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Articles

MARIA CRĂCIUN

“The Bible Will Stay in the Home”: Intergenerational
Transmission of Books in Early Modern Transylvania 3

MĂRIA LUPESCU MAKÓ

Family Archives in the 16th Century. The Mikola Family Archive 47

ANDREA FEHÉR

The Hungry Traveller. 18th-Century Transylvanian Travellers and
the Western Culinary Experience 79

*

JUDIT PÁL

Continuity and Discontinuity in the Administrative Elite of the
Szekler Seats between 1840-1876 97

JÓZSEF PAP

Statistical Analysis of the Election Results of Urban
Representatives in Hungary between 1848 and 1918 119

SZILÁRD FERENCZI

Murder, Revolt and State of Siege. Reforming Cluj/Kolozsvár's
City Police in 1901 137

*

RADU MÂRZA

Postcards and Tourism Brands in Central Europe around 1900 149

MIHAI STĂNESCU

From Daguerreotype to Autochrome: An Incursion in European,
Colonial and Romanian Pharmaceutical and Medical
Photography 159

ION CÂRJA

Romanians in Austria-Hungary in the Years of “the Great War”.
The Perspective of Visual Sources 171

Book Reviews

Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Hunedoreștii. O istorie europeană* [The Hunedorești Family. A European History], Cluj-Napoca, Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2020, 428p (Ionuț Costea) 187

Antal Molnár, *Confessionalization on the Frontier. The Balkan Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality*, Rome, Viella, 2019 (Maria Crăciun) 190

Judit Pál – Vlad Popovici – Andrea Fehér – Ovidiu Emil Iudean (ed.), *Parliamentary elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, Berlin, International Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2018 (Zsolt Szabó) 198

“The Bible Will Stay in the Home”: Intergenerational Transmission of Books in Early Modern Transylvania

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Abstract: Focused on the transmission of books from one generation to another, this study explores the connection between gender and book ownership by attempting to discover whether the ‘reading lists’ inadvertently compiled by testators for their offspring were informed by gender stereotypes and by specific perceptions of masculinity and femininity. By carefully considering the nature and content of these bequests, this study will try to identify the stereotypes attached to men and women’s relation to books and, ultimately, to knowledge and consequently explore the place of books in their lives within the boundaries set by their gender in terms of social roles, access to education and involvement in the public sphere. By analysing the dynamics of bequests involving books, this study aims to explore the complex motives that impacted on testators’ decisions, including concern for tradition and heritage. By looking at men and women as both donors and recipients of books, this article would like to identify emergent and possibly gendered reading cultures. Finally, by closely examining the intricacies of bequests recorded in probate inventories, this essay aims to highlight interaction within the family, vertically between generations and horizontally within them.

Keywords: books, bequests, gender, generations, reading cultures, social roles, stereotypes.

Rezumat: „Biblia va rămâne în casă”: Transmiterea intergenerațională a cărților în Transilvania modernă timpurie. Concentrat asupra transmiterii cărților de la o generație la alta, acest studiu își propune să exploreze conexiunea dintre gen și cărți încercând să descopere dacă lecturile recomandate involuntar de testatori pentru urmașii lor erau influențate de stereotipii de gen și de percepții specifice asupra masculinității și feminității. Luând în calcul natura și conținutul acestor testamente, studiul va încerca să identifice aceste stereotipuri implicate în

relația bărbaților și femeilor cu cartea și, în cele din urmă, cu cunoașterea. El va încerca să exploreze locul cărților în viața acestor indivizi în cadrele impuse de genul lor, din perspectiva unor roluri sociale, a accesului la educație și a implicării în sfera publică. Analizând dinamica acestor testamente, studiul va reconstitui motivele complexe care au avut impact asupra deciziei testatarilor, inclusiv precuparea lor pentru tradiție și patrimoniul familiei. Luând în considerare atât bărbații cât și femeile în ipostaza de testatari și moștenitori articolul va încerca să identifice posibile culturi genizate ale lecturii. În final, examinînd cu atenție complexitățile acestor testamente, așa cum sunt ele reflectate de inventarele atașate, articolul va încerca să pună în evidență interacțiunile dintre membrii familiei, vertical între generații și orizontal în interiorul acestora.

Cuvinte cheie: carte, testament, gen, generație, cultura lecturii, roluri sociale, stereotipuri.

In 1591, Hans Crestel, described as a burgher from Bistrița (Bistritz, Beszterce), made his will and bequeathed his collection of books to his heirs. The books, however, were not equally divided between his children as his older daughter did not receive any. Instead, she received his best coat, while his son, received 'the Bible' and all the Latin books.¹ A few years earlier, in 1576, Thomas Werner and his wife Barbara, citizens of the same Transylvanian town, made separate wills in which they left their books, notably a German Bible and a Postil, to Johannes Jung, who must have been Barbara's son from a previous marriage.² Besides informing one that, by the end of the 16th century, the citizens of Transylvanian towns owned small collections of books which they bequeathed to their offspring, the two examples quoted here raise a number of questions concerning the nature of these bequests, the motives that prompted parents to leave books to their heirs and the criteria used when they decided which of their children would inherit a particular book. Taking these more general questions into account, this study will focus on one particular issue, namely gender, and ask whether bequests involving books were gender specific, or, in other words, whether certain books were deemed more suitable for men, or for women.

¹ "weiter sol man Wissen das man der grossen Tochter den bessten Mantel hingeeignet, und den knaben die Bibel, sampt den latenischen büchern alle" in István Monok, Péter Ötvös, Attila Verók (eds), *Lesestoffe der Siebenbürger sachsen 1575-1750 Bistritz, Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, Bibliotheken in Siebenbürgen IV/1* (Budapest: Országos Széchényi könyvtár/ Ungarische Széchényi Nationalbibliothek, 2004), 8.

² "Item die Deutsche Bibel und die Postil Mehr dem Johannj Jüng fl. 40 und mein teyl der Bücher, so er bey der Schule fleissig sein wirdt, und studieren." in Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 3.

Consequently, the protagonists of this study are the donors and recipients of books, individuals who, as parents and children, belonged to different generations, and, as mothers and fathers interacting with their sons and daughters, to different genders. Consequently, by looking at the recipients of the books bequeathed by various individuals through a gendered lens, this study aims to explore the reasons that lay behind testators’ decision to leave their collections of books to their sons, or to their daughters, or to divide them among their heirs of either sex. Their decision was most probably informed by prevailing patterns of inheritance but at the same time it may have been influenced by the gender of the offspring in question as well as by the gender of the testator him/herself. This may be an interesting topic to explore because decisions pertaining to inheritance highlight interaction within the family, between parents and biological children and between step-parents and step-children, as well as bonds among siblings that were biologically related, shared one parent or none at all, as they had ended up being raised by individuals with whom they had no biological connection whatsoever.³ Consequently, choosing to give specific books to one particular child and not to another may serve to highlight relations within families, the bonds created not just by bloodlines but also by circumstances.

Moreover, the wishes of the testators regarding the distribution of their books among their children are able to highlight gender stereotypes projected by the parents on future generations, but also gendered preferences and gendered reading cultures. Thus, by carefully considering the nature and content of these bequests, this study will try to identify the stereotypes attached to men and women’s relation to books and, ultimately, to knowledge and, consequently, to explore the place of books in their lives within the boundaries set by their gender in terms of social roles, access to education and involvement in the public sphere.

While the topic of books and reading cultures in early modern Transylvania has benefited from some attention in the existing literature, scholars have privileged the contents of libraries, particularly those of the ecclesiastical and secular elites, in order to explore their intellectual interests, their confessional identities and the emerging regional book culture.⁴ Thus,

³ The complexity of mixed families in early modern Europe has been highlighted by recent literature, such as Lyndal Warner (ed.), *Stepfamilies in Europe 1400-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2018). In central and eastern Europe, the articles brought together in two issues of *The Hungarian Historical Review* provide insight into these matters. *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8/4 (2019) Stepfamilies across Ethnicities and *The Hungarian Historical Review* 9/4 (2020) Family and Emotions.

⁴ Such studies have been pioneered by Friedrich Teutsch, ‘Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels in Siebenbürgen II, Die Zeit von 1500-1700’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels*, V (1881). In the second half of the 20th century Gustav Gündisch and Doina Năgler

whilst scholars have been primarily interested in the bequests themselves, from a pragmatic perspective, privileging the size of the libraries amassed by various members of the elite and implicitly their intrinsic value, the particular ways in which the books were left to the heirs have mostly been ignored. For example, the collection of 889 titles amassed by the minister Matthias Hass is much appreciated by scholars who mention that it was inherited by his children, but nothing is said about the details of the bequest.⁵ In these circumstances, it comes as no surprise that little interest has been bestowed on the 'reading lists' inherently compiled by testators for young men and women, simply by choosing which books to leave them.

Consequently, by addressing the issue of gender in relation to book ownership and the transfer of these items from one generation to the next, this study can identify the books that were considered – by both men and women – suitable reading matter for either men or women and, thus highlight gender roles attributed to both sexes in Transylvanian early modern society. Through this approach, the study does not wish to privilege one gender over the other, or to distort the study of gender by focusing solely on women. The essay also wishes to avoid discussing women as the 'lesser sex' in Transylvanian early modern society and thus as the often-neglected gender in the literature dedicated to it.⁶

have painstakingly reconstructed several clerical and secular libraries. For clerical libraries, see Gustav Gündisch, 'Die Bibliothek des Damasus Dürr (1585)' in Gustav Gündisch, *Aus Geschichte und Kultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Berichte* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1987), 340-350. Gustav Gündisch, 'Eine siebenbürgische Bischofsbibliothek des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Bücherei des Lukas Unglerus' in Gündisch, *Aus Geschichte und Kultur*, 351-362. Gustav Gündisch, 'Die Bibliothek des Superintendenten der evangelischen Kirche Siebenbürgens, Matthias Schiffbäumer (1547-1611)', *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, XV/3 (1977), 463-478. Gustav Gündisch, Doina Nägler, 'Die Bücherei des Hermannstädter ev. Stadtpfarsens Petrus Rihelius (1648) und seiner Söhne', *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 15/1 (1992), 41-62. Gustav Gündisch, Doina Nägler, 'Die Bibliothek des Hermannstädter ev. Stadtpfarsens Andreas Oltard (1660) und seiner Familie', *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 17/2 (1994), 121-143. For libraries of the laity, see Gustav Gündisch, 'Die Bibliothek des Sachsengrafen Albert Huet (1537-1607)' in *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 4 (1974): 32-51. Gustav Gündisch, 'Die Bücherei des Hermannstädter Ratsherrn Johannes Bayer' in *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 13/1 (1990): 23-34. More recently, István Monok has put together an impressive edition of documents containing probate inventories (see footnote 1 for details), while András Bandi has explored regional reading cultures in his PhD thesis. András Bandi, *Lectura saşilor în secolul al XVIII-lea*, PhD thesis, Babeş-Bolyai University (2016).

