín, Slovakia.

[28] MNL HML V–1/b/3. B. IV.17.

[29] *Komáromy András*: Perényi Miklós egri várparancsnok (1705–1710). Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 16. (1915) 148.; *Kis Cs.*: Eger megvétele és visszafoglalása op. cit. 307.

[30] *Szántó I.*: Eger a Rákóczi-szabadságharc korában. Egri Múzeum Évkönyve I. Eger 1963. 286.

[31] *Esze Tamás*: Kuruc vitézek folyamodványai (1703–1711). Budapest 1955. 512.

[32] Nové Zámky, Slovakia.

fortresses with different defense potentials which were still owned by him. Thanks to this situation the concept was formulated that the Kassa[33]-Eger-Szolnok line was to be the bridge-head of the war being pushed more and more to the east. However, the plan had less and less reality owing to the change of the military situation, because the German troops of Count Franz Paul Wallis flooded Heves County from the direction of Hatvan by 17 October, and the forfeit of Szolnok on 17 October made the exculpation of Eger, becoming encompassed in a siege, impossible from the strategic aspect. After his success at Szolnok Marquis Jacob Joseph Cusani led his troops towards Eger and joined the troops of Pálffy encompassing the city by that time. As the county reports also inform, the defending army together with the citizens commanded by the Bishop of Eger, István Telekessy, facing the overpower immediately, surrendered by the imperial army, thus only the castle remained in the hand of the rebels.

Marquis Cusani, conscious of the imperial overpower, intended to settle the situation of the beset fortress in a diplomatic way, but captain Miklós Perényi – keeping himself to his consequent standpoint – did not deign to answer his letters proposing the possibility of surrender. As one of the consequences an internal faction appeared among the defenders led by lieutenant commander Ferenc Réthey and quartermaster officer Sándor Csala, which, from that point on, being continuously up against Perényi and tried to undermine the remaining defense positions of the castle. All this done in order to enforce their intentions to procure a capitulation contract ensuring favourable conditions, similar to the Forgách-Zinzendorf Treaty. The idea itself characterises the sense of reality of Réthey and his men well: in the given situation they had no chance to conclude an agreement like that, as the imperial side was perfectly aware of their much more advantageous status and thus the rebels were not in a position to negotiate. However Perényi, recognising the circumstances unfavourable to them, adhered to his standpoint firmly, therefore on 25 October the imperial troops, lacking any further potentials, started the onslaught with a continuous, three-day bombardment of the fortress.

Although the military operations were continuing uninterruped (from 6 November 1710 under the command of colonel Franciscus Wallis), the commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in Hungary, Count János Pálffy endeavoured continuously to persuade Perényi in a diplomatic way about the vanity of the resistance.[34] Convinced about the uncompromising attitude of the captain of the castle, putting down the possibility of solution through negotiations, the imperial general staff launched the offense of supreme outcome on 22 November. The imperial troops applied the tactics of the Kuruc used in 1704: they endeavoured to batter the defense with heavy bombing. Though the damages caused by the nine-

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[33] Košice, Slovakia.

[34] *Bánkúti I.*: Dokumentumok a szatmári béke történetéhez. Budapest 1991. 15–16.

day bombing is not known, those were probably quite serious, since according to Perényi's reports the enemy fired more than 400 bombs on the castle with their mortars. Regarding damages it can definitely be stated that with the termination of the water supply of the castle there a serious water shortage was caused. Owing to this problem impossible to be solved within the given situation, augmented by the continuous arm-twisting of the Réthey opposition and since there was no chance of the arrival of a Kuruc reinforcing troop the defense of the castle became demoralised completely. As a result Perényi had to decide to capitulate on 29 November 1710.[35]

The conduct of the preparations and implementation of the capitulation contract was undertaken by the group confronting Perényi, but the captain insisted on Lőrinc Gebhard, faithful to him all along, being part of the delegation, too. As it turned out later, the intentions of Réthey and his company to be able to capitulate with advantageous conditions neglected any reality. Though Earl Wallis did not offer the possibility of amnesty, he defined strict terms to the rebels walking out of the castle.[36] The defenders could take only their hand arms and personal properties along, all the rest of their goods were put under control of the Hofkammer and no restitution was to be expected. Although the treaty did not prohibit the buying and selling of the personal property and other belongings of the defenders, but it could only be started in course of the evacuation of the castle,[37] which – as opposed to the incredibly long grace period guaranteed by the 1704 contract – at that moment meant only 10 days, hence the Chamber gained authority over the most of the properties of the defenders. After the surrender of the fortress on 8 December 1710, most of the defenders swore loyalty to the emperor, but brigadier Perényi, keeping himself to his previous attitude, set off to Rákóczi with his hundred men to inform the leader about what happened in Eger.[38] As a result of the emperor resuming the castle the Kuruc movement practically vanished from Heves County completely, and the inhabitants of Eger, decreasing in number to the half of its previous headcount,[39] started the restoration of the destroyed parts of the city. After 1711 Eger maintained its role as the main castle providing the control of the region, with the only modification that presently functioning as a barrack-room, it accommodated the local units of the permanent army being newly created, and always kept in arms.[40]

Summarizing the facts included in the present case study it can be stated that the function of the castle of Eger has essentially changed in several stages in

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[35] *Sugár I.*: Az egri vár históriája op. cit. 201–205.
[36] *Czobor Alfréd*: Új adatok Eger várának 1710-i történetéhez. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 30. (1929) 489–496.
[37] *Czobor A.*: Új adatok op. cit. 477–478.
[38] *Sugár I.*: Az egri vár históriája op. cit. 206.
[39] MNL HML Eger city doc. V–1/b/3. B. III. 27.; MNL HML Eger city doc. V–1/b/3. B. IV. 42.
[40] *Kis Cs.*: Eger megvétele és visszafoglalása op. cit. 310–311.

the decades after the expulsion of the Ottomans in the 1680s. Its return to the authority of the crown meant the loss of the status as a border castle. Then owing to the reorganization of this earlier system of fortresses it appeared already as the main castle with the function of controlling the region at the beginning of Rákóczi's war of independence. It kept this function until the very end of the freedom fight, and in the last stage of the strife it was considered to be one of the last bastions by monarch Ferenc Rákóczi II and his party. Finally, after the armed combat – suiting the strategic tendencies of the era – it fitted into the defense system of the Hungarian Kingdom of the time as one of the stations of the regular army serving in the country.

Katalin Schrek

„TRAVELS IN CIRCASSIA" EDUARD TAITBOUT DE MARIGNY'S RECORDS ABOUT THE WEST COAST REGION OF THE BLACK SEA

ABSTRACT

The Northeastern Caucasus area, which composed an intersection of the Russo–Turkish borderland, was came to the scope of foreign travellers and researchers during the 19th century. Several descripisons and monographs were published devoted to the terrirtory. One of these examples is the *Travels in Circassia* by Eduard Taitbout de Marigny. The author stood in the Russian Empire's and later the United Kingdom of the Netherlands' service in the 1810–1820s. During this period, he got acquainted with the political, economic and social aspects of the above mentioned region. Marigny's work – based on his own experiences – enables us to examine the characteristic of the Northeastern Caucasus, moreover to got hold of valuable information about the complexity of the Russo–Turkish, the Russo–Circassian and the Turko–Circassian relations as well.

Keywords: Eduard Taitbout de Marigny, Travels in Circassia, Caucasus, Russia, Ottoman Empire

INTRODUCTION

Travel literature flourishing at the turn of the 18th century was an integral part of contemporary literary history, the significance of the genre, however, reaches far beyond its literary aspects. Monographs with travel descriptions or details of residence abroad may serve an outstanding source of information for acquiring deeper knowledge of the cultural, religious and ethnic relations of a certain territory or region, besides they contribute to understanding local political structures. Since studies of this kind are always, with only very few exceptions, are based on personal experience, it is important to know the mentality and personality of the author to some extent, as the author's subjective views tend to deeply affect the interpretation of the circumstances, regardless of the fact whether he was a passive observer or took active part in the course of events. Having considered all these points, we still think that studying travel literature can play an integral part in exploring historical questions, which can also be applied to this paper during the research of the conditions of Caucasus region and its peoples.

MARIGNY AND HIS RECORDS

During the 18th and 19th centuries there were many descriptions, discourses and essays written about this region, part of the Ottoman Empire. Interest towards the Caucasus and Circassia, its subregion, became more vivid in the first thirty years of the 19th century, and starting from the 1830s it grew even stronger, due to the

long decades of the Russo–Circassian conflict.[1] Among the authors studying the region Jacques Francois Gamba, Edmund Spencer, James Stanislaus Bell, and Eduard Taitbout de Marigny can be mentioned. The latter's description of his journeys in Circassia, which also became the topic of this paper, deserves special attention.

There were several factors influencing my selection of the designated study: one of these was the author's person. Marigny, who pursued a career first in trades than in diplomacy, participated in all his journeys in Circassia as part of official missions or delegations. Due to his position, he was in daily contact with the leaders of local social and political life, both from Ottoman and Circassian side, which granted him a privileged situation and a broad perspective for a proper interpretation of the relations in the region. The other key-factor in selecting his work as the topic of my paper is connected with the publishing circumstances of Marigny's text, which may give us an insight into the lower segments of the Anglo–Russian relations and Great Power rivalry during the 1830s.

Prior to the detailed presentation of his monograph a few words must be said about the author. Although several important data on Eduard Taitbout de Marigny's life are available for us, no detailed biographical description was ever given about him. One of the most crucial moments of his career was his service for Russia. Since 1813, he had been employed by the Russian Empire.[2] In 1818 he was leading a commercial expedition to the west coast of the Caucasus, with the main purpose of which was to explore the local circumstances in Circassia, to map Russia's economic possibilities, to examine the attitude of the local population, to gain broader information on the region, and last but not least, to establish contacts with locals. The experience gained during these years was sort of a preparation period for the next chapter of his life – his career as a diplomat –

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[1] The following works are given as non-exhaustive examples: *Robert Lyall*: Travels in Russia, the Krimea, The Caucasus and Georgia. Vol. I–II. London 1825.; *Jacques François Gamba*: Voyage dans la Russie méridionale, et particulièrement dans le provinces situées au-delà du Caucase, fait depuis 1820 jusqu'en 1824. Vol. I–III. Paris 1826.; *Eduard Eichwald*: Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Caucasus: Unternommen in den Jahren 1825–1826. Vol. I. Stuttgart und Tübingen 1834.; *Edmund Spencer:* Travels in Circassia, Krim–Tartary etc. Vol. I–II. London 1837.; *Edmund Spencer*: Travels in the Western Caucasus. Vol. I–II. London 1838.; *Richard Wilbraham*: Travels in the Trans-Caucasian Provinces of Russia. London 1839.; *James Stanislaus Bell*: Journal of a Residnence in Circassia 1837, 1838 and 1839. Vol. I–II. London 1840. See also: *Е. Г. Муратова*: Изучение истории Северного Кавказа XIX – начала XX в. Вопросы истории 5. (2010) 161.

[2] Literature and Travel Exploration. An Encyclopaedia. Ed. Jennifer Speake. New York 2003. 200. During this period M. Scassi, the tradesman from Genova started his close collaboration with the Russian Government in the coast of the Caucasus, more precisely in the town of Anapa. After the Russian foreign policy had changed its course in the Caucasus, he was employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Minyisztyersztvo Inosztrannih Gyel). Related to that see: The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature of the Year 1836. Vol. LXXVIII. London 1837. 367–368. In 1813 Marigny became employed by him. See: *Eduard Taitbout de Marigny*: Travels in Circassia. Three Voyages in th Black Sea to the Coast of Circassia. London 1837. 13.

which soon followed: from January 1821 Marigny started his service as the consul of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, delegated to the region of the Black Sea. Another fact worth mentioning is that a few decades later the sailing guide[3] for the region of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov was published based on Marigny's surveys made in the area, along with his numerous detailed cartographic works related to several ports of the Black Sea.[4]

At the turn of the 1810s and 1820s Marigny made three major journeys in the north-western region of the Black Sea. In his work the *„Travels in Circassia"* he describes his shorter and longer visits with exceptional details, giving interesting and valuable information on the economic, political and social composition of the given region of the Caucasus. When indicating the objectives of his discourse, the author emphasized the following: *„I shall not here dilate upon all the voyages which I made in the Black Sea during the expedition to which I was attached. I shall only describe those which brought me into relation with Circassia, and which I have extracted from my journal; the object of the voyage being to contribute to a knowledge of the Caucasus, which is rendered at the present day a subject of interest by the possession of Anapa by the Russians, and by the establishments formed by them on the coast."*[5] It must be stated about Marigny's work that instead of being a broad and comprehensive synthesis, it is rather a record of his travel experience documented in a diary-like form, which, despite in terms of content does not have any of the characteristic features of the anti–Russian political attitude, in its own curious way still became part of the Russophobic tendencies developing during the mid-1830s.[6] This can mainly be explained by the circumstances of the multiple publications of the volume, along with the motives behind the publishing process.

The first publication of the *„Travels in Circassia"* took place in 1829 in Paris. The French edition, however, was not published as an independent work, but as a separate unit integrated into a more comprehensive monograph. The work in question was the long-winded book of the polish-born contemporary historian, Jan Potocki's *„Voyage dans les Steps d'Ahstrakhan et du Caucase"*[7]. The compilation of the edition of 1829 is connected with Heinrich Julius Klaproth, a

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[3] New Sailing Directions for the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmara, Bosporus, Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Comp. J. S. Hobbs. London 1847. It must be mentioned that Marigny had published another book with similar topic in 1830, which was called *„Pliot de la Mer Noire e Delamer D'Azov"*, and published in Constantinople in 1830.

[4] For instance sea ports of Odessa, Planata, Amastra, Nikolaev, Theodosia and Sinope. All these works are part of the collection of the Bibliothèque national de France (BnF).

[5] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 146.

[6] *Н. А. Ерофеев*: Туманный Альбион. Англия и англичане глазами русских. 1825–1853. гг. Москва 1982. 271–279.

[7] *Jean Potocki*: Voyage dans les steps D'Astrakhan et du Caucase. Vol. I–II. Paris 1829.

German linguist, philologist and orientalist[8], who was a close professional colleague of Potocki.[9] Klaproth was a member of J. A. Golovkin's Chinese delegation (1805–1806),[10] and after that he was participating in an expedition to the Caucasus as a researcher of the Russian Academy of Sciences.[11] The editor was attached to the theme of Marigny's work at this point, but there is no information how became the *„Travels in Circassia"* part of the above mentioned tome of Potocki. It is also worth mentioning with regard to the *„Voyage dans les Steps (...)"* that it was a posthumous edition, had been published a decade after the death of the Polish historian.

The second edition of the *„Travels in Circassia"* took place in 1836, in Odessa and Simpheropol.[12] It was also written in French, but this time was a Russian publication, which was meant to serve specific aims. The publication with governmental support was induced by the growing public interest toward the Caucasus from one hand, and from the other hand with the aim of establishing a firm social basis for the objectives of Russia's foreign policy. Evidently, these two factors were in correlation with each other. In dealing with the questions of territorial growth, the question of the regions at the southern borders and of the neighbouring provinces, the Russian Cabinet's official view was to keep a balance in the process of expansion. The notion of conquest of the Caucasus region was a constant issue among the goals in foreign policy, although it took nearly a century until it was achieved completely. The conquest of the West coast, which served mainly economic purposes, was of particular importance, since the commercial needs and interests of Russia's southern provinces started to manifest themselves in increasingly pronounced ways.[13] And accordingly, the military action was launched in the 1810s, continued all through the following decades.[14] From the point of view of that period and with regard to the interpretation of Marigny's work, the events of the 1820s and 1830s have the greatest significance.

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[8] *Tuska Benes*: In Babel's Shadow. Language, Philology and the Nation in the Nineteenth-century. Detroit 2008. 88–90.

[9] *Hartmut Walravens*: Julius Klaproth. His Life and Works with Special Emphasis on Japan. Japonica Humboldtiana 10. (2006) 180.

[10] Ibid. 179.; The American Quarterly Review. March and June, 1828. Vol. III. Philadelphia 1828. 258–259. Related to Golovkin's mission to China see: *G. Patrick March*: Eastern Destiny. Russia in Asia and the North Pacific. [S. l.] 1996. 117.; *А. А. Орлов*: Союз Петербурга и Лондона. Российско–британские отношения в эпоху наполеоновских войн. Москва 2013. 93–94.

[11] *Walravens, H.*: Julius Klaproth op. cit. 179.; After the travel he wrote his two volume monograph. See: *Julius von Klaproth*: Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien unternommen in den Jahren 1807 und 1808, auf Veranstaltung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg, enthaltend eine vollständige Beschreibung der Kaukasischen Länder und ihrer Bewohner, von Julius von Klaproth. Bd. I–II. Halle und Berlin 1812–1814.

[12] Voyages en Circassie par le Chevalier Taitbout de Marigny. Odessa et Simphéropol 1836.

[13] *Н. А. Смирнов*: Политика России на Кавказе XVI–XIX. веках. Москва 1958. 179.

[14] *А. Е. Савельев*: Кавказская война 1817–1864 гг. в исторической науке. Вопросы истории 2. (2011) 161–165.

The controversial Russo–Circassian relation basically had a dual nature: although St Petersburg invested much energy in establishing commercial relations with the people of Western-Caucasus, mainly at the Coast regions, due to the hostile attitude of local people toward the Russian political influence the government used military actions as well, along with economic and diplomatic means. This political method from the end of the 1820s started to manifest in more defined ways, owing to which the issue of the Caucasus shortly became a constant topic of Russian social and literary discourses, more from informative aspects than from a political point of view.[15]

The third and at the same time last edition went to press within a year after the Russian version was published.[16] The version of 1837 was already written in English, and due to its certain formal and content features it was considered a speciality compared to the former issues. Its original style and language, due to the translation, show basic differences in comparison with the first and second editions. But what is even more important, that this edition can be considered as sort of a summary, as it combines all the characteristics of the previous two editions, which means that the work translated to English is the translation of the original text, which, at the same time, contains all parts removed from the editions of Odessa and Simpheropol due to the censorship, along with the insertions, again from the Russian part.[17] In both the cases of the deleted and the later inserted phrases or sentences a complex set of notes indicates and explains precisely the differences compared to the original text, which serves as a clue for a more profound interpretation of the discourse.[18] For this reason the author of this paper used the English edition as the basis of her interpretation of Marigny's work.

As it had already been referred to, the publication of the *„Travels in Circassia"* both in the case of the Russian and the British edition was influenced by various political factors, mainly concerning foreign policy. An important factor in the case of the British edition was that the discourse contained many anti-Russian features, a clear evidence to which was its introductory part, giving a detailed

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[15] Examples for that are A. S. Pushkin's works: *„The Prisoner of the Caucasus"* and *„Journey to Arzrum"*, as well as M. J. Lermontov's *„Hero of Our Time"*, as well as certain works of G. R. Derzhavin, V. A. Zhukovsky and K. F. Rilejev. See: *Susan Layton*: The Creation of an Imaginative Caucasian Geography. Slavic Review 3. (1986) 470–485.; *Layton, S.*: Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy. Cambridge 1994.; Literature of Travel and Exploration op. cit. 197–199.

[16] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit.

[17] On the whole these parts or sentences did not change the meaning and the context of the work substantially.

[18] The Spectator, 3 June 1837. 16. http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/3rd-june-1837/17/marignys---black-sea-and-circassia (Downloaded: 20 June 2015).; On the edition of 1837 a short review was published in the Hungarian Encyclopaedia. Besides the author's introduction and the book's content, the review also mentions the supplementation of the parts omitted due to censorship. See: Tudománytár. Literatúra. II. Kötet. Szerk. Almási Balogh Pál. Buda 1838. 286.

criticism on the flaws of the Russian edition. Similarly, the attachment, which was meant to be sort of a final phase of the book, has significant message, as it contains several documents in connection with the Circassian Cause and the movements of independence, written in a slightly propagandistic tone. These documents contained a *„Declaration of the Circassian Independence”*, for the source of which the first volume of a compilation called *„Portfolio”* was indicated; a letter written in 1835 and signed by a certain Daoud; as well as the lyrics and notes of a Circassian war song.[19]

The declaration of independence addressed to the European Courts was basically a calling in order to solve the Circassian situation, summarizing the essential moments of the Circassian rebellion against Russia. Emphasizing the central role of the Russian invasion, of the „betrayal” first of the Turkish pashas then of the Government of Constantinople, as well as the lack of foreign assistance and the inaction of the European Powers, the proclamation also mentions the responsibility of the states in the Middle-East, more specifically of Persia and Egypt.[20] The declaration formulates sharp criticism both towards Russia and the Sublime Porte. Related to the responsibility of the Constantinople Government the work mainly refers to its inertia and giving up certain areas of the Caucasus, with a simultaneous picturing of the close link between the Circassian people and the Ottoman Sultan, Mahmud II (1809–1839) as a constant motif: *„(...) our blood, the Circassian blood, fills the veins of the Sultan. His mother, his harem is Circassian. His slaves are Circassians. His ministers and his generals are Circassian(s). He is the chief of our faith, and also of our race; he possesses our hearts, and we offer him our allegiance.”*[21] Then, in order to counterbalance this image, the text refers to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, namely to its provisions concerning the region, in which the Treaty declares the Russian sovereignty over a significant part of the Western Caucasus. Related to that it formulated the following: *„Who has the power to give us away? Our allegiance is offered to the Sultan, but if he is at peace with Russia he cannot accept it, for Circassia is at war. Our allegiance is a free offering; he cannot sell it, because he has not bought it.”*[22] And finally, the proclamation seeks assistance from the two leading European Great Powers in the hope of a successful outcome of their fight against Russia: *„We know that Russia is not the only power in the world. We know that there are other powers greater than Russia, who, though powerful, are benevolent, who*

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[19] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 291–303.

[20] Declaration of Circassian Independence, Addressed to the Courts of Europe. In: *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 293.; The Editor took the text of the declaration from the Portfolio, compiled presumably by David Urquhart – a British diplomat at Constantinople – who had an anti–Russian way of thinking and fully supported the Circassian's war against the Russia Empire. See: The Portfolio, or a Collection of State Papers etc. Illustrative of the History of our Times. Vol. I. London 1836. 187–195.

[21] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 294.

[22] Ibid. 295.

instruct the ignorant, who protect the weak, who are not friends to the Russians, but rather their enemies, and who are not enemies of the Sultan, but his friends. We know that England and France are the first among the nations of the globe (...).”[23] The letter enclosed as the second document is similar both in style and content, with a marked difference that it chose England’s standpoint and attitude as the central topic of the analysis. The essential message however was still the same: London is not in the position to act against Russia, so there is no opportunity of a Circassian support from the English side.[24] The documents published can be interpreted as an explicit reference to Russia’s Circassian policy, which due to the publicity of the *„Vixen”* affair in 1836–1837 became an issue of the Anglo–Russian diplomatic negotiations, as well as a constant topic of the British public discourse.[25]

With regard to its content and structure, Marigny’s work can be divided into three major chapters, each of which represents a period of a certain journey. The first unit presented the details of his visit to Circassia in 1818. This part of his recollections, at the same time, also serves as an introduction to the whole work, since the author had the aim to give a general review of the relations in the region, to give a detailed description of the borderlines, and also to give a broad presentation of the characteristic features of the Russo–Circassian border area. He presumably did so in order to provide the reader with the necessary background information related to the geographical, ethnical and political relations of the region, crucial for the interpretation of the subsequent events and scenes.

The second big chapter of the book presents the events of Marigny’s next visit to the Caucasus in 1823–1824, while the third block is connected to this period and focuses exclusively on the author’s staying in Anapa in 1824. A common characteristic feature of the three structural units is that even though the author mentions numerous municipalities of the Western Caucasus such as Theodosia, Redout Kalé, Treibizond and Pchiate, he uses the town of Anapa as the centre of gravity of all his descriptions and commentary. The same phenomenon can be seen in the description of local social circumstances, since these could be observed by the author mainly related to Anapa. Placing Anapa in the focus of attention can be connected to several factors. On one hand, the town with its fortress served as an important strategic defence station, on the other hand, it was also the centre of administration and governance of the local Ottoman leadership. Additionally, it also worked as an important economic and commercial centre and one of the author’s constant places of residence during his visits in Circassia.

As to the town’s social composition, Marigny defined certain groups: in the first group he classified the Circassian local residents of Anapa, who were of-

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[23] Ibid. 294–295.
[24] Ibid. 298–302.
[25] *Eugenio F. Biagini – Alastair J. Reid*: Current of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour and Party Politics in Britain, 1850–1914. Cambridge 1991. 28.

ficially called *„anapalis”*[26]. Related to the representatives of this social group the author emphasized that the majority of them have Circassian ancestors, but he also noted that as a result of the Turkish and Tatar influence representatives of numerous families had mixed an ethnic composition by that time. The second category in his classification was the Turkish population of Anatolian origin. One of the basic features in their case was the fact that they were not permanent residents of the town, and their periodic residence in Anapa implied that only people of certain occupational groups could be classified among them, such as tradesmen and the official layer. Government administration and its members, occurring as an independent entity within the local society (the bureaucratic layer and the Pasha's Officer Corps, serving as Staff Officers) were classified separately from the former group. And last but not least, the fourth group contained the population of Russian and other origins and ethnic groups.[27]

While presenting the specific local circumstances, the author also describes the Russo–Turkish, Turco–Cirscassian and Russo–Circassian relations. In case of the latter the attitudes varied between the cooperative and the confrontational ones. The main reason for this ambivalent situation was that despite the improved economic and trade relationships, the hostile attitude of the local population towards Russia was still apparent, the most evident manifestation of which were the confrontations and border violations experienced at the neighbouring territories. Clashes at the coast of the Kuban[28] were a common phenomenon between the two parties, causing serious concern for the Government of St Petersburg. The Russian Cabinet however, along with the armed interventions to solve the conflict, used economic and diplomatic means as well to influence the Circassian[29] population. An example of this was the establishment of close relationship and regular contact with princes of the local tribes. According to their organization based on inter-tribal relations, different groups of Circassian peoples all had their own chief, who organized into a strict hierarchy. One of the most influential princes was prince Indar-Kou and his family, with whom Marigny had fostered personal relationship. As the author reported, the Russian Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825), in 1823–1824 in numerous cases awarded the prince with gifts, the curiosity of which in Marigny's opinion was in the fact that the emperor's gestures coincided with the expedition of the Russian army against the Chernomorsky Cossacks.[30] Thus St Petersburg obviously wanted to gain the support of the

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[26] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 168.
[27] Ibid. 168–170.
[28] Since the Treaty of Jassy in 1791 the river was used as the southern border line of Russia and the Ottoman Empire.
[29] The people living along the north-western Caucasus are also called the adyghe, or Adygs. As to their religious beliefs they are Sunni Muslims. See: *Gyóni Gábor*: A történelmi Oroszország népei. Adattár. Ruszisztika Könyvek XXVI. Budapest 2011. 155.
[30] They were a constant problematic issue both in Russian and Cirscassian relation.

Ciscassian leadership and convince them for a long-term collaboration. The author formulated this as follows: *„Russia (...) hopes thereby to engage them to make their shores hospitable, and to respect her frontiers, whose inhabitants are increasingly exposed to predatory inroads. If her troops sometimes make war against the tribes (...) it is because they are persuaded that the attractions of commerce can have no influence over their turbulent dispositions; that the same man who comes to exchange his product at the market of Ekaterinodar reappears, a moment afterwards, leading away Russian subjects in to the mountains."*[31]

Establishment of trading depots along the Kuban in Bugaze and Kerch had the same purpose, as unlike other trade depots, they granted extremely favourable conditions for merchants from Circassia. The only condition for granting exemption from customs duties was the prohibition for the purchase of ammunition.[32] The other part of the Russian trade activities in the region – according to Marigny's assumptions – was covered by transactions performed by Armenian merchants. It is important to mention that their trade activity was not any more based merely on the barter trade at the border regions: they developed direct relationships with the mountain peoples.[33]

Marigny's reports on some specific events give perfect clues in the description of the Russo–Turkish relations. As an example, his notes of July 1, 1823 can be cited, where amidst his descriptions of the daily events he wrote about the fright and panic along the border caused by the appearance of a substantial troop of Russian armed forces. When describing the scene, the author's comments on the attitude of the Ottoman leaders and the officer corps of Anapa are really meaningful, as the occurrence of the Russian military forces at any level induced serious concerns, since the defence of the fortress and the town was a task exceeding the power and defensive abilities of the Turkish garrison in case of a potential external attack.[34] Thus the behaviour of the town was a constant uncertainty factor for the Sublime Porte, which is testified by the story of Anapa at the turn of the 18th century: due to the recurrent outbreaks of Russo–Turkish wars the sovereignty over the town would change on many occasions. The situation became more complicated with the tense and problematic Turco–Circassian relations. In Marigny's records Circassian riots or disturbances against the Turkish were described as common, even though in most of the cases they were provoked by atrocities or violent acts from Ottoman side, while the Circassian act was sort of revenge, in direct response to the suffered grievance. Nonetheless, conflicts between the two parties could normally be handled quickly and effec-

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[31] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 173.
[32] Ibid. 220. *Walter Richmond*: The Northwest Caucasus. Past, Present, Future. Central Asian Studies Centre. New York 2008. 58.
[33] *Marigny, E. T.*: Travels op. cit. 223–224.
[34] Ibid. 194–195.

tively. Describing the Turco–Circassian conflicts in this context, it is important to mention their interdependency against the Russians. It is particularly true related to the Ottomans, since during the defence of Anapa the Circassian troops could provide effective assistance.[35]

At this point it is worth mentioning Marigny's standpoint on the permanent presence of the Russians in the region. In his opinion: *„(...) the Pasha would rather prefer seeing Russians neither on the coast, nor in his fortress; but it is not less certain that Russia ought to come to Anapa itself, to sap the preponderance of the Turks over the Caucasus. Nothing would be easier, if the government itself undertook it, and entrusted the execution of it to persons worthy of its confidence."*[36] And as to the increased Russian influence he states as follows: *„I am persuaded that, at the end of two years, not a single Turkish merchant would remain at Anapa; and that all of them would have become brokers or agents of the Russian houses of business."*[37] Then he adds: *„This establishment ought to be protected by a Consul, who would have under his orders a small vessel of war to maintain relations with the coast of the Crimea and of Circassia."*[38] Obviously Marigny's seemingly exaggerated opinion was not entirely realistic, nonetheless the essence of the author's idea was not in the prospects of its realization, but in the true nature of the manifestation of the Russo–Turkish relations. Since based on that, the Russian Empire's expansion in the Caucasus could be predicted, even though at this point it had neither de jure nor de facto rights of control and proprietorship of the region.

SUMMARY

As it can be seen in the above examples, in the descriptions of his journeys to Circassia Marigny demonstrates an insightful assessment of the situation. Although the manifestation of the author's bias towards Russia can be detected in many places of his records – emphasizing the peaceful goals and benevolent nature of the aspirations and activities of the Russian Government in the Caucasus – if we can treat these elements under a proper control as part of the author's subjective view, Marigny's records can provide us with insightful analyses and important pieces of information. Marigny's entire set of records can be considered as an important piece of the contemporary literature on the given region and the given period, and at the same time an additional source in the studies of the Eastern Question, which, by neglecting the general and mainstream political approach examining the local circumstances from a lower level, gives important additional data to the complex interpretation of the contemporary relations of the northwestern Caucasus.

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[35] Ibid. 175–176.
[36] Ibid. 174.
[37] Ibid. 174–175.
[38] Ibid. 175.

Katalin Váradi

DIE VORGESCHICHTE DES BERLINER KONGRESSES (JANUAR – MAI 1878)

ABSTRACT

The study seeks to introduce the affairs of 1878 until the beginning of the Congress of Berlin from the aspect of some contemporary papers (e.g. *Pesti Napló*, *Borsszem Jankó*, *Figaro*). Some of them are widely known, like the *„Speech to Reichstag"* by the German chancellor, Otto von Bismarck; the Treaty of San Stefano terminating the Russo–Turkish war and the armistice agreement beforehand; together with the European meeting including agreements between the Great Powers, Great-Britain–Russia, and Great-Britain–Austria-Hungary.

However, it is rarely known that the Congress of Berlin originally had been suggested by Count Gyula Andrássy at the Conference of Vienna, which was finally realized after the Treaty of San Stefano due to the Russian diplomacy. It took months until the island state and the empire could agree on the questions of territory and conferences. Despite German mediation between the two Great Powers, there had been no progress in the negotiations for a long time which resulted in the possibility of a war in the eyes of European public opinion. This was worsened by the fact that the troops of the two countries' were stationed at the Turkish capital facing each other. The essay aims to display the above, reflecting that the year of 1878 was very tense and caused uncertainty in the contemporary press.