⁵ Bandi, *Lectura*, 183.

⁶ Interest in the history of women and in gender studies is relatively recent in local historiography. As notable exceptions, see Şarolta Solcan, *Femeile din Moldova, Transilvania și Țara Românească în Evul Mediu* (Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii, 2005). Şarolta Solcan, 'Negustoresele din Cluj în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea' in *Medievalia Transilvanica* V-VI/1-2 (2001-2002): 35-54. Julia Derzsi, "Un proces de adulter din 1585, la Reghinul Săsesc," *Historia Urbana* XXIII (2015): 141-162; Maria Crăciun, "Work and the City: The Daily Lives of

As the subject of this investigation is book ownership and, more specifically, bequests which involved books, the sources used are last wills and testaments and particularly probate inventories attached to them. From this perspective, the edition carefully compiled by István Monok proves extremely helpful as it includes data from Bistrița, Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), Brașov (Kronstadt, Brassó), Sighișoara (Schäßburg, Szegesvár) and a number of smaller settlements.⁷ In order to identify examples where the heirs have been mentioned in probate inventories together with the books they had been bequeathed, this study relies on two samples from Bistrița and Sibiu, comprising respectively 215 and 473 testaments of burghers. Their most valuable trait is that they were not drawn up just for members of the urban elite, but also for the middling group of artisans, who are often mentioned by name and trade. This contributes significantly to broadening the scope of this investigation beyond the libraries of clergy and magistrates, which have been so far the main focus of scholarly attention.

Finally, one has to consider the fact that gender specific bequests have been the subject of scholarly research focused on inheritance patterns, but even when studies have dealt with the transmission of movables between generations, the bequeathing of books has not benefited from any attention.⁸ However, such studies have been important in defining inheritance as the transmission of property between and within generations and by exploring the dynamics of this process between norms and actual practice.⁹

Against this historiographical background, a survey of the available evidence suggests that cases when an entire library was bequeathed to one particular person, the widow or one of the children,

Urban Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Transylvania,” *Colloquia. Journal for Central European History*, (2013) forthcoming. Julia Derzsi, “Aspecte și forme ale micii criminalități în orașul și scaunul Sibiu la începutul secolului al XVII-lea: Modalitățile unei cercetări empirice,” in Laurențiu Rădvan, ed., *Orașe vechi, orașe noi în spațiul românesc: Societate, economie și civilizație urbană în prag de modernitate (sec. XVI- jumătatea sec.XIX)* (Iași: Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2014), 31-54.

⁷ See footnote 1 for the details of the edition.

⁸ Katalin Szende, ‘From Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son? Inheritance of Movables in Late Medieval Pressburg’ in Finn-Einar Eliassen, Katalin Szende (eds), *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 44-75, especially 54-57, 61, 66 where she mentions some gender specific bequests of clothes, linen, furniture and jewelry.

⁹ Katalin Szende, Finn-Einar Eliassen, ‘The Urban Transmission. Family Cycles and Inheritance Customs in Medieval Hungarian and Early Modern Hungarian Towns’ in Mats Berglund (ed.), *City Strolls. Studies in Urban History in Honor of Lars Nilsson* (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2005), 135-165.

are rare. For example, in 1716, Johann Heilmann, a member of the council of Bistrița bequeathed his entire library to his widow, Rebecca.¹⁰ In a similar manner, in 1695, Andreas Gündisch, “Bürger in Hermannstadt” left his entire library, valued at 150 fl. to his son Michael.¹¹ Such cases are, however extremely rare. More often than not, books were divided among the heirs and examples suggest that decisions concerning bequests were not informed by the value of the books alone. Consequently, probate inventories attached to testaments, which list all the items bequeathed to each of the heirs, are the most helpful in identifying the type of books intended for the use of sons or daughters.

Unfortunately, in some cases, the inventory merely lists the items that the deceased has possessed without mentioning the names of those who were to inherit each item. To quote just one such example, in 1600, Kaspar Mesel, a citizen of Bistrița, left an impressive number of books, presumably to his heirs, but there is no mention concerning the way these were to be divided between his sons Hans and Adam and his daughters Margaretha and Catherina.¹² Such occurrences can also be encountered at a later date. Thus, in 1682, Thomas Verner, who had been a student at Jena and had become royal judge at Nocrich (Leschkirch, Újgyház), left 64 volumes, by the standards of the time a rather large library, to his wife and two daughters, without mentioning the details of the bequest.¹³ The study is thus challenging, as some of the inventories itemize the books without mentioning the individuals who were meant to inherit them,¹⁴ while others include the names of the heirs but the inventory does not mention how the books were divided among them, or they simply mention the books by size with an eye on their value, rather than their content.¹⁵ However, even in these cases, the gender and often occupation of the testator are mentioned and, consequently, such incomplete inventories are still relevant for an investigation concerning the relationship between gender and book

¹⁰ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 107.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 240.

¹² *Ibid.*, 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 229-231. Bandi, *Lectura*, 125.

¹⁴ In 1653, Adam Kastenhölzer's will lists the books he bequeathed by title, but, although the existence of three children is alluded to, they are not mentioned by name. Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 43. A similar situation occurs in 1655 in the wills of Mechel Bogner, “Kerkermeister in Bistritz” and Martin Amberg, “Mitglied des Rats in Bistritz”. Monok, (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, p. 46. In 1703, the will of Samuel Gunesch, “Mitglied des Rats in Bistritz” lists the books according to size, including all the titles, it alludes to the children but does not mention them by name. Nor does it mention the books they would each receive. Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 98.

¹⁵ In 1600, the inventory attached to Johann Bawmann's will mentions his three children by name and lists the books item by item, without any mention of how they were to be divided among the heirs. Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 14-15.

ownership. Sometimes, the three or four books a woman, most often a widow, was able to bequeath, help one reconstruct an image of female book ownership. In these particular cases, recurring patterns will highlight the type of books that women were most likely to possess.

Consequently, this study will look at men and women as both donors and receivers of books. In these capacities, they assumed different roles as sons or daughters, who inherited a book, lovingly bequeathed by a parent, and as fathers or mothers, who made decisions concerning the division of books among their children. They acted as husbands, considering their wives as potential heirs of a cherished book collection, or as wives disposing of their own valued items. For example, in 1742, Gottfried Stocken, a citizen of Bistrița, bequeathed his book collection to his heirs and divided it between his widow Sophia, born Rehnerdin, and his children.¹⁶ In a similar manner, in 1746 Samuel Decani, Stadt Hahn and later senator in Bistrița, bequeathed his books to his widow Susanna and his three sons.¹⁷ Interestingly enough, Samuel Decani had a rather large collection which was listed in the probate inventory with the price of each book. Moreover, there were no provisions concerning the books intended for each heir, which suggests that the library was probably meant to be sold and the proceeds divided among them. By contrast to this perception of books as marketable goods, in 1683, Dorothea, the wife of Michael Hutter, a burgher from Sibiu bequeathed a 'German Bible in black binding'.¹⁸ As Dorothea was not a widow, one can only presume that she was disposing of a personal item. This also seems to have been true of a case mentioned in an inventory from 1740. Sophia Türkin, born Philipin, was in the position to bequeath books that were her personal possessions to her three children, one of them born in her third marriage to Georgius Türck, while the other two were the issue of previous betrothals. Consequently, the inventory uses the expression her "motherly part" when referring to the book collection she bequeathed to her offspring.¹⁹

Finally, testators sometimes acted as widowers who often had to consider both biological children and step children and as widows who, more often than not, had to deal with libraries inherited from their husbands. In the first case, Endres Scheimer bequeathed books to his stepson Laurentius, and Johannes Rot left books for his stepson Caspar,

¹⁶ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 145-146.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 147-150.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 232.

¹⁹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 143.

while Endres Hentz and Valentinus Adrianus made bequests to their stepdaughters.²⁰ In the second case, for example, in 1698, Catharina Fabritiusin, born Kappin, “Bürgerin in Hermannstadt” and the wife of Georg Fabritius, made provisions that her daughters, Anna Maria and Dorothea, would inherit equal shares (estimated at 27 fl.) of the value of the library.²¹ Obviously concerned to provide for her daughters in a fair manner, Catharina Fabritiusin treated the books she must have inherited from her husband as marketable goods. Emotional attachment to the books or long-term plans for her daughters’ education did not seem to come into play. An even more relevant example is that of the widow of Martin Hartwig Krauss, a minister in Agnita (Angetheln, Szentágota). In 1794, the minister had bequeathed his library of 240 titles to his children and his widow. The latter, however, had renounced her share in favour of a set of kitchen utensils.²²

By relying on a variety of such intricate examples, this study can consequently explore not just the actual transmission of books from one generation to the next, but also the relationships within families, ties between parents and children, as well as the complex bonds between siblings and between husbands and wives.²³ Finally, the study can identify value systems and ideas concerning family tradition and heritage.

Moreover, taking into account the inconsistencies present in the inventories, this study deliberately avoids a predominantly quantitative approach to the subject of gendered transmission of books. Instead, it attempts to explore the attitudes to male and female heirs of the inhabitants of Transylvanian towns by analysing their decisions concerning the books they valued and wished to bequeath to the next generation. This qualitative approach will shift the focus away from numbers, more precisely from estimating the size of libraries, assessed in numbers of books,²⁴ to an in-

²⁰ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 8, 19, 20, 33.

²¹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 245.

²² Bandi, *Lectura*, 182.

²³ Szende, ‘From Mother to Daughter. From Father to Son?’, 45, 48, has already suggested that the investigation of inheritance issues allows us to gain a better insight into the relations within and between families. By bequeathing goods to spouses, children, grandchildren, brothers, sisters, “testators outlined the circle of kin that was important to them.” Szende also stresses the value of testaments in their ability to reflect personal relations and preferences.

²⁴ This approach has been recurrent in previous literature. For instance, Bandi, *Lectura*, 124 - 125, 127 marvels at the size of some artisans’ libraries, disregarding the fact that many of the artisans who did own substantial book collections were part of the secular elite with seats in the town council or with offices in the urban magistrate. They were often representatives of the more prestigious crafts, those requiring skill and prolonged training. Among the relevant examples are Thomas Verner, royal judge at Nocrich who bequeathed 64 books to his heirs,

depth analysis of the nature of the books given to each gender. At the same time, the qualitative approach will encourage the exploration of the meaning of each particular bequest and perhaps provide a better understanding of the relationship between people and books. That is not to say that quantitative assessments will be completely ignored as, quite often, the significance of a phenomenon is highlighted by its dimension. Consequently, a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative analysis may prove to be the most fruitful in the exploration of this phenomenon. As McLeod and Thomson have pointed out, although quantitative data has the capacity to sketch a grand narrative and provide a bird's eye view of the topic under scrutiny, many significant details remain hidden. By contrast, the qualitative approach is able to provide a close-up shot and help one focus precisely on those details that render the flavour of life.²⁵

In cases where the wishes of the testator are clearly specified, books bequeathed to heirs in families who had children of both genders provide more valuable information than situations where the family had one child of either sex or several children of the same sex, either male or female. This leads one to explore the motives that persuaded a testator to favour one particular son or daughter when bequeathing the most valued items and consider the interplay of norms, rules and personal preferences. Decisions were even more complicated when couples had to deal not just with their own biological offspring but also with step children from previous marriages. In the world of the artisans, second marriages, which mostly occurred because of the death of a spouse, were frequent, bringing to the fore the issue of relations between step-parents and stepchildren.²⁶

Jacob Haimig who had 23 books in his collection, Guthard Schlosser, a watchmaker who had amassed 40 volumes and the goldsmith Friedrich Alle who left his son 55 volumes of mostly theological nature. Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 31-32, 205-206, 229-231.

²⁵ Julie McLeod, Rachel Thomson, 'Researching Social Change' in Jeanne Katz, Sheila Peace, Sue Spurr (eds.), *Adult Lives. A life course perspective* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2012), 415-425. The two authors borrow their cinematic metaphors from B. Neale, J. Flowerdew, 'Time, Texture and Childhood. The contours of longitudinal qualitative research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 6/3 (2003): 189-199, especially 192.

²⁶ Katalin Simon, 'Remarriage Patterns and Stepfamily Formation in a German-Speaking Market Town in Eighteenth Century Hungary', *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8/4 (2019): 757-788, especially 759, 767 points out that remarriage usually occurred at the death of one of the spouses and that in 40% of the marriages one of the spouses was a widow or widower. A widow was often forced to remarry to ensure the livelihood of her family. A widower needed to remarry if he had several or very young children. Gabriella Erdélyi, 'Differences between Western and East Central European Patterns of Remarriage and Their Consequences for Children Living in Stepfamilies' in *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8/4 (2019): 657-668, especially 657-658 suggests that many widowed parents sought to rebuild broken families by remarriage, which meant that stepchildren would live with halfsiblings or stepsiblings.

Although the value of books and often their actual prices were mentioned in probate inventories and sometimes the wording of the document suggests that the books would be sold and the proceeds divided among the heirs,²⁷ the most cursory glance at these texts suggests that these books were not appreciated solely for their intrinsic value, that books were part of people's lives, invested with meaning and used in a variety of ways. Lovingly bequeathed to the next generation, these books convey messages about parenting, relationships with children and gender roles.

Thus, the analysis of the bequests will begin by attempting to answer two simple questions: who inherited books and what sort of books did heirs receive from their parents? The study will proceed by assessing whether men and women inherited different types of books and whether the choice of books to bequeath to sons or daughters was in any way linked to gender stereotypes. Finally, the study will assess the role of books in people's lives, possibly shaped by the educational intent of these bequests and the connection between suitable reading matter and gender roles attributed to offspring.

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The evidence provided by inventories attached to testaments suggests that books were inherited by both male and female heirs within a given family. In cases when the family had only one child, that particular heir would inherit the entire book collection, regardless of their gender. For example, the list of inventories from Bistrița includes 35 men who left their books to their only son.²⁸ This custom was followed by women, although examples of widows who bequeathed books to their sons are comparatively rare. In fact, in the Bistrița sample, there is only one example, that of Catharina Lochnerin, who left her books to her son Martin.²⁹ When the family had only one child and the offspring was a daughter, books were left to her, whether the testator was the father or the mother. While this was the procedure in the wills of eighteen men,³⁰ there were only two women who left books to their daughters.³¹ Bequests made

²⁷ See for instance the inventory attached to the will of Martin Umberch which provides the price of each book. Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 32.

²⁸ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 18-19, 34, 36, 38, 48, 52-53, 54, 58-59, 60, 62-63, 64, 65-66, 73-74, 81-82, 83, 85, 96-97, 103-104, 726, 728, 735. Quantitative estimates in the section were made based on the Bistrița sample.

²⁹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 88. Things look different in the Sibiu sample as there are more female testators. Out of the 473 testators, 115 of which were female, there were only 17 women who left their books to their only son, which represents roughly 3.6%. These women also represent 14.7% of the women who act as testators.

³⁰ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 17, 21, 49-50, 55, 67, 69, 70, 72, 79, 101, 105, 107, 235, 737, 747, 749, 751.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

to spouses when the couple had children are quite rare. For example, Hans Hetschner, a "Kürschner in Bistritz"³², bequeathed books to his widow and son Andreas,³³ Jacob Schmidt oder Wagner (coachman) left books for his widow Catharina and his stepson Merten,³⁴ while Andreas Decani did the same for his widow and son Samuel.³⁵ True to the paternal model, Samuel Decani bequeathed books to his widow and three children,³⁶ as did Andreas Nussbaumer for his widow and two stepdaughters, Sophia and Anna.³⁷ Most men, and one could mention Gerig Vogel, a goldsmith, Andreas Blasius, a cobbler, and Johann Heilmann, a city councilor, bequeathed books to their widows, in this case, Sara, Susanna and Rebecca, only when there were no other heirs.³⁸

Examples where an explicit gender bias is obvious, where sons would be given books while daughters, and sometimes widows, were bequeathed other items or money are relatively rare. The case of Hans Crestel, who left his son "the Bible" and a collection of Latin books, and his daughter a coat, has already been mentioned.³⁹ The same message is strongly highlighted by the will of Ambrosius Hendel, a "Stadtschreiber" (city clerk) in Bistrița, who left his entire library to his son Georg, although he also had two daughters, Barbara and Dorothea.⁴⁰ Other cases when daughters and widows were overlooked when it came to bequeathing the father's books are those of Andreas Dürbächer, a tanner by trade, who left a number of books to his son Paul and none to his daughter Anna or his widow Catharine,⁴¹ and Hans Riemer, who, in 1598, left his son Hans a bible and no books for his daughters.⁴² A perhaps rather extreme case is that of Andreas Drakistein, who, in 1632, made special provision that his son Georg would be the one to inherit an in-folio bible in German. Although he had a larger collection of books, none of them were meant to be inherited by his three daughters, Dorothea, Susanna and Margaret.⁴³

Generally, however, in most cases (forty-four in the Bistrița sample), when the testator had two children, male and female, they would

³² Furrier.

³³ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 147-150.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 79, 87, 107.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 21.

both receive a number of books. Obviously, when there were no male heirs, female offspring would inevitably inherit the father's or mother's books. Thus, the evidence examined here suggests that both men and women inherited books from their parents and that an explicit gender bias, where daughters were not bequeathed any books, was a rare occurrence. Moreover, this question is difficult to separate from another, equally simple one, concerning testators. While both men and women bequeathed books, the men far outnumbered women as testators. It is thus noteworthy that from the 215 wills recorded in Bistrița, female testators are responsible for 23, which represents roughly 10-11%, while from the 473 wills recorded in Sibiu, only 115 belonged to women, representing roughly 24%.

Moreover, women who acted as testators were generally widows, disposing of goods left to them by their husbands. For example, in 1718, Catharina Székelyin, born Grossin, "Bürgerin in Hermannstadt" and the widow of Simon Székely, left her books, an entire library, to her son Andreas.⁴⁴ It is probably safe to assume that she had inherited the books from her husband, as there is little indication that women as a rule had private book collections of their own. One interesting example is that of Maria, born Burprigerin, from Sibiu, who, in 1718, left a library to her husband Martin and her daughter Esther.⁴⁵ Another interesting case is that of Susanna Rudolphin, the widow of Georg Rudolph, a furrier in Sibiu. She seems to have been the owner of a rather substantial library worth 19 fl., which she may have inherited from her father, a minister who had studied at the Gymnasium at Brașov and then at the University of Jena and Althof, followed by a career as a teacher in Moșna (Meschen, Muzsna), preacher at Biertan (Birthälm, Berethalom) and minister at Nemșa (Nimesch, Nemes).⁴⁶ An utterly intriguing case, however, is that of Dorothea, born Drechsler, described in the records as a 'younger woman' and a citizen of Sibiu. The daughter of a cobbler, Johannes Schuster, she was probably married to a tailor, Simon Ziegler, as he is referred to as the 'bereaved'. The amazing thing is that she left behind a very large number of books (306), which she had probably inherited from her biological father and, in the absence of any children of her own, bequeathed to Simon Ziegler.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid., 322.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 323.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 274.

⁴⁷ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 254-262. Bandi, *Lectura*, 175, comments on the size and Humanist contents of the library without questioning its provenance or its recipient. The terms of the will are ambiguous, particularly concerning the identity of Simon Ziegler. It is tempting to consider him Dorothea's husband, as her maiden name is mentioned in a way that suggests that she has changed it when she married. But she is not mentioned in the will as Zieglerin, as would have been the norm had she been married to Ziegler. Also, there is mention of a stepfather who

Interestingly enough, people left books to step children, as well as to their blood relatives. For instance, in 1576, Barbara and Thomas Werner left a German Bible and Postil to Johannes Jung, who was Barbara’s son from a previous marriage.⁴⁸ Although, in Thomas Werner’s case, the wording of the document suggests genuine concern for Johannes’ education, as Thomas says that Johannes ‘should be good in school and study’, generally, bequests to step children seem to have occurred mostly when the testator in question had no biological children of his own. In such cases, he may have hoped that the stepson would assume responsibility for the preservation of family traditions. For example, in 1627, Endres Scheimer left his stepson Laurentius an in-folio copy of Luther’s *Hauspostill* and an in-folio copy of Luther’s Bible.⁴⁹ Although there are two cases when, possibly for want of a better solution, books were left to a stepdaughter, namely Endres Hentz’s stepdaughter Christina and Valentinus Adrianus’ stepdaughter Anna,⁵⁰ it was generally stepsons rather than stepdaughters who were invested with these responsibilities. Although, so far, I have not been able to find an example where a stepson was favoured over a biological daughter, there are some cases when a stepson is preferred by the testator over his widow. For example, in 1655, Jacob Schmidt oder Wagner preferred to leave Martin Luther’s *Hauspostill* and a *New Testament* in Greek and Latin to his stepson Merten, rather than to his widow Catherina.⁵¹ This decision could either signal his faith in a future generation, or the fact that he preferred to pass on family tradition to a man, even if he was not his biological son. This view is further suggested by the decision of Gillis Rot oder Scherer “Mitglied des Rates (Rathgeschworene) in Bistritz”,⁵² who, in 1652, made a rather interesting choice. He left Martin Luther’s Bible, the *Catechism of Urbanus Regius* and the *Catechism against Arians* as well as *Psalterium Davidis* to his grandson Johann Races and not to his widow Catharina.⁵³ He may have believed that family tradition was better served when placed in the hands of a man or simply preferred to give the books a longer life in the care of a younger person.