Keywords: Congress of Berlin 1878, previous negotiations, Count Gyula Andrássy and Conference of Vienna, international relations

EINLEITUNG

Der Berliner Kongress im Juni–Juli 1878 beendete die Orientkrise und revidierte deutlich zu Lasten Russlands den Frieden von San Stefano. Ein halbes Jahr zuvor sorgte die europäische öffentliche Meinung noch um Eroberungen durch das zaristische Russland, was die Landkarte von Europa und Kleinasien hätte verändern können. Man hatte sogar Angst vor einem europäischen Krieg, weil die Großmächte, insbesondere England, gegen die russischen Schritte waren. Durch seine Flotte wurde dieser Widerspruch verstärkt, so standen die englischen und die russischen Truppen monatelang bei den Toren von Konstantinopel Auge in Auge einander gegenüber auf das Zeichen des Angriffes wartend.

Die Geschichte der großen Orientkrise wurde eingehend bearbeitet, die Ereignisse wurden vom Aspekt mehrerer diplomatischer Akteure her erforscht. Über die Vorbereitung des Berliner Kongresses, die Geschehnisse in der ersten

Hälfte 1878 wird jedoch wenig, manchmal nur hinweisend, geschrieben.[1] Selbst der Berliner Kongress war ein Randthema lange, während seines Zentenariums wurde ein Interesse für den gezeigt. Aber nun beschäftigten sich die Historiker nur mit den Ergebnissen und Folgen der Sitzung, wie es Mónika Kozári in ihrer Studie verweist hatte.[2] Ihrer Meinung nach waren diese fünf- bzw. sechs Monate hiergegen außerordentlich überspannt, nur im letzten Moment wurden die Hürden für die europäische Verhandlung beseitigt, die am 13. Juni 1878 in der deutschen Hauptstadt begann. Auch István Diószegi betont die Wichtigkeit dieser Periode, nachweisend die Instabilität des Dreikaiserabkommens wegen der russisch–österreichisch–ungarischen Konflikt. Von der ausländischen Fachliteratur können wir das Band von Imanuel Geiss wegen der chronologischen Übersicht, sowie die Dissertation von Charles Keller Jr. Burns hervorheben.[3]

In meinem Aufsatz möchte ich diese Periode mit Hilfe der zeitgenössischen Presse präsentieren. Als Quelle benutzte ich eine Haupttageszeitung in der Monarchie, *die Pesti Napló*, und zwei populäre Satirezeitschriften, die ungarische *Borsszem Jankó* und die österreichische *Figaro*.[4] Meiner Meinung nach kann die Analyse dieser humoristischen Wochenzeitschriften neue Ergebnisse bringen, weil diese Zeitungen nur über jene Vorfälle schrieben, die als zentrale Themen in der Tagespresse erschienen. Und sie hatten großes *„Instrumentarium"* (Ironie, Humor, Karikaturen...), um das diplomatische Leben und die Akteure zu illustrieren.

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[1] Barbara Jelavich erinnert sich nur über die wichtigeren Ereignisse des letzten Jahres der großen Orientkrise – wie z.B. Reichstagsrede von Bismarck, der Frieden von San-Stefano und die Vereinbarungen zwischen den Großmächten in Mai… usw. – in ihrem Buch über die russische Außenpolitik. Kamenov weist auch in großen Linien auf die Geschehnisse 1878 mit dem Zusammenhang in der Balkanpolitik von Andrássy hin. *Barbara Jelavich*: A century of Russian Foreign Policy 1814–1914. Philadelphia and New York, 1964; *Petar Kamenov*: Graf Andrashi i Balkanyite: 1867–1890. Sofia 2001.

[2] *Kozári Mónika*: Németország orosz politikája a berlini kongresszus előkészítésének időszakában (Andrássy konferencia-javaslatától a kongresszus összeüléséig). Századok 3. (1998) 422–423.

[3] Die historiographische Übersicht ist nicht voll, es demonstriert nur die Aufarbeitung des Themas. Ohne Anspruch auf die Vollständigkeit sind die vorbenannten Werken: *Diószegi István*: Bismarck és Andrássy. Magyarország a német hatalmi politikában a XIX. század második felében. Budapest 1998; *Charles Kellar Jr. Burns*: The Balkan Policy of Count Gyula Andrássy. PhD Dissertation. https://scholarship.rice.edu/bitstream/handle/1911/15533/8018037.PDF?sequence=1 (Heruntergeladen: 29. März 2015); Imanuel Geiss (Hrsg.): Der Berliner Kongreß 1878. Protokolle und Materiallen. Boppard am Rhein 1978; *Kozári M.*: Németország orosz politikája op. cit. 422–463.

[4] Die *Pesti Napló* wurde in 1850 gegründet, namhaft wurde sie ab 1855, als Zsigmond Kemény zum Redakteur ernennt wurde. In diesem Zeitraum stellten Lajos Úrváry als Redakteur und Baron Ivor Kaas die ausländischen Nachrichten zusammen. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden mehrere satirischen, humoristischen Wochenzeitschriften herausgegeben, von denen wurde die von David Kalisch gegründete Zeitung, Kladderadatsch – in erster Linie in Mitteleuropa – zum Vorbild. In der Monarchie erschien die von Karl Sitter gegründete Figaro erstmals in 1857, und die Zeitung von Adolf Ágai, Borsszem Jankó konnte man ab 1868 kaufen.

DIE VORGESCHICHTE

Die große Orientkrise begann 1875 mit den Aufständen gegen die Türken in der Herzegowina, in Bosnien, und bald brachte eine Rebellion auch in Bulgarien aus. Die Türkei versuchte die Wiederstände zu ersticken, von Fall zu Fall wurden grausame Vergeltungen ausgeführt. Diese Fälle sah die öffentliche Meinung mit keinen guten Augen, so standen die Großmächte unter besonderem Druck, um in die türkischen Ereignisse zu intervenieren. Die Versuche zur Lösung der Situation, wie z.B. die Konferenz von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1876, führten zu keinem Erfolg. Die europäischen Staaten wollten aber nicht zu viel, sie hätten es gemocht, wenn die Türkei das Recht der Untertanen – auch der christlichen Bevölkerung – respektieren und befestigen würde. Immer mehr schien es so, dass Russland die Initiative ergreifen wird, und dabei das Dreikaiserabkommen und die Interessen der Monarchie berücksichtigen muss.[5]

Die zwei Staaten verfolgten seit den Anfängen die Geschehnisse, sie hatten andere Lösungen zur Situation. Österreich–Ungarn hätte auf Status quo bestanden, dagegen hätte das Russische Zarenreich eine Autonomie für die aufgestandenen Fürstentümer gegeben. Später wurden die Aufstände immer brutaler, und daher wurde die Möglichkeit der Intervention und der Annexion in der zaristischen Diplomatie aufgegriffen. Endlich vereinbarten die Parteien am 8. Juli 1876 in der Konvention von Reichstadt und am 15. Januar 1877 im Budapester Vertrag, dass sie im Fall des türkischen Sieges auf einen Status quo eingehen. Für den Fall, wenn die Türkei der Verlierer wird, schrieben sie eine Aufteilung des osmanischen Reiches vor. Die Monarchie behielt sich daneben vor, dass kein großer südslawischer Staat gegründet werden darf. In der letzten Vereinbarung versprach die österreichisch–ungarische Partei überdies eine gutmütige Neutralität bei einem eventuell russisch–türkischen Krieg. Auf diese Grundlage und die schlechte Behandlung gegen Christen bezogen, eröffnete Russland den Krieg im April 1877.[6]

BIS WOHIN DRINGEN DIE RUSSEN VOR? (JANUAR 1878)

Die Einnahme von Plewen beschloss den Krieg – so war der russische Sieg ab Dezember 1877 sicher. Aber bis wohin dringen die Russen vor, und was verlangt das zaristische Russland von der Türkei – darauf gab es keine Antwort. Es war wahrscheinlich, dass das russische Kaiserreich mehr als die zwei Vereinbarungen

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[5] Wie Bismarck sagte, hatte Deutschland in der orientalischen Frage keine Interessen. Aber er hätte es gemocht, wenn die Krise lokalisiert bleiben würde, und Deutschland den europäischen- und Zweifrontenkrieg vermeiden würde. Darüber achtete der Kanzler auf die Aufrechterhaltung des Dreikaiserabkommens, deshalb drängte er die Besprechungen zwischen Russland und Österreich–Ungarn und kümmerte sich darum nicht, dass diese gegen die Türkei waren. *Sigrid Wegner-Kornes*: Otto von Bismarck und Rußland: des Reichskanzlers Rußlandpolitik und sein realpolitisches Erbe in der Interpretation bürgerlicher Politiker (1918–1945). Berlin 1990. 51–53.

[6] Siehe ausführlich *Diószegi I.*: A hatalmi politika másfél évszázada, 1789–1939. Budapest 1997. 166–169.; *Jelavich, B.*: A century of Russian op. cit. 175–180.

wollte. In der Presse trafen ständig Nachrichten ein, wie weit die zaristischen Truppen ins Zentrum der Türkei drangen, in der zweite Hälfte von Januar 1878 waren sie z.B. in der Nähe von Konstantinopel.[7]

Die öffentliche Meinung sorgte um die Folgen. Die *Pesti Napló* betonte den Lesern, dass sie diese Schritte verurteilt und auf den Eingriff der Großmächte wartet, denn ihrer Meinung nach können alle Verzögerungen Russland begünstigen: *„Trotz der Äußerungen der Regierung und der halboffiziellen Zeitungen sehen wir Europa nirgends, (...) Und dann schweigt Europa, die Russen nutzen alle Vorteile dieser Position aus."*[8]

Man musste noch darauf warten. Das ungarische Tagesblatt versuchte die Unhaltbarkeit und Ernsthaftigkeit der Umstände mit Anführung ausländischer Zeitungen zu illustrieren. Bis zu den offiziellen Erklärungen erschienen viele widersprüchliche Nachrichten über die Zielsetzungen der russischen Diplomatie und die Umgestaltung der internationalen Beziehungen. Diese Bemerkungen adaptierten die satirischen Zeitschriften für den eigenen Stil. Die österreichische Zeitschrift *Figaro* wies darauf hin, dass z.B. die Erwähnung des Waffenstillstandes kein Ende der Krise bedeutet. Und sie meinte, dass auch die Großmächte daran schuld sind: *„ ‚Im Prinzip' sind die Engländer die besten Freunde der Türkei; de facto schaden sie aber mehr als ihre schlimmsten Feinde."*[9]

Die *Borsszem Jankó* schilderte den Lesern mit diesen Berichten die wahrscheinliche Zukunft. Alle Schriften und Karikaturen stellten ein schwarzes Zukunftsbild dar: die Krise wird ihrer Meinung nach mit russischem Sieg enden und Russland wird der Herr des Ostens. Ähnlich wie die österreichische Zeitung hielt sie ebenfalls die Diplomatie der Großmächte für verantwortlich, genau genommen ihre Untätigkeit und Machtlosigkeit: *„ ‚Felix Österreich' vertraut England, England schweigt und nimmt wegen seines Matchsackes zu, andere hat aber kein Interesse (...)."* [10]

In der zweiten Hälfte des Monats veröffentlichten England und Österreich–Ungarn die offiziellen Einsprüche, deren Weg die Presse gewissenshaft verfolgte. Die Maßnahmen fanden auf unterschiedliche Weise statt, neben diplomatischen Handlungen versuchten monarchische Schritte auf die zaristische Politik einen Druck auszuüben. Bei den zuletzt genannten wurde besondere Aufmerksamkeit dem Brief der englischen Königin geschenkt, in dem Viktoria versuchte, auf das Gewissen von Alexander II. zu wirken.[11] Dagegen waren die

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[7] Am 3. Januar nahm Russland Sarajevo ein, am 9. Januar besiegte es neben Sajnowo die Türkei, am 15–17. Januar hatte es einen neueren Triumph in der Nähe Philippolis, der den Krieg für die Russen zuäußerst beschloss. *Diószegi I.*: Bismarck op. cit. 271–272.

[8] Pesti Napló 13. Januar 1878.

[9] Figaro 19. Januar 1878. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fig&datum=1878&zoom=33 28. (Heruntergeladen: 28. April 2015).

[10] Borsszem Jankó 13. Januar 1878.

[11] *„Die englische Königin, Viktoria schrieb eigenhändig dem Zaren einen Brief, und sie bat ihn, zur Vermeidung der Wirren seine Truppen nicht vordringen zu lassen."* Pesti Napló 23. Januar 1878.

englischen parlamentarischen Reden und diplomatischen Schritte nicht moderat. Die Berichte über die Mobilisierung der Flotte zeigten, dass das Britische Weltreich nicht passiv zusieht, wenn Russland zu den Handelswegen und strategischen Punkten näher gelangt. Auch die Monarchie versuchte einen Druck auszuüben, sie erinnerte Russland mit Noten und kaiserlichen Briefen an die Einhaltung der Verträge.[12]

Die *Figaro* äußert sich ironisch über diese Aktionen, denn von denen erhoffte sie nicht zu viel Erfolg. Ähnlich wie *Borsszem Jankó* meinte das österreichische Blatt, dass die Einsprüche wegen den Interessen der Großmächte entstanentstanden, was die Situation noch komplizierter macht: *„So geschieht es jetzt an Jenen, Die die Welt zu lenken wähnen, mit dem Karren sich jedoch nur verfahren selbst in's Loch."*[13]

KONFERENZ ODER KONFLIKT?14 (FEBRUAR 1878)

Im Februar 1878 war die Atmosphäre hochgespannt. Die öffentliche Meinung hatte Angst davor, dass diese Spannung zu einem neuen Krieg führen wird. Zugleich gab es auch die Möglichkeit, die Meinungsverschiedenheiten an einer Konferenz zu bereinigen. Die Idee der Versammlung stammte von dem Grafen Gyula Andrássy, dem gemeinsamen Außenminister, der darüber erstmals Ende Januar 1878 in seinem Brief an Alois Károlyi, den Botschafter in Berlin, schrieb. Der Graf meinte es zu dieser Zeit, dass die Monarchie mit einer Konflikt oder Konferenz einen Druck auf Russland ausüben sollte, um ihre Interessen zu schützen.[15] Er sprach sich wegen den Vorteilen für diese letztere Möglichkeit aus, und er entschied auch die Frage des Ortes. Einige Tage später teilte er auch den anderen Großmächten die Möglichkeit der Wiener Konferenz mit, was diese positiv empfingen.

Diese Entwicklungen wurden durch die Presse verfolgt. Die Zeitungen wogen die Chancen der Konferenz ab, und stellten die rhetorische Frage, ob die Verhandlungen die Krise lösen, sowie die russischen Forderungen ermäßigen können. Alle akzeptierten das Prinzip der Konferenz, denn einem Krieg folgt meistens eine Besprechung. Aber nicht alle trauten ihrem Erfolg und Notwendig-

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[12] Daneben stimmte sich die Monarchie mit England über die Behandlung der Krise ab, die britische Diplomatie sicherte Österreich ihre Unterstützung während der Verhandlungen. Siehe ausführlich *Burns, Ch. K. Jr.*: The Balkan Policy op. cit. 366–371.

[13] Figaro 26. Januar 1878. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fig&datum=1878&zoom=33 28. (Heruntergeladen: 28. April 2015).

[14] István Diószegi gab diesen Titel für einen Unterabschnitt in seiner Monographie (Bismarck és Andrássy), in dem er den Umschwung der Politik von Gyula Andrássy, dem gemeinsamen Außenminister, darlegte. *Diószegi I.*: Bismarck op. cit. 281–289.

[15] *„Indem diese Erklärung abgeben, sehen wir zur Lösung nur die Alternative: Konflikt mit Rußland oder Konferenz."* Die Große Politik der Europäischen Kabinette 1871–1914. Sammlung der diplomatischen Akten der Auswärtigen Amtes. Hrsg. von *Johannes Lepsius* (et all). II. Band. Berlin 1922. Nr. 303.

keit. Die *Pesti Napló* und ihr liberaler Lesenskreis waren z.B. weniger begeistert, sie glaubten nicht an das Ergebnis der österreichisch–ungarischen diplomatischen Aktion.[16]

Indessen begannen die Verhandlungen zwischen Österreich–Ungarn und Russland, wobei es sich neben der Abstimmung der territorialen Fragen auch um die Konferenz handelte. Prinzipiell wurde die letztere Frage für die Monarchie sekundär, die russische Diplomatie nutzte sie aber als taktisches Mittel. Die Russen hatten ab Anfang einige Vorbehalte, die die Form der Besprechung und den Konferenzort betrafen. Sie meinten es so, dass ein Kongress für die Verhandlungen entsprechender wäre. Anderseits hätten sie sich die Sitzung der führenden Minister in einer zweitrangigen Stadt vorstellen können, denn ihrer Meinung nach hätten die Großstädte so keinen Einfluss, und die Großmächte konzentrierten sich wirklich auf die Arbeit statt der Unterhaltung. Die Presse verfolgte diesen Zank und versuchte die Motive der russischen Diplomatie zu verstehen. Die *Pesti Napló* erklärte es offen, dass die Einwände eigentlich die Verzögerung zum Zweck haben, bis Russland ihre Position in der Türkei und in Orient bestärkt: *„Kein Termin ist entschlossen. Das ist der schwache Punkt der Sache, weil die Verzögerung ein russisches Interesse ist, und weil es dabei noch viel passieren kann, was den Friedenkongress überflüssig machen kann.”*[17]

Die satirischen Zeitschriften betrachteten die Frage der Konferenz als ein Element der Krise. Und sie verwandten diese als ein Mittel zur Illustrierung der Krisis und der diplomatischen Akteure. Die ungarische Zeitschrift stellte z. B. die russische Attitüde damit dar. Ihrer Meinung nach behandelte die zaristische Diplomatie die orientalische Frage als Machtpolitik, sie wollte mit der Aggression Ergebnisse erreichen, wie wir das in der Karikatur sehen können.

Trotzdem war es sehr unsicher, ob die Krise auf friedlichem Wege oder mit einem neuen Krieg abgeschlossen wird. Tag für Tag änderte die Stimmung, man konnte ständig über die Mobilisierung der Großmächte lesen.[18] Ein beunruhigendes Zeichen waren die bereitstehenden russischen Truppen, die englische Flotte am Schwarzen Meer, und später bei Konstantinopel. Doch machte selbst die Monarchie Vorbereitungen. Graf Andrássy bat das Parlament um einen Kredit zur Mobilisierung.[19]

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[16] *„So wird ein Kongress nun, d.h. wie ein Kongress werden kann, wie die Konferenz von Konstantinopel war.”* Pesti Napló 30. Januar 1878.

[17] Pesti Napló 17. Februar 1878.

[18] Obwohl die bismarcksche Reichstagsrede am 19. Februar eine positive Folge war, berichtete Pesti Napló den Lesern schon am 23. Februar darüber, dass es zwischen den Großmächten keine Einigkeit gibt, und so geriet die Besprechung wieder in Gefahr.

[19] Andrássy hätte eine überraschende bewaffnete Aktion gemocht, aber er musste darauf wegen des Mangels der ausländischen Unterstützung und des leeren Schatzamtes verzichten. Deshalb unterbreitete er den Delegationen eine Kreditvorlage über 60 Millionen, um die Truppen im Notfall mobilisieren zu können. *Diószegi I.*: Bismarck op. cit. 289.

An der schönen blonden Donau (Quelle: *Borsszem Jankó* 17. Februar 1878)

WAS WOLLEN DIE RUSSEN? (MÄRZ 1878)

In den letzten Tagen Februars wurde die Stimmung immer hochgespannter wegen des bevorstehenden Friedens. Diese Erregung erhielt sich auch später, denn der Inhalt des Friedens von San Stefano wurde lange nicht bekannt.

Die russische Diplomatie sah die Unruhe, deshalb begann die Frage des Gesprächs zu unterschützen. Gortschakow machte den Vorschlag auf den Berliner Kongress, was alle Großmächte akzeptierten. Die Presse berichtete über alle Geschehnisse, so schrieb sie über die Terminvariationen und die möglichen Vertreter einzelner Staaten. *Pesti Napló* bemerkte es ständig, dass sie keine Hoffnung auf den Erfolg der Sitzungen hat, denn sie meinte es, dass der Kongress ein letzter

verzweifelter Versuch ist, den Krieg zu vermeiden.[20] Zur Bestätigung teilte sie regelmäßig die Meinung des englischen Parlaments und der englischen Presse über den Kongress, sowie die Krise mit. Im Britischen Weltreich waren viele misstrauisch gegen Russland. Sie bemängelten, dass die Russen den Nachrichten nach über nicht alle Punkte des Friedensvertrags verhandeln wollten. Diese Ereignisse beeinflussten überdies die englische Innerpolitik: *„Das Kabinett zögert noch mit der Teilnahme an der Konferenz (...) Die Torys wollen gegen Lord Derby demonstrieren.“*[21]

Die humoristischen Zeitschriften berichteten den Lesern über diese Vorfälle in erster Linie aufgrund der russischen Diplomatie. Am meisten beschäftigten sie sich mit dem Friedensvertrag von San Stefano, denn sein Inhalt wurde nicht bekannt. Beide Zeitungen glaubten, dass Russland dadurch die Initiative selbst ergriff und die Krise je nach Lust und Laune gestalten kann. Diese Vorstellung wurde am anschaulichsten dargestellt. Obwohl sie sich der Frage auf andere Weise näherten – die *Borsszem Jankó* betrachtete diese als ein Problem zwischen den Großmächten, während die *Figaro* sie mit dem Kongress verband –, sahen sie gleicherweise so, dass der Frieden eigentlich nur ein Mittel für Russland ist, seine Position vor und bei der Besprechung zu stärken.

Die Börse des Friedens (Quelle: *Borsszem Jankó* 10. März 1878)

[20] Pesti Napló 13. März 1878.

[21] Pesti Napló 9. März 1878. Disraeli und sein Kreis meinten es, dass Lord Derby als Außenminister nicht die erforderliche Entschlossenheit gegen Russland zeigte – z.B. er war lange gegen das Hinschicken der Flotte. Der Politiker trat in April von seinem Amt wegen des hohen Drucks zurück, sein Nachfolger wurde Lord Salisbury.

Zur Konferenz (Quelle: *Figaro* 30. März 1878)

Am Ende März wurde die Monarchie durch die geheimnisvolle Mission von Ignatjew in ein Fieber versetzt. Der Besuch des russischen Diplomaten war überraschend und unerwartet für den gemeinsamen Außenminister, denn über den Auftrag Ignatjew hatte der österreichisch–ungarische Botschafter in Sankt Petersburg keine Information.[22] Über die Visite gab es viele Vorstellungen; es handelte sich um ein russisches Ultimatum, sowie einen russisch–österreichisch–ungarischen Pakt. Die *Pesti Napló* illustrierte diesen Besuch als die Machtlosigkeit der Monarchie, d.h. sie sah es so, dass Andrássy gegen Russland nichts machen konnte.

Die zwei humoristischen Blätter beurteilten die Wiener Mission von Ignatjew anders. Ihrer Meinung nach sollte man dieser Mission keinen großen Wert beimessen, da Russland sein Versprechen nicht einhielt: *„Was wollen Sie [d.h. Russland] behalten? Ihre Versprechung oder den Osten?”*; sowie sie betonten, wie geschickt die russische Diplomatie die heiklen Fragen vermied: *„(...)*

[22] Gleichwohl der Zar den Kaiser, Franz Joseph über den Besuch von Ignatjew in einem freundlichen Brief informierte, bald stellte es sich heraus, dass Russland kein Versprechen einhielt, es bestand weiterhin auf den Friedensvertrag, unter anderem in der Frage von Großbulgarien. *Burns, Ch. K. Jr.*: The Balkan Policy op. cit. 412–414.

wenn man von den kühnen Wegen der russischen Politik spricht, redet er [d.h. Ignatjew] von dem kurzen Weg über die Stiege (...).”[23]

KRIEG ODER KONGRESS? (APRIL – MAI 1878)

In den nächsten Monaten war die Frage des Krieges das Hauptthema in der Presse. Der russisch–englische Konflikt erwies sich als unüberbrückbar, der Termin des europäischen Gesprächs verschob sich, so hielt die öffentliche Meinung es für sicher, dass ein Krieg ausbrechen wird. Für die Milderung der Spannungen konnte man nur vom deutschen Kanzler Hilfe und Erfolg erwarten, der im Februar in der Reichstagsrede äußerte, dass er für diese Aufgabe bereitsteht – aber nicht als Schiedsrichter, sondern als ehrlicher Makler.[24] Es schien so, dass selbst die Monarchie die friedliche Vereinbarung nicht befördert. Der Kreditantrag, die vorgehabte Okkupation galten in den Augen der Presse als Schritte für die Wahrung der österreichisch–ungarischen Interessen.

In diesem Zeitraum beurteilte die *Pesti Napló* die Entwicklungen sehr negativ und pessimistisch. Sie war davon nicht überrascht, dass die von Bismarck vorgeschlagene Vorkonferenz, die die europäische Sitzung vorbereitet hätte, nicht verwirklicht wurde. Sie führte regelmäßig die englischen Zeitungen an, betonend ihre Russenfeindlichkeit, um es zu beweisen, dass sich der Standpunkt der zwei Staaten eine Zeit lang nicht nähern wird.

Dieses Misstrauen bestand gegen die Vermittlung von Bismarck. Einerseits glaubte die *Pesti Napló* an ihren Erfolg wegen der obenerwähnten Ursache nicht. Andererseits war sie davon völlig überzeugt, dass das Hilfsmittel des Kanzlers nicht ehrlich sein kann, denn es gibt gute Beziehungen zwischen Russland und Deutschland. Folglich meinte sie es so, dass der deutsche Politiker unbedingt die Russen begünstigen wird. Diese Auffassung erschien besonders in der Beurteilung des Beistands bei dem Ausgleich zwischen Österreich – Ungarn und Russland. Die Zeitung dachte es so, dass das Ziel von Bismarck in diesem Fall die Sicherung der Neutralität der Monarchie in einem eventuell englischen – russischen Krieg war: *„Bismarck vermittelt zwischen zwei Großmächten im russenfreundlichen Sinn, und man hofft in Berlin, die Monarchie befriedigen und in einem Krieg zur Neutralität anhalten zu können.”*[25]

Ab der zweite Hälfte von Mai erglänzt die Hoffnung für *Pesti Napló*, dass die Krise vielleicht friedlich gelöst werden kann. Die Wende ist der Mission von Schuwalow zu verdanken, der in dieser Zeit ein wahrscheinlicher Nachfolger

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[23] Borsszem Jankó 30. März 1878; Figaro 6. April 1878. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fig&datum=1878&zoom=33 28. (Heruntergeladen: 28. April 2015).

[24] *„Sondern ich denke sie mir bescheidener (...) mehr die eines ehrlichen Maklers, der das Geschäft wirklich zu Stande bringen will.”* Pesti Napló 22. Februar 1878.

[25] Pesti Napló 17. April 1878.

von Gortschakow war.[26] Der russische Diplomat war der Botschafter in London, gegenüber seinen Landsleuten vertrat er eine gemäßigte Auffassung über die Ziele der russischen Außenpolitik: *„(...) Graf Schuwalow ist einer der wenigen Russen, die sich des Schadens bewusst sind, (...) er kennt jetzt auch England gut und schätzt die finanziellen und selbst die militärischen Kräfte sehr hoch."*[27] Zum Teil ist es ihm zu verdanken, dass Russland ein Entgegenkommen zeigte. Die Engländer freuten sich über die Entwicklungen. Am 30. Mai kam somit die Vereinbarung zwischen zwei Staaten über die Hauptfragen zustande. Und nachdem das Hindernis beseitigt wurde, wurden die Einladungen zum Berliner Kongress am Anfang Juli versendet.

In diesen zwei Monaten stellten die Satirenzeitschriften die Machtlosigkeit der Großmachtpolitik an den Pranger. Sie karikierten die Bestrebungen der diplomatischen Akteure nach der Lösung der Situation, denn ihrer Meinung nach vertieften diese den Konflikt. Die österreichische *Figaro* fasste die neuen Folgen in diesem Sinne im Artikel „Was meint April?" zusammen, um die Spannung und die Kriegsstimmung darzustellen: *„(...) daß England in Eil', macht Truppen bereit, (...) Für Österreich stellt Andrassy den Kopf (...)."*[28]

Die Frage der europäischen Sitzung betonten die Zeitschriften in dieser Zeit mehr als im Februar. Die Verzögerung des Gesprächs bestätigte es in ihren Augen, dass die Großmächte gegen die Spannungsmilderung nicht alles tun. Sie bewerteten die Idee der Vorkonferenz als kein Erfolg. Der Vorschlag wurde so in der *Borsszem Jankó* komisch: *„Die vorherigen Vorsitzungen des Vorkongresses (die im Treppenhaus abgehalten werden) haben schon jene Überzeugung ergeben, dass ein Vor-Vorkongress vor dem Vorkongress (auf den Treppen) nötig wird."*[29] Die zwei Blätter glaubten an das Zustandekommen des Berliner Kongresses lange nicht, *Figaro* wies darauf z.B. am 4. Mai mit der Titel Grabschrift für den *„todtgebornen Kongress"* hin.

Auch die russisch–englische Spannung galt wochenlang als das Hauptthema. Die Zeitschriften machten die Leser in vielen Artikeln und Karikaturen darauf aufmerksam, dass die Stationierung der Truppen bei Konstantinopel eigentlich einer Kriegshandlung gleichkam. Daneben konstatierten sie, dass die zwei Staaten trotz der friedlichen Deklarationen einander nicht nachgeben: „*Wir wollen nicht den Krieg beschwören – die Briten feierlich erklären; 'Wir sind auch zum Kongreß geneigt' – wenn Rußland sich erbötig zeigt (...)."*[30]

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[26] Gortschakow hatte große gesundheitliche Probleme, somit kam die Möglichkeit seiner Ablösung auf.

[27] Die Meinung des Berliner Botschafters in London, Münster, über Schuwalow. Große Politik, II. B., Nr. 379.

[28] Figaro April 6. 1878. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fig&datum=1878&zoom=33 28. (Heruntergeladen: 28. April 2015).

[29] Borsszem Jankó 21. April 1878.

[30] Figaro 4. Mai 1878. http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fig&datum=1878&zoom=33 28. (Heruntergeladen: 28. April 2015).

Nicht raufen! Nur jescheidt sein, Kinderchens! (Quelle: *Figaro* 20. April 1878)

Bei der Vermittlung von Bismarck hoben sie die Vergeblichkeit hervor. Die *Borsszem Jankó* benutzte im Zusammenhang mit dieser Tätigkeit den Ausdruck *„Provision”*, d.h. das ungarische Blatt dachte es so, dass Bismarck einen Gewinn als Makler erzielen will: *„Er wird die gute Provision haben.”*[31] Dagegen meinte es *Figaro* so, dass diese Aufgabe für Bismarck eher beschwerlich ist, und er will sich von dieser Last befreien. Sie stellte diese Situation meistens in Karikaturen dar, in denen der Kanzler bald über den Jammer der Großmächte klagt, bald als Lehrer die sich als Schlingel benehmenden Staaten züchtigt. Auf diesen Zeichnungen können wir im Fokus Bismarck mit saurer Miene sehen.

Der Glaube an die starken deutsch–russischen Beziehungen erschien während der ganzen Krise auch in den satirischen Blättern. Viele Artikel und Karikaturen bestätigen das, und es hatte eine Darstellungsform und –Dynamik. Besonders im Fokus war die *„legendäre Freundschaft”* vor der Unterzeichnung des

[31] Borsszem Jankó 7. April 1878.

Waffenstillstandes, während der Reichstagsrede, der Idee der Vorkonferenz, der Krankheit der zwei Kanzler, und in der Zeit des Berliner Kongresses.[32]

Mit der friedlichen Lösung, der Realisierung des Berliner Kongresses beschäftigten sich die Zeitschriften wenig, denn sie konzentrierten sich nach wie vor auf die Schwäche und die Wiedersprüche der Großmachtpolitik.

FAZIT

Aufgrund der angeschauten Blätter können wir sagen, dass die fünf-sechs Monate vor dem Berliner Kongress eine wirklich hochgespannte und sehr unsichere Periode war. Die Zeitungen reflektierten über alle Geschehnisse empfindlich, und sie glaubten lange nicht an die friedliche Lösung. Nicht nur Russland konnte in ihren Augen beschuldigt werden, sondern auch die machtlose Großpolitik, die gegen das Russische Kaiserreich nicht entschlossen und erfolgreich auftreten konnte.

Alle gewählten Presseorgane waren allbekannt in der Monarchie, und hatten einen großen Lesenskreis. In dieser Zeit zeichnete sich die *Pesti Napló* durch die bürgerliche-intellektuelle Redaktion und die ausländische Presseschau von den anderen ungarischen und österreichischen Zeitungen aus; z.B. während der Orientkrise zitierte sie auch serbische, türkische und griechische Blätter neben der prestigevoll englischen, französischen, deutschen und russischen Presse. Die *Borsszem Jankó* und die *Figaro* erreichten ebenfalls ein hohes Niveau, denn sie folgten das Beispiel von der Berlineren Kladderadatsch und der Londonern Punch in der vielfältigen Inhalt und der Informiertheit. Sie berichteten über die wichtigeren in- und ausländischen Nachrichten für den eigenen Stil. Dadurch können wir mit der Hilfe der Satirenzeitschriften nicht nur die innenpolitischen, gesellschaftlichen Problemen, sondern auch die Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen forschen. Einerseits zeigen sie, welche diplomatischen Schritte bekannt und öffentlich waren, anderseits können wir den außenpolitischen Informationsstand der zeitgenössischen öffentlichen Meinung und der politischen Elite studieren.