Benevolent attitudes towards step-children are challenged by the example of an artisan couple from Bistrița. In 1596, Catharina Galle, the wife of ‘Schuster Galle’, presumably a cobbler by trade, left some books to

inherits the books. Consequently, Simon Ziegler may after all have been Dorothea’s step father rather than her husband.

⁴⁸ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁵² Member of the council in Bistrița.

⁵³ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 40-41.

her two children, Catharina and Martin.⁵⁴ A few years later, in 1600, Schuster Galle himself made his will and bequeathed books to his two children, Catharina and Daniel.⁵⁵ This suggests that the couple had married when both of them had children from previous relationships, Martin and Daniel respectively. This is a logical explanation for the fact that Martin is not mentioned in Schuster Galle's testament and Daniel is not mentioned in Catharina's will, although the younger Catharina, probably the couple's daughter from the new marriage features in both texts. Equally interesting is that four years after his wife's death, Schuster Galle did not see fit to bequeath any books to his stepson, but rather divided his collection between his biological children (Catharina and Daniel). In 1722, Agnetha Schindlerin, born Schwartzin, acted in a similar way. As the widow of Andreas Schindler, she had to decide between her two daughters, Sophia, the fruit of her marriage to Schindler and Agnetha Schullerin, who was her daughter from a previous marriage. Although Schindler was no longer alive, she must have respected his wishes as Sophia was the one to inherit the books.⁵⁶

Other examples that surface from the inventories suggest that a great variety of factors may have been at play when a testator decided how to divide his books among his heirs, especially if he/she had two or more children of the same sex. Thus, Matthias Bredt, a Riemer (beltmaker) gave three postils in German to one of his sons, Martin, while his other son, Georg, and his widow received no books.⁵⁷ This leaves one wondering what his reasons were for favouring Martin by entrusting these precious volumes to him. Gender was obviously not the decisive element in this case, so there must have been other motives stimulating this decision.

Although the evidence is not abundant, some of the examples suggest that the child's preferences may have played a role in the parent's decision. For example, in 1679, Andreas Gürischer, member of the city council (Mitglied des Rats), left his books of religious instruction (postils and bibles) to his son Johann, while his other son, Peter, received a book on the art of war.⁵⁸ At other times, the father seems to have favoured the son who bore his name, although it is never clear whether this was usually the eldest child. For example, in 1662, Jacob Daumitz, a Tischler (joiner), had to choose one of his three sons, Jacob, Andreas and Adam as the recipient of valuable books. He eventually chose Jacob, thus highlighting his concern

⁵⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 333.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 70.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 72.

for tradition and the transmission of the family's valuable items.⁵⁹ A similar decision was made in 1707 by Andreas Fischer who also chose the son named after him as his preferred heir.⁶⁰ However, valuable/important books were not always bequeathed to the son who bore the father's name. For instance, Christian Schaller did not name any of his sons after himself and his reasons for dividing the books between them remain obscure.⁶¹ This was also true in cases where one son was named after the father, but he was not necessarily the one chosen for this important bequest. This path was chosen by Hans Zammerburger in 1684, Michael Conrad in 1655, Matthias Heidendorffer in 1662, Thomas Gellner in 1680 and Georg Böhm in 1698.⁶² Women also abided by this rule. For instance, Susanna Kleinin, widow of Caspar Klein favoured her son Georg and not the son who bore her husband's name.⁶³

Thus, by examining the evidence provided by probate inventories, one is led to believe that books were bequeathed indiscriminately to both male and female heirs and that the exclusion of young women from the family heritage occurred only rarely. This may have been largely in keeping with broader inheritance patterns prevailing in this region. As Katalin Szende has pointed out, in the towns of the Hungarian kingdom, transmission of property was placed within a range of customary regulations, complemented by local statutes and legislation observed throughout the kingdom.⁶⁴ Urban transmission of property took into account the important distinction between ancestral and acquired property and established that the latter could be disposed of on the burghers' terms. Moreover, the equal share of women in property transferred within and between families was a distinctive feature of urban society.⁶⁵ When Katalin Szende examined the transmission of movables in late medieval Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), she came to the conclusion that there was no special preference between mothers and daughters and fathers and sons. The relatively more frequent occurrence of girls as recipients of movables was compensated by the real estate and tools of the trade that were bequeathed to boys. Moreover, girls tended to receive more clothes, linens and sometimes furniture as part of their dowry.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 44-45, 53, 76-77, 85, 92.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁶⁴ Szende, Eliassen, 'Urban Transmission', 137.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁶⁶ Szende, 'From Mother to Daughter, from Father to Son?', 69.

As movables could also be bequeathed to spouses, one also has to consider the position of widows as recipients and then as inevitable dispensers of such goods. Examining the fate of widows, Gabriella Erdélyi has suggested that women's claims to inheritance were equal to those of men and that widows of the urban middling class inherited half of the wealth acquired together with their husbands and that it was not uncommon for widows to continue to manage the property, including shops and businesses, at least for a specific time.⁶⁷ Her remark that "a widow was considerably wealthier than unmarried women" raises the issue of maidens in relation to property inherited from their parents.⁶⁸ Although the question is not addressed directly, some answers can be gleaned from Erdélyi's discussion of the differences between biological and stepchildren. Based on her study of the German-speaking community of Bratislava, Erdélyi argues that it was uncommon to distinguish between stepchildren and biological children of remarried parents in the division of family wealth and resources. However, she does point out that there were significant differences between the opportunities afforded to sons and daughters. Thus, she ultimately suggests that differences in opportunity were determined by gender, and not by the fact that a child was born from a first or second marriage.⁶⁹ This is, however, partly contradicted by the already discussed Schindler case, where the mother discriminated between her two biological daughters (with different fathers), perhaps in response to her second husband's wishes, who was a stepfather to Agnetha Schullerin, or in accordance with rules regarding goods acquired during the marriage.

The impression that biological and step children were treated equally, given by Transylvanian probate inventories, is strengthened by the fact that sometimes the spouse who brought children into a new marriage stipulated in the marriage contract that the new partner had to treat the step children as if they were his/her own, a provision that included the right to inherit.⁷⁰ Moreover, in her study of life in an 18th-century town, Katalin Simon suggests that family ties were not contingent to biological relations, but could also be forged in the context of cohabitation and the provision of care.⁷¹ From this perspective, a particular bequest could be a reward for the care provided and became the reason why a parent would

⁶⁷ Erdélyi, 'Differences', 661.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 661.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 666-667.

⁷⁰ Simon, 'Remarriage Patterns', 766-769, 784.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 772.

favour one of the children.⁷² Consequently, the impression that wealth was randomly or haphazardly distributed among the offspring is dispelled when one probes the reasons that had triggered a specific bequest. This conclusion is supported by a less usual example, where Michael Beker, who died without heirs in 1698, left a substantial book collection, containing several interesting titles, many of them theological, to a woman he does not seem to have been related to. Because she is referred to in the inventory as “relictæ behaussung”, which suggests that she may have been a widow, and also perhaps deprived of her house, and as the mother of two young girls, Barbara and Catharina, one gets the impression that this may have been an act of charity.⁷³

Having established that both men and women bequeathed and inherited books, one needs to further explore the types of books that were passed on from one generation to the next and assess whether men and women received different reading matter.

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If one considers the type of books that parents bequeathed to their children, one comes to the conclusion that many of them were deemed suitable for religious and particularly for moral instruction. Thus, the books bequeathed to heirs included bibles, postils, handbooks, prayer books, song books, biblical commentaries, explanations of doctrine and professions of faith, theological treatises, church orders, catechisms and psalters.⁷⁴ Books designed for entertainment, such as the works of Terentius, Ovidius, Plaut and Bonfini, and practical works on medicine, pharmacy, botany,⁷⁵ arithmetic, law, Latin grammars and dictionaries were also frequent occurrences in these collections. A quantitative survey of these works suggests that members of the middling segment of urban

⁷² Ibid., 772 mentions a widow who wished to leave her inheritance to one of the sons because he had helped her administer her household.

⁷³ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 244-245. Bandi, *Lectura*, 125 is more interested in the theological content of the library than in the details of the bequest or the reasons behind it.

⁷⁴ Bandi, *Lectura*, 109-110, mentions that Conrad Dietrich's *Institutiones Catechetice* was published by Georg Haner of Sighișoara in a three-volume edition printed at Brașov in 1697-1698. Luther's *Small Catechism* was also printed in the same town in 1656. Valentin Schmalt's *Der kleine Katechismus zu Übung der Kinder* (1620) was also available.

⁷⁵ Bandi, *Lectura*, 131, considers that the *Neu Kreuterbuch* that is occasionally mentioned in inventories is the treatise on botany of Leonhard Fuchs (Basel, 1543). This could also be the work of Hieronymus Bock, *New Kreuterbuch von Unterscheidt, Würckung und Namen der Kreuter, so in teutschen Landen wachsen* (Straßburg, 1546) or that of Jacobus Theodorus Tabernaemontanus who had produced an illustrated *Neue Kreuterbuch* (Frankfurt, 1588) mentioned in the bequest of Georg Gutsch, senator and town judge in Bistrița (1738). Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 136-141.

society inherited a significant number of religious books, when compared to other reading matter made up of texts of more mundane or pragmatic nature. While the bible was definitely the most important type of book that all individuals should own, postils, handbooks, songbooks and prayerbooks seemed to be the other household staples and eagerly consumed reading matter.⁷⁶ One other major concern seems to have been discipline and the wellbeing of the family, reflected by the penchant for medical books, botanical treatises and collections of recipes for various remedies. Books on accountancy and various trades occupy a significant, albeit small place in these collections. Having taken into account the diversity of the reading matter bequeathed by parents to offspring, one is led to attempt to identify the differences between the books considered most suitable for men and those deemed appropriate for women.

An analysis of the nature of the books left by parents to their children suggests that sometimes, albeit infrequently, parents took great care to provide their children with the same books, regardless of their gender. For example, in 1663, Leonhardt Wienholdt, a goldsmith in Bistrița, left a 'good German Bible' and a "Lüneburger Hand Büchel" for each of his two children, Georgius and Sara.⁷⁷ This wish to provide each of the children with the most useful books is highlighted to greater extent by the example of Michael Weber who, in 1682, left an in-folio copy of Martin Luther's Bible to each of his two children, Michael and Catharina.⁷⁸ With possibly similar intentions, in 1695, Johannes Decani, who had an impressive number of books to divide among his three children, made sure that each of them would receive a bible, Stephan an "Alt Bibel", Catharina, an old New Testament, and Andreas an annotated Bible.⁷⁹ Finally, in 1717, Johann Schneider, a furrier in Sibiu, left two prayer books for each of his three children, Georgius, Maria and Catharina.⁸⁰ These examples, infrequent as they may be, suggest that bibles, handbooks and prayerbooks were part of the inheritance that parents wished to leave their offspring regardless of their gender.