In dem Aufsatz stellte ich Monat für Monat aufgrund der Presse die wichtigeren Vorfälle vor. Den Zeitungen nach bedeuteten die russischen Zielsetzungen die größte Frage im Januar, d.h. wie Russland die Landkarte von Europa verändern wollte. Die Blätter warteten auf die Aktionen der Großmächte, die aber gegen die Entwicklungen lange nichts taten. Andererseits konnten sie die späteren Schritte nicht positiv beurteilen, weil diese ihrer Meinung nach nicht ausreichend waren. Der Februar lief mit großer Ungewissheit ab, denn es gab Zeichen für den Krieg und zugleich auch für die friedliche Lösung. Vielleicht deswegen war die Presse weiter unzufrieden mit der Großmachtpolitik, sie verfolgte die Geschehnisse pessimistisch. Im folgenden Monat war die Erforschung der russischen

[32] Die satirischen Zeitschriften hatten eine Verschwörungstheorie im Zusammenhang der Krankheiten, denn die zwei Kanzler fast gleichzeitig an das Krankenbett gefesselt wurden. Das bedeutet ihrer Meinung nach, dass die Ereignisse gemäß den russisch–deutschen Vorstellungen geschehen.

Zielsetzungen im Fokus. Obwohl selbst die zaristische Diplomatie die europäische Sitzung förderte, war ihre Einberufung doch unsicher, weil sich die anderen Staaten beschwerten, keinen Inhalt des Friedensvertrags von San Stefano zu kennen. Im April und Mai erschienen dieselbe Motive im Zusammenhang mit der Krise: das unsichere Schicksal des Berliner Kongresses, die immer zunehmende russisch–englische Spannung und die Vermittlungsversuche von Bismarck. Es ist zu beobachten, dass diese Vorfälle durch die Presse ebenfalls schwarzseherisch, manchmal mit Kriegsangst verfolgt wurden. Die Wendung trat in den Augen der Presse mit der Mission von Schuwalow ein, und so begann sie, an die Verwirklichung des Kongresses zu glauben.

Während des Überblicks stellte es sich heraus, dass die liberale Presse alle Entwicklungen der Balkankrise am meisten pessimistisch beurteilte, nicht nur die Diplomatie von Russland, sondern auch die Großmachtpolitik ständig kritisierte. Außerdem bewertete die *Pesti Napló* die Außenpolitik der Monarchie negativ, sie wies mehrmals darauf hin, dass die Wenden jeweils eigentlich die Machtlosigkeit des gemeinsamem Außenministers zeigten.[33] Die zwei Satirenzeitschriften beschuldigten ebenfalls die Großmächte, sie vermuteten geheime Absicht und Interesse hinter den Aktionen. Natürlich kam die Russophobie bei der *Borsszem Jankó* eher zur Geltung, während die *Figaro* etwas gemäßigter blieb.

Dieses Misstrauen bestand eigentlich auch gegenüber dem Berliner Kongress. Alle Blätter waren der Meinung, dass der Kongress die Situation, unter anderem die Aufteilung der Türkei, legitimierte. Daneben glaubten sie an keinen dauerhaften Frieden, sie warteten auf die nächstfolgenden Konflikte.

[33] Dagegen akzeptierten und unterstützten die österreichischen Tagesblätter, wie z.B. Die Presse, die Politik des Grafen Gyula Andrássy.

Márta Kovács

THE VERNACULAR PRESS ACT (1878) AND THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PUBLIC OPINION

ABSTRACT

The subject of my study is the way that British public opinion assessed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878. In the 19th century the new nationalist movements of India used the vernacular press against the British, and considered it a bridge between themselves and the population of the subcontinent. But their criticism they expressed in these periodicals resulted in some unpopular measures from the British Government. One of these measures was the Vernacular Press Act, which was intended to control articles published in local language newspapers.

In my research, I present the essential reasons for the Act, its provisions and the reaction to it among conservative public opinion. To present my research findings, I examined various conservative newspapers (The Times and The Spectator) and the speeches by conservative Members of the British Parliament, because they shed a clear light on the questions or opinions emerging in British society.

Keywords: The Vernacular Press Act (1878), public opinion in Great Britain, The Times, The Spectator, parliamentary debates

The topic of my essay is the judgement of the Vernacular Press Act or the Act IX of 1878 and its reception in the British Press and Parliament.[1] The act introduced a verification process for the Indian (in this case the non-English) press in the whole of the subcontinent, and had a major effect on the development of Indian press and the nationalist movements. And of course, it influenced the relationship between the British Government and the educated middle class of the inhabitants of Hindustan.

One of the main questions to be considered is why the act was created. In parallel to presentation of the reasons and the instructions, I would like to explore an aspect of the law connected to the Parliament and journalism, which is less well-known and researched in Hungary. I would like to support and present my research findings from different sources, including the debates and speeches of the Members of the British Parliament, and the information published in two contemporary conservative newspapers. I chose The Times and The Spectator because they shed a clear light on the connections between the act and the British, and the questions or opinions which emerged in British society. The Times was

[1] In this essay, the word „vernacular" is highly significant, and means local or indigenous. The act did not concern all elements of the Indian press, just the non-English language newspapers. *M. Javaid Akthar – Azra Asghar Ali – Shahnaz Akthar*: The Role of Vernacular Press in Subcontinent During the British Rule: A Study of Perceptions. Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences 30. (2010: 1.) 74.

one of the most significant newspapers in the 19th century. It was bound up with prominent figures in the field of politics and was an integral and important part of the public life. The Spectator was a conservative magazine which was founded in 1828. It published long, analytical essays, and often dealt with economic and social issues relating to the Empire and Britain.

The aim of my thesis is not only to describe the major provisions of the Vernacular Press Act once again, but to form a theory about another aspect of the act. In my study, I would like to examine the act from the perspective of the conservative British public opinion. The act left its marks in the contemporary press and the parliamentary debates, so the leadership of the colonial policy, the Members of the British Parliament and the contemporary British newspapers had own views on this question.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand the significance of the act, we must be familiar with the European, the imperial and the Indian events. In the 19th century, the British Empire was a rapidly changing phenomenon. The growth of British territory continued intensively, but the nature of the empire went through on an enormous transformation. In 1878, the British annexed Transvaal in South Africa and they made war against the Xhosa tribes. However, it was the European diplomacy which seized the politicians' attention. At this time, the British Government had to take an active role in the diplomatic activity related to the Russo–Turkish war (1877–1878) and the decision-making process of the Congress of Berlin (1878).[2]

In India, however, the relationship between the local inhabitants and the British Government was largely determined by the Sepoy Mutiny, and this resulted a very distrustful atmosphere, because the British were afraid of a repetition of the uprising. In the 1860–1870's, several changes were introduced, aimed at increasing the confidence between the Indians and the British. In 1861, the British founded the *Order of the Star of India*, which was an order of chivalry. This order, for Princes, Chiefs and officials, was a significant tool in the integration of local notables.[3] In 1875–1876, Albert Edward, the Prince of Wales travelled to the subcontinent, and this journey undertaken by the crown prince was also a good opportunity to reinforce the relationship between India and Great Britain, given that the personal meetings which took place with *„Bertie"* had both political and diplomatic significance. Then, in 1876, Queen Victoria became the Empress of India by the Royal Title Act of 1876 which was proclaimed at the Delhi Durbar in 1877.

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[2] The war of 1877–1878 was a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire on the Balkan Peninsula, which ended in the peace of San Stefano. But the dissatisfaction of the Great Powers resulted in the renegotiation of the peace. This event was the Congress of Berlin.

[3] *Claude Markovits*: A History of Modern India 1480–1950. London 2004. 348.

It is clear that after 1858 the British Government fundamentally changed its attitude to India and its main aim was to create a new and better relationship with the local notables. In this era, more and more Indians received jobs in the British administration, and many of them had studied in England, and they have more and more educational opportunities at the universities and colleges of the subcontinent. However, this new, educated social group was dissatisfied with the recent British rule.

Despite the above-mentioned measures, also many serious problems remained. In the second half of the 19th century, famines became a permanent phenomenon on the subcontinent. The number of victims reached five million, and the Government had to spend a huge amount to the support of the population. Mention must also be made of the second Afghan war (1878–1880), which brought victory, but only at the cost of large losses. Consequently, in the 1860s, the civil liberal movements became stronger and many new liberal organizations were founded in India. The main goal of these unions was to increase the number of Indian officials in the advisory syndicate of the Viceroy and in the administration. Beside this they wanted to put an end to racial discrimination. However, their aims did not include independence from the Empire. These organizations wanted to achieve their goals by peaceful means, for example petitions or votes, and they utilized newspapers in their nationalist struggle. However, during the time of Lord Lytton, who was the Governor-General and viceroy of India between 1876 and 1880, their attack against the Government became sharper and more vehement because of the famines and the Delhi Durbar.[4] Consequently, Lord Lytton and the British reacted with anger to the criticisms and attacks of both liberal youth and the vernacular press.

In the 1870s, various strict measures were taken, which were designed to protect the British Government. In 1870, the infamous 124§ was introduced into the Penal Code of India. According to this, those, who brought or tried to create an antagonism by words, either spoken or written, by signs, by visible representation, or otherwise against the British Government of India, were to receive a harsh punishment.[5] This was followed by the Vernacular Press Act. Subsequently, in 1879, Lord Lytton issued a law about the possession of weapons by Indians. This prohibited possession of firearm by Indians, thus meaning they could not protect themselves against predators.[6]

The average condition of Indian society was quite bad throughout the whole of the 19th century. Despite all development, there were famines, extreme poverty and dissatisfaction with British rule. This was one of the reasons for the

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[4] *Mohammad Tarique*: Modern Indian History (For Civil Services Examinations). New Delhi 2008. 4.11.

[5] *Tenigl-Takács László*: India története. Budapest 1997. 314.

[6] *K[oka] A[lekszandrovna] Antonova – G[eorgij] M[akszimovics] Bongard-Levin – G[rigorij] G[rigorjevics] Kotovszki:* India története. Budapest 1981. 292.

critical articles penned by the liberal movements. Patrick Smollett, a member of the House of Commons mentioned this issue in Parliament on July 23: *„Natives were excluded from high employment in the British possessions. Schools were now opened, and Universities were endowed; but they forgot that school-boys grew up to be men, and the men as well as boys wore thoroughly discontented, because, after receiving a good education, they found that they were altogether excluded from high appointments in the Civil, Military, and Diplomatic Services."*[7]

THE INDIAN PRESS

Indian journalism and the press have a long history, which goes back to the 16th century. The Portuguese brought the printing press to India, and the Jesuits printed the first book in Goa in 1557. The British East India Company set up a printing press in 1684 and the first newspaper, the Bengal Gazette, was established in 1780.[8] Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian to start publishing newspapers in Indian languages in the 19th century. He wanted his ideas and message reach Indian people in their own language and in their own words. His newspaper, the Samvad Kaumudi was the first journal which was published in an Indian language.[9] Beside this he also founded a Persian newspaper, Mirat-ul-Akbar.[10]

In the 19th century, many English and vernacular language newspapers were being published in the subcontinent. The Indian people perceived the importance of the media and its role in the political life and the progress of the colony. They believed that newspapers could become the bridge between the Government and people, and that journalism performed an important role in the political life of India's new generation. They created a better awareness of various socio-economic and political issues. Beside this, they reported on the condition of the Indian population, including peasants, women, artisans, tribes and the poor. The Indian press propagated reformist ideas and the feeling of nationalism.

After the birth of the journalism, the British Government wanted to control the writers and their ideas. One of the earliest acts of censorship was initiated in 1799 by Lord Wellesley's Censorship of Press Act. But in the early 19th century, Governor-Generals Lord Bentinck and Charles Metcalfe allowed some freedom of expression in the print media. This liberal policy encouraged the educated

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[7] Patrick Smollett, HC, July 23. 1878. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com (Downloaded: 16 June 2015).

[8] *Tarique*, M.: Modern op. cit. 4.09.

[9] The Samvad Kaumudi was a weekly newspaper, which was published in Bengali between 1821 and 1836. Its articles were reformist and they campaigned against some of the ancient traditions of Indian society (for example the *sati*).

[10] The Mirat-ul-Akbar was a Persian language journal, which was founded in 1822 and edited by Raja Rammohan Roy.

Indian middle class to found newspapers. However, after 1857, editors needed a valid license from the Government to own or print a newspaper. Besides this, the Government had the power to prohibit the publication and circulation of any newspaper, book or printed writings.[11] However, the Government was angered by the attacks on it by the vernacular press in 1870s.

In the 1870s, the Indian press was extremely varied. Among the local newspapers, there were monolingual, bilingual and sometimes trilingual publications as well. They were owned mostly by Indians, and usually the editor and the owner was the same person. And of course, there also were Anglo-Indian journals with Indian owners. These were generally weeklies, or more rarely dailies, and they were concentrated in the capitals of the Presidencies (for example Bombay and Calcutta) or the larger cities. Usually, news spread by word of mouth in the villages. The educated local schoolmaster or pleader could be the only subscriber and they read it to the inhabitants. This form of oral transmission was noted as a danger of the Indian press because the news of the nationalists and their critical opinions reached everyone easily.[12]

THE ACT AS SEEN BY THE BRITISH PUBLIC OPINION

The liberal nationalists of the educated elite revived political activity in the 1870s. This was a new generation which had only vague memories of the events of 1857–1858, and they had gained experience in England during their education. But the years in Great-Britain stirred their political consciousness, and they began to criticize the British Government in India. New and stronger organizations were founded by these young politicians (for example Mahadev Govind Ranade or Surendranath Banerjea), such as the Indian Association or the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. The aim of these was a better representation of the Indian people in the civil services.[13] However, the measures enacted by the very conservative Lord Lytton created great dissatisfaction, and they damaged cooperation with the Indian nationalist groups. To check the growing antipathy against the Government, the viceroy passed the controversial Press Act in March 1878, which was intended to punish Indian language newspapers, which published seditious articles. *„The Government of India has struck a tremendous blow at the Vernacular Press. On the 14th inst. the Viceroy's Council, declaring that this Press included seditious, extortionate, and scandalous journals, (…).”*[14]According to Lord Cranbrook, the Viceroy and his Council had to create an act of this nature for the safety of the State in India. In reference to the act The Spectator noted on July 6:

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[11] *Tarique,* M.: Modern op. cit. 4.09–4.11.

[12] *Uma Das Gupta:* The Indian Press 1870–1880: A Small World of Journalism. Modern Asian Studies 11. (1977: 2.) 213–233.

[13] *Hermann Kulke – Dietmar Rothermund*: A History of India. London–New York 1998. 259–260.

[14] The Spectator, March 16, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).

„Lord Lytton and his entire Council had declared that such an Act was indispensable to the safety of the State (...).”[15]

This act had three major and important provisions. Firstly, it empowered a magistrate to force a printer or a publisher of any vernacular newspaper to sign a bond. Under this bond they were not allowed to publish anything against the Government or any matter which could create hostility between persons, castes, religions or races. And they could confiscate any printed material, which was judged to be seditious or objectionable. The publisher had to deposit security money, which he would forfeit, if the newspaper failed to follow the legal regulations. After the second offence, the press premises and the equipment could also be seized. Secondly, the decision of a magistrate was final, so it could not be appealed against in any court. And finally, to be granted an exemption from the act, the vernacular newspaper was required to submit to control by a government censor.[16]

„(...) passed a law enabling any district magistrate, with the consent of the local government, to compel any publisher to enter into a bond binding himself not to repeat articles decided to be objectionable. If he breaks his word, the bond will, of course, be estreated. He can only escape by binding himself to submit proofs of all future articles to an officer to be appointed by the Government.”[17]

What news or articles were seditious? This was determined by the police, and not by the judiciary. However, the fairness of the magistrates was questioned by The Spectator, which commented the issue on March 16 in this way: *„There is absolutely no guarantee that the local Government may not detest the Press, that the district magistrate may not be personally irritated, or that statements made honestly in the public interest may not be condemned as scandalous or calculated to excite sedition.”*[18] Some members of the Parliament agreed with Lord Cranbrook and thought that the Act was a good mean against the seditious articles. In the House of Commons Patrick Smollett was saying that the Vernacular Press Act was necessary due to the nature of the government in India: *„Such an Act was, in his opinion, an absolute necessity of our government in the East. (...) In his judgment, a thoroughly despotic Government as the Government of India was, tempered by a perfectly free Press, was an anomaly and a condition of government which never could succeed. The Government was conducted by a handful of Europeans, who were conquerors, aliens in blood and religion; and the endeavour to carry on an arbitrary government in India, tempered, as he had said, with*

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[15] The Spectator, July 6, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).
[16] *Tarique, M.*: Modern op. cit. 4.11.
[17] The Spectator, March 16, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).
[18] The Spectator, March 16, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).

a free Press in such a country, constituted a condition of affairs which must prove mischievous and dangerous."[19]

Beside this, an important question was raised in The Spectator: Is the critical press bad and the moderate or English-friendly newspaper the only good? *„Those would be severe remedies, but they would be just, and their effect would be that the bad journals would gradually be killed out, and the good journals – or at least, the moderate jour*[n]*als – would enjoy a monopoly of circulation."*[20] The main charges against the non-English Indian press were subversion of democratic institutions, agitation and incitement to violent behaviour, false allegations against British authorities or individuals, endangering law and disturbing the normal functioning of the state and threats to internal stability.

The nationalists condemned the act, and called it the Gagging Act, because it was gagging the voice of India. However, it was not only Indian nationalist politicians, who did use this term, but some British as well. An article in The Spectator noticed that in India there had been provisions relating to the press, although the journalism of the subcontinent had been almost free. This phenomenon was presented in the following way: *„The Government of India, it must be allowed, first of all, has fairly and honestly tried the experiment of a perfectly free vernacular Press. For thirty years, at least, any one in India has been at liberty to establish any newspaper he liked, in any language, and at any price, and to say in it anything he would, subject to the ordinary law of libel as worked by lenient juries, and to an occasional but excessively rare prosecution for sedition."*[21] Naturally, the act was discriminatory, because it only applied to the vernacular press and not to English language publications. The Indian articles which appeared in English were uncensored. This was one of the reasons for protests against: *„The law does not affect papers published in English, whether by Europeans or Natives, and appears to have been passed unanimously."*[22]

The liberal Member of Parliament, Mr. Fawcett, took a stand on the justice of the Press Act. He said that it was an amazing law, but it was groundless in law, a bad principle and a wrong method, and inflicted punishment without giving a hearing to the other side.[23] The Spectator also noted that it was an ineffective solution, because the native publishers had another way to transmit their seditious articles to their subscribers, using letters which could not be opened by officials. The Act could have broken the confidence of the population in the Government and so the Government would be rendered powerless. Sir Erskine Perry, who was a judge in India and served as a member of the Council of India, did not agree

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[19] Patrick Smollett, HC July 23, 1878. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com (Downloaded: 16 June 2015).
[20] The Spectator, March 16, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.

with Lord Lytton, and did not accept the provisions of the Act. He stated that the Indian press could not be compared with the British press. In his opinion, the population of India was 240 million people, but the vernacular newspapers only had about 100 or 150 thousand subscribers, and as such could be regarded as marginal.[24] On July 8, Perry's opinion could be read again in the columns of The Times. The author of the article noted that in many cases the writers of the Indian newspapers were literally schoolboys, who had only a limited circle of readers.[25] The Times cited the opinion of Maharaja Sotindra Tagore, who stated that the educated Indian people did not even know most of these papers.[26]

The Indian people organized vehement protests against the Vernacular Press Act. Meetings were held in Calcutta or Poona, and the articles against it were published not only in India but in England as well. The Times commented on the meetings organised by the protesters, and also wrote about the actions of their English supporters: *„A meeting, attended by about 4,000 natives, was held here last night, at which speeches were made condemning the Vernacular Press Act. It was resolved to petition Parliament through Mr. Gladstone against the measure."*[27] This was a meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta, but there also was an assembly in Poona: *„A large meeting has been held at Poona to protest against the Vernacular Press Act. A Government officer from the educational service had been appointed under the title of Press Commissioner, to act as the recognized medium between the Government and the Indian Press, both English and vernacular (...)."*[28] Beside these meetings, the Indian Association was one of the most critical organizations, and it also organised the first pan-Indian protest against the Act.[29]

Despite all protests, the Act was approved by the Secretary of State, and it remained operable because the tone of some newspapers was judged to be disloyal and to turn the society of the subcontinent against the British.[30] This point mentioned by The Spectator as well, which stated that British officers were afraid of these seditious articles and their effect on the Indian youth. *„So terrible, indeed, are these attacks said to have become, that the Government believe they injuriously affect opinion; they assert that officials are often paralysed by fear of them, and they have resolved to bring them to a final end."*[31] So one of the most important reasons of the Act was the fear of the government from the nationalist movements and the educated youth of India.

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[24] The Times, June 6, 1878. http://galenet.galegroup.com. (Downloaded: 7 July 2014).
[25] The Times, July 8, 1878. http://galenet.galegroup.com. (Downloaded: 7 July 2014).
[26] The Times, June 6, 1878. http://galenet.galegroup.com. (Downloaded: 7 July 2014).
[27] The Times, April 19, 1878. http://galenet.galegroup.com. (Downloaded: 7 July 2014).
[28] The Times, May 13, 1878. http://galenet.galegroup.com. (Downloaded: 7 July 2014.)
[29] *Markovits*, C.: A History op. cit. 357.
[30] The Times, July 7, 1878. http://galenet.galegroup.com. (Downloaded: 7 July 2014.)
[31] The Spectator, March 16, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).

Under this Act many of the papers were fined and their editors jailed. All the prominent leaders of Bengal and India condemned the Act as unwarranted and unjustified, and demanded its immediate withdrawal. Newspapers, including *Som Prakash*, *The Dacca Prakash* or *The Bharat Mihir*, suffered as a result of its provisions. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* became an English language daily overnight to escape being punished under the Act, switching to the English language in order to keep the censor away. The newspapers kept up an endless criticism of the measure, and as a result of the continuous protests the Act was repealed in 1882.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, I can say that the resources used were reports of the events rather than assessments. Basically, I concentrated on conservative opinions, although in some questions it was impossible to ignore liberal opinions because of the sources used. The newspapers, especially The Times, concentrated on the provisions of the act and the liberal protest in the Parliament. In the summer of 1878, this journal dealt more with the activity of Gladstone, who was the leader of the liberal opposition. The news of the Act appeared in the papers in March and April of 1878. However, there were no articles on this question before this time. The intensity of the reports was the greatest over the summer (June and July), when the power of the Indian protest became more and more vehement. In the Parliamentary records, we can find a great debate held on July 23. On this day, the supporters and opponents of the act expressed their views. The Spectator described the opinions of both sides, but the conservative perspectives appeared stronger.

The conservative press referred to the fact that in India there had never been a free press. But the Viceroy did not create such an act without a reason: *„(...) the Viceroy was the last man in the world to fetter the Press unnecessarily (...)"* [32] However, as the leader of the British Government in India, he had to control the events on the subcontinent. *„The Governor General had truly said that this was a danger of which only those on the spot could properly judge."*[33]

The conservative press and Members of Parliament considered the Vernacular Press Act a necessary and effective measure to protect the British Government in India. However, we can state that it was not a significant event for the British, although Parliament and some conservative journals devoted special attention to it. However, it was not an important Act, it had a great effect on the life of the Indian people and the development of the relationship between the nationalist Indians and the British in the end of the 19th century.

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[32] The Spectator July 27, 1878. http://archive.spectator.co.uk (Downloaded: 13 June 2014).

[33] Alfred Gathorne-Hardy HC, July 23, 1878. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com (Downloaded: 16 June 2015).

Tamás Tóth

JŪICHIRŌ IMAOKA VERSUS REGGELI ÚJSÁG ORIENTALISM IN INTERWAR HUNGARY

ABSTRACT

In this paper I elaborate on the lawsuit of researcher and language teacher Jūichirō Imaoka pressed against the weekly magazine *Reggeli Újság*. My analysis aims to reveal certain attitudes that are linked to an orientalist tradition in interwar Hungary. Imaoka lived in Hungary between 1922 and 1931 and knew the Hungarian language and culture very well. I argue that in the lawsuit he was positioned by the other participants as an *oriental person*. That is to say, he was perceived and constructed through the ideological discourse of orientalism. I focus on the case documents, testimonies in particular, as well as relevant issues of contemporary magazines, *Reggeli Újság* and others (*Pesti Napló*, *Népszava*, *Esti Kurir*) in order to reconstruct the reception in the press as possible.

Although historians of the Japanese–Hungarian relations described interactions between the two nations in the terms of diplomacy, politics and culture, they have neglected the (linguistic) discourse analysis of attitudes in relations, of scholarly papers, creative nonfiction and journalism. Although this case study does not attempt to undertake such an in-depth analysis, perhaps it can call attention to the relevance of the topic in connection with history of international relations and history of ideas.

Keywords: Orientalism in Hungary in the 1920–1930s, Jūichirō Imaoka, Benedek Baráthosi Balogh, press lawsuit

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I elaborate on the lawsuit of researcher and language teacher Jūichirō Imaoka pressed against the weekly magazine *Reggeli Újság*. I know that positive attitudes dominated Japanese–Hungarian relations in the mutual history of the two nations. However, as in all international relations, there were unpleasant aspects as well. Hungarian historians in the field of Japanese Studies have analysed the positive aspects deeply, but they often neglected the negative ones. Therefore, I treated this case with special attention and chose it as the subject of this paper. My analysis aims to reveal certain attitudes that are linked to an orientalist tradition in interwar Hungary. Imaoka lived in Hungary between 1922 and 1931 and knew Hungarian language and culture well. I argue that in the lawsuit he was positioned by the other participants as an *oriental person*. That is to say, he was perceived and constructed through the ideological discourse of oriental-

ism. I focus on the case documents,[1] particularly testimonies, as well the relevant issues of contemporary magazines, especially the *Reggeli Újság* and others (*Pesti Napló*, *Népszava*, *Esti Kurir*) in order to reconstruct the reception in the press as possible.

Twentieth century orientalism in Hungary is a topic that has not been thoroughly researched yet. In general, there is no tradition of research of how the East was constructed in Hungary. To give an example, Edward W. Said's influential *Orientalism* (1978) was published in Hungarian only two decades later, in 2000.[2] Also, no thorough analysis of orientalist discourse has been done in Hungarian context. Although historians of Japanese–Hungarian relations described interactions between the two nations in the terms of diplomacy, politics and culture,[3] they have neglected the (linguistic) discourse analysis of attitudes in relations, of scholarly papers, creative nonfiction and journalism. Although this case study does not attempt to undertake such an in-depth analysis, perhaps it can call attention to the relevance of the topic in connection with the history of international relations and history of ideas. My research primarily joins the cultural studies following Edward W. Said. Thus my results are not necessarily representative since I do my analysis in a micro context. Before turning to the case of Imaoka versus *Reggeli Újság*, I touch upon the relations between Japan and Hungary in the interwar period, and I provide some biographical data on the plaintiff and one of the defendants.

There are comprehensive studies on Japanese–Hungarian relations in the interwar period, so I find it unnecessary reviewing them in length. They were the most active at that time in the course of history. Individual attempts were followed by establishing the Turan Society (1910) and the Hungarian–Nippon Society (1924) in order to strengthen cultural ties. Official diplomacy showed considerable interest only in and after the beginning of the 1930s. There were basically two main reasons for the will to establish ties: Turanist ideology based on the imagined blood ties between Hungarians and Eastern peoples and also the naive idea that Japan would show sympathy and help with the Hungarian revisionist effort. Compared to this, although dozens of Hungarians travelled to Japan between the turn of the century and the Great War and published books and articles in newspapers and magazines, Japanese visitors did not stay in Hungary for a

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[1] Budapesti Királyi Büntetőtörvényszék (Henceforward: BKB), Peres iratok, Oláh János és társa, B.XXXV. 4786, 1931/173, Budapest Főváros Levéltára (Henceforward: BFL).

[2] *Edward W. Said*: Orientalizmus. Budapest 2000.

[3] Some representative works on this topic: Japanológiai körkép. Szerk. Szerdahelyi István – Wintermantel Péter. Budapest 2007.; Tanulmányok a magyar–japán kapcsolatok történetéből. Szerk. Farkas Ildikó – Szerdahelyi István – Umemura Yuko – Wintermantel Péter. Budapest 2009.; *Umemura Yuko*: Japán magyar szemmel – a Magyarországon megjelent korai japanológiai könyvek tükrében In: Ukijo-e. Az elillanó világ képei. Szerk. Cseh Éva – Gáspár Annamária – Umemura Yuko. Budapest 2010.

longer period of time until the 1920s. Jūichirō Imaoka was one of the first of doing this.

As a researcher who is a key figure in Japanese–Hungarian relations, Imaoka's biography has already been published in Hungarian.[4] Thus, this paper does not aim to elaborate on his adventurous life, but sums up some important facts. Jūichirō Imaoka was born in 1888 in the coast town of Matsue. He graduated at the German faculty of the University of Foreign Languages in Tokyo in 1914. Because he was fluent in German, one of his teachers introduced him to Benedek Baráthosi Balogh. The two did research on the language of the Ainu people and collected artefacts for months. In 1922, Baráthosi Balogh helped Imaoka to reach Hungary in order to continue his studies there. He became fluent in Hungarian rather quickly and so he made presentations and wrote creative nonfiction and more than 150 articles on Japan and the Japanese people. His articles were edited into his book *New Nippon* (*Új Nippon*, 1929)[5] which sparked considerable interest in the Hungarian literary market. During his stay, he participated in cultural relations and was in good terms with the Hungarian political elite of the 1920s. He left Hungary in 1931 and became a sort of a spokesperson of Hungary in Japan, wrote articles about Hungary and he also compiled the first Japanese–Hungarian dictionaries.

Hungarian researchers have already written papers on the Turanist ethnographer Benedek Baráthosi Balogh,[6] but still no comprehensive analysis of his work has yet been published. He was born in the Transylvanian village of Lécfalva (now Leț, Romania) in 1870. He became a teacher and since 1917 headmaster. He travelled across almost the entire Far East between 1903 and 1930 doing ethnographical research. He wrote more than twenty books in his lifetime. His first one titled *Dai Nippon* [7] he published himself in 1500 copies in 1906, after returning from a journey to Japan. It came out in three volumes and was highly successful, so the first volume *Travelogues* (*Utirajzok*) was reissued under the title of *Wonders of East* (*Kelet csodái*), in 55000 copies. He published his series *Baráthosi's Turanian Books* (*Baráthosi Turáni Könyvei*) between 1926 and 1937, in 17 volumes instead of the intended 24. He organised events, did research

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[4] *Umemura Y.*: A Japán-tengertől a Duna-partig. Imaoka Dzsúicsiró életpályája a japán–magyar kapcsolatok tükrében. Budapest 2006.

[5] *Imaoka Dzsuicsiro*: Új Nippon. Budapest 1929.

[6] Some works about Baráthosi Balogh: *Baráthosi Balogh Benedek*: Távoli utakon. Szerk. és a bevezetőt írta Hoppál Mihály. Budapest 1996.; *Csoma Mózes*: Baráthosi Balogh Benedek a Csoszondinasztia végnapjait élő Koreai-félszigetről. Távol-keleti Tanulmányok. 1. (2009) 1.; *Kónya Ádám*: Baráthosi Balogh Benedek indulása In: Kőrösi Csoma Sándor szellemútján. Szerk. Gazda József. Kovászna–Csomakőrös 1998. 122–125.; *Tóth Tamás*: A Kelet–Nyugat dichotómia Baráthosi Balogh Benedek Dai Nippon című művében. In: „Közel, s Távol" III. Szerk. Takó Ferenc. Budapest 2013. 267–277.

[7] *Baráthosi Balogh B.*: Dai Nippon I–III. Budapest 1906.

and wrote his books in order to provide information and propagate Turanist ideology.

Practically, the lawsuit was between Imaoka and Baráthosi Balogh throughout. Journalist János Oláh and other members of the editorial board of *Reggeli Újság* played a passive role in the case, so I do not describe them. In the following, I analyse in detail the scandalous article that prompted the lawsuit.

THE ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT IMAOKA'S REPUTATION

On January 26, 1931, the *Reggeli Újság*, a popular Hungarian weekly magazine published a page long article with the title: *„Why Is Imaoka, the »Japanese Professor« of Budapest Not Allowed to Welcome the Brother of the Emperor of Japan?"* and with the subtitle: *„Imaoka Has Been Living in Budapest for Eight Years for Free – Revealing Imaoka by Headmaster Benedek Baráthosi-Balogh."*[8]

The article had an offensive tone and it contained serious accusations as well as ridiculous stories about Imaoka who was about to leave Hungary at the time. This article also made insulting remarks on his person. It also contains veiled threats and a number of remarks were based on negative stereotypes frequently occurring in orientalist discourse.

The purpose of most of the accusations was to question Imaoka's moral standing and truthfulness. János Oláh – actually his informator and co-author Benedek Baráthosi Balogh – framed Imaoka of acting as an official during his long stay in Hungary yet no authorities trusted him to take role in any diplomatic affairs. Although the latter part of the statement was true, but we need to keep in mind that Japanese–Hungarian relations in the 1920s can be described as informal interactions between the two nations. The journey of Prince Takamatsu – the younger brother of Emperor Shōwa – and his wife to Budapest was also an informal visit. Although it was not an official occasion, they were welcomed by the elite of Hungarian politics, including Hungarian Regent Miklós Horthy. However, Imaoka played important roles in these unofficial meetings. He guided guests of high social standing and helped in organising the welcoming ceremonies. It seems that the authors wanted to suggest that Imaoka took advantage of his confiding hosts and he cannot be trusted. In the following, I list more accusations like this.

They also claimed that Imaoka does not believe in the Turanist ideas and the only reason why he acted like he would stand for them was to gain profit. Today we know that Imaoka had already made serious efforts to organise Turanist circles before coming to Hungary. He still propagated the ideology after moving back to Japan. Regardless, some witnesses also questioned his commitment during the lawsuit. I argue that one of the possible causes of this accusation might be that the prominent persons of the Turan Society who used to work together with Imaoka, including Baráthosi Balogh took offense because the language teacher

[8] Reggeli Újság, 1931. január 26. 7.

started his own career in Hungary. With his public presentations and his articles, Imaoka easily became popular in various circles.[9]

The article attempted to make his work in the field illegitimate. It criticised him about calling himself a *professor*, although he was just a student. As most of the accusations are half-truths, but this is also the case here: Imaoka was not in truth a professor and he came to Hungary to study. On the other hand, the article does not mention that Imaoka has already graduated as a language teacher in Tokyo and he did field work with Baráthosi Balogh among the Ainu. It is important to note that the Hungarian public did not know Imaoka's exact academic status. As Yuko Umemura points out, *„It seemed a miracle that a Japanese person speaks about his country in Hungary, in Hungarian."*[10] Due to his language skills and professional presentations he must have appeared as an exceptionally learned person to those who did not know him well.

One of the most serious accusations concerning his work in the field was that Imaoka plagiarized: in Japan, he stole a paper of Bashkirian Lieutenant-Colonel Gallimbzsán Tagán and published it under his own name. The article also claimed that the real author of *New Nippon* is not Imaoka. The article argued that Imaoka did not have the sufficient language skills to write a book in Hungarian. The witnesses of both participants also mentioned these accusations during the lawsuit, which proves that this kind of plagiarism was one of the most serious crimes a scholar could commit at that time.[11]

I argue that the point of the article was to question Imaoka's moral standing. The most absurd and ridiculous stories are in these parts of the article. For example the story about how Imaoka *"seduced"* Baráthosi Balogh's son in Japan. By *"seduce"*, they meant that he took him to see geisha in a teahouse. According to the article, he stole Baráthosi Balogh's money for the expenses. They also mentioned that Imaoka offended his Hungarian hosts during a dinner party. According to another story containing the smallest truth, Imaoka gave autographs in the name of a Japanese tennis player who did not even exist. The origin of this piece of fiction probably was Oláh, who wanted to make the article more interesting. At a certain point, the article came into conflict with one of its own previous statements. The authors wanted to prove Imaoka's antipathy towards his Hungarian hosts by citing *New Nippon*. In this book Imaoka made negative remarks about Hungarian women. The matter was also mentioned in a review published in

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[9] Imaoka got acquainted with politicians such as Prime Minister István Bethlen, contemporary poets like Lőrinc Szabó, or scholars like the members of the Turan Society and the Hungarian–Nippon Society.

[10] *Umemura Y.*: Imaoka Dzsúicsiró munkássága. In: Tanulmányok a magyar–japán kapcsolatok történetéből. Szerk.: Farkas Ildikó – Szerdahelyi István –Umemura Yuko – Wintermantel Péter. Budapest 2009. 217.

[11] The testimonies of Miklós Wendler and Lieutenant-Colonel Gallimbzsán Tagán. BKB, Peres iratok, Oláh János és társa, B.XXXV. 4786, 1931/173, BFL.

the prestigious literary journal *Nyugat*.[12] They also mentioned that he wrote offensively about Christianity and Hungarian national culture. In this case they simply twisted his words in the book. They scornfully wrote that he lives for totally free in Budapest. In this context the authors suggested that not only his morals are questionable, but he also scrounges off the Hungarians. The most important accusation about his morals stated that he was one of the leaders of the students' socialist movement in Japan. In the interwar Hungary this was a very serious accusation that he had to defend himself against. It is not surprising that he asked for the help of the Hungarian judicial system to protect his right and honour.

The text includes plenty of offensive, sometimes racist remarks. Adjectives like *„little"* and *„yellow"* are often linked to his characterization. To prove my argument I selected a few representative expressions from the article: *„(…) his little yellow shape appears sometimes in editorial offices, sometimes in the corridors of the ministries (…)"*[13], *„ (…) little intellectual glass bead seller (…)"*[14], *„(…) little Japanese student (…)"*[15], *„(…) he barely can pronounce even a stutter in Hungarian (…)"*[16] or *„(…) little Japanese rice eater."*[17]

All these words and expressions have negative connotations. This vocabulary is similar to the vocabulary of Western orientalist texts described by Said. We can also find references to another typical feature that is often linked to the image of oriental people: wearing masks. As the authors argue *„(…)he acts like he had any roles in the preparations of the welcoming ceremony (…)"*[18],*„He likes to look as an official or at least semi-official person."*[19], *„«Professor» Imaoka Jūichirō is a student (…)"*[20] or *„It is time to take off the veil of oriental mistique."*[21] We can also see the references to him being double-faced: *„Imaoka lured Benedek Baráthosi Balogh's son to Japanese beauties and he compensated the expenses of the «party» with the money left on the table (…)"*[22], *„Has he got a work permit, does he pay taxes?"*[23] Also *„He false-heartedly bites the hand of the nation that has been giving him a home and bread for eight years (…)"*[24] the authors argued.

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[12] *Török Sophie*: Új Nippon. Nyugat 23. (1930) 5.
[13] Reggeli Újság, 1931. január 26. 7.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

They also threatened him indirectly: *„Bad times are waiting for professor Imaoka (...)"*[25], *„(...) it would be better for him to go back to his country, before (...) he gets booted out of the free flat."*[26] These were only examples to show that Imaoka could not leave this obvious attempt to discredit him without an answer.

THE LAWSUIT

Imaoka prosecuted the lawsuit against *Reggeli Újság* in the Royal Penal Court in the judicial district of Budapest. The lawsuit started in the February 1931 and concluded with a judgement on the November 9 in the same year. The court listened to a number of witnesses. Most of them spoke against Imaoka. The final stage of the lawsuit was held in the presence of the press. In the judgement, the court sentenced Benedek Baráthosi Balogh and János Oláh to pay 80 Hungarian *pengős* individually, but their punishment had been suspended.[27] So Imaoka won the lawsuit, but it was not a full victory. The court acknowledged that Imaoka was in charge of assistance with the preparations of the welcoming ceremony of the Japanese prince and his wife. They also established that Imaoka has a language teacher degree and he is the original author of *New Nippon*. However, they also decided in the favour of Baráthosi Balogh in some of the accusations. According to the decision, it is true that Imaoka lured Baráthosi Balogh's son to the teahouse. They also found it testified that Imaoka committed plagiarism in Japan. All these matters extenuated the defendants' punishment. In the following, I will discuss the testimonies of the participants and the witnesses. Thus we can expose the attitudes a Japanese person had to face with when he wanted to defend his honour in a lawsuit in the interwar Hungary.

In his testimony, the journalist János Oláh claims that the source of the information in the article was provided by Benedek Baráthosi Balogh and another journalist named Béla Schannen. Baráthosi Balogh stated that only the pieces of the information in the first half of the article can be traced back to him. Imaoka's testimony is far more interesting. First of all, in reference to the story with Baráthosi Balogh's son and the geisha, he said that the settlement in question is only a fishing village called Shishuka and there are no teahouses at all. As a response to the accusation of plagiarism, he said that he does not speak Russian in any way. The mentioned paper was written in Russian so he could not copy it. Moreover, he claimed that he did not even write any papers or articles in Japan. He said that he has got a language teacher degree and he did not mention anything else about the matter. He argued that the accusation of him being a socialist was probably caused by a misunderstanding. He never had been a socialist, but he

[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] BKB, Peres iratok, Oláh János és társa, B. XXXV. 4786, 1931/173, BFL.

was trusted by a sociological association to conduct a research in Hungary. He also noted that despite the accusation, he is paying for his living in a dormitory in Budapest. It is also important to mention Imaoka's opinion about what caused this discrediting article. He claims that he had been asked from Japan to recommend potential persons who could become honorary consuls of the country in the future.

He found many people inadequate for this function and they wanted to take revenge on him for that with the article. It is especially interesting to compare this to an idea from the accusation: *„The only problem was that he [Baráthosi Balogh] wanted to keep me as his domestic Japanese to decorate his orientalist scholar degree."*[28] So in Imaoka's opinion, the grievances of his former friends and colleagues led them to the attempt to discredit him as he did not always do as these people wanted him to after he came here from Japan. This argument could be really important as this insult against Imaoka seems very similar to the articles in the Western press against Japan after the Russo–Japanese war in 1904–1905. Until that point, they wrote about the country with sympathy, but since that time the articles about Japan were changing into a negative tone. It is well-known that after the Japanese victory over Russia the Western politics and press had started to treat Japan as a new political power. Thus, after Japan showed its strength towards the West, this strange, opposite world transformed into a threat in the eyes of Western correspondents. They started to accuse Japan with being a turncoat and being a fraud. We can see a similar thing in Imaoka's case. It appears that the attitudes of the press showed towards Japan worked on a personal level. The plenty of similarities made Imaoka to figure out the situation well. Of course I do not argue that this lawsuit was a consequence of the Russo–Japanese War. I only intend to note that in these two cases orientalist authors acted in a similar way. In both cases they felt a *„treachery"* of the *„orient"* and their reaction was to depict Japan and Imaoka as a traitor or a fraud. Naturally, it is necessary to analyse a lot more sources to prove this point, something which I plan to do in further studies.

Before analysing the testimonies of the witnesses, I point out that almost half of the testimonies were not valuable for research. They did not contain any judgements against Imaoka. A number of testimonies showed certain similarities and from them I selected some to base my argument on this paper. From the witnesses, the testimonies of school headmaster Miklós Wendler and István Mezei, executive director of the Hungarian–Nippon Society were the most detailed.

Miklós Wendler wanted to support the main statements of the article. *„[I do not know] for whose interest he [Imaoka] worked here, but I realised that it was especially for his own interest."*[29], he argued and supported the opinion that

[28] Imaoka's denunciation, BKB, Peres iratok, Oláh János és társa, B. XXXV. 4786, 1931/173, BFL.
[29] Testimonies, BKB, Peres iratok, Oláh János és társa, B. XXXV. 4786, 1931/173, BFL.

Imaoka only served his own good during his stay in Hungary. Wendler also supported the accusation which stated that Imaoka is not truly a Turanist. He mentioned a story of a visit of a Japanese scholar, who came to Hungary and was guided by Imaoka at that time. He said, after going back to Japan, this scholar wrote a letter to Imaoka with the following: *„In these circumstances (...) he is not surprised at all that Hungarians believe in such stupidities like Turanism."*[30] He also states that *„Imaoka was a friend of Hungarians because of his interests. (...) He studied the pro-Hungarian phrases well (...)"*[31] and during his stay *„(...) he gained a pretty profit (...)"*[32], as *„(...) he did not pay for anything."*[33] So he depicted Imaoka as a calculating, hypocritical person. These were also stigmata the orientalist authors branded *„Oriental people"* within their characterisations. He completed the argument of the authors of the article with mentioning that the real author of *New Nippon* is István Mezei.

Mezei claimed that it is not rightful that Imaoka called himself a professor. He said however that everyone called him that. And *„(...) he, like every oriental person was very sensitive, it hurt his feelings if someone did not gave him this title."*[34] Although when Mezei defended Imaoka, he still thought in orientalist stereotypes. He argued that Imaoka is not impolite but just *„(...) reserved like every Oriental."*[35] From this point on, his testimony has a negative tone: *„(...)when he had been acknowledged, praised and had been rewarded, he was a really Hungarian-friendly, but when he thought that he had been offended, he was going too far in criticism and said strange statements. He is, like every Oriental, a very sensitive person."*[36] In my interpretation, with this sentence he said that Imaoka took advantage of the Hungarians *"like every Oriental"*, he acted like a friend of the Hungarians to become more succesful. It is again the thought of wearing masks and being a fraud. Finally, he accused Imaoka indirectly with stealing. He mentioned that his Japanese books are still missing from his office since Imaoka left the country. He also said that *„He was a skillful, thrifty person."*[37]

Journalist Menyhért Szász also supported the accusations. In his opinion *„Imaoka is not the friend of Hungarians (...)"*[38] and *„(...) he acknowledged*

[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

Turanism only for financial reasons."[39] He also argued that *„[Imaoka] had spoken about Hungarian women in a vulgar tone that one uses in a café."*[40]

The court also listened to Baráthosi Balogh's wife and his son, who knew Imaoka well, but obviously they were far more biased than the other witnesses. Mrs. Baráthosi Balogh said that she knew Imaoka as an ungrateful and bad person. She claimed that Imaoka has often offended them. She mentioned that he molested their maids. Gyula Baráthosi Balogh recalled the time when they did research among the Ainu people. He said that Imaoka invited him to the teahouse, suggested that he should steal from his father, but he did not recognise where they were going to go that night. As for his work in Japan, he mentioned that he did not do his work well. He claimed that they had problems with communication as Imaoka did not speak German fluently. He also mentioned that Imaoka threatened them with calling the police when his father wanted to release him from his duties.

One of the witnesses was Bashkirian lieutenant-colonel Gallimbzsán Tagán, Baráthosi Balogh's adopted son. As for the plagiarism, he pointed out that he had translated his own paper originally written in Russian with a translator to Japanese. Tagán said, Imaoka read that translated paper and stole it. He also supported the socialist accusation: *„As far as I know, the prosecutor was a socialist."*[41] He mentioned that he often heard Imaoka and Baráthosi Balogh arguing during their journey.

As we can see, most of the testimonies tried to disproof Imaoka's testimony and stood by the statements in the article. In these testimonies the same stereotypes can be found as in the article. Orientalist stereotypes were present in the environment that was responsible for organising the Japanese–Hungarian relations from the Hungarian side in interwar Hungary.

Press Reception

In order to measure what rate of interest the press showed towards the lawsuit, I read through some contemporary popular magazines. My research shows for certain that the press was almost entirely uninterested in the first part of the lawsuit. In the issue of the *Reggeli Újság* of February 9, 1931, a short article was published in a satirical tone about the offended scholar with the title *"Farewell Imaoka"*[42]. In this they said that Imaoka *„ (...)for now does not even think of moving back to Pest. Probably we will survive this disaster."*[43] Apart from this writing, no papers reported about the case.

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Reggeli Újság, 1931. február 9. 13.
[43] Ibid.

The first report was in the 7th November issue of *Népszava*. They published a half a page long article about the lawsuit with the title: *„Lawsuit on the book of the Japanese teacher"*[44]. In this report they described the case as a *„(...) long time going lawsuit filled with entertaining moments."*[45] They wrote that in the discussion *„(...) they read out some parts of Jūichirō Imaoka's book that provided some funny moments to the audience."*[46] They also mentioned that *„(...) a few witnesses were listened to, who all told queer things about the behaviour and opinions of the Japanese teacher."*[47] The *Esti Kurir* also published almost the same text on that day.[48]

The next reports were published on the 10th of November. An objective report was published by *Pesti Napló*, and *Népszava* mentioned an interesting moment from the discussion as well. Before the court announced their judgement, Baráthosi Balogh's lawyer said: *„Imaoka was an intellectual uncle Bob in Hungary, who came here as poor as a beggar, and now, when he left, he transferred 150.000 Hungarian pengős to his foreign bank account."*[49] On the same day *Esti Kurir* published almost the same article as well.[50]

During the nine-month-long lawsuit, there was nothing else about the case published in the Hungarian press. Thus we can state that the interest of the press was not significant about the lawsuit. Some interest was shown because of the absurdity of the case. It was more valuable for the press as a source of humour than a source of information. It is interesting that the *Reggeli Újság*, the medium that lost the lawsuit, did not publish any reports on the case in question, but it often published reports on its other lost cases at that time.

SUMMARY

In this paper I analysed the dispute of Jūichirō Imaoka against the Hungarian morning newspaper *Reggeli Újság*. I elaborated on the article co-written by his colleague and patron Benedek Baráthosi Balogh, which prompted the lawsuit. I described how orientalist stereotypes are woven into the text in question. I find it very probable that the authors tried to discredit Imaoka due to spiteful, xenophobic attitudes and resentment. In describing the lawsuit, I pointed out that although Imaoka won the lawsuit, the decision of the court did not favour him in multiple points. Looking at the testimonies, it is clear that the hurtful remarks and stereotypes that were in the article were also present in the court.

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[44] Népszava, 1931. november 7.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Esti Kurir, 1931. november 7. 4.
[49] Pesti Napló, 1931. november 10.; Népszava, 1931. november 10.
[50] Esti Kurir,1931. november 10. 4.

Lastly, in analysing the reception it the press, I concluded that the lawsuit sparked up some interest nearing the end, and only because it became ridiculous. Analysing this particular microcontext may have provided some important results. However, I emphasise that we cannot make far-reaching conclusions. Firstly, the paper only examined one particular case. Secondly, the authors of the article and the witnesses in court are biased. Their testimonies do not necessarily mirror the attitudes of the Hungarian nation towards the Japanese people as cultural entity. Nonetheless, prominent members of the circles crucial in Japanese–Hungarian relations such as Turan Society and Hungarian–Nippon Society used stereotypical expressions that are in the Saidian sense are linked to orientalist ideology. For further results, the research of the Hungarian oriental studies in a broader context is necessary in order to get a bigger picture of the attitudes of Hungarian orientalists towards cultural alterity.

Dániel Molnár

GÉZA SOÓS IN THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

ABSTRACT

The paper aims at portraying the rather short but eventful and interesting life of Géza Soós. My main focus is on providing a comprehensive picture of his work, especially of his activity in the national resistance movement. It is well-known that as chairman of the Soli Deo Gloria Student Association of the Reformed Church (Soli Deo Gloria Református Diákszövetség) Géza Soós had a great influence on thousands of young people in the period. He was one of the most outstanding figures in the resistance following the German occupation of Hungary on 19th March 1944. He played an active role in saving Jews, and he was in close contact with Raoul Wallenberg. He was also involved in the translation and circulation of the Auschwitz Protocols (a.k.a. Reports). On 9th December 1944, he flew with others illegally from Pápa to Italy on a plane with German roundel to inform the allied forces about the anti-German movements in Hungary.

In this paper I have used the correspondence, notes and contemporary newspaper articles found in the bequest of Géza Soós in the Ráday Archives (Ráday Levéltár) as well as studies about him to present the role of Géza Soós in the Hungarian resistance movement.

Keywords: Hungarian resistance movement, Jews saving, emigration, German occupation of Hungary

Géza Soós was born on 13 October 1912 in district Kőbánya of Budapest to a middle-class protestant family. His father, Zoltán Soós was a judge, his mother, Margit Előd was an art teacher.[1] He completed his secondary education with certificate of outstanding performance between 1922 and 1930 in the Hungarian Royal State Grammar School of St. Ladislaus, which had been renamed to *„Realgymnasium"* in 1924. On 6 September 1928 he joined the Students' Association Soli Deo Gloria (SDG), a fraternity of Calvinist students, where he soon had become one of the most active and prominent members of the association.[2] Establishing the SDG was initiated by Zoltán Töltéssy, after which Soós soon formed his own sub-division mainly from grammar school students. [3] Besides his Grammar School studies he spent most of his time with the SDG, where initially he was Secretary of the Recreational activities, then the secretary of the grammar school boys, and finally he became the vice president of the association. Between

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[1] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős Ilona:* Mint a Jézus Krisztus jó vitéze: II. Tim. 2:3. Emlékezés Soós Gézára. Szerk. Havas Gábor − Pröhle Sándorné Soos Edit. Budapest 1989. 1.

[2] *Gergely Ferenc:* A házigazda. Soós Géza emlékére. Confessio 1. (1983) 23.

[3] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 3.

1940 and 1946 he was given the post of president of the SDG-organization.[4] Recommended by bishop László Ravasz, he continued his studies at the Faculty of Law.[5] In his doctoral studies of law he achieved *„sub auspiciis Gubernatoris"* degree[6], and after his graduation he was appointed at the Budapest Court, where he started to work as judge of the General Court.

June 1938, delegates of the Fraternity of Protestant Students held their meeting at the same time when the Evian Conference took place in Switzerland. Due to this coincidence, and also thanks to his position as a secretary, as well as to his notorious anti-German attitude, Géza Soós was chosen to be sent to the conference to observe the proceedings. Before his journey he was informed by competent people of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the fact that he would be watched by both the Gestapo and the secret services of Western European countries.[7] Before he left, he was received by Regent Miklós Horthy as well. Soós described their meeting as follows: *„Before my journey I was received by the Regent, with whom we had known each other very well from Calvinist ecclesiastic circles. The interrogation lasted nearly an hour. He told me to act very cautiously, but at the same time to find out the truth about the recent hearsay concerning the persecution of Jews."*[8]

Although he preferred to dedicate his life to religious and public work, at the age of 27 Géza Soós decided to create a stable background and start a family, so in 1939 he proposed to Ilona Tüdős[9], and on 12 October 1940[10] the young couple married in the Calvinist Church of Budapest. They had six children during their marriage.[11]

From 1939, during the second presidency of Prime Minister Pál Teleki he was the Presidential Secretary of the Cabinet as well as one of the Associates of the Fourth Department of Information, established on Teleki's initiative.[12] At the Department, operating in accordance with the spirit of the policy of the Prime Minister, Soós worked under the close supervision of Domokos Szent-Iványi.[13]

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[4] *Havas Gábor – Kulifay Albert:* A Soli Deo Gloria Szövetség története. Budapest 1992. 31−34.

[5] Evangéliumot Magyarországnak! Soós Géza emlékkönyv 1912−1953. Szerk. Soós Gézáné Tüdős Ilona (et al). Budapest 1999.16.

[6] A „sub auspicis gubernatoris" award (actually a ring) was granted to students who had nothing but outstanding grades throughout their studies starting from primary school until their graduation.

[7] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I. (et al):* Evangéliumot Magyarországnak op. cit. 127–128.

[8] *Koncz Lajos:* Zsidómentés és nemzeti ellenállás. Beszélő 9. (2001). http://beszelo.c3.hu/cikkek/zsidomentes-es-nemzeti-ellenallas (Downloaded: 28 March 2015).

[9] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 6–8.

[10] It is known from his wife's recollections that he wanted to stick to the above mentioned date, since the following day (13 October 1940) was his 28th birthday and by then he wanted to be a married man.

[11] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 9–12.

[12] „A hitet megtartottam…": Soós Géza, 1912–2012: jubileumi kötet. Szerk. Horváth Erzsébet. Budapest 2012. 10.

[13] *Gergely F.:* A házigazda op. cit. 24.

The main objective of the Department was to help people escaping to the Allied countries, especially to the United States of America and Western Europe.[14]

After the tragic death of Prime Minister Teleki on 3 April 1941, the Fourth Department of Information was eliminated, but Domokos Szent-Iványi and his direct co-workers felt it important to bring together and unite the anti-German forces, in opposition to the official government policy. The Hungarian Independence Movement (MFM) initiated by Lajos Kudar, Jenő Padányi and Géza Soós and led by Domokos Szent-Iványi was formed exactly in this spirit at the end of 1941.[15] Before the German invasion the MFM did not operate as a secret society, but at the same time its members did not talk about it to outsiders and the association had neither a list of members, affiliation fee nor an official seal.[16]

In the further sections of this paper I wish to present the role that Géza Soós played in the Independence Movement, illustrating it with examples. I will also mention the operations he accomplished to rescue Hungarian Jews, and give an overall review of his participation in the resistance movement, emphasizing the dangers and complexity of such actions. One can hardly imagine the impact the Auschwitz Protocol made on the rest of the world, since it was the first document revealing in detail the horrors of Nazi Concentration Camps. Géza Soós played a great part in the dissemination of the Records, which I will also discuss in detail.

On 9 December 1944, Soós and his associates took off from the Pápa Airport and flew to Rome, in order to inform the Anglo–Saxon Allies about the Anti-German movements in Hungary. The Allies considered the information they might get as important, therefore between December 1944 and autumn 1945 Soós was held in *„friendly"* custody in Italy. In my opinion, this topic is hardly known and not much is written about it, so I will present it further using Géza Soós' records, the diary fragments of his wife as well as writings of Bálint Török. I will also discuss the impact of their mission to Italy having especially on Géza Soós and his family, and on the Hungarian Independence Movement – in a broader sense.

In the autumn of 1945 Géza Soós left Rome and travelled to Geneva on a mission to get some food aid and financial support for Hungary at the World Council of Churches, and medicines from the International Committee of the Red Cross.[17] The idea of rescuing his family to Western Europe might have occurred

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[14] *Szekér Nóra:* A Magyar Közösség története. PhD értekezés, PPKE. Budapest 2009. 99.

[15] *Saláta Kálmán:* A magyar antifasiszta ellenállás és partizánmozgalom, kislexikon. Budapest 1987. 96–98.

[16] *Csicsery–Rónay István:* A Magyar Függetlenségi Mozgalom története. Magyar Szemle 8. (1999) 91–109. http://www.magyarszemle.hu/cikk/19991101_a_magyar_fuggetlensegi_mozgalom_tortenete (Downloaded: 30 March 2015)

[17] *Horváth E.:* Soós Géza jubileumi kötet op. cit. 15.

to him first after that mission. After 13 months of separation, on 4 January 1946 he has finally reunited with his family in Geneva, where his wife and children were successfully taken by then. Soós could only spend three weeks with his family, as on 26 January 1946 he had to travel to Budapest in order to receive his certificate and appointment as a Councillor at the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[18] On 8 March 1946 Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy – politician of the Smallholders Party – issued a certificate for Géza Soós as counsellor of Pál Teleki, the former Prime Minister, in which he admits and authorizes that Soós had taken part in the national Independence Movement selflessly committing himself to the anti-fascist fight.[19] Nonetheless, after that the Secret Service started to persecute Géza Soós, which is described in his work *„My Creed"* as follows: *„In 1946 the Communists had another attempt to eliminate me, since I refused to join the Communist Party or at least to sign the Statement of Obedience. (...) I soon had to recognise that there were no paths left for me to follow: an honest person cannot collaborate with the communists."*[20]

In June 1946 Géza Soós arrived unexpectedly in Switzerland to his family. The adventurous details of his rescue from Hungary to Switzerland were revealed to his wife only much later, in the summer of 1987, when she managed to get hold of the letter by József Éliás, the leader of the Good Shepherd Committee. In his letter the pastor described that the secret service was intensely persecuting Soós, and the press also had attacked him. [21] In the end, Soós managed to escape through the border and get back to his family on a truck of the Red Cross, hidden under a bunch of clothes.[22] Soós was offered a theology scholarship by the Ecumenical World Council and the Northern Presbyterian Church in the United States, which he completed in Geneva in two years, instead of the regular four years.[23]

Meanwhile, in the 20 January 1947 issue of the newspaper *„Kossuth népe"* (People of Kossuth) a front page article was published with a headline „C*onspiracy in Rome – organized by Géza Soós"*. The author of the article informs the readers that *„(...) based on information from knowledgeable sources further details are exposed on the Italian relations of the conspirators (...)",* also stating that *„Géza Soós and his well-paid assistants keep disseminating false information on the situation in Hungary."*[24] On the session of the Cabinet on 24 April 1947, László Rajk presented his proposal No. 217 992/1947, among many

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[18] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 41–44.
[19] Miniszterelnöki rendelet 7200/1945.
[20] *Soós Géza:* Hitvallásom. Új Magyar Út, 1954.
[21] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 45–46.
[22] 100 éve született Dr. Soós Géza 1912–1953 Áldás, békesség! 2012. 1/4. 15.
[23] *Horváth E.:* Soós Géza jubileumi kötet op. cit. 15.
[24] Kossuth Népe, 1947. január 20.

others, on the subject of Soós' deprivation of his Hungarian citizenship[25], while on the Cabinet Session held on 9 June 1947, in accordance with government statement No. 7720/1948, a confiscation of property was ordered against Géza Soós, after he had been already deprived of his citizenship.[26]

During the time of his studies in Geneva, Géza Soós was entrusted with the spiritual counselling of fourteen thousand Hungarian, Czech, Ukrainian, Latvian and Polish protestants stuck in English, American and French military zones of Germany.[27] Despite of his forced absence, in 1950 he submitted his thesis at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Geneva. The title of his thesis was *„History of Protestant Student movements in Hungary between the two world wars."*[28] His pastoral ordination took place in the Cathedral of St. Peter of Geneva, on 8 June 1950.[29]

A significant segment of his manifold activities was the periodical *„New Hungarian Way"*. The journal was launched as a result of Soós' organizing talent and extended relations, and its first edition was issued in January 1950. [30]

Géza Soós and his wife started to seriously consider the emigration to the USA since 1950. They did not want to leave Europe, but they were informed by the Swiss authorities that in case the Hungarian government claimed for Soós, the Swiss would not be able to grant him political asylum and a refugee status. The possibilities of such a hazardous outcome seemed realistic, since during the earlier *„conspiracy cause"* his activities during the Italian mission were judged in a very condemnatory manner by the Hungarian government. [31] The Hungarian *„Népszava"* in the USA issued an article on 12 November 1951, in which they reported that Géza Soós, one of the most prominent young leading figures of the Hungarian emigration, had arrived in New York with his family.[32] During this period many local and nationwide magazines reported about the arrival of Soós. On 5 September 1953 Géza Soós was on a nationwide tour with colonel Ferenc Koszorús, when their vehicle – due to unfavourable weather conditions – ran into a bridge railing. Despite his severe injuries the colonel survived the accident, while Soós passed away in the ambulance. [33]

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[25] Nagy Ferenc második és harmadik kormányának minisztertanácsi jegyzőkönyvei 1946. november 22. – 1947. május 31. Szerk. Szűcs László – G. Vass István. Budapest 2008. 1137.
[26] Minisztertanácsi jegyzőkönyvek napirendi jegyzékei. 1947. június 1.– 1950. február 25. A Magyar Országos Levéltár segédletei, 11/2. Budapest 2004. 210.
[27] *Havas G. – Kulifay A.:* A Soli Deo Gloria Szövetség története op. cit. 521.
[28] *Kiss Réka:* Soos Géza, a kiemelkedő ifjúsági vezető és politikus. Reformátusok Budapesten I. Szerk. Kósa László. Budapest 2006. 755.
[29] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 55.
[30] *Borbándi Gyula:* A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945–1985. Budapest 1989. 248.
[31] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 54.
[32] Amerikai Magyar Népszava, 1951. november 12.
[33] *Gergely F.:* A házigazda op. cit. 28.

His unexpected and tragic death shocked the world. During my research in the archives I found many newspapers reporting about the tragic event. (such as *Hungarian Miners' Journal*, the *Journal de Geneve*, one of the most prestigious Swiss journals, and also the *Hungarian Americans*, the widely read conservative weekly magazine, published since the turn of the 19th century.) His tragic death is believed to be intentional by many people even today, especially due to the fact that Koszorús also lost his life in a car accident, in 1974.[34] In his obituary written by Vilmos Papp it was also mentioned that many people thought the driver had lost the control over the vehicle caused by *„the manipulation of the KGB."*[35]

His Work in the Resistance Movement

I mention here one of his missions presented in the writing of Lajos Koncz *„Rescue of Jews and the national resistance"* in order to emphasize the dangerous nature of Soós' activities. I also have chosen to discuss this mission as it is a perfect starting point in presenting his rescue operations.

At the end of November 1944 Pál Szalay, the Chief Police Commander of Budapest, along with a person with a code name *„Diplomat"* received intelligence that prisoners of war, aviators, and captured Polish Jews were to be deported soon by the Germans. A group of resistance fighters, including Raoul Wallenberg[36], his driver, Pál Szalai, the *„Diplomat"*, a young woman with her husband and two officers completed a dangerous operation at the Danube embankment at Újpest. Lajos Koncz believes that it was Géza Soós operating under the code name *„Diplomat"*, and to support his assumption he refers to the docu-

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[34] *Sindelyes Dóra:* A „titokzatos magyar Wallenberg". HVG 15. (2013) 45.