This intention to provide offspring with the same type of books also existed when a family had children of the same gender. Thus, in 1683, David Brichenzweig, a "Messerschmied", left a *Hauspostill* for each of his

⁷⁶ Many of these works were widely available locally. Bandi, *Lectura*, 110, mentions Valentin Radecius' *Geistlicher Gesänge* printed at Cluj.

⁷⁷ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 57.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 320.

two daughters, Barbara and Anna.⁸¹ In the same manner, in 1745, Johann Ungar, a furrier, left a Sibiu Songbook (*Hermannstädter Gesangbuch*) to each of his two daughters, Maria and Catharina.⁸² Interestingly, women testators seem to have abided by the same set of rules. For example, in 1748, Catharina Lannin, a citizen of Sibiu and the wife of Thomas Lann, a "Maurer" (mason), left a new *Hermannstadt Gesangbuch* to each of her two daughters, Sophia and Catharina.⁸³ One striking feature of these examples is that no bibles were bequeathed to any of these women.

This makes one wonder whether the decision to provide daughters with *Hauspostills* and songbooks rather than bibles had something to do with their gender or was determined by the fact that perhaps these individuals had no bibles to bequeath. Although one cannot presume that absolutely everyone in an early modern Transylvanian town owned a bible, the evidence gleaned from probate inventories suggests that most individuals who owned books would have a copy of the bible. For example, in the town of Bistrița, out of 215 testaments of burghers, bibles were mentioned in 84, while in Sibiu, out of 473 inventories, 284 included bibles. One is consequently persuaded that, in urban environment, many individuals owned bibles, either complete editions in Latin or German, or just the New Testament. However, the sample of men and women from Bistrița examined in this study did not own the scriptures in equal numbers, as 66 bibles were inherited by men while only 39 such items were left to women.

As the bible seems to have been one of the most frequently bequeathed books, one may as well begin with an in-depth case study dedicated to the transmission of the Scriptures. One is consequently led to consider whether bequeathing a bible was a gender-specific act. As it has already been mentioned, the quantitative estimate suggests that the bible was inherited by almost twice as many men as women. This would lead one to conclude that the bible was the most frequently bequeathed book and that, more often than not, it was given to the son, especially when the item in question was what could be considered the 'family Bible'. For example, the already mentioned Hans Crestel left his son a collection of Latin books, but also "The Bible".⁸⁴ Hans Riemer and Schuster Galle both left their sons, Hans and Daniel, a bible, Endre Daniel alias Honigberger, a smith by trade, left a Latin Bible in-octavo to his son Thomas, Walentin Kraus, "Lederer" (tanner), bequeathed Martin Luther's *New Testament* to

⁸¹ Ibid., 83.

⁸² Ibid., 490.

⁸³ Ibid., 507.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 8.

his son, Martin, while, in 1716, Andreas Decani left the two bibles in his possession, *Biblia Osiandri* in-folio and *Biblia Sacra Latina*, to his son Samuel, while his widow did not inherit any books, further strengthening the impression that gender was involved in the decision.⁸⁵ Interestingly enough, Andreas may have inherited one of his books from his father, as in 1695, Johannes Decani left his son Andreas the “Osiander Biblia cum notis”.⁸⁶ This detail suggests that the *Osiander Bible* in question may have been used to record events within the family and thus used as the ‘family Bible’. Frequently, when bibles were described as being old, it probably meant that they were inherited, and thus passed on from one generation to the next.

The existence of ‘family Bibles’ is further suggested by an example from Cluj. The most significant events in his life, the history of the family, events in the town and his own particular interests, such as gardening, were recorded by Hans Jordan, a native of the southern German lands, who had settled in Cluj in 1520, in his bible.⁸⁷ Hans Jordan’s ‘family Bible’ was eventually inherited by his eldest son Thomas who, in turn, may have bequeathed it to his eldest son Karl Ludwig Jordan. Using the bible to record important events in the life of the family, births, marriages, deaths, twists of fate, seems to have been the norm in a world where writing materials were both scarce and expensive.⁸⁸ In fact, as Robert Offner has pointed out, many printers added blank pages to the bibles they produced in order to accommodate this need.⁸⁹

Gender driven motives are obscured in cases when an individual possessed more than one bible. Thus, in 1635, Andreas Diaken left a bible to his son Georg, but two of his daughters, Susanna and Dorothea also received a bible each, Susanna an in-folio and Dorothea a German bible.⁹⁰ Only the

⁸⁵ Ibid., 11, 13, 14, 58, 74.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 95.

⁸⁷ Robert Offner, ‘Handschriftliche Bibel-Einträge von Hans Jordan, Daten zur Familiengeschichte (1520-1545) und über die Klausenburger Stadtratswahlen von 1535’, *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 41 (2018): 42-60.

⁸⁸ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 76 points out that books were used by their owners to mark their own place in history, especially when books descended through multiple generations in a single family and that it was customary to register births, marriages and deaths. Ulinka Rublack, ‘Grapho-Relics: Lutheranism and the Materialization of the Word’, *Past and Present* Supplement 5 (2010): 144-165, especially p. 161 mentions an example of a Weimer Bible where its owner inscribed his name, place of birth, fatherland and offices in the pages of the 14th, 15th and 16th chapters of John.

⁸⁹ Offner, ‘Handschriftliche Bibel-Einträge’, 43.

⁹⁰ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 26.

third daughter, Catherina received instead a Catechism, Gualtherus' sermons and *Psalterium Davidis*. In 1590, Georg Urischer left a bible to his son Georg and a bible, among several other books, to his daughter Margaret.⁹¹ In 1596, Catharina Galle left a bible to each of her children, Martin and Catharina, although the son was also given a *Hauspostilla* and a prayer book.⁹² In 1689, Georg Böhm, a senator in Bistrița, left a *New Testament* for his daughter Catharina, along with other less usual books, including one in Italian, while his son Georg received a history of the bible. His son Johann, however, did receive a *Biblia Germanica* in octavo.⁹³ In this case, the father had to make a decision between the two sons, as well as between the sons and the daughter. It seems likely that Johann received the 'family Bible', that is, the in-octavo bible in German, while the daughter received just the *New Testament*, possibly in a smaller format.

In fact, this difference in size may well signal different ways of using the bible and another gendered attitude. For example, in 1732, Catharina Laubin, born Christophin, from Sibiu, the wife of Weissgerbers (tawer) Friedrich Laube, left Seeligmanns Bible "in gross octav", while her husband, Friedrich Laube, bequeathed a "Biblia in folio". Perhaps not surprisingly, his will states that the in-folio bible would go to his son Friedrich, while his daughter Catharina received a New Testament in parchment.⁹⁴ This leads one to conclude that Catharina had a bible for her own devotional use, while Friedrich had inherited the 'family Bible' that he was now leaving for future generations.⁹⁵ Additional insight into this matter is provided by the probate inventory of the minister of Romos, Johann Gottschling, drawn in 1706, which stipulated that his books would be divided among his three sons and his daughter. The widow was instructed to keep the *Osiander Bible* in German and against the value of this book she was to buy a 'good hand bible' for her daughter, so that she could have it for her own use.⁹⁶ This suggests that it was considered normal for women to own bibles which they used in their private devotions, while men would be charged with safekeeping the 'family Bible'. This is further supported by the example of Leonhard Wienholdt, a

⁹¹ Ibid., 6-7.

⁹² Ibid., 10.

⁹³ Ibid., 92.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 359.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 359-360. Catharina Laubin specified that the heirs were the widower and her two biological children, Anna Catharina and Friedrich Laube. Her husband's will is more specific in terms of dividing the books between the two children.

⁹⁶ Bandi, *Lectura*, p. 212.

goldsmith in Bistrița, who gave his son Georg a Bible, in fact “Ein gutt Deutsch Bibel” while his daughter Sara received “Ein gutt Leinburger Handtbüchel”.⁹⁷ In 1679, Georg Seddert, Stadtrichter (town judge) in Sighișoara, left his son Georg the New Testament in Greek and Latin and a “Teutsch Bibel in folio”, while his daughter Catharina received a “Teutsch Bibel in quarto” and a Latin New Testament.⁹⁸ In this particular case, it seems that although both children received a bible, the son was bequeathed the ‘family Bible’, while the daughter was left a bible in a format more suited to her personal devotions. A similar logic seems to have informed Georg Schuller’s decision, because, in 1735, he left his son Valentinus a German Gospel and his daughter Catharina a *Handbibel*, while the other son, Johann received the *Creutz und Trost Buchlein* of Cyriacus Spangenberg.⁹⁹ Once again, the ‘family Bible’ seems to have been given to the, possibly, oldest son, while the daughter and the other son received devotional props. Interestingly enough, when acting as testators, women also took into account these more or less explicit rules. For example, in 1746, Maria Weissin, born Fussin, “Bürgerin in Hermannstadt” and the wife of Georg Weiss, bequeathed a bible in octavo to her son Johann and “ein nürnbergische klein Hanbibel” along with a songbook to her daughter Maria.¹⁰⁰

These examples highlight the fact that sons often inherited a bible, usually an impressive and costly item. This fairly well entrenched custom seems to suggest that fathers were concerned with family tradition and wished to bequeath a bible to their sons. For example, such an idea must have been on Martin Böhm’s mind in 1649, when he bequeathed the two bibles he owned, a German and a Latin one to his son Georg.¹⁰¹ His wish to preserve family tradition is also suggested by the fact that he named his son after his own father who had been a *Stadtrichter*. Sometimes, a person would own two bibles, a big in-folio, to use as a ‘family Bible’, and a small hand bible, to use in one’s devotions. For example, in 1746, Stephan Hintz, a Riemer, like many other people, owned a hand bible but also an old, in-folio bible.¹⁰² The latter must have been the ‘family Bible’ that he had probably inherited. In this case, the hand bible may have been an inherited item as well, because, in 1711, Michael Hintz, “Tuchscherer in

⁹⁷ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 57.

⁹⁸ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, vol. 2, 757.

⁹⁹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 132-133.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 496.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 495. The heirs were his widow Maria, born Herrmanin and his daughter Maria.