[35] *Papp Vilmos:* Dr. Soós Géza teológusról *(1912–1953)* http://regi.krater.hu/krater.php?do=3&action=a&pp=18729 (Downloaded: 28 March 2015).

[36] Raoul Wallenberg was born on 4 August 1912 in Stockholm, to one of the best-known families in Sweden. In accordance with the family tradition Raoul was meant to become a banker, but he was more interested in architecture and commerce. He graduated from Grammar School in the spring of 1930, and then he completed his obligatory military service at the Guard. In 1931 he went to study Architecture in the USA, at the Michigan University. After graduation his grandfather arranged him a position at a Dutch bank in Haifa, Palestine. That's where Wallenberg first met Jewish refugees from Germany, and he was deeply shaken by the stories about their persecution. In 1944 the United States requested the Swedish government to intercede in Hungary, and the Swedish government decided to send someone to Hungary for assistance and intelligence. Wallenberg arrived at Budapest on 9 June 1944, and stepping far beyond the official diplomacy, he used all instruments available to him, such as bribery, blackmail and threats, just to save lives. His stay in Hungary saved thousands of people, during many different operations. On 17 January 1945, Wallenberg left for Debrecen, but he never arrived at his destination. It is believed that he and his driver, Vilmos Langfelder were kidnapped and taken to the Soviet Union. According to reliable witnesses they were first kept prisoners by the NKVD in Moscow, then transferred to the penitentiary at Ljubjanka. On 8 March 1945, forced by the Soviet government, the Hungarian Radio reported that on his way to Debrecen Wallenberg was murdered by agents of the Arrow-Cross or Gestapo. http://wallenberg.hu/hu/raoul-wallenberg/eletrajz.html (Downloaded: 28 March 2015)

ment written as a testament by the young lady mentioned in the story: *„(...) he usually completes the most valued and dangerous tasks in the rescue team of the association (no one could ever use his real name)(...)Wallenberg also stated that the „Diplomat" assisted him in the most dangerous operations, with the utmost calmness and courage (...) His name was Géza Soós (...) It was only decades later that I came to know his real name, when I saw a picture from his young age."*[37]

The operation went as follows: when they were signalled that the car in question was approaching, Wallenberg spread some redcurrant jam on the young woman's head and told her lie down on the roadway, as if she was injured. When they stopped and the driver with his armed guard got out of the car, the associates disarmed them as well as the soldiers who guarded the prisoners. The four soldiers were taken to the warehouse hidden inside the abutment, while the prisoners were supplied with clothes and food. *„Diplomat"* took them to a safe house, while Wallenberg indirectly exchanged the captured soldiers for forty Jewish people sentenced to death. [38] Lajos Koncz wrote in his study that *„Soós was obviously the greatest rescuer of Jews beside Wallenberg, but while Wallenberg was protected by the immunity diplomats of neutral states had enjoyed even from the Nazis to some extent, Géza Soós was protected only by the disciplined secrecy of a well-organized tiny Hungarian group. This secrecy worked so well that hardly any details are known about Soós' resistance activity and rescue operations even to date."*[39] It is confirmed by research and records that the two rescue figures knew each other. Mária Ember in her book published in 1999 writes as follows: *„Raoul Wallenberg immediately on his second workday wanted to get in touch with dr. Géza Soós: in his pocket calendar there is an entry written in italics: SOOS."*[40] In his before mentioned letter to Pál Auer on 25 September 1947, Soós recalls their first meeting with the following words: *„That's how I got in contact with the legendary Raoul Wallenberg, who after his arrival at Budapest found it important to contact me among the first ones. (...) It was him and mainly József Élias with whom we discussed and worked out our operation plans."*[41]

During my research in the Ráday Archive in box No.17. of the Soós Legacy I found a very curious source, which, among other things, contains documents related to the Hungarian Independence Movement. It comprised typewritten documents, recording code names of towns, occupations, positions, and of people of importance of the period. Just for curiosity, I enclose a non-exhaustive list of some of the important codes from each category, included in the following chart:

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[37] *Koncz L.:* Zsidómentés és nemzeti ellenállás op. cit.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] *Ember Mária:* Wallenberg Budapesten. Budapest 2000. 32.
[41] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.(et al.):* Evangéliumot Magyarországnak op. cit. 142.

Towns, Countries		People		Occupations, positions	
Berlin	Derecske	Churchill	Potter	Prime Minister	Director
Budapest	Herend	Hitler	Craftsman	Government	Directorate
London	Kunágota	Roosevelt	Foreman	National Bank	Cellar
Rome	Nyírbátor	Stalin	Sculptor	Military staff	Fire brigade
Hungary	Distillery	Miklós Horthy	Hatter	Parliament	Warehouse
Germany	Vinegar factory	Zoltán Tildy	Tanner	Ministry of the Interior	Accounting department
Italy	Sawmill	Ferenc Szálasi	Chandler	Consulate General	Deposit

Fig.1: (the chart was made by the author, using documents from the Soós legacy)

As István Csicsery-Rónay wrote in his study published in periodical *„Beszélő”*, not any of the MFM-members had ever been compromised in the course of their resistance activities in the Hungarian Independence Movement. As I had pointed out earlier, it could happen due to the attitude that the members of the movement never talked about it and that the movement had no list of members, affiliation fee or seal. [42] Moreover, I think that the codes used in the above presented chart could also contribute to the fact that the movement could keep its secrecy and pursue its anti-German activity, rescuing Jews from the background.

THE AUSCHWITZ PROTOCOL

One can hardly imagine the huge impact the Auschwitz Protocol had on the world, as it was the very first document which described in detail the horrors of the Nazi death camps. During my research, studying the sources I formulated an important question: In which way did the Protocol contribute to the decision of Regent Horthy of stopping the deportation of Jews in 1944, with his act saving the lives of more than 250.000 Jewish people in Budapest? In the following part of my paper – in addition to presenting the facts – I will also make an attempt to find an answer to the question.

On 7 April 1944 the resistance movement of the death camp helped to escape two Slovakian Jewish men, Alfred Wetzler and Walter Rosenberg from the camp. Their task was to inform and warn Hungary, invaded by Germans, about the fact that in the Auschwitz camp preparations had already been made to receive the Jewish deportees from Hungary. Wetzler and Rosenberg arrived in Slovakia on 21 April, two weeks after their escape from the camp, and during the next five days they managed to prepare the German and the Slovakian versions of their Report in Zilina. In the spring of 1944 Soós got hold of the Protocol. (The circumstances, how it happened have not been revealed so far). Later Soós entrusted Pastor József Éliás (leader of the Good Pastor Committee) with the dan-

[42] *Csicsery–Rónay I.:* A Magyar Függetlenségi Mozgalom története op. cit.

gerous task of translating the Protocol from German to Hungarian, then delivering the document to different confidential addressees. As it was formulated by Éliás in the interview to Sándor Szenes: *„I entrusted the translation to one of my most loyal, most accomplished and tested colleagues, Mária Székely."*[43] After the first reading the translator confessed about her experience as follows: *„This site report was emotionally so indescribably astonishing and poignant that there are no words that could convey the horror of it."*[44]

The thirty-eight typewritten pages of the Hungarian translation of the Protocol inform the world about the operation of the gas chambers and crematoria, giving detailed data on the number of the murdered prisoners in the period between April 1941 and April 1944.[45] Mária Székely translated the protocol in six or eight days and as Géza Soós had asked her, she gave five copies to József Éliás, while the sixth Hungarian copy with the German original text was taken by Soós to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first recipient was Cardinal and Archbishop Jusztinián Serédi, and it was József Cavalliér who delivered the copy. The second copy was meant to be delivered to the Calvinist Bishop László Ravasz, and it was delivered by Pastor Albert Bereczky. The third recipient was the Lutheran Bishop Sándor Raffay, and he was delivered the Protocol by the Lutheran Dean Lajos Kemény. The fourth copy was received by architect Ottó Komoly, who was one of the leaders of Hungarian Zionists and of the Jewish Hungarian public life. He got the document through the tribunal judge, Géza Kárpáthy. As the recipient of the fifth copy, Géza Soós said he would give orders related to it in the appropriate time.[46] The addressee of the fifth copy was the widow of the vice-regent, Mrs. István Horthy, whose contact was Sándor Török, representative of the Association of Protestant Jews.[47] As it is known from the interview of József Éliás, thanks to Soós' connections and the mediation of the Resistance Movement, Sándor Török managed to become part of Countess Edelsheim's (née Ilona Gyulai) inner circle of trust, thus getting admission to the Royal Castle. Domokos Szent-Iványi, who was one of the leaders of the Resistance Movement, had close relations with the Horthy family, including the Countess, who was convinced that the plane crash which caused her husband's death was arranged by the Germans.[48] The Countess in her volume *„Honour and obligation"* recalls the day when she received the Auschwitz Protocol as follows: *„According to my diary Sándor Török first visited me alone on 1 July (...) His second visit of 3 July is underlined in my diary, so that must have been the memo-*

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[43] *Szenes Sándor*: „…Akkor már minden egyházfő asztalán ott volt az Auschwitzi jegyzőkönyv…". Valóság 10. (1983) 75–77.
[44] *Szenes S.*: Befejezetlen múlt. Budapest 1986. 112.
[45] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I. (et al):* Evangéliumot Magyarországnak op. cit. 132.
[46] *Szenes S.:* Auschwitzi jegyzőkönyv op. cit. 78–79.
[47] *Koncz L.:* Zsidómentés és nemzeti ellenállás op. cit.
[48] *Szenes S.:* Auschwitzi jegyzőkönyv op. cit. 79.

rable day when he gave me the Auschwitz Protocol.(...) One could somehow feel in the first instance that each word of that document was true, that it had not been written with aim of propaganda, but it was a dry and objective documentation of all the horror unimaginable to human mind."[49]

We know from Sándor Török's recollections that he first delivered the Protocol to one of the secretaries of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, since he had thought the Regent would give more credence to it once sent from the Ministry. When he realized that the secretary of state wouldn't forward the Protocol to the Regent, they[50] decided to deliver it to Regent Horthy through the vice-regent's widow, or the *„Little-Regentess"*, as she was called.[51] In her memoirs the Countess also mentions that after reading the Protocol she first gave it to her mother-in-law, who promised to forward it to the Regent. The *„Little-Regentess"* was informed through her mother-in-law that Horthy read the Protocol shocked and it was hard for him to believe that all the horror described in the document had happened.[52]

After that, even if not fully due to the Protocol, the Regent made certain steps to stop the deportation of Jews. In my opinion, both the Protocol and Soós could indirectly contribute to Regent Horthy's decision of stopping the deportation. As István Csicsery–Rónay wrote it was after reading the document that Horthy gave up his passivity and announced that he would support the resistance movement. In his work he also mentions that Adolf Eichmann – who was in charge of the deportation of the Hungarian Jews – with the help of László Endre, the Minister of Internal Affairs and László Baky, secretary of the state prepared the quick deportation of the Budapest Jews and of Jews escaped to Budapest from abroad and from rural areas of Hungary. For this purpose Baky ordered to Budapest several specially trained battalions of the Gendarmerie.[53] Then, the MFM managed to solve the problem by sending two of their staff officer members to Esztergom, where the 2. Armoured Divison was stationed.[54] Ferenc Koszorús, the Deputy Chief of Army Staff offered his services for Regent Horthy and the following morning he invaded Buda with the forces available to him. Colonel

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[49] *Gróf Edelsheim Gyulai Ilona:* Becsület és kötelesség 1. 1918–1944. Budapest 2011. 263–264.

[50] We know from the Countess' publication of reminiscences that after the German invasion a *„conspiratorial"* group of envoys was formed of several people, with members like Gyula Vállay, the President of the Hungarian Red Cross and Gizella Apor, professional chief nurse of the Red Cross, as well as Sándor Török, who agreed to appoint the countess as their main contact person.

[51] *Szenes S.*: Befejezetlen múlt op. cit. 197–198.

[52] *Gróf Edelsheim Gyulai I.:* Becsület és kötelesség op. cit. 264–265.

[53] Colonel Kudar, chief of the Detective Department of the Gendarmerie, a member of MFM, with two of his officers got a commander of one of the Gendarmerie corps drunk, who told them that their troops were stationed there in order to deport the Jews of Budapest. They recorded the whole conversation, and Kudar handed the record to the commander of the Guards and also informed Domokos Szent-Iványi.

[54] This corps served as a last reserve of the Hungarian Army and could be kept secret from Germans.

Koszorús sent an ultimatum to Baky, demanding to order back his gendarme officers to their units within 24 hours.[55] The operation of Ferenc Koszorús and of the MFM had a successful outcome, as they managed to save nearly a quarter of a million lives. Initiated by Géza Soós, the MFM also worked out an action plan for civilians, called *„The Walking Committee"*, in case the military steps did not work out. Mobile groups of two or three people were organized from young people appointed by the churches, whose task would be to walk out the deportees into neighbouring parks or squares as soon as the deportation started and do not leave the spot unless some individual violence happened. Fortunately, this act of civil disobedience did not have to be tested.[56]

The events preceding the Koszorús-operation and the ambiguity of its evaluation is discussed in detail in *Bálint Török's* study: *„Myth or facts? – The true story of the Koszorús-operation."* I also find it important to emphasize the significance of Soós' relationship with Koszorús during the world war, since their paths at many points intersected in the future too. They did not cease to collaborate during their emigration, and at the time of the tragic car accident of Soós, Ferenc Koszorús was sitting in the same car.

THE ITALIAN MISSION

In this chapter I would like to discuss the Italian mission – an event of the Hungarian History during the Second World War – which has not been fully known and studied so far. Using Soós' records, his wife's diary fragments and the writings of Bálint Török, I will show what impact the mission had on Géza Soós and his family in the narrow sense, and on the whole Hungarian Resistance Movement from a broader perspective.

Describing the events preceding the mission it must be mentioned that on November 9 the Liberation Committee of the Hungarian National Uprising (MNFFB) was established, in the organisation of which the most active role was played by Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, József Dudás, Géza Soós, and also by Count István Bethlen, the former Prime Minister. With the participation of the democratic parties (Party of Smallholders, Party of Social Democrats, National Peasants' Party) and the Hungarian Party of Communists, as well as the Hungarian Independence Movement and the Hungarian Youth Liberation Front a solid organisation was formed, thanks to which different segments of the resistance were united at last. Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was chosen the president of the Committee, and János Csorba became its vice-president. The Hungarian Independence Movement was represented in the management by Géza Soós. On 11 November

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[55] *Csicsery–Rónay I.:* A Magyar Függetlenségi Mozgalom története op. cit.

[56] *Török Bálint:* 1944. március 19. 2. rész. Magyar Szemle 5–6. (2004) 89–11. http://www.magyarszemle.hu/cikk/20040501_1944_marcius_19_2_resz (Downloaded: 30 March 2015).

1944 the military section of MNFFB was established as well. A range of outstanding officers took part in the military organizations, many of whom had formerly been connected to the Hungarian Independence Movement through the *„Breakaway Office”*. On 22 November 1944 the entire army staff was compromised because of treachery, and Zsilinszky also was arrested. Fortunately, Géza Soós was out of office that time, so he escaped the arrest. During the Arrow Cross regime MFM lost all foreign connections, including their connections with the armistice delegation in Moscow, and thus with Domokos Szent-Iványi. During that period, no answer came to their messages sent to the leaders of Soviet military units, so the resistance decided to send Soós to Italy. First, in order to establish contact with people from the West and then, through them, to get in touch with Szent-Iványi, and also, as a last attempt to find help in saving Budapest. [57]

We know from Mrs Soós' recollections that in the spring of 1944 Soós moved his wife and children to Gomba (Pest County) to protect them from the constant air raids. In the autumn they moved back to Budapest, but they could not settle, since the Gestapo was already looking for Soós by then. As it is known from Mrs Soós' journal entry of 4 December 1944, starting from October he did not spend the nights at home, as he did not want to put his family at risk. In the evening of 4 December he went home to take some clothes he needed, as the following day they were about to leave. He did not tell his wife where they were going, for how long and for what purpose. [58]

On the next day, 5 December 1944, a car was leaving from Budapest to Pápa, with sergeant and mechanic Sándor Rakovich, with lieutenant Domokos, major of the Air Force and Deputy Commander of the Institute for Air Research (RKI), who had a false warrant. With them also travelled navigator Árpád Toperczer, lieutenant Domokos' wife, their one-year-old daughter and Géza Soós. They also took with them Johannes Adolf Bentickt, a Dutch lieutenant, who escaped to Hungary from the captivity in Germany. The purpose of the company was to find a suitable airplane at the Pápa airport and fly to Italy. After arriving at Pápa they hid in a safe house and left only four days later, in the late hours of December 8. With perfect timing, using the moment when the guards were out of their posts, early in the morning on 9 December they stole a German He-111, and flying over the Adriatic Sea they headed to Italy. But before they could reach Bari they were surrounded and accompanied by American fighter planes, who made them land on the territory of a US base near Foggia.[59]

The very next day on 10 December 1944 Géza Soós wrote a letter to his wife from San Severo-Foggia, which she received only in June. Two weeks later

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[57] *Török B.:* A lélek az első – 50 éve halt meg Soós Géza. Magyar Szemle 7–8. (2003) 114–134. http://www.magyarszemle.hu/cikk/20060815_a_lelek_az_elso (Downloaded: 30 March 2015).
[58] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 19.
[59] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I. (et al):* Evangéliumot Magyarországnak op. cit. 145–146.

on 25 December 1944 he wrote another letter from Bari.[60] I managed to read his letters both in his wife's recollections and in the Ráday Archive. I consider those two letters extremely important, as the true picture of the resistance movement is shown in the first one, while the second letter describes in detail how the members of the mission were treated after landing in Italy. In the first letter Soós writes to his wife that after Pál Teleki's death Hungary was more and more driven towards German-friendly attitudes, while Soós, on the contrary, tried to strengthen the Anglo–Saxon relations, as he found it the right way. He also emphasizes in his letter that if his recommendations after his earlier mentioned visit to Switzerland were considered and approved by the government, Hungary's fate in the war could have a more fortunate outcome. In Soós' opinion, it was due to his low social rank and missing family relations that his proposals were neglected. After the German Invasion on 19 March 1944 he felt a strong urge to help in the cause of Hungary. With his former co-worker Domokos Szent-Iványi, with whom since then he became friends, they established the Hungarian Independence Movement. How the two of them shared their tasks is described in his letter as follows: *„He was the spiritual leader, in charge of the intellectual line. He worked on the involvement of the upper circles, while I used my extensive circle of friends – my Hungarian and youth relations – to build a network of contacts with the young middle-class and lower-class people."*[61] In his letter Soós also confesses that he could not share neither with his wife nor his friends or co-workers the real nature of his activities. Everyone knew only a small piece of information while the whole picture could be seen only by Szent-Iványi and Soós.[62]

In his letter sent two weeks later from Bari on 25 December 1944 he continues his story by stating that he considered the Hungarian official spirit obsolete, blaming it for not being taken seriously, despite *„I had seen clearly since the beginning of 1943 what were the steps we should take, how, and also with whom."*[63] He also mentions that the Gestapo started to look for him in the autumn of 1944 already. Since the operations in Hungary without foreign contacts were considered useless, the elder leaders decided to send Soós to Italy with one of his military companions. Further, he tells his wife the story of the airplane theft at the Pápa airport, as it was mentioned above. Then Soós describes how they fired off flares in order to show they did not come with hostile intent. A few minutes later they had to land at the US base, where several hundred soldiers were already waiting for the airplane. They were taken to a camp several kilometres away from San Severo. Soós describes in detail many of their meals, since they were immensely satisfied with the US treatment. On Sunday, 10 December 1944, the

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[60] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 21.
[61] A letter to his wife from San Severo Foggia on 10 December 1944. Ráday Archives, the Géza Soós legacy, C-230.
[62] Ibid.
[63] *Soós Gézáné Tüdős I.:* Emlékezés Soós Gézára op. cit. 21.

Hungarian group was taken to Foggia for an interrogation and then their case was taken over by the British Intelligence Service, who transported them to Bari. Soós describes in his letter that the manner the British authorities treated them was an unpleasant and sobering surprise for them in comparison with the US treatment.
I found two declarations concerning the Italian Mission in box 17 of the Soós Legacy (C-230), filed in the Ráday Archives, one of which has no date on it, while the second was handwritten on 13 April 1945 in Rome, and signed with the initials Dr. S. G.

The dateless document declares that the Secretary General and the Military Commander of the Hungarian Independence Movement were sent to Italy on 9 December 1944. In accordance with the Declaration the members of the mission were entrusted with a triple task. Firstly, to renew their connections with the Allies and the members of the Movement who had already left for Moscow. Secondly, to inform them about the fact that even though with restricted possibilities, but the Hungarian Independence Movement had been established, and they were waiting for instructions from the Soviet Military Staff. And finally, to inform the Allies about the signal the underground movement in Budapest was waiting for, in case the Staff of the Soviet Army wanted the inner forces to join them when the attack was launched. From the declaration it also became clear that the members of the mission had been staying in Bari and could have left for Rome not long ago.

The second declaration formulates in three points why they were sent on this mission by the Hungarian Independence Movement. First of all, in order to renew the lost contact with the Allies. Secondly, in order to inform the Soviet Army commanders about the code word confirmed by communists in the case of the siege of Budapest. And finally, they wanted to inform the Allies about the MFM in general. The declaration also informs us that during their visit to the Soviet Embassy in Rome on 5 March 1945, they requested to make it possible for them to return home.

During his relatively short life, Géza Soós was actively involved in many fields of activities, accomplishing several acts that played a significant role in the history of Hungary between the two world wars.

Máté Gál

THE CASE STUDY OF THE PERSECUTION OF A RURAL CHURCH IN HUNGARY AFTER 1956

ABSTRACT

The retaliations following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 have also affected the Catholic Church. In reality we can hardly detect the participation of the Church in the revolution, but the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party (Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt, MSZMP) still launched strong attacks against the religion. The essay processes a typical story of the era in the form of a case study. This case can serve as a good example for the local dynamics of the national Church policy and the repression.The location of the conflict is Eger, the center of the Archdiocese of Eger, more precisely the Primate Seminary of Eger. In my opinion, the presentation of the stories of priests may provide a new insight for the previous results. On the other hand, the research contains new information about the chief executive of the church policy, who was one of the key characters of the rural church persecution in the county.

Keyword: Catholic Churhc, Socialist era, suppression, Eger Archdiocese

INTRODUCTION

The revolution of 1956 had brought some moderation in the life of the Hungarian Catholic Church. The temporary freedom gave the green light and new impulse to the religious life and charity work in order to get more active and grow stronger.[1] We have to take into consideration that the Catholic Church had no role in the preparation of the revolution. In the spreading national and other committees priests participated only occasionally.[2] Of course, the Catholic Church welcomed the changes until the end of 1956 when the authorities wanted to restore the order of the earlier times and it caused uncertainty and headache for them. The uncertainty had been sensed before, for example, in the mentality of the main executive organ for the church policy of the state the State Office of Church Affairs (Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal, ÁEH). The office was not able to manage a solid strategy with the Ministry of Interior (Belügyminsztérium, BM), the co-workers of the office were either unable to manage their provincial tasks or they were corrupt.[3] The brigdeheads of the communist regime were weakened during the months of the revolution because the movement of the priests of peace was discretized, and therefore there some changes in the personnel of many church positions had been

[1] See: *Kálmán Peregrin OFM*: Az egyház 1956 után. In: Magyar Katolikus egyház 1956. Szerk. Szabó Csaba. Budapest 2007. 215–217.

[2] *Balogh Margit*: A katolikus egyház és a forradalom. Események a források tükrében 1955 őszétől 1956 őszéig. In: A katolikus egyház 1956-ban. Szerk. Rosdy Pál. Budapest 2006. 37.

[3] *Kálmán P.*: Az egyház op. cit. 210.

occured. The MSZMP recognized the disorder in the personal changes and the problems to be solved for controlling of the church, which received particular attention. The mentioned goal was motivated by the regulation of the Presidential Council (Népköztársaság Elnöki Tanács, NET) of the year 1957, no. 22. which was issued on March 24 1957, which intruding totally into the life of the church. Except for the smaller rural parsons and chaplain positions, every main church jobs were permitted by the government.[4] As a result, we can say that by 1958 the MSZMP was able to restore the circumstances in the church politics of the days before October 1956. The Kádár system apprehended the system stabilizer collaboration as well, thus the attitude of compromise was resided in the political concepts as the weakening of the religion. The party propagated in its regulation issued on 22 July 1958 the *„positive cooperation"* with the churches, and separated the administrative methods against the *„clerical reaction"* and the permissive fight and religious ideology against the *„intangible fight"* categories.[5] At that time, amongst the short and to the point detailed church politics relations mentioned above, the atrocities against the churches and clerks were in daily practice. In my opinion, the story which is the base of my reconstruction exposes many attitudes of the period to the reader. On the other hand, the essay through the example of the persecution of the rural church could hint at some details hiding under national tendencies. Thus my establishments could enrich our knowledge of the topic or, in some point, it can modify our preconceptions.

THE CASE OF PRIME SEMINARY OF EGER

The location of the conflict is Eger, the center of the Archdiocese of Eger. As the sources[6] mention, after the revolution of 1956 the primate seminary of Eger[7] was hit by repressive action of *„pacification"* in this problematic period.

After the revolution to control the church politics' directives besides the ÁEH's capital and executive committee of the county there was a chief executive

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[4] *Köbel Szilvia*: Oszd meg és uralkodj. Budapest 2005. 128.

[5] See more about the church politics of the Kádár era: *Balogh Margit*: Egyház és egyházpolitika és egyházpolitika a Kádár-rendszerben. Eszmélet folyóirat 34. (1997).; *Balogh Margit–Gergely Jenő*: Állam, egyházak, vallásgyakorlás Magyarországon, 1790– 2005. Dokumentumok II. Budapest 2005.; *Köbel Sz.*: Oszd meg op. cit.; *Rajki Zoltán*: Az állam és az egyház kapcsolatának jellemző vonásai a Kádár-korszakban. Egyháztörténeti Szemle 2. (2002) 74–86.

[6] The research is based on three archives. In the beginning I searched the Archives of Heves County related to Church Politics (XXXV–22/12. Group/6. Case/57) – I found parts of reports to the NCO. To make my research complete it was important for me to search the National Archives especially the documents of the NCO. The main part of the assay is based on the Security Analysed Declassified documents (XIX–a–21–d). In the church prosecution besides the NCO the Secret Service had an important role. The last part of the assay against clergymen was based on the documents of the Historial Archives of the National Services (3.1.5. –O–8934.; 3.1.9. –V–147155).

[7] In the seminar of Eger the students mostly came from Eger, Szatmár, Vác, Kassa and Rozsnyó. See more about the priest aftergrowth: *Tolnay Imre*: Papi utánpótlás Magyarországon. Katolikus Szemle XII. (1960: 2.) 145–147.

of the church policy. His work was to ensure the smooth fulfillment of the guidelines. After 1957 the regional chief was usually the same person as the local associate for the church affairs of the county (or the council).[8] This later tendency was true for Heves County and to the Archdiocese of Eger as well. In the period investigated by us, Emil Borai was in charge of the tasks of the archdiocese and the council as well. Originally he was used as an elementary school teacher, born in 1924 in Székesfehérvár.[9] He worked between 1 October 1952 and 1 October 1969 for the ÁEH.[10] The story of his career is interesting and very diverse. Before 1956 and in the second half of the 1950s, the chief executive of the church affairs earned many regards from the office as a responsible and and effective cadre. The leadership of the ÁEH saw that in the turmoil of October 1956 he *„certified a firm attitude"*[11]. The documents show us, that after 1956 Borai wanted to do his career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the leadership of the ÁEH *„as an appreciation for his work"* supported him in his goal. But the insistence of the committee was solid on their never-falling employee, thus Emil Borai had remained in his original position.[12] After the revolution and during the restoration, the chief executive quickly repositioned the movement of the priests of peace active since 1951,[13] and took action against many *„misbehaving"* church persons.[14] The cadre rose on his successes in the second half of the 1950s, and he even criticized the central directives as the sources mention. In a report from 1959 to the office, Borai openly criticized his institution and the connection between the ÁEH and Pál Brezanóczy[15], since Brezanóczy regularly double-crossed his ideas. This favorable situation has changed in the 1960s, the chief executive was criticized by

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[8] *Lukács Miklós*: Az Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal szervezeti változásai 1951–1989 között. Vallástudományi Szemle 11. (2013) 165–166.

[9] Hungarian National Archives Heves County Archives (Henceforward: HNA HCA) MSZMP Heves Megyei Végrehajtó Bizottságának ülései (22.3). 16. doboz 1967. 10. 10. – 1968. 06. 18. Végrehajtó bizottsági ülés jegyzőkönyve 1968. április 9.

[10] *Soós Viktor Attila*: Az Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal archontológiája. Doktori disszertáció kézirat. Budapest 2014. 233.

[11] Hungarian National Archives XIX–A–21–a 7. doboz 245/3/1957. Információátadás Borai Emilről

[12] Ibid.

[13] The tendency shows that in 1958 only *„democratic advanced thinker"* church personalities could end up as leaders of dean districts. HNA HCA XXXV–22/12. csoport/6. doboz/57. Egyházpolitikai vonatkozású iratok, Borai Emil 1958. január 16-i összefoglaló jelentése 1.

[14] András Madai about Borai wrote an analysis in 1962, about the methods of the Deputy Head of the Department which is a good proof for Borai's success and reputation. Besides the factors that I have collected the provincial co-worker precised in administration and cooperated with the County Party Committee, Interior Ministry and County Agitation and Propaganda Department very well. Hungarian National Archives XIX–A–21–d 21. doboz 0038/1-13 Borai elvtárs munkamódszerének jellemzése 1.

[15] Dr. Pál Brezanóczy was born on 22 January 1912 in Máramaros County in Aknaszlatina. In 1952, he moved to Eger where he was the representative of church affairs of ordinary and the Hungarian parts of Szatmár County. In 1956, he received the rank chapter. From 1959 he was Apostolic Governor then from 1969 Bishop of Eger. He died on 11 February 1972 in Eger. See Az Egri Főegyházmegye schematizmusa. Eger 1975. 158.

the ÁEH many times because of the harsh content of the reports.[16] From the report of Borai written by András Madai,[17] the chief deputy head of department, we can better observe the main criticism of the office against the chief executive. Madai wrote about Emil Borai's *„character behavior"*. After the report of the chief deputy, many times his inferior asserted fictions or denied real events and detained people based on putative events *„applied to civilian and clerical persons equally"*[18]. For Borai's scheming and his more self-contained behavior the following lines serve as proof: *„Negative in his work is that the national church politics neglected putative county interests are put in foreground."*[19] The office watched his worker thoroughly. The fact, that Emil Borai left the ÁEH, may denote that all the efforts were unable in making basic changes of his negative behaviour and he could not adapt to the new political agenda.

The conflict between the régime-loyal cadre, and between some teachers of the seminary had started right after the defeat of the revolution. Pál Brezanóczy entrusted the vice-rector István Kiss[20] to become a member of the revolutionary comittee of Eger. Brezanóczy commented this as a preventing step to avoid the bloodbath, but Borai kept the official terms saying in a 1957 report that it was necessary because of the reintegration of the church.[21] The vice-rector received a short prison punishment after the end of the revolution.[22] During the times of retaliation, the state organs started to deal with the role of Kiss in 1956, his past in the Party of the Independent Smallholders[23] and his connections.[24] Borai tried to

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[16] Hungarian National Archives XIX–A–21–d 23. doboz 007/1–83 Madai András, Borai Emil 1964 II., III., IV. negyedéves jelentéséhez csatolt megjegyzései.

[17] András Madai worked from 1 July 1958 to 31 December 1980 in the National Church Affairs Office. Group leader, deputy at the main Protestant Department from 1 August 1967. Chief Department leader from 1 June 1972, he was the main leader of the Protestant and other denominations' department, then in 1973 he was the deputy of the main department. On 1 January 1981 he was superannuated before his age. See also*: Soós V. A.*: Az Állami Egyházügyi Hivatal op. cit. 277.

[18] Hungarian National Archives XIX–A–21–d 21. doboz 0038/1–13 Borai elvtárs munkamódszerének jellemzése 1.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Dr. István Kiss was born on 7 August 1906 in Jászapáti and died on 29 June 1981 in Székesfehérvár. From 1936 theology teacher in Eger, from 1942 councillor of the bishop, from 1940 he was the director of the National Body of Chatolic Agricultural Youth Associations Crew (Katolikus Agrárifjúsági Legényegylet Országos Testülete, KALOT) and Social Advisor of the Castle County. See more: *Kápolnai Iván:* Emlékezés Dr. Kiss Istvánra. Magyar Egyháztörténeti vázlatok 1–2. (2011) 213–219.

[21] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 1. doboz 0018–2/1957. Heves megyéből jelentés az egyház magatartásáról az ellenforradalom idején. 1–2.

[22] HNA HCA XXXV–22/12. csoport./6. doboz/57. Egyházpolitikai vonatkozású iratok, BM Heves Megyei Rendőr-főkapitányság Politikai Nyomozó Osztálya, Egyházak és szekták működéséről, Összefoglaló jelentés, Eger, 1959 március hónap 27-én. 2.

[23] István Kiss got membership in the Independent Smallholders' Party (Független Kisgazda Párt) right after the World War II. On 4 November 1945 he was elected to be in the parliament on the list of the ISP. The party got majority but in the dismembering tactic, so he had to leave with the first ones in

undermine the reputation of Kiss before the ÁEH, as he wrote in one of his report about the organizer activity of Kiss during the revolution in the Catholic Youth Association.[25] Kiss escaped earlier having the helf of Pál Brezanóczy, thus he worked since 1957 as a teacher of the seminary again.[26] Borai and the national safety organs considered him still as the *„most reactive”* person who was in the close group of the vice-rector.[27] The officials concerned that Kiss was in the group of the church people protected by Brezanóczy's personally protection against the office's actions. Therefore the chief executive did everything to deteriorate the relationship between Brezanóczy and Kiss. His plan was to make retaliation against the vice-rector and suggested that the theology teacher had been behind it.[28] The mentality of Emil Borai and the events in 1956 can be partly supported by the sources of the ÁEH and the national safety. Iván Kápolnai wrote about István Kiss in his study which draw the attention to interesting data to the relation of Kiss and Borai. The study of Kápolnai makes it clear that Emil Borai received shelter from Kiss who kept in safety hiding the chief executive of the church affairs with his family in the Seminary Institution during the revolution.[29]

The problems accelerated in 1959 in the seminary. One of the main reasons was that the representative of the church affairs wanted to change some parts of the teaching personnel therefore making some changes amongst the students as well. His attempt was appropriate to the actual steps of the ÁEH. The ideas of the office was concepted in a draft, according to this the bishops and theology teachers had great influence on the associations of the catholic youth, labeling them as: *„half fascist”* and *„fascist associations”*.[30] The new state establishment already controlled the organizations mentioned above, *„(...) but the old members they*

March 1946 and worked as a representative outside the party. See more: *Kápolnai I.:* Emlékezés op. cit. 213–219..

[24] Historical Archives of the State Security Services (Henceforward: HASSS) 3.1.5. –O– 8934. Dr. Kiss István. 233–240.

[25] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 1. doboz 0018–2/1957. Heves megyéből jelentés az egyház magatartásáról az ellenforradalom idején. 1. According to Zsuzsanna Mikó from the three main directions of retaliations one happened in the catholic party organisations and movements. Thus István Kiss' real or fabricated charges are fit in the nationwide retaliation wave becasue of his work in the Catholic Youth Association. See more: *Mikó Zsuzsanna*: Magyar katolikusok elleni bírósági eljárások (1956–1963). In: Magyar Katolikus Egyház 1956. Szerk. Szabó Csaba. Budapest 2007. 143–161.

[26] HASSS 3.1.5. –O– 8934. Dr. Kiss István. 236.

[27] According to the statement Dr. István Kiss' document which was opened in 1951 and closed in 1956 was reopened in 1957 by the National Security workers of Heves County and Kiss was in sight again. HASSS 3.1.5. –O– 8934. Dr. Kiss István.

[28] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 1. doboz 0018–8/1957 Heves megyéből: Eseményjelentés 1957. május 27-én, Brezanóczy Pálról feljegyzés 2.

[29] *Kápolnai I.:* Emlékezés op. cit. 216.

[30] *Mezey András*: Az egyházkorlátozás néhány nem állambiztonsági színtere és eszköze Csongrád megyében. In: Egyházüldözés és egyházüldözők a Kádár-korszakban. Szerk. Soós Viktor Attila – Szabó Csaba – Szigeti László. Budapest 2010. 343.

stick together illegally and the theologists had a close relationship with them."[31] The clerics, the nuns and monks were involved in this created hostile group and they were standing on the side of the church as a strong *„partisan army"* against the socialist state.[32] The draft evaluated the situation as *„(…) the leadership of the organizations at the faculties of theology and the theology teachers were the most reliable generals of the bishops, the theologians were the adjutants, liaisons, couriers."*[33]

In one of the reports he mentioned the high number of the teachers and the low quality of the selection. About the current changes he wrote the following: *„It is not even a safehouse of political hooligans especially after the anti-revolution showing the high number of the third graders! and all the illiterates."*[34] Borai mentioned, in connection with the quality of the education, that all the students without graduation had been put into the so called "C" class.[35]
In reality, not only the number of students but also the quality of priest training declined in Hungary after the revolution. The bishops sometimes had to enroll pupils without graduation into their institutions and for these students it was neccessary to complete the lack of knowledge. Behind the priest training there was a conscious state strategy. The atheist propaganda and spirit in schools, as well the negative decisions of the church leaders forced by the state weakened the prestige of the clerical career.[36]

The report was a good opportunity to destroy the reputation of the seminary and it was used against István Kiss. In the characterization the following was written about him: *„An aggressive rightist cell. He is the leader of the rightist theology education meanwhile he seems bumped. He can do this because he is a close advisor of Pál Brezanóczy who saved him with success when we wanted to get rid of him from theology."*[37]

The state security, the representative of church affairs and the ÁEH removed István Kiss in 1958 from his position of vice-rector for the first time.[38] In 1959 he was moved to Szajla and he worked as a parson then he was retired on 1

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 4. doboz 008–11/1959. Feljegyzés az egri teológián történtekkel kapcsolatban 1959. november 14. 2.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Tolnay I.*: Papi utánpótlás op. cit. 145–147.
[37] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 4. doboz 008–11/1959. Feljegyzés az egri teológián történtekkel kapcsolatban 1959. november 14. 6.
[38] The Political Department of Heves County Police charged Kiss with illegal, anti-democratic press releases and this reason was enough that the rector had to leave his deputy position. HASSS 3.1.9. – V–147155. Maksa János vizsgálati dossziéja. 62.

September 1960 at the age of fifty-four, and moved to Székesfehérvár into a home for old priests.[39]

János Maksa,[40] the spiritual director of the seminary was another provincial co-worker, meaning another problem for the ÁEH like Kiss. Borai considered him as the other main leader of the *„hostile organizers"* amongst the seminarists.[41] The representative of chuch affairs did other movements against other teachers. The prayer book which was made for low clerics to use in the chapels, was another good excuse. His assumption was that in these prayer books some *„reactionist rhymes"* were found as well, and moreover these were made illegally. The production of the primer and the collection of the prayers was made by János Maksa and the reproduction was made by Márton Ritter[42] theology teacher.[43] The making of the primer was simply practical. The leadership and teachers of the seminary missed a coherent useful book for their inner teachings which was good for the first graders and contented Hungarian prayers.

The privy did the denunciation on 21 November 1959 towards the Executive Committee in the Administrative Department of the City Council of Eger against the teology teachers János Maksa and Márton Ritter.[44] The commissioner of the ministry analyzed the creation of the prayer book as the following: *„Márton Ritter, PhD, reproduced a 156 page prayer book in October 1959 on the reproducing machine of the theology school and to use this was obliged for the students of the University by Prof. József Maksa rector."*[45] After the description of the Ministry of Education in the decree 4/1959/VI . 6. §, the ÁEH missed the prior permisson in connection with the press release of the product. Borai called the attention of the Administrative Department to the *„severely critized"* content besides the abuse which otherwise *„does not fit to publication."*[46] László Gyulai, general attorney of Heves County dealt with the case of Ritter and Maksa after the accusation and started the investigation after Borai had sent the evidences.[47]

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[39] *Kápolnai I.*: Emlékezés op. cit. 216.

[40] Dr. János Maksa was born in 1902 in Ecséd. From 1958 he was in spiritual director position. See also: Az Egri Főegyházmegye Schematizmusa 1963. 55.

[41] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 4. doboz 008-11/1959. Feljegyzés az egri teológián történtekkel kapcsolatban 1959. november 14. 3.

[42] Dr. Márton Ritter was born on 24 October 1925 in Budaörs and he died on 3 August 2004 in Germany, Tauberbischofheim. From 1958 he was a teacher and prefect of the Theological College. In 1965 he was charged with *„subversive operations and reproduction of illegal press releases"* then he moved to Germany. See Magyar Katolikus Lexikon IX. (Pod–Sep). Szerk. Viczián János. Budapest 2006. 630.

[43] Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–d 4. doboz 008–11/1959. Feljegyzés az egri teológián történtekkel kapcsolatban 1959. november 14. 4.

[44] HASSS 3.1.9. –V–147155. Maksa János vizsgálati dossziéja 65.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Besides the small description of the representative of the church affairs there was a copy of the book as well.

He put the missing permission and the *„inappropriate"* content in the explanation. He tried to cover his right against the *„reactionist and anti-Soviet"* prayer book with the following sentences: *„(...) to ease the burden of our beloved and compassionate to our Russian comrades."*[48] Based on the *„Official compilation of criminal laws"* 2. point b. subpoint of 1959. year 17. Act 2 § 1, Gyulai started the investigation with reasonable suspicion of incitement, production and propagation of pressmaterial without permission.The Heves County Police offices' sub Department of Political Investigation received the case. The general attorney gave two months to investigate and originally it ended on 17 Fabruary 1960.[49]

The State Office of Church Affairs like the Office of the Internal Affairs (Belügyi Hivatal, BH) started to deal with the case of the prayer books and having *„cleaning"* the theology after Borai sent them his records. The cooperation between ÁEH and BH is proved nicely as András Madai started to work on the case on 21 December 1959 with the other investigators on a field work. From the investigation material we can see the intention of the ÁEH with the personal changes. According to the intentions of Madai, István Kiss and József Tóth theology teachers *„(...) were needed to be removed and disposed to a place which is far from the archiepiscopal see and the traffic connection is bad."* The crime of Tóth was, according to Madai's report, that he checked the text before printing.[50] During the investigation, Madai interrogated Maksa and Ritter as well.[51] Despite Borai's earlier statement, according to the record János Maksa was a victim who *„(...) read the papers during the prayers that were put in the prayer book by the reactionists."*[52] We get the whole picture of the police investigation and the interrogation of witnesses of the seminary teachers based on the documents of the State Security.[53] The theology teachers were in suspension during the case. According to the characterization they were already known because of their *„anti-democratic"* behavior. The German origin of Márton Ritter was another perfect attack surface for the Internal Affairs.[54]

According to the analysis the entire teaching staff had been responsible for the illegal press content, as they urged the two accused persons, particularly the rector József Maksa[55] who gave permission and József Tóth[56] theology teach-

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48 HASSS 3.1.9. –V–147155. Maksa János vizsgálati dossziéja 7.

49 Ibid.

50 Hungarian National Archives XIX–a–21–b 4. doboz 008-11/1959. Feljegyzés az egri teológián történtekkel kapcsolatban 1.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 According to the deposition four teachers and eleven priest students were interrogated in the case.

54 HASSS 3.1.9. –V–147155. Maksa János vizsgálati dossziéja. 59–60.

55 Dr. József Maksa was born on 18 March 1910 in Ecséd, he was brother of János Maksa. From 1942 he was theology teacher in Eger, from 1958 he was deputy of the seminar rector. From 1960 he was the rector of it. He died in 1964. See also: Az Egri Főegyházmegye Schematizmusa. Eger 1963. 55.; MNL OL XIX–a–21–b 23. doboz 007–23/1964. 1964. I. negyedéves összefoglaló 2.

er and István Kiss. A detailed and in some parts different material, like the opinion of the ÁEG, proved that Tóth and Kiss helped to put the *„reactionist parts”* into the new product from an earlier ceremonial book. The Examinig Division determined József Tóth's responsibility in the following lines. “*He regularly handles the ceremonial book. The ceremonial book is full of anti- democracy prayers which are created by János Rozmán*[57] *Jesuit monk and spiritual. It was he who wrote and placed them in the book. To write these prayers slip of papers were handed over from Dr. József Tóth to János Maksa.”*[58]

The Examinig Division could not hold the time for the process thus Sándor Nagy police captain asked for one month more elongation on February 15 until March 17, 1960, from the prosecutors.[59] To reveal the whole case it took more time because the interrogation of János Maksa was on 29 April 1960 and that of Márton Ritter took apart on 3 May 1960.[60]

The associates of the Department of Political Investigation of the Ministry of Interior (BM Politikai Nyomozó Főosztály) recorded the confessions of many seminary teachers as well. Ritter and József Maksa talked about an *„inappropriate practise”* in connection with the multiplying and releases inside of the institution. This part of the confession is interesting because it brings to light that Emil Borai had missed some permission previously. It is worth citing some parts of the confession of József Maksa 11 February 1960: "*I want to mention that after the press law had been introduced, we discussed if we should ask whether we can keep our practices or not. Then Ferenc Gál the multiplier's responsible handler said, it is not necessary because the press law mentions that the previously issued permissions are valid. In this belief in the second half of June 1959, after the press law was put in force, when we were done with the reproduction, we sent the notes to the representative of church affairs and he had no excuse and no reflection about it.”*[61]

Márton Ritter and János Maksa were sent to the county court in Eger after the investigation was over. Ritter was charged with unauthorized printing and incitement against the public order, meanwhile Maksa was charged with incite-

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[56] Dr. József Tóth was born on 6 January 1915 in Sáta and died in Tard on 20 April 1990. He was a theology teacher in Eger from 1940, a spiritual director from 1942 and he was appointed educational supervisor in 1943. He was arrested in 1948 and after being released in 1949 he got position of councellor of the archbishop. See: Az Egri Főegyházmegye Schematizmusa. Eger 1963. 69.

[57] János Rozmán OJS Jesuite monk was born on 26 June 1906 in Egyházfalu and died in Budapest on 28 June 1996. He entered the order in 1922 and was the spiritual director of the Seminary of Eger from 1943 to 1951. When the order was dissoluted, he escaped the deportation, but later was forced to leave the Archdiocese of Eger in 1952. See: *Hetényi Varga Károly*: Papi sorsok a horogkereszt és a vörös csillag árnyékában. II. Budapest 2004. 314.

[58] HASSS 3.1.9. –V–147155. Maksa János vizsgálati dossziéja. 61.

[59] Ibid. 8.

[60] The case was cleared after the questioning of Márton Ritter. HASSS 319–V–147155. Maksa János vizsgálati dossziéja. 16. 22.

[61] Ibid. 34.

ment against the public order and unauthorized publishing.[62] In the end, the court decided to release penalty of imprisonment for the unauthorized press release because of the circumstances. The county court considered the *„inappropriate practise"* as the omission of the representative of church affairs, and the extenaution that none of the defendants had had problems with the law before. The previous permisson demand should have been the task of Márton Ritter, the court decided to inflict a fine on him of 800 Hungarian forints.[63]

In the case of the agitation against the public order, the prosecution used the earlier notes of Emil Borai and the chief attorney László Gyulai. One of the problematic parts of the prayers book was on page 124, a farewell prayer to Saint Teresa. The prayer was addressed by the students in the first months of the year asking for support of the Roman Catholic Church. The court found the following part to be dubious as it might be against democracy: *„(...) may you ease the burdens of our Russian brothers, bring persistence to them in practicing faith in God and love to their fellow-mates (…) send holy priests to them who neutralize their sins and curses against the Holy Altar. Revive motherly purity and Christian virtues mostly in the young so that this noble nation be liberated from any kind of slavery and return on their own into the only herd which was entrusted as a whole to Saint Peter and his follower by the resurrected blesser (...)."*[64] According to the lawsuit documents, Borai quoted this and two other parts in his testimony. Namely *„(…) look at the spirits attracted by devil, so that they return giving up all the viciousness of false faith (...)"* on page 125. and *„(…) be mercy on those following new false doctrines or are deterred by false misbelief (...)"* on page 123.[65] The defence affirmed that prayers do not and cannot have political content. Ritter and Maksa naturally had the theological approach and in this way the *„Russian brothers"* were to be understood not from political, but religious aspect. The theology teachers said that the prayer refers to the desire for unity after the East-West Schism of 1054, and the text of the prayer cannot be altered as it is part of the Roman liturgic prayer collected listed no. 632. The personal reponsibility of Maksa had become much lessened by the fact that it was a prayer often used and he just edited this section in the prayers' collection.[66]

The Court of Justice of Eger examined the issue found on page 124. whether it may be considered as religious issue or it really falls into the category of the provocation against socialist state. The court made the conclusion that the desire for restoration of the past unity in the Catholic Church is a *„constant prob-*

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[62] Hungarian National Archives XIX–A–21–d–0024–4/1961. Egyházi személyek ellen indított büntető eljárások. 1.
[63] Ibid. 3–4.
[64] Ibid. 2.
[65] Ibid. 3.
[66] Ibid. 4–5.

lem", this way the text fits the acknowledged practice of religion.[67] The court examined the meaning of *„slavery"* used in the prayer to clarify the provocation.[68] The conclusion made clear that slavery is really everything which stands *„in the way of spiritual and clerical unity."*[69] Another obstacle to achieve unity is *„(...) how to prove certain spiritual virtues."*[70] According to the Court of Justice of Eger taking the above mentioned arguments into consideration the text is not suitable for provocation against the Socialist state order since the demand for clerical unity is *„(...) much different from political and economic tendencies."*[71] János Maksa was finally acquitted of the charge of agitation against public order, when it was also considered that the theology teacher have had no previous confrontation with the public order.[72]

SUMMARY

The mutual action of the State Office of Church Affairs and Office of State Security based on false charges obviously was not complete with the imprisonment of vicars. The stories, however, fit in the series of actions spreading over the country affecting clerical personalities. The decree of the Political Committee of MSZMP Central Committee issued on 22 June 1958 gave more space to the Office of State Security and State Office of Church Affairs to implement administrative methods against church.[73] The counter-selected prelates did not prove to be effective against the state. On the contrary to the prelates of the Rákosi era could not totally bring to heels the minor priests and the worshippers. The position of the episcopal board was further weakened because they did not dare to rely on the above mentioned lower layers.[74] The wave of retortion affecting the Catholic Church started in 1957 and in March the priests having been released previously from prison were taken back again. During the year the *„criminals"* were further searched and impeached.[75] The power deportated and mired three houndred priests by 1961. Following this process the Kádár government got a softened church for its consolodation.[76]

Due to the administrative pressure, the vicar-general had to exchange part of the teachers of the Archiepiscopal Seminary by the 1960s. Thus the state

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[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid. 6.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] *Vörös Géza*: Hálózatok, hálózatépítés a Kádár-korszakban. In: Egyházüldözés és egyházüldözők a Kádár-korszakban. Szerk. Szabó Csaba – Soós Viktor Attila – Szigeti László. Budapest 2010. 138.
[74] *Bertalan Péter*: A katolikus egyház kálváriája 1956 után. In: Magyar Katolikus Egyház 1956. Szerk. Szabó Csaba. Budapest 2007. 17.
[75] See more about retortions: *Kálmán P.*: Az egyház op. cit. 222–223.
[76] *Bertalan P.:* A katolikus egyház op. cit. 17.

tried to restore the conditions before 23 October 1956 using forced implementation of dispositions rather than imprisonment.[77] István Kiss got pensioned by 1960,[78] János Maksa and Márton Ritter were discharged for the time of the procedure, József Tóth archiepiscopal councellor, theology teacher and educational supervisor was dismissed from his teaching position in 1960. After the trial, János Maksa spiritual director was placed to Vámosgyörk and got a parish-priest position there, Márton Ritter worked later in the administration and was used as a sub-librarian in the episcopal library. [79] József Tóth was disponed to Jászkisér in 1960 and worked there as a parish priest.[80] A big role was played by Pál Brezanóczy in these stories who, as sources say, utilized his political mobility coming from his loyalty to the state in order to protect his priests as much as he could.[81] It must not be omitted that the fight against seminaries was increased by the riot of seminarists in the Central Seminary of Budapest in 1959.[82] It was a tendency of the time that the state tried to increase the control on the seminaries in order to break opposition and solidarity.[83]

The outcome of the story is surprising from the aspect that the inner, religious content of the prayers' book was finally accepted by the regime. This is a characteristic feature of the Kádár regime: the ones practicing power did not insist on the exclusive rights of explaining political contents and are willing to acknowledge the world of autonomous texts and explanations. [84]

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[77] András Mezey had similar observations in connection with Csongrád County and the College of Divinity in Szeged as well. See: *Mezey A.*: Az egyházkorlátozás op. cit. 342–346.

[78] Giving a detailed description of state security activities and conspirations against István Kiss exceeds the limit of this study, but to know the whole life history of the priest and theology teacher the information revealed in the study are indispensible. According to the documents of the state security he was removed from the position of the vice-rector because of distributing an essay considered *„reactioner", „Two towards one direction."* He got supervised by the police on 18 January 1960 and had to leave the seminary on 9 April 1960. See: HASS 3.1.5. –O–8934 Dr. Kiss István. 345.; 351.

[79] Az Egri Főegyházmegye Schematizmusa. Eger 1963. 55.; 62.

[80] Ibid. 69.

[81] A good example could be the case of István Kiss who was protected by Brezanóczy against the state repression to the very end. Ferenc Tomka also writes about a similar case who was a student of the seminary at that time. Tomka and his fellow students, who did not attend at the peace meeting, were to be removed from the seminary by State Office of Church Affairs, but Brezanóczy travelled to Budapest and gave personal protection for the seminarists. See: *Tomka Ferenc*: Halálra szántak mégis élünk! Budapest 2005. 380.

[82] The great anniversary celebrations of peace-priests were held in the middle of January 1959. The seminarists got information about it from Miklós Beresztóczy peace-priest excommunicated by the Vatican and the teachers and students were given the invitation by him as well. Finally only three students attended. The riot had serious outcome later. See: *Bertalan P.:* Ellenálló szemináristák. In: Csapdában. Szerk. Bánkuti Gábor – Gyarmati György. Budapest 2010. 113–127.

[83]Mezey had similar observations in connection with Csongrád County. See: *Mezey A.*: Az egyházkorlátozás op. cit. 343.

[84] I would like to thank my project leader, János Rainer M. for having called my attention to this paradigm exceeding religious policy.

Csongor Cserháti

ROCK UNDER THE RED STAR
THE HUNGARIAN ROCK SCENE IN THE KÁDÁR ERA
THE STORY OF HUNGAROTON

ABSTRACT
This paper shows the state of Hungarian rock music in the Kádár era, the party-state system and the system of the 3 T-s. Which options did a rock band have, how could one succeed in the system; it focuses on the story of bands, the permits and divisions, and how did the cultural policy change over the decades. The paper also describes the history of the Hungarian record company, Hungaroton, how it worked and which restraining instruments did it use against the successive rock generations. The paper presents its two emblematic leaders, Jenő Bors and Péter Erdős and their impact on the Hungarian rock scene. Many interview excerpts and recollections have been used in the making, not just one were made especially for this paper. Interviews of the system's controllers (Bors, Erdős) major musicians and song-writers (Feró Nagy, Lóránt Schuster, Sándor Csiga) of the era were incorporated into the paper.

Keywords: History of Hungarian Rock Music, Jenő Bors, Péter Erdős, Hungaroton, Kádár era

In Hungary the modern western type pop industry was born between 1956 and 1990. There were different popular genres earlier like Hungarian folk songs, radio and film songs, and the different varieties of dance songs. However the appearance of pop music, which is called beat music in the 1960s in Hungary, and from the 1970s the term rock becomes popular, and pop industry is on the rise, different musical subcultures appear that are closely related to certain music styles like hippies, beatniks, disco-style, hobos, punks: all of these exist in the Kádár era. The Hungarian popular music was only a few years behind the West, but due to the special characteristics of socialist administration, the development of pop music was different. There was a continuous tug of war between the state and the bands because of the pressure of ideology, the one way cultural system of the authorities, monopoly of record publishing and organizing events and always the latter got the worst of the bargain. The political system tried to hinder the spread of beat and rock music as much as possible: different way of thinking, copying the West and *„disintegration of the political system"* was strictly suppressed. Culture was organized by a planned economic system; the market demands, the real needs of the people were ignored by the authorities. The introduction of the dominating culture policy of the era, called the system of the *„Three T-s"* that is

promoted, tolerated and prohibited is connected to Endre Aczél.[1] Actually the system was already operating like this before his appearance, but it was him that introduced it as a general practice. The *„tolerated”* category did not exist in most socialist countries, it is one of the results of the Kádár's consolidation in Hungary.[2]

The representatives of pop music realized the importance of the category quite early. Looking back now, we can recognize that the Kádár era was in continuous war: first with the beat and then with the rock. Taking a closer look, it is obvious that the situation is somewhat more complicated. The system got into an endless cycle because of its inflexibility: new trends emerged after one another but the authorities responded with prohibition. The result was a several decade long cultural war in which the central operated system gradually was forced to retreat. Beat music had appeared in the mid 1960s. The appearance of the new fashion came very unexpectedly for the single-party state as it considered the socialist education as the only acceptable way of development, and took strict actions against the *„harmful”*, *„upsetting”*, *„West-copying”* new trend. By the end of the 1960s when they managed to get on terms with the beat generation, later called the *„Great Generation”* and integrate them into the supported-tolerated category, the second generation of rock, the *„generation of jeans”* appeared.[3] It was wilder and louder, and not so good looking as the beat had been. During the intense international years after the oppression of the Prague Spring, the authorities decided to take more severe actions: they managed to break up several bands of the second generation and large numbers fled to the west at the beginning of the 1970s. By the time the authorities managed to overcome the situation, the *„sincere and stone hard”* third generation of rock was at the doorstep of the building socialism. At this stage instead of the total oppression they tried the method of division: bands who behaved well were allowed to go to the Hungaroton[4] while the less reliable bands were neglected and prohibited. When they were more or less successful in bribing the third generation bands, they had to face the emergence of the punk. The essence of punk is denying, they were much harsher than the previous rock generations. Punk embodied everything that cannot be reconciled with the socialist ethics, and it never wanted to co-operate with the system. There was no hope to make these bands submissive, so the authorities used the method of strict prohibition again: the 1980s was the period of the punk trials. The new wave trend appeared at the same time with the punk and from the middle of the decade heavy metal began to spread as well. The authorities kept on resisting,

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[1] György Aczél (born Henrik Appel, Budapest, 31 August 1917 – 6 December 1991) communist politician, the most important ideologist and leader of cultural life in the Kádár era.

[2] *Révész Sándor*: Aczél és korunk. Budapest 1997. 136.

[3] *Sebők János*: Rock a vasfüggöny mögött. Budapest 2002. 170.

[4] Magyar Hanglemezgyártó Vállalat [Hungarian Record Publishing Company], MHV, or Hungaroton. The one and only record and music publisher company in Hungary in the Kádár era.

though with fading intensity, therefore the cultural war continued until the end of Communism.

In the popular music this period is called the Aczél-era by many. Actually Aczél hardly ever dealt with the events of the pop music world personally, since he looked down on the genre, and despised it. Péter Erdős[5] recalls the events: *„There were two ways of attitude. According to the first one, it would have been the best if pop music had not existed at all. György Aczél represented this point of view. The other suggested that one may do it but, we should not deal with it. This was the standpoint of the Ministry of Culture. So we were a lot more independent in pop music than in any other area. The authorities had their opinion on who the best piano player or opera singer was, but they had no opinion on the good pop musician. The whole pop music issue is harmful, it was suggested by authorities. (...) The general culture policy principles applied to us as well. The task of the company was to earn as much money as possible and follow the cultural policy. And if it is politics, then it has to be enforced in the case of pop music also. Not with aesthetic, but direct political content."*[6]

„Aczél detested the lighter hit-songs even more, than the social concerned beat music. He always questioned me, why I published so much junk, and seriously had a proposal to have lyrics written by serious poets, like Gyula Juhász. Stupidity and trash sometimes troubled him more."[7] said Jenő Bors[8] in an interview. The above quotations from these two people are deliberately cited as they were the leaders of popular music life at that time. Bors was the leader of Hungaroton, and Erdős had been used as an accidental pop manager conducting the Hungarian rock music scene. From their point of view they tried to find the way between the rigour of the power and the interest of the musicians, and they did everything they could. Many musicians and journalists of the era refer to them as *„servile dogs"* who already know what the party expects from them and they are happy to do their jobs.[9] However, everyone agrees György Aczél refused – as much as possible – to have a closer relationship with the *„worthless"* pop genre and he got nervous even if the topic was mentioned. In case he did not like something, he called Bors or Erdős and instructed them to move it out of the way. Yet many times it depended on the decision makers of the Hungaroton how they interpreted the Party's actual standpoint, whether they try to stretch out the bounda-

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[5] Péter Erdős (Budapest 7 July, 1925 – 21 February, 1990) solicitor, manager. he studied at ELTE the Faculty of Law. He taught at Academy of Dramatic Art from 1950; journalist for Szabadság (Szabad Nép) from 1956; co-worker of the Hungarian Radio; solicitor, leader of the press department of the Hungarian Record Publishing Company from 1968; later he was the director of PRO management Office. See: Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon. http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC03609/03872.htm (Downloaded: 22 August 2015).

[6] *Acsay Júlia – Erdős Péter*: Hogyan készül a popmenedzser? Budapest 1990. 199–200.

[7] Elég volt, nyugalomra vágyom. Interjú Bors Jenővel. Népszabadság, 1997. április 16.

[8] Jenő Bors director of the Hungarian Record Publishing Company between 1965– 1990.

[9] *Sebők J.*: Rock op. cit. 163.

ries or stay on the safe side. Bors says *„Since there were no coded standards and regulations, the reaction of the authorities could not be foreseen. (...) As the boundaries were not clearly marked, we imagined walls everywhere, even if there weren't any."*[10]

The Hungaroton, which was small and worked in primitive conditions at the beginning,[11] had a change in its aspect when Jenő Bors was appointed director in 1965. He amended the publishing policy, the operation of the company was made similar to that of the profit oriented publishers in the West. He cut back the number of socialist public education leaflets, which had been the only ones in the market and involved the popular genres that were fashionable among young people at that time. This lenient policy did not aim to make pop music more popular. The Hungaroton was never supported financially by the state, unlike other cultural institutions. The necessary money for the operation was raised from their own income. It soon turned out that the sales of classical and folk music records is not enough, this way they had to open to the popular music. The situation was the following: beat music sales made profit, which was used for financing genres that did not make money but were preferred by the cultural policy. Or as Sándor Csiga lyricist puts it: *„The Record Publishing Company was driven by business motivations, they wanted to sell records, possibly as many copies as possible. At first 20 000 copies provided the gold record, but later this number became 50 000, and even later 100 000, but they sold 500 000 and 1 000 000 copy records as well. So they sold incredible volumes of records, I believe they sold 1 000 000 of the record István, a király. The less popular genres were supported from the money called "trash tax". And of course the money went to their own pockets too, and financed the Party, so this was our charity (...)."*[12]

The Hungarian pop music's sake was the Hungaroton quite reluctantly accepted them and actually they were used as a milking cow. Probably, if the authorities had promoted classical music financially, the Hungaroton would not have been forced to publish music considered to be worthless and ideologically harmful.[13] This solution was not without danger, though: business interest opposed to ideological pressure of the higher circles. There was the possibility that the party would end it and dismiss Bors from the Hungaroton and with him, the popular genres too. Bors remembered those days: *„The Record Publishing Company was never donated, it had to live on its own income. The Ministry of Culture and György Aczél personally focused on one thing only, that is to sell as many classical records as possible and the company should remain profitable. In order to meet the requirements we had to deviate from the official scale of values and*

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[10] Elég volt, nyugalomra vágyom. Interjú Bors Jenővel. Népszabadság, 1997. április 16.
[11] The company called Qualiton before Bors.
[12] Sándor Csiga interviewed by Csongor Cserháti. Debrecen, April 2013, script. Sándor Csiga lyrics writer. Among others, he wrote songs for Dinamit and P. Box, and he worked with Péter Máté as well.
[13] *Sebők J.*: Rock op. cit. 69.

protocol list. At a certain point Aczél got fed up with the rebellious spirit and as I later got to know, they started to look for my successor at the end of 1967. Fortunately our market oriented management yielded its fruit. The export doubled and classical record sales increased by 30%, and after a while the HR manager was informed that Bors could stay."[14] The company was involved in wholesale since 1967, exclusive rights for distribution of foreign records, and the export increased as well. By the 1970s record publishing was becoming a good business and purchasing tendency was continuously growing. The first Hungarian record shop opened in 1971 with a separate section for pop music. However the increased demand still could not be met by the Hungaroton, since in Hungary was not as high level in record production as the West. Studio technology was lagging behind, an old-fashioned, four-track equipment was used for recording. Capacity problems lead to support well-known, at least ideologically neutral singers. At the beginning only the bands considered to be the biggest got the possibility of making a record due to the supply restrictions of the Hungaroton. The second rate bands were waiting for the opportunity of publishing their own record in vain. The front-line of popular music was set, the professional musicians probably wanting to stand all the demands of the party, did everything not to let the new musician generation into the front line.[15]

In the first part of the 1970s the company operated as a *„factory of short supply"*, as the musicians called it. Its capacity was only suitable for two million albums a year, even in 1974, which was only a small part of the real demand. The record factory was not interested in making youth music popular, they still regarded pop music as the money making trash financing classical music. The import was not going well either. Foreign records were considered to be fancy goods, therefore the import was not near the real demands. This situation could not be kept for a long time and it soon came to light that rock and pop music is one of the most dynamically growing business. Leaders of the genre were continuously attacked because of insufficient supply and serious shortages. Strangely enough, there was such an instance that not one single record was published for six months (between December 1971 and May 1972). The situation was made more difficult by a central party order which reduced the popular music proportion from 70% to 50%, and within that number jazz and operetta had to have their share too.[16] Because of this the export was decreasing. There would have been a need for Hungarian pop music abroad, but the Hungaroton could not satisfy the needs of the internal market either that is why many times Hungarian performers were allowed to do the record abroad.[17] The intolerable situation was finally solved by building the record factory in Dorog. The Hungaroton started to request

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[14] Elég volt, nyugalomra vágyom. Interjú Bors Jenővel. Népszabadság, 1997. április 16.
[15] *Sebők J.*: Rock op. cit. 133.
[16] Ibid. 220.
[17] Ibid.

the Ministry of Industry to build an independent modern record factory. They had to wait for two years till the internal political conditions took a favourable turn and the plan was permitted. The factory in Dorog was built in 1976 and it was a turning point in the history of Hungarian pop music. From that time on we can talk about the real popular music industry, as before the conditions were not given.