Hermannstadt” (cloth-shearer), had bequeathed “ein deutsche Handbibel” to his son Michael and it is not outside the realm of possibility that the two were related, although perhaps not father and son.¹⁰³

Taken together, these examples suggest that sons were preferred when books had to be passed on to the next generation and that they were frequently singled out to inherit a bible. This does not mean that daughters never inherited bibles as there are examples that contradict this assumption. Having no son to bequeath it to, in 1684, Johann Schuller, goldsmith in Sibiu, left ‘a good Bible’, together with a *Hauspostill*, for his two daughters, Annetha and Catherina, which they were meant to share.¹⁰⁴ This shared ownership, however, does not provide any clues about the way these items were intended to be used. In a similar manner, in 1676, Johann Dürbächer, a tailor, left an impressive number of books to his daughter Christina, the Latin *Concordanz Bible* among them.¹⁰⁵ These examples lead one to conclude that, when the testator had no sons, a bible could also be given to a daughter.

The existing evidence suggests that, during the second half of the 17th century, several artisans, including goldsmiths and Seifensieders (soap-boilers), left collections of books, which included bibles, to their daughters when they happened to be the sole heirs.¹⁰⁶ More prominent citizens of Sibiu, for instance, had similar strategies. In 1688, Matthias Henning, a *juris sedis judicis* in Sibiu, left his daughter Margaret several bibles, a German one in-quarto, a German one in-folio and a Hungarian one, in-quarto.¹⁰⁷ In 1681, Johann Weinhold, a senator, left his daughter Sophia a ‘beautiful German Bible’ and a Hungarian Bible.¹⁰⁸ These two examples suggest that, in certain circumstances, particularly in the absence of a son, daughters also inherited the ‘family Bible’. The evidence also suggests that when a woman had a bible to bequeath, she would also leave it to her daughter, if the daughter happened to be the only child. Thus, in 1663, Susanna Benderin, born Kretscherin, left her daughter Christine a German and a Latin bible.¹⁰⁹

The decision-making was more complicated, and other criteria came into play when the family had more than one son or more than one

¹⁰³ Ibid., 287.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 234.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 69.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 49-50, 70, 72, 79, 235, 737, 747, 751.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 235.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 228.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 58-59.

daughter and had to decide who would inherit the 'family Bible'. For example, in 1679, Andreas Gürischer, member of the city council (Mitglied des Rats), left his books to his son Johann, including an in-octavo copy of the 1588 edition of Luther's Bible printed at Wittenberg.¹¹⁰ His example is even more interesting because his other son, Peter, received a book on the art of war, which suggests that Andreas had taken into account his sons' preferences and interests when making his decision. In 1662, Jacob Daumitz, a Tischler (joiner), was in a similar situation because he had three sons, Jacob, Andreas and Adam. In this situation, he bequeathed the *Novum Testamentum Concordia* to the son who also bore his name (perhaps the eldest child), thus highlighting his concern for tradition and the transmission of the family's valuable items.¹¹¹ Other examples highlight the fact that a deliberate choice was made when entrusting the bible to one of the sons. In 1683, Christian Schaller, a Schirmacher (umbrella maker), left a *New Testament* in Greek and Latin to his son Andreas, along with other books, while his other two sons, Georg and Johann, received other items, Georg a theological treatise and Johann a *Hauspostill*, a work by Philip Melancton and *Psalterium Davidis*.¹¹² Another interesting example is that of Hans Zammerburger who, in 1684, decided to leave an in-folio copy of Martin Luther's *German Bible* to his son Martin. Two of his other sons, Hans and Michael, received monetary compensation, while Georg received a handbook and Andreas a handbook and monetary compensation.¹¹³ The dispensation of objects and money seems to suggest that the value of the books in question was taken into account when compensating the children who did not receive the prestigious and costly Luther Bible in German. This would explain why one of the sons received a handbook besides the monetary compensation.

This leaves one with the question of whether the recipients of the bible were the eldest sons or whether other criteria came into play when choosing them to inherit the Holy Writ. For example, in 1655, Michael Conrad or Botscher had three sons and a daughter. When his books were bequeathed to his offspring, it was not the son that bore his name, Michael, who received the bible, but rather his son Samuel, who may have been the youngest child, because he was mentioned last in the probate inventory.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 72.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 56.

¹¹² Ibid., 80-81.

¹¹³ Ibid., 85.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 44-45.

A similar situation occurred in 1662, when Matthias Heidendorfer left a summary of the entire bible to his son Johann, and not to the son that bore his name, who may have been the eldest offspring.¹¹⁵ In 1680, Thomas Gellner bequeathed Martin Luther's *New Testament* in German to his son Matthias, and not to the son who had inherited his name.¹¹⁶ The same is true in 1698, when Georg Böhm, a senator, left a *German Bible* in octavo to his son Johann, while his son Georg received a history of the bible.¹¹⁷ Susanna Kleinin, widow of Caspar Klein, bequeathed Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* in Latin, in octavo to her son Georg, and not to the son who bore her husband's name, Caspar.¹¹⁸ In contrast, in 1707, Andreas Fischer left a Gospel and *Sacra Historiae* to the son named after him.¹¹⁹ As probate inventories do not mention the age of the children, it is difficult to determine whether the first born was bestowed the honour of inheriting the 'family Bible'. The idea that the first born was probably named after the father remains an, as of yet unproven, hypothesis. Moreover, in the absence of research on naming patterns in urban environment, this issue cannot be properly resolved.

Things could become even more complicated when a family had several daughters and one had to be chosen to receive a bible, perhaps the 'family Bible'. For example, in 1680, Martin Gitschen (Mitglied des Rats), who had three daughters, Christina, Anna and Margaret, bequeathed Luther's Sunday sermons from Advent to Easter to Christina, "Das Buch Willkommen" to Anna and a *New Testament* to Margaret together with Balthasar Meisner's *Meditationes Sacrae*.¹²⁰ Faced with the same problem in 1689, Mathes Berger, a Schuster, left the bible to his daughter Susanna and compensated his other offspring, Catharina, by leaving her 2 florins.¹²¹ When it came to deciding which of the daughters was the most worthy to inherit the book collection, female testators had to face the same dilemmas. In 1694, Susanna Schlunkin found it difficult to decide how her four daughters, Susanna, Margaret, Sophia and Christina would use the two books she had possessed.¹²²

Situations where decisions concerning inheritance of books had to be reached by the mother rather than the father are equally interesting and

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 53.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 76-77.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 92.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 99.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 103.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 76.

¹²¹ Ibid., 92.

¹²² Ibid., 92.

raise new and challenging questions. Sometimes, the female testator would leave the bible to her son. For example, in 1688, Catharina Lochnerin left Luther's *German Bible* printed at Lüneburg to her son Martin.¹²³ When the woman did not have any male heirs, she generally left the bible to a daughter. Thus, in 1663, Susanna Benderin, born Kretscherin, left a German and a Latin Bible to her daughter Christine.¹²⁴ In a similar manner, in 1677, Agnetha Wächterin, a citizen of Sibiu, left her daughter Catharina a *German Bible*.¹²⁵ In other cases, mothers would leave the 'family Bible' to one of the sons (perhaps the oldest, perhaps the youngest), bequeathing different books to the other children. For example, in 1703, Susanna Kleinin, widow of Caspar Klein, bequeathed Erasmus' *New Testament* in Latin, in octavo format, to her son Georg, while her other children, Caspar and Catharina, received other books.¹²⁶ One is led to speculate that Georg may have been the oldest son, but the fact that the other son bears the father's name casts some doubt on this hypothesis. In fact, examples when a female testator chose to leave a bible to the son, although she had several children, are quite numerous and include Maria Weissin (1716), Sophia Weinholdin (1717), Maria Teutschin (1721), Anna Wagnerin (1723), Sara Schemeliusin (1726), Agnetha Weberin (1738) and Catharina Wagnerin (1740).¹²⁷

At times, it was difficult for a mother to decide how to divide the books among her children. For instance, in 1742, Sophia Grossin, a Strumpfstrickerin¹²⁸, had several books to bequeath to her three children: an in-folio bible, a *Hauspostill*, two prayerbooks and a songbook. She eventually chose according to the norm, as her son Johann received an in-folio bible and a prayer book, the daughter, Catharina, who was most likely older, as she is listed as "vermählte schmiedin", which meant that she had recently married, received a Haus Postill, while the other son, who was probably very young, as he is described as "the posthumous son of the deceased Thomas", received a prayer book and songbook.¹²⁹ In less complicated cases, the mother chose to leave the more valuable bible to her son. For example, in 1746, Maria Weissin, born Fussin, the wife of Georg Weiss, left a bible in octavo for her son Johann and a Nürnberg little Handbibel for her daughter Maria, together with a Sibiu Songbook.¹³⁰ This

¹²³ Ibid., 88.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 58-59.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 226

¹²⁶ Ibid., 99.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 315, 317, 332, 335, 339, 392-393, 422.

¹²⁸ She knitted stockings for a living.

¹²⁹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 481.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 496.

is interesting, as the in-octavo book may have acted as the 'family Bible', while clearly the item described as a "kleine Handbibel" was more likely a personal devotional prop. This solution again suggests a gender bias: 'family Bibles' were bequeathed to sons (if there were any), while personal items, such as little 'hand bibles', more likely to be used in personal devotion, could also go to daughters.

Such seemingly workable patterns of book transmission between generations, where bibles passed from fathers to sons, are challenged by 'eccentric' cases when fathers preferred daughters as keepers of the 'family Bible'. For example, one can only be intrigued by Mechel Csikert's decision to bequeath a bible to his daughter Catharina, although he also had two sons, Michael and Franciscus. The sons, however, received a postil by Veit Dietrich and the *Haupt Artikel* of Justus Jonas.¹³¹ Mechel Csikert's example was by no means unique as, in 1683, Jacob Balck decided to bequeath two bibles to his daughter Magdalene, while his son Johann received a prayer book, "Simon Pauli's postil" and a devotional work.¹³² In 1685, Stephan Bachner's decision was equally intriguing, as he bequeathed a *New Testament* in octavo to his daughter Margaret, while his son Martin received other books useful for Christian instruction.¹³³ In a similar manner, in 1707, Andreas Fischer left a bible in German, a Nürenberg Catechism in German and an "Ordinandum examen" in German to his daughter Susanna, while his sons received other books, Johann the *Thesaurus Poeticus* and Andreas the *Book of Concord*.¹³⁴ Thus, sons seemed to be re-oriented towards poetry and ecclesiastical politics, while the daughter received the basic books of religious instruction. Finally, the oddest case highlighted by existing evidence is that of a female testator, Catharina Schneiderin, born Grüssin, who, in 1695, left 31 books to her daughter Susanna and no books at all to her son Michael.¹³⁵ Perhaps Susanna was a keen student and possibly Michael had no interest in books, or perhaps Catharina Schneiderin did not wish to break up her library. One must also consider that other goods may have been bequeathed to Michael, such as land or houses, and thus the daughter may have been chosen to inherit movables. Whatever the reasons behind Catharina's actions, her decision points to the fact that gender biases did not work unilaterally and that, occasionally, sons could be the offspring that fell out of the parents' favour.