The modern factory brought the expected improvement: production reached 10 million records within a few years and 70% of this number were albums. The up-to-date and significant production capacity resulted the new, modern business principles: to make their own stars. The first stage of this new strategy was a TV programme called *Metronóm '77*. Performers favoured by the Hungaroton appeared here first. A good example of this new strategy is that a few years earlier the Hungaroton was interested in anti-commercial, the reduction of the demand, but by the end of the 1970s there was a total change.[18] The company launched an offensive campaign and using their monopoly, they took hold of the pop music leadership in Hungary and their aim was to make stars of their favoured performers. But after the opening of the Dorog record factory, the Hungaroton even more got into a strange issue. On the one hand the company carried on its western type profit orientation, which urged them to sell as many records as possible. On the other hand the record factory had to represent the ideology of the single-party state, select and sensor the published records, and keep the youth away from the undesired thoughts. The fact that the capacity problems were not solved right away, came in handy, as it could be used as an excuse in the case of problematic bands, while the preferred bands could be sponsored. The tactics brought along very special tricks. Lóránt Schuster remembered them: *„At that time vinyl records were made by pressing and plastic necessary for the records, was imported from the west. The record factories had a given capacity: they calculated how many singles and albums could be made. Of course, this number included jazz, pop and records of poems too. Then they informed the appropriate authorities and told them how much plastic granule was needed and from this material records were pressed then the recorded music was imprinted on the record. It meant that the company received a certain amount of raw material every year, and they used it for as many records as possible. There was one exception, in case they received say 100 000 Alla Pugacheva*[19] *records in a barter from the Soviet Union. To be honest, nobody was interested in Alla Pugacheva, and no one bought these records, so the labels were removed, ground the records and used them as raw material again, making 100 000 Neoton records. Finally the records were sent to the Soviet Union instead of the Alla Pugacheva that came into the country. This way the Neoton immediatelly had a gold record without having one*

[18] Ibid. 229.
[19] Russian singer, she was the most popular singer of the era in the Soviet Union

single record in Hungary. So the record factory had to make good use of a given volume and not every band had the chance."[20]

It happened many times that although publishing a rock record would have made a lot of profit for them, still the bands had to be turned down because of the content of the lyrics, or in their opinion because of the band's harmful attitude and gentler performers were preferred instead. The record factory continuously tried to tame the opposing bands. If they met certain expectations, accepted the conditions of the official culture, the Hungaroton published their record, they could participate in a tour organized by the National Organisation Bureau[21] (ORI), could get into the radio and TV. The record factory looked after their success, welfare and got protection. Some bands were not willing to accept the conditions that required compromise, so the doors were closed in front of them. The story of P. Mobil, Beatrice and Hobo Blues Band is a good example of this. First, they were labelled as the *„scandalous bands"* and later they were called the *„black sheep"*. These bands did not, or just much later got their albums published, and during their work in the socialist period they always had to fight against the authorities.

In the meantime, we can notice the change in the leading concept: Bors was a reserved type of person and did not like conflicts. One of his employee recalls: *„My boss, director Jenő Bors, for example, ate here*[22] *with a total defensive way: he just looked ahead of him, he tried to pull himself together, bowed his head to possibly hide his characteristic nose and thick glasses. Should any bold, confident person dare to address him, he told the person sligthly laughing and with apologetic gestures that he was there for a short time only and without any documents he did not know anything about the person's situation so he should get an appointment with the secretary and he would check his case, etc."*[23] Bors was educated in classical and folk music but he was not particularly interested in pop music, so he soon passed the leadership to the vehement Erdős, who became a notion in the pop world. He got a position at the Hungaroton as a solicitor and leader of the press-department in 1968. Until 1976 he dealt with pop music because it was his duty, but his position changed with the opening of the Dorog factory. He was heavily involved in the elaboration of the company policy and he

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[20] Lóránt Schuster interviewed by Csongor Cserháti. Debrecen, April 2013, script. Band leader, showman. Leader of P. Mobil (earlier Gesarol).

[21] On the tour organized by the National Organisation Bureau (Országos Rendező Iroda – ORI).

[22] In the snack bar of ORI, in the infamous Glasshouse (Üvegház), the office in Vörösmarty square. The Kádár regime wanted the six storey high building to be the cultural centre. Several institutes had their headquarters here like Interkoncert, Author Legal Consulting Office (Szerzői Jogvédő Hivatal), Hungarian Pen Club (Magyar Pen Club), Magvető Publishing Company (Magvető Kiadó), Hungarian Publishers Union (Magyar Könyvterjesztők Egyesülete), National Organisation Bureau (Országos Rendező Iroda – ORI), Hungarian Record Publishing Company (Magyar Hanglemezgyártó Vállalat).

[23] *Wilpert Imre:* Dübörög a basszus. Budapest 2006. 28. Wilpert was the leader of Hungaroton's start brand department, Péter Erdős' employee.

appeared as a *„Pop Caesar”* in the front line of Hungarian pop music. Csiga Sándor commented on Erdős' competence: *„Erdős was placed there by the Party in a way he himself did not believe that he would be able to do the job. Still the system somehow operated, Péter Erdős worked his way up and did what he was asked for. His task was to control the unruly rock musicians and to make as much money out of the record factory as possible. He promised that the country would have a world star, which of course did not come true. Though we had world famous stars, but none of them were made by the Record Publishing Company.”*[24] Erdős confidently stated in an interview in 1979: *„We will have a world star in 3 years.”* The stars of Hungaroton tried their luck in the world market, while the company intended to suppress the new trends at home, like the hard rock. Newspapers for the youth continuously criticized the record factory for giving partial opportunities to the bands, if they did it at all. The Hungaroton responded the papers in a circular titled *„A Vállalat és a rock”*. This letter clearly showed that they put certain bands aside according to a purposeful ideological concept: *„We received lyrics suitable for publishing from P. Mobil that has good musicians. It cannot play an important role in the evaluation until they play songs at their concerts that we considered unsuitable for publishing.”*[25] Later the following can be read: *„Regarding P. Mobil, the Hobo Blues Band and Beatrice the situation is different. The Company does not amend its standpoint in connection with publishing lyrics endangering the mental and moral well-being, and development of the young people and such bands are not promoted.”*[26]

The system of the Three T-s had fully developed after the *„Dorog turn”*. Until that time there was no transition, a record was either published or was not, because of the earlier mentioned capacity problems. The role of the tolerated category became stronger with serial production and division of the rock bands started. If a band stood in line, their record could be published and had a lot of opportunities. If they did not, they did not get the chance and remained in the prohibited category. It meant a constant balancing between the boundary of tolerated and prohibited, and the decision was made by the Hungaroton, and often it was made by Péter Erdős. István Cserháti sarcastically recollected the state of being tolerated-prohibited: *„We were not oppressed, we just did not get the possibilities we should have been given. We were not banned, but somehow about forty concert happened to be cancelled due to technical reasons.”*[27]

Erdős himself confessed that he had no ear for music and he was not interested in either the genre or its performers. Still, he was the supreme, omnipotent judge of the genre, whose word could not be questioned and many people

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[24] Sándor Csiga interviewed by Csongor Cserháti. Debrecen, April 2013, script.
[25] “A Vállalat és a rock, 1979. VII. 16.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Az Apostolt kifütyülték a P. Mobil rajongói. Intejrú Cserháti Istvánnal. Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 1999. március 20. 10. Musician, songwriter, keyboard player of P. Mobil and P. Box.

were of the opinion that he shaped the music life according to his own taste and managed the band that suited his and the Company's taste. Feró Nagy affirms the same: *„In Hungary there are very few musicians nowadays who have a high opinion of Péter Erdős. One of the sins of this system was that it let Péter Erdős to decide what is good and valuable for the society. The biggest problem was that we lived in a great lie during the whole era. We could not express anything contradicting the system. Moreover, incompetent people held the power and they decided what rock music should be like in Hungary."*[28] Erdős was blamed many times for his relationship with Éva Csepregi from the Neoton band. The Neoton Familia band was the number one world star nominee of the record factory. Since Erdős was the manager of the company, this relationship was incompatible with his position and he was criticised by the musicians and the press too.

The favoured position of the Neoton Família reinforced Erdős' image as the omnipotent souvereign, making the neglected bands furious. However, the image he had of himself was totally different: *„I was considered a censor. (...) I was never a censor. A censor gives or refuses permission on the basis of official competence. I always gave or refused a permit to publish according to my own belief."*[29] Hearing these, László Földes "Hobo" comments that Erdős chose this function for himself, he was not asked for it, he did it voluntarily. Practically he was the authority. Hobo recalls: *„He kept a close watch on these for his own amusement and he really enjoyed it, he was revelling in power. He enjoyed it better than sex. Personally, I did not criticise him, but his function and role he had. As I have already mentioned he was not used to the situation that someone would take up the gauntlet and start a debate on lyrics or a situation. He was superior to most of the professionals and he could make people feel it in the first moment when he started to speak or offered a seat."*[30] It was very difficult for the rock musicians to succeed in this system. If they gave in, they could easily lose their genuineness in the eyes of their fans. But if they resisted, their record was not published. The sore spot of the Hungarian rock music history is that legendary bands broke up, were torn and stopped making music without having a good quality record. The most productive period of many bands remained unrecorded because of this. Luckily, several recordings turned up later for example after the end of Communism: Beatrice (*Megkerült hangszalag – Betiltott dalok 1979*),[31] P. Mobil (*Az „első" nagylemez '78*)[32] and Hobo Blues Band (*Kopaszkutya* album)[33]

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[28] Feró Nagy interviewed by Csongor Cserháti. Debrecen, March 2013, script. Singer, actor, lyrics writer. Singer of the Beatrice and the old Bikini.
[29] Popcézár. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mam4-m9JQCQ (Dowloaded: 22 August 2015).
[30] Ibid. Földes László Hobo.
[31] (Record turned up – Banned songs 1979). Published 1993.
[32] (The "first" album '78). Published 1998.
[33] (Bold Dog). Published 1993. Strangely enough the album was banned, but the film wasn't, the film was also called Kopaszkutya and it contained the songs.

published some of their banned music. However, these records could have made their best impact if they had been published at the time when they were written.

The first national meeting of the union of rock musicians was an important moment of the era. Besides the most famous musicians, Jenő Bors, Péter Erdős and Dezső Tóth, the cultural deputy minister also attended the meeting in Tata in March 1981. The latter had a rebuking speech making it obvious to everyone what the authorities were going to tolerate in the future, what they would not tolerate and what they expected from the representatives of the rock profession. On the one hand the aim of the meeting was to crush Beatrice and on the other hand the meeting intended to control the punk bands which were about to spread. Several people considered the rock meeting of Tata as the *„betrayal of the great generation”*.[34] It is enough to look at the comments: *„These painters should not play underground on my behalf (...)”* (Ádám Török), *„They do not even have an ORI-certification”* (János Bródy).[35] The new enemy was born. By 1983 prohibition reached the level when – unlike in other parts of Europe – bands were imprisoned because of their lyrics.[36] The record factory concentrated on the new enemy, this way the rock bands, which had been regarded to be unfit for society a few years earlier, finally were given the chance. After the rock meeting of Tata, the Hungaroton began to renew itself. Earlier there was only one brand management, called Pepita, but now they have introduced new brands as well. The aim of the changes was – on paper – to meet the new, distinctive demands. The Pepita label remained and continued its goal to follow fashion and make profit. One of the new labels was Start and it would have helped newcomers to prosper, though it was not really successful. The least harmful bands could get the opportunity, or such bands that were fighting to get a chance to publish their records since the mid 1970s and were not successful until that time. The record factory took no notice of the new underground – new wave – punk bands with growing a fanbase. The other label, the Krém could even more be questioned. It would have specialized in high level bands and according to the plans, such cult rock legends could have received a record like Syrius, Taurus and Liversing. The absurdity of the era is clearly depicted by the fact that these bands would have been ready to publish a record at the end of the 1970s (many of them did not even exist by 1981), but it was the Hungaroton that rejected them at that time. The introduction of the western type management, terminating monopoly and the actions taken to create a competition, were all basically just pretendence: the new brands continued to belong to the scope of Pepita management, and the final decisions were made by the very same people. As János Sebők rock journalist put it in the newspaper *Magyar*

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[34] *Sebők J.*: Rock op. cit. 290.; *Pozsonyi Ádám*: A Lenin-szobor helyén bombatölcsér tátong – A magyar punk története (1978–1990). Budapest 2003. 91.
[35] *Pozsonyi Á.*: Lenin-szobor op. cit. 91.
[36] Lawsuits against CPg, Mos-oi and Közellenség bands. *Pozsonyi Á.*: Lenin-szobor op. cit. 115–126.

Nemzet: *„(…) the signboard was exchanged, but the shop presumably remained the same.”*[37]

Although Erdős was removed from the Hungaroton in the mid 1980s, he got the leadership of the Pro Manager Office that also belonged to the Company. He was less successful there, but his attitude did not change even around the end of communism. *„I won't publish what I don't agree with (…)”*[38] said Erdős in an interview made at that time. After the end of Communism Jenő Bors was asked how he could watch Erdős' actions, his totally subjective judgements, and decisions driven by his feelings and not do anything: *„Péter Erdős was a very contradicting, complex personality. Of course, all of us are, only to a different extent. He was an incredibly creative person, I should say, he was a genious of the marketing at a time when marketing did not exist in Hungary at all. Yet, almost all the negative things you mentioned are true – that is, he loved power, he was agressive, consciously provoking and sometimes he deliberately hurt people. It was part of his concept. He thought, for the sake of the concept, he had to make the artists feel, we are the decision makers, and sometimes he allowed more than I would have allowed.”*[39] The Hungaroton did not really change its business policy until the end of the Socialist era. In the middle of the decade the symptoms of the pop market decay were visible: those who were acceptable for the record factory, were getting old, and those who represented the new generation in a genuine way did not get the opportunity.[40] The profession started to show the signs of becoming business oriented: the existing method could not been carried on, so by the end of the 1980s strictness was loosened. At that time Bors' main objective was to take the company into a big western company called EMI which would have helped in the distribution, but his retirement in 1990 hindered him.[41] The company was privatised after the end of Socialism and at the same time a period in the life of the Hungaroton has come to an end.

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[37] *Sebők J.*: Rock op. cit. 297.
[38] Popcézár. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mam4-m9JQCQ (Dowloaded: 22 August 2015).
[39] Amit mindig meg akartunk tudni Bors Jenőtől. Z Magazin, 1997 május. 62–63.
[40] *Sebők J.*: Rock op. cit. 370.
[41] Amit mindig meg akartunk tudni. Z Magazin, 1997 május. 62–63.

Júlianna Orosz

LIFE STORIES OF TRANSCARPATHIAN HUNGARIAN WOMEN – REMINISCENCES OF THE SOCIALISM*

ABSTRACT

The Transcarpathian history of the 20th century lacks women's stories. We can get only limited number of information from the archives and libraries about women. There is little source of written material connected to women's activities and there every day lifes. In the past decades the oral history research methods has become increasingly recognized, which gathers information about past events by making interviews. What kind of information can we get from the narrative interviews? This is a question, wich has long been examined by scholars, untill today. This study presents the life of three Transcarpathian Hungarian women, with the help of the oral history methodology. My goal is to provide insight into difficult women's history through analysing their life-journey.

Keywords: Women's history, oral history, Transcarpathia, Socialism

INTRODUCTION

The 20th century history of Transcarpathia was very diverse, as during this time there were a number of dramatic turns, the territory had been under new political concepts many times. After the First World War, the territory was separated from the mother country and connected to Czechoslovakia, and after the Second World War it was united with the Soviet Union. Thus, a new period in the life of Hungarians in Transcarpathia had begun, the lingering Soviet era. According to a 1946 census, the population of Transcarpathian Hungarians after World War II suffered great losses. While in 1941 they reported 233,840 ethnic Hungarian inhabitants, in 1946 there were only 66 000 people.[1] The population decrease was caused by the deaths on the fronts, the mass feeing and the deportation of Hungarian men in 1944.[2] Partly due to this the role of women in society and family life changed significantly. In many places, women became the breadwinners and the postwar labor shortage brought a significant increase in the number of female employees.

There are very little data about ordinary people, especially about women, and mostly only general information is available in archives and libraries. Very few written sources discuss their lives and activities. Women experienced the ter-

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[1] *Molnár József – Molnár D. István*: Kárpátalja népessége és magyarsága a népszámlálási és népmozgalmi adatok tükrébe. Beregszász 2005. 9.

[2] *Molnár J. – Molnár D. I.*: Kárpátalja népessége op. cit. 11.

ror of the World War and following events, just as everybody else, yet the ordinary woman, as a historical personality is missing from the Transcarpathian history of the 20th century. To see the community life of the Transcarpathian Hungarian women, personal life stories, narratives must be collected and analyzed. This study undertakes the examination the lives of three Transcarpathian Hungarian women, using the oral history methodology. The genre of oral history research has been increasingly recognized in recent decades and has become one of the most common methods of microhistory research, which collects information about past events and lifestyle via interviews. It appeared around the 1920s, however, it was truly recognized and became widespread only in the 1960s and 1970s.[3]

Initially, the oral history research received a lot of criticism; however, making life interviews has since been recognized and gained popularity as a method of research for social sciences. There are oral history centers and archives in a number of countries, where efficient activity takes place.[4] The interviews are used successfully in several disciplines, including sociology, ethnology, history, anthropology, some differences occur only in the forms of application. To this day, many people question the reliability of oral history sources. Of course, sources of this kind need to be carefully revised, as well as the written ones. It is important for the researchers to compare the narratives with other types of sources, and to use them only afterwards.[5] In addition, we should remark, that the representatives of the genre are not aimed to prove what had been said, but to share the experience. Using the method of oral history we cannot be sure that those things had really happened, it rather helps us to understand the way that particular person experienced the events and what they think about what happened to them.[6] According to the historian Gábor Gyáni: *„The oral history provides information on the events of the past, which does not necessarily explain it, but is important from the point of view of understanding the past.”*[7]

Hereinafter I would like to present the result of the analysis of interviews, which I made in a Transcarpathian settlement, mostly inhabited by Hungarians, in August and September, 2014. It is important to stress that during the research interviews were made not in structured, but in unstructured (narrative interview) and semi-structured interview sections. I asked the interviewees to tell about their lives, which I recorded with an IC recorder. I tried not to interrupt the narrative with my additional questions, because sometimes the silence brings

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[3] *Kovács Éva*: A narratív módszertanok politikája. Forrás: szépirodalmi, szociográfiai, művészeti folyóirat 43. (2011: 7−8.) 3–4.
[4] *Vértesi Lázár*: Oral history. A szemtanúként elbeszélt történelem lehetőségei. Aetas 19. (2004: 1.) 158.
[5] Ibid. 163−164.
[6] *Bögre Zsuzsanna*: Személyes történelem. Aetas 22. (2007: 2.) 224.
[7] *Gyáni Gábor*: Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélése. Budapest 2000. 136.

deep and sometimes traumatic memories to the surface. However, at the end of the interview I asked some specific questions in order to clarify the story.

PROCESSING OF THE NARRATED LIFE STORIES

What can a narrative interview bring into the light? A deeper analysis of a narrative interview can help us understand an average yet very difficult fate of a woman, thus revealing and explaining similar stories. Memories, which we reveal to others, are being presented in the form of a consequent story. While analyzing the story of somebody's life we should consider the selective nature of a person's memory, because one usually remembers only the most significant facts and events. Moreover, the speaker sets up priorities among the memories, which tend to change over time. There are multiple methods for processing the narrated stories, but due to the uniqueness of every story they cannot be stereotyped. The researcher is alone with the analysis and should decide how to apply the available techniques.[8] Life stories can be generally divided into eight stages: early childhood, school age, teenage years, young adulthood, the working years, and starting a family. A person's life is full of turns and developments, which must be analyzed to define the changes the one undergoes over the years.[9] According to Péter Niedermüller, the fact that social sciences choose ordinary people as a subject for research, allows the understanding and interpretation of people's lives.[10]

„WHAT WE WENT THROUGH WAS WAY TOO MUCH"[11]

Ilona K.[12] was born on January 30, 1928, in an average family, she was the eighth child. Her father worked on the railway, while her mother was raising the children and doing the household work.

During the twenty years Czechoslovakian power (1919–1939) there were significant changes in the Transcarpathian education system. There were various school types of schools; there was a category of the so-called public schools: these were the four-year elementary schools, after graduating from which students could enter the four-year middle school or a high school.[13] Ilona got 8 years of education, in a Hungarian language middle school, where Czech language was taught. According to her, she was a good student: *„I studied for 8 years, after the 4th year the teachers wanted me to go to high school or I could go to the middle*

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[8] *Bögre Zs.*: Élettörténeti módszer elméletben és gyakorlatban. Szociológiai Szemle 13. (2003: 1.) 156–157.

[9] Ibid. 159.

[10] *Niedermüller Péter*: Élettörténet és életrajzi elbeszélés. Etnographia 99. (1988: 3–4.) 377.

[11] Ilona K. (Date and place: 30 September 2014, Bátyú).

[12] The original name of the interviewee was changed to preserve the anonymity.

[13] *Fedinec Csilla*: Magyar kultúra a két világ közötti időszakban. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009: történelem, politika, kultúra. Szerk. Fedinec Csilla – Vehes Mikola. Budapest 2010. 124.

school. Since I had only excellent grades, they wanted me to go to a secondary school, but I told them that I didn't want to go, I wanted to farm."[14]

This attitude is understandable, since most of families in the region made their living by animal breeding and agriculture. Ilona's family had 25 acres of land before the introduction of the collective farm system, they possessed livestock as well: *„So many fields we had, 25 acres, so that after school in the afternoon we went to the field. We had to work a lot (...) we had a farm-wagon and horses then. As long as my father was alive, we had four horses, cattle and 30–40 geese. I worked so much during my younger years that it is a miracle that I'm still alive."*[15]

My interviewee's father died in 1944, leaving her an orphan at the age of 12. After the early death of their father, the elder brothers completed military service, so their mother had to take care of the children. According to her words, the situation was very difficult; they were very poor and had to work a lot. *„I have finished 8 classes; we lived at our neighbors' and the only thought that our mother was able to support us was that she was feeding four people. Two of them were from the village council and two teachers. They had lunch here and paid for it. My mother was able to raise a pig, we also had a cow, we fed four people, and that is how we lived."*[16]

The Second World War left traumatic memories in the mind of every Transcarpathian. Germany and its allies were driven out of the territory of Transcarpathia and Ukraine, but it demanded great sacrifices.[17] The Eastern Carpathians operation took place in September – October, 1944. On 18 October, 1944 the Soviet army crossed the Carpathian Mountains, invaded Mukachevo on October 26, Uzhgorod on October 27, the next day they managed to occupy Chop, thus they expelled the invaders from the last Ukrainian settlement.[18] My interviewee remembers the bombing of Chop very well, as the settlement where she lived is only 24 km away from the town. In the village people made bunkers on their own yard, or rushed to the nearest neighbor during the bombing*: „When the Russians came through Chop, we went to the bunker, because there was a bombing and we always ran away from home in such cases. We opened the doors and windows and then went to the basement to Ernő O. People made bunkers, but there weren't men in our family, we were only three women, so we went there, but when the bomb was thrown near Szernye, everything was shaking (...)."*[19]

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[14] Ilona K. (Date and place: 30 September 2014, Bátyú).
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] *Oficinszkij Román*: Kárpátalja kérdése a második világháború végén, 1944–1945. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009 op. cit. 209.
[18] Ibid. 214–215.
[19] Ilona K. (Date and place: 30 September 2014, Bátyú).

After the Russian takeover a new era began in Transcarpathia – the Soviet system, which was being formed from autumn 1944 till the 1950s.[20] Meanwhile, the Communist Party took the power, accomplished the collectivization and destroyed the *„enemies of the people"*[21]. On November 19, 1944, the Transcarpathian Ukrainian Communist Party was formed in Mukachevo, which adopted the resolution of the *„Reunification of Carpathian Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine."*[22] On June 29, 1945 the Soviet–Czechoslovak treaty was signed, which completely attached Transcarpathia to Soviet Ukraine.[23]

The malenkiy robot (*„little work"*) of 1944 is vividly present in the memories of Transcarpathian citizens, it is hard to find a family whose members were not directly involved in this event.[24] A few years after the tragedy the Soviet power thought it was about time to frighten the generation which survived the 1944 deportation because of their young age. For this reason, the Transcarpathian Hungarian soldiers were declared unreliable, and therefore could not perform military service. Instead, they were taken to the Donbas coal basin, where they had to work in coal mines for three years.[25] The first team was launched in the spring of 1947; the age groups included those born in 1926, 1927 and 1928.[26] The future husband of Ilona K. was born in 1926, so he was conscripted as well. This is how she remembers the events of that time: *„The Russians came and gathered people to the camp. He was not taken to the camp, but had to go to work to the Donbas mines, so he was hiding for a while, he was my boyfriend at the time (...). There was a small place for him in the house, he was hiding there, and one Sunday morning the militia came while he was bathing and captured him. But he slapped one of the militiamen in the face, then escaped and was hiding, first in Szernye, then in some other places with his friends. And then they came to me once asking, where is Feri? They came here; they were looking for him in our house. They went to look in the attic, when they were coming down, they noticed he was lying in the wagon over there. I did not know he was there. He was arrested, taken to*

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[20] Csanádi *György*: Sorsfordító évek sodrában. Fejezetek Beregvidék történelmi múltjából. Ungvár 2004. 5.

[21] *Oficinszkij R.*: A szovjet időszak sajátosságai Kárpátalja történelmében. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009 op. cit. 216.

[22] *Kálmán Móricz*: Kárpátalja sorsfordulói. Budapest 2001. 128.

[23] *Botlik József – Dupka György*: Ez hát a hon…(Tények, adatok, dokumentumok a kárpátaljai magyarság életéből 1918–1991). Budapest–Szeged 1991. 53.

[24] In November 1944, all Hungarian men between 18 and 50 had to appear at the village hall with their identity card, with one week's food, for three days of work. Men were taken to camps, first to Solyva and Sambor, then to Syberia and other areas of the Soviet Union. It is estimated that more than 40 thousand Transcarpathians were taken to camps, with terrible conditions. From 1946 they were gradually letting the survivors go home but about 70% of deportees never returned home. *Botlik J. – Dupka Gy.*: Ez hát a hon op. cit. 55–57.

[25] *Molnár D. Erzsébet*: A szovjet rendszer kiépítésének korszaka a kárpátaljai magyarság kollektív emlékezetében. Mediárium 5. (2011: 3.) 49.

[26] *Kovács Elemér*: Élőlátók. Ungvár–Budapest 1993. 107.

Uzhgorod, and then after or 3 or 4 months was sentenced in Lviv (...) then took him to Donbas (...) but he escaped. Many were taken there, but many of them escaped back home."[27] From 1947 to 1949 12 thousand young people were sent from Transcarpathia to Donbas. Many of them escaped and were hiding instead.[28]

The next step of the Soviet system was the collectivization, the establishment of the collective farm system. Ilona K. said that they were forced to give their lands in 1948, afterwards she worked there as a milkmaid. This is how she remembers her job: *„I was milkmaid, I had 27 cows. I milked them by hand; sometimes I milked 320 litres a day. I milked three times a day. I also had to feed the cows; we received three bags of food which we soaked in water. I had to carry 40–50 buckets (...). We also received a lot of carrots, cows were given 30 kilos. We prepared it for the winter."*[29] In addition, she worked on the kolkhoz fields, after a while she became a team leader, but did not receive salary for her work, only 150 grams of wheat every day. She also worked for three years in the village hospital as a cleaning woman.

In 1951 she got married. Her husband worked at the railway for a while, then he also joined the collective farm as well. They had three children. Her husband's mother did not approve their relationship, *„(...) my mother-in-law did not like me, but it did not matter to my husband, he wanted to marry me anyway. So we did not have a wedding party, only the two families were there, but later she liked me more (...)."*[30] With hard work, in 1957, they built their own house. At that time her husband began to drink alcohol, so Ilona had to do a lot of work. After many years of work, my interviewee became a strong and determined woman. Ilona K. retired in 1983, her husband in 1986, and he died two years later. This is what she said about the current situation in the country. *„I hear there's a war going on, you know that this is a big problem."*[31]

„THE WORLD WAS DIFFERENT"[32]

My next interviewee, Rozalia S. was born on 17 February 1932, in a Protestant family. Her father was a farmer, her mother was a housewife. There were three siblings, two girls and a boy. Because of the war she studied at school for only five years. The family had ten acres of land, so they worked in the fields from their childhood. *„They put us on the wagon, and we went to the field to work, this*

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[27] Ilona K. (Date and place: 30 September 2014, Bátyú).
[28] *Oficinszkij R.*: Telepítéspolitika. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009 op. cit. 252.
[29] Ilona K. (Date and place: 30 September 2014, Bátyú).
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Rozália S. (Date and place: 28 August 2014, Bátyú).

is how we grew up."[33] Her father had a limp foot, which is why he was not taken to the army during the 1944 deportations.

The outbreak of World War II brought a critical period to the lives of almost all Transcarpathian Hungarian families. This is how Rozalia S. recalls the occupation of Chop *„It lasted more than two weeks. There were battles around the town, and every night they came and sent 3–4 soldiers into every house, and we had to give them food and drinks, wash their boots, dry their clothes. They kept coming to our house as well."*[34] At the time of the bombings everybody went into the bunkers. *„At four o'clock people left their houses and went to the shelters (...). We took everything with us, my mother put our clothes, documents and everything necessary in a bag. In the middle there was a large space, and we lay or sat around it next to each other. This went on until the occupation of Chop was finished."*[35] During the liberation of Transcarpathia the occupation of Chop turned out to be a difficult task, the city was strong, three hundred soldiers from the Ukrainian special troop No.17 lost their lives here.[36]

The Russian occupation is still a vivid event in the memories of the eyewitnesses: *„(...) we were looking out of the window when the Russian soldiers came, we had to give them bags, they went to the attic and took whatever they wanted. We couldn't do anything about it. They wanted to take our cow, but the three children began to cry, my brother embraced the cow's neck and started yelling, one of the Russian soldiers was so sorry for him, so they didn't take it. There were good people among them as well, just like in modern times: there are good people and there are bad people."*[37]

In the second half of the 20th century the Transcarpathian villages underwent a complete transformation. The state restricted, and later completely abolished the private property. In 1946 there were only two kolkhoz farms in the area, however, by the beginning of 1950 this number increased to 532, they included 82% of the country farms and 84% of the agricultural lands.[38] This is how Rozália S. recalls the confiscation of the private lands and agricultural goods*: „The kolkhoz was established, everyone had to give their lands, the crops, all the equipment, they took everything. Everything had to be given away; we were making some money in the kolkhoz, that was all we had."*[39] The father of my interviewee died in 1948 when she was only 16 years old, since her brothers were

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Oficinszkij R.*: Kárpátalja kérdése op. cit. 215.
[37] Rozália S. (Date and place: 28 August 2014, Bátyú).
[38] *Oficinszkij R.*: Mezőgazdaság. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009 op. cit. 277.
[39] Rozália S. (Date and place: 28 August 2014, Bátyú).

younger, she had to help her mother support the family: *„My mother and I worked hard; she was the farmer and the housekeeper as well.”*[40]

People who were unwilling to give their property to the kolkhoz, and were wealthier than the average, possessed more land and property were declared kulaks. Thousands of people were put on trial with no particular reason, and in most cases were sentenced to three years of imprisonment and confiscation.[41] My interviewee confirmed this fact: *„(...) my uncle was declared a kulak, he was the father of Éva Sz. He was imprisoned in the Mukachevo castle for eight years because he had a lot of land.”*[42]

From 1949 Rozália S. worked at the kolkhoz as well, she was digging, gathering the harvest, and after a while she became a team leader, *„(...) they said that if you have cleaned one hectare, you would receive three hundred kilograms of the crop. Every day we reaped 80 acres, at four o'clock we were already awake.”*[43] In 1952 she got married. Her husband was a tractor driver in the kolkhoz. From that year young Hungarian men were obliged to perform military service for three years.[44] My interviewee's husband was drafted into the army as well: *„(...) when Géza was taken to the army in 1952, they were gathering them in Szolyva, they took him to the army for three years. I had lived with him for only one month and two days as a wife.”*[45] During that time Rozália S. worked at various places. *„I worked in Berehove, just to earn money. There had been jobs available, I worked at a construction site, in the sewing factory, just to have money for living, because people were hardly paid by the farm: we received 200–250 grams of wheat.”*[46] After her husband returned, they had two daughters; she had worked only as a housewife since because her husband did not let her work.

Religion has always played a very important role in the life of Rozália S. At her older age she was a presbyter for eight years, and she was a cantor for eleven years. The atheism was the official state doctrine in the Soviet Union. There was strong atheist propaganda, in education as well. Priests were persecuted, churches were closed, and the property of the church was confiscated. In fact, the teachers at schools were obliged to tell schoolchildren the church was anti-scientific.[47] This is what interviewee said about the anti-church propaganda:
„I had proper Eucharist, 32 of us were born in 1932, we had the Eucharist given by the priest in 1946. My daughters told the catechism to the presbyters (...). There was a prohibition; they did not want the Church. Those who were the

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[40] Ibid.
[41] *Csanádi Gy.*: Sorsfordító évek iop. cit. 192–194.
[42] Rozália S. (Date and place: 28 August 2014, Bátyú).
[43] Ibid.
[44] *Molnár D. E.*: A szovjet rendszer op. cit. 49.
[45] Rozália S. (Date and place: 28 August 2014, Bátyú).
[46] Ibid.
[47] *Oficinszkij R.*: Állam és egyház. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009 op. cit. 287 –288.

members of Komsomol, or pioneers, communist party members were not allowed to get married in church. At the schools teachers gave worse grades to those who went to the church (...). Our church was never destroyed, but we weren't allowed to sing in the streets. Church bells were pulled only when somebody died, but the communists were not buried by priests."[48]

The husband of Rozália S. died in 1991. Since her retirement she spends time with her grandchildren, takes part work of the local pensioners' club. For example, they established the local village museum where old tools, furniture, dishes, photos and other interesting objects are exhibited, which try to bring people closer to their history. The members of the pensioners' club choir perform at various events in the village. The interviewee ended her story with the following words: *„It was a different life then. Everything was different, but there were good things too. People understood each other better in the old times."*[49]

„NOBODY CAN WISH TO ENDURE WHAT HAPPENED AT THOSE TIMES"[50]

Emma I. was born in 1934. Her family had been seriously affected by the war because her father was in the army for eight years, took part in the first and the second world war, besides he was taken away to the Samborsk camp in the autumn of 1944. Her mother was a housewife, was raising four children. About the difficult childhood she told: *„I had a difficult childhood, I don't even want to remember those times. I do not even like to think about it, because I was the eldest child in the family, and I did the hardest work (...). I was a very little girl, but I had to work. I went to the field to dig, gather beans, potatoes, helped the others."*[51]

The events of World War II live vividly in the memory Emma I.: *„(...) when the bell was ringing in the church, because that's where it was installed, everyone had to leave their houses. We had to leave the door open, and then we went to hide under the bridge. While we were under the bridge, a huge bomb was dropped nearby, and everybody was told to make a bunker in the yard at home, because a bombing was about to come."*[52] There wasn't a man in the house, so her mother dug the bunker herself, and the children helped her. They had a very hard time during their younger years: *„There were times at my young age when we had supper in the evening and in the morning we had no food in the house. Mother told us that we had nothing more to eat (...). Sometimes went to the fields to gather sunflower and other plants, we carried it on our backs. We put the*

[48] Rozália S. (Date and place: 28 August 2014, Bátyú).
[49] Ibid.
[50] Emma I. (Date and place: 1 September 2014, Bátyú).
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

plants to dry so that we could make a fire later. Such a miserable childhood we had."[53]

During World War II the Jewish people suffered the most in Transcarpathia. According to the 1941 census about 14% of the region's population, which is 115,908 people, belonged to the Israelite community. The territorial distribution of the Jews was mixed.[54] According to Emma there were many Jewish families in the village, many of them became victims of the deportations. This is how she recalls her memories: *„I was in the first grade when the Jews were taken away; I was sitting next to a Jewish girl. A man came to our class and asked who Mariska P. was. She was a little girl; they made her stand up and took her away."*[55] The approximate number of deportees in Transcarpathia was around 85–87 thousand people, most of them were taken to the Auschwitz extermination camp.[56]

Emma I., just like the other two interviewees, identifies the beginning of the Soviet era with the entry of the Russian troops, this is how she remembers it: *„(...) when the Russians came, they cleared everything from the yard, collected everything from the attic, took away everything and left nothing."*[57] After her father returned he started working at the kolkhoz. But the family's situation did not get better until the early 1950s, *„(...) great misery was then, they paid 26 rubles for pasturing the cattle, running through the village, through the railway, often barefoot because we did not have shoes. Oh, God save everyone from such a life, we also brought him lunch, prepared by our mother. Life was very difficult and it is hard to talk about it now (...)."*[58]

After the school years she began to work in the office of the village council. But she did not like to sit in the same place, nor did she like the other employees who were a lot older than she was, so with great difficulties, but she finally achieved that the president let her go from work. After that she had to study to become a tractor driver. At that time women's teams were organized, they were trained to become tractor drivers; in the soviet times women often had to do men's work. According to the historian Eszter Zsófia during the socialist period female tractor drivers were trained to become a symbolic example which was supposed to prove women of being equal with men and being able to perform the same work with the same performance.[59] My interviewee recalled this as follows: *„We studied and worked on tractors. There was an older woman, we worked as her assistants. And there was a large garage, they showed us all parts*

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[53] Ibid.
[54] *Strak Tamás*: Holokauszt Kárpátalján. In: Kárpátalja 1919–2009 op. cit. 184–185.
[55] Emma I. (Date and place: 1 September 2014, Bátyú).
[56] *Strak T.*: Holokauszt op. cit. 190.
[57] Emma I. (Date and place: 1 September 2014, Bátyú).
[58] Ibid.
[59] *Tóth Eszter Zsófia*: Kádár leányai. Nők a szocialista időszakban. Budapest 2010. 58.

of the tractor in the cold garage, then the teacher explained everything, later we had to practice the repair work. Oh, I cried so much, and my mother cried with me, I never thought that I would have to do this kind of work at such a young age.”[60] It is clear from the above passage that earlier it was not usual for women to do men’s work, the traditional female roles were the normal ones.

Emma I. got married in 1956. Her husband worked at the railway for forty years. During the school years it was mandatory for all students to enter the Komsomol youth organization, but getting married at the church was not allowed. The registration services, including birth, marriage and death entries were taken away from the Church and given to the public authorities. This made possible to perform the wedding ceremony outside the church.[61] This is what she told me about their wedding day: *„(...) there was no great feast, the brides went by foot along the street. There was accordion music, it was simple, but it was nice. I didn’t have a bouquet from shop, mine was made from peonies, the clothes were borrowed (...). When we got married, I was working at the village council. We signed the documents in the office, then went to the church, when we came back there was a large delegation in the front of the office. I told Pista that be something bad was about to happen because Komsomol members were not allowed to get married in church, but when we got there the first secretary of the Komsomol came to me, kissed me, and congratulated. I was relieved.”*[62]

After the marriage they managed to overcome the difficult financial circumstances. She worked at the sovkhoz[63]: *„I worked there for four years, we had to take care of the crops, but it was good, because they paid for the work, so we could support the family.”*[64] The parents helped them to build their house. Meanwhile, their two children were born, but unfortunately only one of them survived to adulthood, which was a huge trauma in Emma’s life. Despite the difficult younger years, the child’s death, and later the death of her husband, she still works: *„Oh, it was a miserable, hard life, but it is over, thank to goodness, but at that time it was easier to find a job, unlike now, if somebody wants to work, they have to travel abroad.”*[65]

As a conclusion, we can say that radical changes have taken place in the life of Transcarpathia, in 1944 the entry of Soviet troops resulted in a new political, social and economic life in the region. It is important to note that during the Soviet era, people lived under the pressure of ideology**,** people could not speak openly about the changes, and in fact, it is not certain that the available written

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[60] Emma I. (Date and place: 1 September 2014, Bátyú).
[61] *Oficinszkij R.*: Állam és egyház op. cit. 288.
[62] Emma I. (Date and place: 1 September 2014, Bátyú).
[63] Sovkhoz (Russian: szovjetszkoje hozjajsztvo–soviet agriculture) State-owned farms in the Soviet Union.
[64] Emma I. (Date and place: 1 September 2014, Bátyú).
[65] Ibid.

sources give a true picture of the event of that time. But this era is extremely interesting, because one can talk to those people that lived during the period of communism. This study presents the lives of three Transcarpathian Hungarian women of the same generation. During the examination of their life stories a lot of similarities can be observed. What are the narrative interviews good for? These individual stories provide interesting and valuable information about past events, make history more colorful and combined with the official documents also make it easier to understand it.

Tímea Kulcsár

ASPECTS OF STRATEGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CARPATHIAN EUROREGION

ABSTRACT

The Carpathian Euroregion is a comprehensive structure that is the manifastation of cross-border cooperation. Euroregion comprises the area of five states, developing institutional structure and legislative framework to act. At the contemporary stage of relations development between Ukraine and EC, the question of the functioning Euroregions, as a display of cooperation across boundaries, is of great concern, and particularly the existence of the Carpathian Euroregion is an important element intended to assist cooperation between the five neighboring countries. For that reason the observation of the Carpathian Euroregion as integral structure and its functioning is a matter of current interest.

Positive outcomes of vicennial association existence are improvement and establishing of closer ties between boundary regions, infrastructure development, budgeting of programs worked out for Euroregions refinement by specific EC programs. But there are also a number of negative issues consistently, such as low level of financing and Ukrainian government concernment in Euroregions, slow-speed implementation of legislation etc. The formation process and institutional structure of Carpathian Euroregion are defined in investigation. The objective stocktaking of the activity of the Carpathian Euroregion has been carried out, and aspects of institutional forms development of Ukrainian–Hungarian Euroregion cross-border cooperation are defined.

Keywords: Carpathian Euroregion, cross-border cooperation, Ukraine

Nowadays on the European continent the priority belongs to the idea and practice of Europe of regions, not Europe of states, that is why the system development of Euroregions is extremely important for effective cross-border cooperation of frontier regions of two neighbouring countries – Ukraine and Hungary. Carpathian Euroregion is one of the main, as well as the highest rank institutional form of cross-border cooperation for frontier regions of Ukraine and Hungary (in which also take part the frontier regions of Poland, Slovakia and Romania) and the first Euroregion that was founded in the Central European region.

Carpathian Euroregion was founded as the coordinative institution by interregional association of authority institutions with the objective to improve the welfare of the population in frontier regions, stimulating economic development of peripheral regions and better development of cross-border cooperation across borders. As the model of development of frontier regions cooperation Carpathian Euroregion was founded with support of experts from Research Institute *„East-West”*, at first in November 1991 in city Mihaylovtse (Slovakia) at international

conference *„Regions in international cooperation”* was formed, basically, the idea as well as were defined the priorities of cross-border cooperation between frontier administrative and structural units in Poland, Hungary, Ukraine and Slovakia. The next important step of organizational development of Euroregion became Conference in 1992 in Nyíregyháza (Hungary), where the decision was taken to found the association Carpathian Euroregion, development of constitutive documents (agreement and statute) also took place in 1992 on meeting of representatives in Uzhhorod. According to the Statute, the mission of Euroregion was to improve the standard of living, preserving peace, promoting good relations between neighbouring states, ensuring transparency of borders.[1]

The interregional association Carpathian Euroregion was founded on 14th February 1993 in Debrecen in Hungary, it was the first Euroregion in Central Europe and Eastern Europe. In the context of European Council, the main objectives of Carpathian Euroregion were defined as follows: coordination of mutual actions; promotion of cooperation in economics, science, ecology, education, culture and sport; support of cross-border project implementation; cooperation with international institutions and organizations on a parity basis. Carpathian Euroregion was founded first of all with the help of foreign affairs ministries of Ukraine, Poland and Hungary. Subjects-cofounders and scale of Euroregion in total have defined its further development, that is from very beginning the operation, coordination and institutional development were difficult. During the first five years of its existence (1993–1998) the square of territory and quantity of population in administrative and territorial units within the borders of Carpathian Euroregion has increased almost 3 times and exceeded the actual territory of founding states. In 1993 general territory of Euroregion was 53 200 km², and quantity of population near 5 million people, and in 1998, respectively, 132 600 km²and almost 14 million people.[2]

The Carpathian Euroregion unites frontier administrative units and some localities in five countries: Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Slovakia and Romania. It should be mentioned that in 1993 at the founding forum were presented only regions of Hungary (counties: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hajdú-Bihar, Heves, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg; as well as cities: Miskolc, Debrecen, Eger, Nyíregyháza), Poland (the Pidkarpatske Voivodeship consisting of twenty counties and four cities with status of county: Krosno, Przemysł, Rzeszow, Tarnow), Ukraine (regions: Lvivskiy, Transcarpathian, Ivano-Frankivskiy, Chernivetskiy) and they have signed the Declaration. Frontier regions of Romania appeared firstly in the beginning of 1993 as observers, then in 1997 entered the Carpathian Euroregion (for instance Satu Mare, Maramorosh, Bihor, Suchava,

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[1] Карпатський єврорегіон: 5 років діалогу та співробітництва. Відпов. ред. М. Бідзіля. Ужгород 1998. 12.

[2] Карпатський Єврорегіон – Carpatian Euroregion. Карпатський фонд. Ужгород 2001. 16.

Salay, Botosani and in 2000 – region Kharhita). Position of Slovakia was also cautious, regions of which (okresy) became the associated members of Euroregion only in 1999 (Bardiyiv, Humenne, Kosice, Mezhylabortse, Michalovce, Presov, Sabinov, Snina, Sobrance, Stropkov, Svidnik, Trebishov, Vranov and others). In 1993 Carpathian Euroregion occupied 53 000 km² of territory with population of 5 million people, while in 2004 the territory of Carpathian Euroregion was 161 192 km² having a population of 16 051 000 people.[3]

The main legal documents of Carpathian Euroregion are the Agreement and the Statute that determines the structure (Council, Executive Director, Secretariat, national representation offices, working committees) and functioning pattern of the Euroregion.[4] The main body of the association is the Regional Council that takes decisions regarding actual issues of development, questions about membership, taking part in international organisations, creates work committees, approves project propositions developed by committees and guarantees terms for their execution.

The Council includes maximum ten people from each country. The coordinating body of the Association is International Secretariat, located in Nyíregyhaza city. It has executive and administrative functions, coordinates daily work of association, organizes the Council meetings and carries out administrative tasks, supports relations with national offices, partners, coordinates operation of work commissions, develops and supports relations with international organizations, takes part in search for sponsors. The work of International Secretariat is supported by the national offices of Association member states, resident coordinators, who also participate in organizational, interpretating and coordinating activities.

The working committees, established by the Council, practically implement objectives according to the goals, determined and adopted by the Council, namely, it is commission for regional development (coordinator – Hungarian party); coordinator for environmental protection – Hungarian party) and tourism (coordinator – Polish party); for development of trade (coordinator – Romanian party); for prevention of natural disasters (coordinator –Slovak party); for education, culture, sports (coordinator – Ukrainian party); commission for audit and control (coordinator – Hungarian party). Every country-member of Euroregion has resident national representative office.[5]

Membership in institutional structures is determined by the country, indicating the consistency and equality of parties. Administrative functions were

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[3] A Kárpátok Euregió interregionális szövetség Hírlevele 1. Nyíregyháza 2008.

[4] Kárpátok Eurorégió. A tanácsülések jegyzőkönyvei I–XXXIII. 1993–2002. Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg Megyei Önkormanyzat Levéltára.

[5] *Laszlo B.:* The Organizational Structure of the Carpatian Euroregion. In: Carpathian Euroregion. Borders in the Region – Cross-Border Co-operation. Eds. István Süli-Zakar – Czimre Klára. Debrecen 2001. 159.

entrusted to the International Secretariat, the office which is also varied by country on rotation basis. However, today, due to specific conditions of apathy of the regional leaders in some countries regarding operation of Carpathian Euroregion, International Secretariat works on a permanent basis in Nyíregyháza by the Council of County Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg (Hungary), also coordinating certain functions of international cooperation in the region.

The evidence of international recognition of the Carpathian Euroregion has become its active involvement in conducting plenty of international conferences and round tables in educational, cultural, recreational and economic spheres. In 1994 Carpathian Euroregion began building ties with Euroregion Maas-Rhein (which automatically enabled possibilities for cooperation with 37 organizations of fourteen countries). Also proved to be effective the cooperation of Carpathian Euroregion with Association of European Border Regions (AEBR). On 14–16 of November 1996 at anniversary conference Carpathian Euroregion became full 56th member of the AEBR.[6] And already in 1997 the Carpathian Euroregion has launched with support of the Belgians and the province of Limburg the realization of the joint project connected with exchange of experience by member parties, modernization of the secretariat and organizing development of management concept of Carpathian Euroregion.[7]

Due to activity of commerce and industry chambers in border regions, international fairs, exhibitions and festivals are held on regular basis: in January – Tourist Fair TOUR in Kosice (Slovakia), in February – International Fair INTER RES in Rzeszow (Poland), in April – Tourism Fair in Uzhgorod (Ukraine), in May – International Fair in Szolnok, in June – International Fair EastWest, in August – FARMER EXPO and Flower Festival in Debrecen (Hungary), in October – Tourist Fair in Krosno (Poland) etc.[8] Also the Asociation of Carpathian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Association of Euroregion Universities were established.

Within the framework of the Carpathian Euroregion more than fifty bilateral agreements were concluded in cooperation with economic, cultural, scientific and educational spheres; also numerous projects were implemented. Since 2004 Carpathian Euroregion was located along the new Eastern border of the European Union, which is on the new Eastern periphery of the EU. Border regions of five countries are united with both positive and negative features: geographical location, common historical heritage, multiculturalizm, Central European identity, as well as the low level of social and economic development, poor infrastructure and communications. And even geopolitically, the status of these five border regions is different, although all of them are peripherals, since

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[6] A Kárpátok Eurégió interregionális szövetség Hírlevele 1. Nyíregyháza 2008.

[7] *Majorné László Brigitta*: Kárpátok Eurorégió. In: Az ukrán–magyar határmenti együttműködés lehetőségei és korlátai a XXI. században. Nyiregyháza–Ungvár 2004. 50–53.

[8] Карпатський Євроріон – Carpatian Euroregion. Карпатський фонд. Ужгород 2001. 11–12.

border regions of the Euroregion, except Ukraine, are full members of the European Union and present cross-border euroregional policy according to European standards.

In our opinion, overcoming of peripheralism should be done in several aspects: firstly, in geopolitical dimension, since the four countries (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia in 2004, Romania in 2007) became full members of European Union, the only exception is Ukraine; in economic aspect (attraction of foreign investments, use of tourist and recreational potential and development of logistics), and also in humanitarian dimension (coordination in development of common projects in sphere of education and culture).

Characteristic features of Carpathian Euroregion are as follows:

- in historical and mental perspective: Interregional Association of Carpathian Euroregion was formed on the basis of ancient relations tradition and cooperation in the Central European region that root back to cooperation since the fourteenth century during the reign of the Angevin dynasty, as well as the Austro-Hungarian monarchy;
- multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity is a special specificity of the Carpathian Euroregion;
- in geopolitical and geographical section: these are peripheral regions with high level of migration, but favourable geopolitical and geographical position: they are located at intersection of major highways and communications, which are not being effectively used;
- favourable geo-economic position at the intersection of the European Union borders creates opportunities for development of an effective infrastructure of cross-border cooperation along the passage of 5th (Crete) international transport corridor (Trieste–Ljubljana–Budapest–Bratislava–Chop–Lviv);
- the peripheral regions of the Carpathian Euroregion have to become a key transit bridge between Europe and Asia in order to maximize the use of available and potential transport capacity used for supply of Eurasian transport and trade links;
- from geopolitical point of view: the transition took place from former socialist "color" to the sovereign status of states in this border region. Their accession to the NATO and the European Union in 2007 (except Ukraine) defined the acquisition of European institutional status and location on a new eastern *„external border”* of European Union;
- in social and economic dimension: each of the border regions of Carpathian Euroregion is a poorly developed region within its country with available number of problems in economic, infrastructural development, etc. In this context the use of the innovative potential of border regions is

important in order to increase their competitiveness already in the format of the European Union.

A key aspect of the functioning of the Carpathian Euroregion is the security dimension. Especially important this issue has become since 2004. Geographical location of Carpathian Euroregion at the new EU external border reinforces the effect of factors of negative nature (illegal migration, cross-border criminality, and smuggling activities) that influence the functioning of the Carpathian Euroregion. Analysis of the situation requires an inventory of all components of the threats as well as possible negative consequences in the broadest format. We have in mind the economic, cross-border security, etc.[9]

After 2004 especially cross-border cooperation becomes one of the most important instruments of Ukraine's European integration and at the same time the instrument to form the special common geographical security zone. Specifically, monitoring of visa practice in Carpathian region has proved: the visa policy does not reflect only on the situation in the EU, but also the quality and transformation process of internal policy in Ukraine. Among all forms of international cooperation the character of visa regime is the best indicator that detects the level of EU countries trust to the authorities and society of Ukraine. It is exactly the mistrust of EU officials to Ukrainians and inconsistent actions of Ukrainian authorities that caused us the troublesome practice of issuing visas, of which EU countries are in no hurry to give up. The reasons hindering the West to accept us as reliable partners are familiar: foreign policy contradictions; slow economic reforms; corruption; controversial international image; intensity of illegal migration (as a threat to internal labour market); a weak infrastructure of north-eastern borders of Ukraine, which serves as a window for illegal migrants from countries of *„third world"*, smuggled goods, human trafficking.[10]

In context of the proclamation of 2009 as the Year of the Carpathians, the International Tourist Route *„Carpathian Euroregion"* was developed, the Carpathian Investment Forum takes place in Lviv annually, as well as International Tourist Fair *„Toureurocentre – Transcarpathia"*, were conducted the Days of Good Neighbourhood on the Slovak-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Polish borders, Days of Fellow Regions in city Eger (Hungary) and Przemysl (Poland), international festivals of Romanian, Hungarian and Slovakian amateur art. Also were

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[9] Role of the Carpathian Euroregion in Strengthening Security and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe, Carpathian Euroregion, Prospects and Challenges, Workshop 1. Research Center of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association and Strategic Studies Foundation, November 23–25. Prešov–Uzhgorod 2001. 84.

[10] *С. Мітряєва*: Стратегія українсько-словацького прикордонного співробітництва в умовах входження Словаччини до Шенгенського простору. In: Регіональна політика і транскордонне співробітництво в євро інтеграційній стратегії України (м. Ужгород, 24 – 25 травня 2007). Ужгород 2007. 334–335.

conducted regional festivals *„Hutsulska bryndza”*, *„Halytski Festony-Carpathia”*, *„BerehFest – friendship without boundaries”*, international literature and art festival *„Vatra”* and many other. The highest achievement of the Council of the Carpathian Euroregion for the years of Ukrainian leadership was the acceptation of Resolution and Recommendation *„The sustainable development of mountainous regions and the experience of the Carpathian Mountains”* by Congress of local and regional authorities at European Council – the initiative of Ukrainian national part of Carpathian Euroregion and government of Ukraine regarding development of national program of The Ukrainian Carpathians stable development.

At the 39th meeting of The Interregional Association Council «Carpathian Euroregion» that took place on 30th of November 2011 in Hungarian city Nyíregyhaza the transfer of chairmanship at the Council took place from Ukrainian national party to the Hungarian one. Respectively, the achievements were specified in the development of the Carpathian Euroregion during the Ukrainian party chairmanship. The Head of Presiding Authority of the Carpathian Euroregion Mykhaylo Kichkovskiy has mentioned in his report: *„We have every reason to believe that interregional cross-border cooperation of border regions within "Carpathian Euroregion" acquires new forms and methods, as well as features the increased activity of all its participants. First of all it is indicated by the implementation of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument Program (EINP) during 2007–2013 years. Only according to the results of the first competition of the EINP program «Hungary–Slovakia–Romania–Ukraine» 2007–2013, the organisations of the Ukrainian party take part as partners in fourty-one projects of fourty-seven, including the seventeen projects where Transcarpathian and Ivano-Frankivsk regions take part as applicants (practically in all priorities of the program).*”[11]

In our opinion, such positive achievements of the *„second breath”* of the Carpathian Euroregion is entirely the result of the intensification of newly established NGOs in border regions, the aim of which is to implement their own institutional and financial interests, however, new methods and forms of coordinating the representation office activities of Carpathian Euroregion still requires radical institutional changes for the further functioning of Carpathian Euroregion.

Certainly, in order that in 2004 the Ukrainian regions, especially western Ukrainian border regions were prepared for new conditions of cross-border cooperation with regions of Hungary – a full member of the European Union – it was necessary to pass the so-called preliminary period, in order to adapt and implement such generally accepted euroregional principles of cross-border cooperation

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[11] Україна передала угорцям головування у Раді «Карпатського Єврорегіону. http://umti.org/news/ukrajina-peredala-uhortsyam-holovuvannya-u-radi-karpatskoho-evrorehionu (Downloaded: 20 April 2015).

as partnership, programming, strategic programming, decentralization, subsidiarity, additionalism, improving institutional arrangements and mechanisms, both organizationally and in terms of establishing the effective management of European projects, managers training and so on.

From the point of view of programming, even strategic programming, we should note the basic documents that since 2004 and to the present moment serve as pointers in development of Ukrainian–Hungarian cross-border cooperation according to European norms and standards: the concept of common development of border regions in Ukraine and Hungary, issued in 2003, Cross-border Cooperation Strategy *„Carpathia 2003–2011"* issued in 2003, Agreement and Concept INTERREGIO – common trilateral cooperation of border regions of Ukraine, Hungary and Romania, issued during 2000–2003, The Concept of Logistic Cluster in Transcarpathia developed in 2007.

Taking into consideration the new international geopolitical situation, in order to use the new institutional and financial capacities for the period of 2007–2013, at initiative of Hungarian Party the Strategy of Carpathian Euroregion has been developed in 2006–2007 as a part of European integration process in terms of enlarged European Union, that is as fully adapted to European standards and generally accepted principles: partnership, additionalism, subsidiarity programming.

We should also mention the new system of objectives developed for Strategic development program of the Interregional Association Carpathian Euroregion, where, first of all, the problem issues are defined out of the seven objectives:

- development of infrastructure of Carpathian Euroregion, solving the problem of the geographical and infrastructural peripheralism (international EU corridors, ways, highways, roads, regional airports);
- formation of competitive economic system in the Euroregion;
- coordinated development of human resources;
- development of health care, social and cultural environment;
- complex development of tourism in the Carpathian Euroregion;
- development of environment and environmental protection;
- enhancing of external relations, preparation for accepting the financial support from the European Union.[12]

The multivariate nature of the realistic and complex analysis of the Carpathian Euroregion development included the use of so-called SWOT analysis, which means the research in context of determining the following categorical provisions: strong sides of regional development (positive internal determinants); weak sides of regional development (negative internal determinants); regional

[12] A Kárpátok Eurégió interregionális szövetség regionális fejlesztési Stratégiája a 2007–2013 közötti időszakra. Nyíregyháza 2007. 48–50.

development opportunities (positive external determinants); threats to regional development (negative external determinants).

Respectively, strong sides of the Carpathian Euroregion development were determined by: the favourable natural and environmental conditions; location of the region along geographical and structural directions of infrastructure; favourable tourist conditions for thermal, hunting and cultural tourism; cultural heritage; significant amount of cheap, relatively well-qualified labour force; developed secondary and higher education, functioning of universities network; strong relationship between members of regions, willing for partnerships; developed business (agricultural) services, plenty of locations with high-quality agriculture, existing food and industrial vertical structure; significant food production capacity of the economy, substantial capacity of agricultural resource production; interest in European Union possibilities, proximity of the eastern markets.[13]

The critical and complex analysis also required formation of the weak sides in development of the Carpathian Euroregion (negative internal conditions and circumstances): semi-peripheral location in geographical structure of states; possible adverse demographic trends; increase of unemployment; unfavourable employment structure; low income level and low consumption level; low concentration of capital, lasting lack of capital; poor state of roads; lack of tourism development; lack of market information system, isolated industrial, manufacturing and commercial interests; depreciated and technically obsolete agricultural means of production; lack of financial resources; lack of transport links in the North-South direction.[14]

Among possibilities for development of the Carpathian Euroregion (positive external determinants) were noted the following: reproduction of common marketing policy for Euroregion; strengthening of external relations; harmonious development of infrastructure; coordinated human resources development, improvement of educational and professional level; better usage of transit advantages of the region; development of tourism and information services; further development of public services; improvement of social protection; reproduction of competitive agricultural production, invigoration of food production industry; development of forestation; efficient use of natural and mountainous waters; introduction of new industries, attraction of national and foreign capital, more rapid technological development; growth of agricultural innovations; increase of international support, European Union; Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine.

Feasibility in the strategic planning of the Carpathian Euroregion development is indicated by the description of threats in program document (external negative determinants): the increase in pace of the Carpathian Euroregion lagging comparing to central regions of the countries; deterioration of economic power

[13] Ibid. 50–51.
[14] Ibid. 39.

indicators, industrial structure will not be able to adapt to environmental conditions and market demand; unemployment will increase; emigration of skilled labour will accelerate, the population will reduce; aging of population will take place; moderate capital inflows, increased competition between regions; there will be no modernization of roads; increased water pollution, drought and floods continue be a threat for agriculture; possible failure in attraction of foreign capital, technological innovations are not expanded with good pace; local producers will be pushed out from national markets; political, social and economic asymmetry will be monitored; rise of minority problems and political tensions.[15]

This strategic program of the Interregional Association Carpathian Euroregion is not just a challenge to change the status of the region as a result of radical changes, but also an evidence of compliance with the reforms that are taking place on a regular basis within the European Union. Therefore, Carpathian Euroregion in the early twenty-first century is in a constant state of compliance with new quality requirements, such as, for example, the introduction of the Schengen visa regime, changes of the EU budget, European Union institutional reform and so on. Thus, complex identification of Carpathian Euroregion requires both critical analysis of the mechanism of its functioning and proposals for improving partnership relations between border regions, including activation of the Ukrainian–Hungarian cross-border cooperation.

In the experts' opinion, the reasons of stagnation and problems in operation of Carpathian Euroregion are caused by objective and subjective reasons:

- permanent process of extending and changing in status of certain territories;
- natural slowness in associative formation institutionalization, which structural parts activity should be adapted to changes in national legislation of Euroregion member countries;
- removability of country representatives in governing bodies of the Association;
- serial *„waves"* of positive or negative attitude to the idea of Euro regionalization from the central government authorities;
- structures of the Euroregions, involving Ukrainian administrative-territorial units are very similar and were established basing solely on the interests of regional authorities and therefore are unable to serve as an independent mediator for ordinary

[15] Ibid. 40–41.

citizens, who wish to participate in cross-border cooperation and development of interethnic cooperation.[16]

Thus, years of *„training”* have been finished for Carpathian Euroregion; today the question is whether the interregional cooperation would be successful without major reforms of its organizational and institutional structure, without its radical reorganization. Perhaps it is a good time to create a new bilateral or maximum three-lateral capable and mobile Euroregion along the perimeters of the eastern border of the European Union and the western border of Ukraine. At present moment the new approaches are needed to Ukrainian-Hungarian cross-border cooperation in the format of Carpathian Euroregion. Actual issues of Carpathian Euroregion transformation remain as follows: changing the organizational and institutional, financial and human resource components, implementation of decentralization and subsidiarity principles, formation of qualitatively new functional areas of cooperation. At the beginning of the 21st century we believe that an innovative component of Ukrainian–Hungarian cross-border cooperation should be implemented by establishing a new bilateral Euroregion, which a priori should be of higher organizational and institutional quality, corresponding to European dimension and adapted to the realities of the regional policy of the Europen Union.

[16] *М. Лендьел*: Досвід Карпатського Єврорегіону: поштовх до переосмислення моделі транскордонного співробітництва. In: На шляху до Європи. Український досвід єврорегіонів. Київ 2000. 60.

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