¹³¹ Ibid., 64.

¹³² Ibid., 82.

¹³³ Ibid., 86.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 103.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 96.

Even when individuals had two or more children of the same sex, criteria other than gender were at work when deciding the nature of the books bequeathed to each of them. For instance, in 1660, Barthel Schneider divided his books between his daughters Anna and Barbara. It is obvious from the choices made that he wished to equip both of them with educational texts concerning Lutheran doctrine, particularly the Lord's Supper, devotional literature and moral instruction.¹³⁶ It is still difficult/almost impossible to assess why Anna received Paul Eber's book, while Barbara received the *Catechesis*. Or why Anna received *Bugenhagen's Passion*, while Barbara was given a songbook and the *Gebetbüchlein*. Perhaps Barbara was the youngest, or a better singer, or more devout than her sister. Perhaps Anna had a better grasp of theological subtleties or more interest in them. This case is not unique, as suggested by the example of Martin Steinkelner, who also had two daughters, Susanna and Barbara. In 1609, when he made his will, he decided that Barbara would receive his only book, an in-folio copy of Erasmus' *Latin Bible*.¹³⁷ Although we cannot guess them, he must have had his reasons for designating Barbara as the keeper of what seems to have been the 'family Bible'. Consequently, the analysis of probate inventories suggests that bibles were mostly bequeathed to sons when testators, whether male or female, had to choose between the son or the daughter. However, when testators had to choose between offspring of the same gender, the image becomes less clear and there is no discernible gendered pattern in bequests that involved the bible. One gets the impression that testators had to choose the most suitable heir for the upkeep of family tradition.

Despite these ambiguities, the evidence examined in this section suggests that bequeathing the bible was, at least in part, a gendered act. Bibles, especially if they were valuable, in-folio items, designated as 'family Bibles', were usually bequeathed to sons, who, whether the oldest or the youngest child, the ablest or the most beloved, were invested with the mission of perpetuating family tradition. In the absence of a male heir, bibles and even 'family Bibles' were left to daughters. If all the children in a family were daughters, one of them would be chosen as the recipient of the bible and charged with safeguarding family tradition. If the testator had more than one bible to bequeath, the 'family Bible', usually an in-folio copy of a valuable edition would be left to the son, while daughters would be given 'hand bibles' in smaller format, which clearly served as devotional props. It thus seems that although informed by gender biases,

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

decisions concerning the bequest of bibles were based on the importance afforded to family tradition. Outside the realm of the norm, cases where the bible was bequeathed to daughters, although there was a male heir in the picture, are difficult to explain in the absence of richer details concerning the lives of the protagonists.

Moving beyond the bible as a much-coveted item laden with symbolic meaning, one has to explore the nature of other books that were bequeathed to offspring of either sex in early modern times.

Type of book	Men	Women
Bible	66	39
Commentaries on the Scriptures	20	17
Commentaries on the Epistles	4	3
Commentaries on the Psalms	3	1
Collections of Sermons	16	6
Literature on the Book of Concord	4	0
Theological Treatises	16	11
Polemical Works	2	2
Luther's Tischreden	1	1
Postils	30	20
Handbuch	10	3
Catechisms	9	10
Professions of Faith and Discussions of Doctrine	20	13
Church Orders	1	3
Prayerbooks	7	16
Devotional literature	1	6
Songbooks	3	14
Psalters	13	4
Jesus Syrah	5	1
Literature on Marriage	3	1
Medical Books	5	3
Haus Apothek	2	0
Botanical Works	3	0
Artis Auriferae	1	0
Historical Works	3	1
Legislation	2	1
Cosmographia	0	1

Table 1: Types of books bequeathed to the citizens of Bistrița

A quantitative analysis of the type of books bequeathed to the men and women from Bistrița, featured in table 1, allows a first conclusion concerning the books considered suitable reading matter for both genders.

In most of the categories surveyed in this analysis, a greater number of men inherited the types of books considered. This is particularly obvious in the case of commentaries on the Scriptures, collections of sermons, theological treatises, Postils, Handbooks, Professions of Faith and discussions of doctrine, Psalters, Jesus Syrah, literature on marriage, medical books, books of remedies and botanical works. The number of women who inherited a certain type of book equalled or surpassed that of men only in the case of catechisms, prayerbooks, devotional literature and songbooks.

Beyond these generic quantitative estimates, one needs to look at specific cases of families with offspring of both genders to see whether different books were bequeathed to men and women based on some sort of gender bias. This may help one identify recurrent patterns in gender-specific bequests of books and even particular roles assigned to men and women with the help of these 'reading lists'. To begin with an example, in 1655, Michael Conrad oder Botscher was in a position to leave books to all of his children, three sons and a daughter, although he singled out one of the sons, Samuel as the recipient of the bible. The daughter was given a songbook and a prayerbook, perhaps considered a more suitable choice for women, able to aid her in daily devotions, while books more useful in instruction, such as catechisms and sermons, or in the practice of piety, such as psalters and songbooks were left to the two other sons, Michael and Johann.¹³⁸

The pattern of transmission suggested by this example does hint at the existence of a gender bias. Some other examples, for instance that of Georg Urischer, who, in 1590, left his son Georg a bible and his daughter Margaretha a German Catechism,¹³⁹ do signal the father's belief that the daughter was in need of more basic instruction delivered in simpler terms. In similar manner, in 1635, Andreas Diacken left his son Georg a bible and his daughter Catharina a postil and a catechism.¹⁴⁰ However, his other daughters Susanna and Dorothea did receive bibles and several theological texts, which would suggest that the father did not doubt their intellectual capabilities. Although this last example throws some doubt on the existence of gender specific bequests, there is more evidence that supports this conclusion. For instance, in 1679, Hans Führman bequeathed a bible to his son Johann and Martin Luther's catechism to his daughter Anna.¹⁴¹ Although in a slightly more subtle manner, the next example also pleads

¹³⁸ Monok (ed), *Lesestoffe*, pp, 44-45.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-26.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

for the existence of a gender bias. In 1680, Thomas Gellner left his son Matthias a *Corpus Doctrinae Christianae*, Martin Luther's New Testament and Simon Paul's Commentaries on the Epistles. Meanwhile, his daughter Catharina received Johannes Gigas' Postil and a *Kirchenordnung*.¹⁴² Finally, in 1707, Andreas Fischer left his son John a New Testament and Sacred Histories together with the Book of Concord, while his daughter Susanna received the Nürenberg Catechism.¹⁴³ In the rest of the cases, 50 altogether, where the family had offspring of both genders, the young men and women received similar books. Besides highlighting discrepancies between results obtained through quantitative as opposed to qualitative analysis, the close-up focused on specific examples shows that men were often bequeathed bibles, while daughters were offered more basic means of religious instruction. On the other hand, men were given more books which dealt with discipline and the exercise of authority, while daughters were left literature that would help with daily household administration. Finally, daughters were bequeathed more books that were useful in daily devotional exercises. Taking all these examples and the rather ambiguous situations into account, one is left to inquire whether this choice of quite similar (religious literature) but actually very different books (bible versus catechism) was laden with gender stereotypes.

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Different attitudes to sons and daughters are brought into sharper focus when the son received a Bible, that is, the Word of God, while the daughter received Martin Luther's *Small Catechism*.¹⁴⁴ As it has already been mentioned, this happened in 1679 in the case of Hans Führman, a Riemer, who gave the New Testament in German to his son Johann and Luther's *Small Catechism* in German to his daughter Anna.¹⁴⁵ The decision is laden with meaning and possibly with gendered stereotypes as, in this bequest, Johann was presumed capable of reading and understanding the Holy Writ, while the daughter was meant to use a catechism written for the edification of children and of the less educated laity. One should not however be too quick to draw conclusions concerning the lesser appreciation afforded to women from this particular example. In fact, an intriguing case provides evidence that would contradict such a dismal view of women's capabilities. In 1680, Thomas Gellner, a Lederer, left his

¹⁴² Ibid., 76-77.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 103.

¹⁴⁴ This obviously refers to Luther's *Small Catechism* published in 1529. This must have been widely available in Transylvania as an edition of it was printed by Honterus at Braşov in 1548. Bandi, *Lectura*, 107.

¹⁴⁵ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 73.

son Matthias Luther's *New Testament* in German in octavo format,¹⁴⁶ together with Philip Melancthon's *Corpus Doctrinae Christianae*.¹⁴⁷ More interesting is the assortment of books he left his daughter Catharina. The postils of Johannes Gigas¹⁴⁸ are not a surprising option, but a polemical work against the papacy and the *Kirchenordnung* printed by Johannes Lufft are unusual choices.¹⁴⁹ They definitely suggest that the father did not doubt his daughter's intellectual capability.

The two cases contrasted here, together with the results of the qualitative analysis undertaken in this study highlight the ambiguities that dominated the act of bequeathing books. When attempting to determine whether men and women received different books from their parents, to the point of suggesting the existence of gendered reading cultures, one is led to conclude that the data analysed in this study paints a sometimes confusing picture. To begin with, one must note that the books that were mentioned in probate inventories fall into several categories. Literature intended for religious instruction outweighed any other category and included bibles, biblical commentaries, explanations of doctrine, postils, handbooks, catechisms, sermon collections, psalters, prayerbooks, songbooks and other devotional works, while other genres, such as history, botany, medicine, pharmacy and literature are mentioned in significantly smaller numbers. One consequently gets the impression that religious instruction had to be made available to everyone, regardless of gender.

And yet, judging from the books they tended to receive, men seem to have been perceived as more analytical, while women were deemed more pious. This conclusion is based on the content of the 'reading lists' compiled implicitly for men and women. By giving men bibles, biblical commentaries, theological treatises, postils and collections of sermons, testators seem to express expectations concerning their direct engagement

¹⁴⁶ Luther's *New Testament* was first published in German in September 1522. Luther had translated it from the Greek *New Testament* using Erasmus' 1519 edition of the *New Testament* in Greek. From the beginning it had an unusually large printing of between three and five thousand copies. As the first edition sold out, the Wittenberg publisher Melchior Lotther the Younger produced a second edition in December. Between 1422 and 1525 the *New Testament* had 43 distinct editions. Moreover, the expensive folio reprints quickly made way for smaller and less expensive quarto and octavo editions. Mark U. Edwards Jr., *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 123.

¹⁴⁷ Philip Melancthon, *Corpus Doctrinae Christianae* (Leipzig: Ernest Vögelin, 1560).

¹⁴⁸ Johannes Gigas (1514-1581) was the author of the *Catechismus Johannis Gigantis Northusani* (Frankfurt/Oder: Johan Eichorn, 1578).

¹⁴⁹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 76-77. The *Kirchenordnung* may have been the one produced for the church in Wittenberg, published by Hans Lufft in 1559.

with the Word of God and abilities to understand subtler points of doctrine. At the same time, by preferring to give women catechisms, prayerbooks and songbooks, they invited them to understand the fundamental tenets of faith and to engage in daily pious exercises. The books deemed suitable for men and for women suggest that men were presumed more rational and able to understand complex issues of belief and religious practice, read commentaries on the bible and discuss the finer points of doctrine,¹⁵⁰ while women were simply considered devout, as suggested by the rich collections of prayerbooks, songbooks and devotional works in their possession.¹⁵¹

Sometimes, men were credited with greater interest in theology, whereas women were given access to distilled forms of the doctrine, such as catechisms. In support of this conclusion, one can quote the example of Johann Bawman, who gave his son Nicolaus a Psalter, his son Peter theological literature and his daughter Margaret, the Catechism of Philip Melancton and *Catechesis Religionis Christianae*.¹⁵² In 1646, Gorig Thum left his son Georg the *Psalterium Davidis* and his daughter Eva, Luther’s *Tischreden*, a *Hauspostill* and a Prayerbook.¹⁵³ In 1655, Michael Conrad or Botscher bequeathed the bible to his son Samuel, the Catechism of Johannes Brentius,¹⁵⁴ a *Trawmbuch* and a songbook to his son Michael,¹⁵⁵ the Postilla of Johannes Spindler and the *Psalterium Davidis* to his son Johann, while his daughter Susanna received a songbook and a

¹⁵⁰ For example, men were bequeathed works on the Book of Concord. Compiled by Jakob Andreae and Martin Chemnitz and published in German in 1580 (Dresden) and in Latin in 1584 (Leipzig), the Book of Concord was intended to set the doctrinal standard for the Lutheran Church.

¹⁵¹ Bandi, *Lectura*, 95-97, suggests that Martin Luther’s *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* published in 1550 was available in Transylvania, but he also draws attention to the local production of songbooks which included a *Gesang Buch* printed at Braşov in 1676, a *Gebet und Gesang Buch* printed at Braşov in 1686. The prayer book must have been Luther’s *Betbüchlein* of 1522. Bandi, *Lectura*, 107, also mentions local production, for example the *Christliche Gebetbuchlein* printed at Braşov in 1625.

¹⁵² Monok, *Lesestoffe*, 14-15. The first may refer to Philip Melancthon, *Catechesis puerilis* (Wittenberg: Johannes Crato, 1552). The other Catechism may have been a local production *Catechismus religionis Christi* (Weißenburg: Typis princ. Transilvaniae, 1636). Graeme Murdock, ‘Calvinist catechising and Hungarian Reformed identity’, in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, Graeme Murdock (eds), *Confessional Identity in East Central Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 81-98, especially p. 89 suggests that this may have been the Latin Hungarian Catechism produced by Johann Heinrich Alsted and printed at Alba Iulia in 1636. The text was in fact a short version of the Heidelberg Catechism and was widely used in Reformed schools across Transylvania, benefitting from five editions before 1660.

¹⁵³ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 33-34.

¹⁵⁴ Johannes Brenz, *Catechismus piae et utili explicationes illustratus* (o.O.: o. D., 1558).

¹⁵⁵ Bandi, *Lectura*, 107, mentions a *Traumbüchlein* printed at Sibiu in 1616.

prayerbook.¹⁵⁶ In this case, books intended for religious instruction were bequeathed to sons, while devotional books were given to the daughter.¹⁵⁷

Men were also considered able to implement discipline in the home and exercise authority outside it and thus received texts that praised the “heilige Ehestand” or the “Christiliche Ehe”, as well as a book on discipline in the home (*Spiegel der Hauszucht*), while being equipped with *Hauspostilla* and *Handbooks*.¹⁵⁸ They also received Psalters and Jesus Syrah.¹⁵⁹ Perceived as responsible for the wellbeing of their families, men were given medical books, tracts on home remedies and herbals. Men’s, often public, roles in urban context, membership in the town council and various offices they held, earmarked them as recipients of legislation and historical works.¹⁶⁰ Women, on the other hand, were perceived as able and competent administrators, fully equipped for the job with the *Oeconomia oder Hausbuch* as well as books on arithmetic and account keeping.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 44-45. Bandi, *Lectura*, 136, mentions that two pages of Luther’s comments on the psalms were used to record public events. This also suggests that such comments on the psalms circulated widely in Transylvania. This was also true for Selnecker’s, *Der Gantze Psalter des königlichen Propheten David*.

¹⁵⁷ This is not always true as sometimes devotional books were also given to sons. Thus, in 1662, Andreas Gürischer left his son Andreas a songbook and his daughter Catharina the postil of Joachim Molinej. Monok (ed.). *Lesestoffe*, 51.

¹⁵⁸ *Hauspostilla* were collections of sermons covering the entire ecclesiastical year. Such works were originally intended to be consulted prior to service by pastors seeking guidance and instruction while preparing their sermons. In time, they were also meant to reach a broader audience and to be used in the household and other places by the common man. Morten Fink-Jensen, ‘Printing and Preaching after the Reformation. A Danish Pastor and his Audiences’ in Charlotte Appel, Morten Fink-Jensen (eds), *Religious Reading in the Lutheran North: Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 15-47, especially 31-32, 36-37. Handbooks generally included sets of religious texts, biblical passages, Luther’s Small Catechism, the Passion of Christ by Johannes Bugenhagen, hymn books and prayer books, calendars, which “served as a complete companion to the faithful Lutheran subject”. Bandi, *Lectura*, 107, suggests that manuals of this type were produced locally and mentions the *Cronstädtische Kirchenmanual oder Handbuch*, printed at Braşov in 1687 and 1694.

¹⁵⁹ This was an apocryphal form of the Book of Ecclesiasts. Susan Karant Nunn, ‘Kinder, Küche, Kirche: Social Ideology in the sermons of Johannes Mathesius’ in Andrew Fix, Susan Karant Nunn (eds), *Germania Illustrata. Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss* (Kirksville: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1992), pp. 121-140, especially 125, discusses Mathesius’ sermons on the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus.

¹⁶⁰ They possessed *Jus Canonicum* and *Statuta Transilvaniae*. Antonio Bonfini, *Historia Pannonica: Sive Hungaricarum Rerum Decades IV*.

¹⁶¹ This may very well be Johannes Mathesius, *Oeconomia oder bericht wie sie ein Hausvater halten* sol published in 1564.

In order to discover what could be considered suitable reading matter for women, one can compare the content of Transylvanian urban book collections with libraries owned by women in other parts of Europe, particularly in the German lands. For example, Anna of Saxony's library may provide some clues in this regard. As Brian Hale has suggested, early modern libraries at this social level, among the princely elites, represented dynastic collections, as well as attempts to organize knowledge about the universe. Book collections enhanced the prestige of the ruler, displayed his wealth and sign posted social dominance, besides testifying to the prince's religious beliefs. They also served as reminders of dynastic continuity. In this milieu, a woman's collection seems to have advertised her social roles as administrator, care-taker and healer.¹⁶² Books that imparted general knowledge and those that facilitated religious instruction were definitely present on Anna's shelves. Interestingly enough, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* and Veit Dietrich's *Children's Postil* present in Anna's library were also to be found among the books bequeathed to Transylvanian women.¹⁶³ Anna also owned Martin Luther's *Small Catechism* and the *Table Talk* which also feature prominently in Transylvanian book collections.¹⁶⁴ Finally, Anna's collection included songbooks by Luther and forty prayerbooks, allowing Hale to conclude that her piety was reflected by the content of her shelves.¹⁶⁵ It should not come as a surprise that Transylvanian urban women were also given prayerbooks and songbooks by their fathers and mothers. In fact, by the 18th century, bibles, prayerbooks and songbooks had become staples of female book collections. If, in support of this statement, one looks at women from Sibiu as testators, one comes to the conclusion that out of 115 women who appear alone as testators, 59 owned bibles, some of them very expensive ones, valued between 3 and 8 florins, 20 had postils, 18 possessed songbooks, 21 had prayerbooks, 18 owned handbooks, while only 6 had catechisms, 2 had Luther's *Tischreden*, 2 had Jesus Syrah, 2 possessed Psalters and only one had a collection of sermons.

Thus, suitable reading matter for women mostly included devotional literature, particularly prayerbooks and songbooks and practical books on housekeeping. At this point, one needs to assess how the messages conveyed by these books defined the social roles tailored for women.

¹⁶² Brian J. Hale, 'Anna of Saxony and Her Library' in *Early Modern Women* 9/1 (2014): 101-114, especially 103-107.

¹⁶³ Hale, 'Anna of Saxony', 105-106. Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, p. 66 mentions Susanna, who was bequeathed by her father Caspar Laur an in-folio edition of Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia oder Beschreibung Allelander*.

¹⁶⁴ Hale, 'Anna of Saxony', 107.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

One of the books present in Anna's library is the apocryphal *Jesus Syrah* (the Book of Ecclesiasticus), which Hale calls "a misogynistic text" which instilled into children the idea that women should be married and submissive to their fathers and husbands.¹⁶⁶ Whilst discussing Mathesius' anthology of sermons on this apocryphal wisdom book, Susan Karant-Nunn suggests that reformers in Saxony made Ecclesiasticus required reading in many girls' schools.¹⁶⁷ Karant-Nunn further points out that Ecclesiasticus, especially chapters 25, 26 and 42 "contain a number of disparaging comments on women".¹⁶⁸ This is an interesting point to begin this discussion, as Mathesius was a representative of the Lutheran clerical establishment who claimed to follow Martin Luther very closely in his views on marriage and women. As Karant-Nunn has convincingly suggested, Mathesius was a "prominent articulator of an emerging Lutheran model of matrimony and the proper roles and behaviour of the sexes".¹⁶⁹ Whilst Mathesius seems to have had a positive view of marriage, which he strongly advocated as a Godly ordained institution, he held a very low opinion of women, whom he considered a threat to society. Consequently, women had to be placed under male authority and anchored in the domestic realm, tending the household and rearing the children.¹⁷⁰ The Christian woman, as defined by Mathesius, had to be pious, devout, faithful, loyal, chaste, bashful, quiet, helpful, gracious, hardworking, frugal, maternal, obedient, humble, domestic, modest, compassionate, practical, gentle, patient, submissive and clever.¹⁷¹ These messages, which defined their social role, were conveyed to women with the help of sermons, but also with the help of books, and one must remember that Mathesius' 92 sermons on marriage were not only preached but also published beginning with 1563.¹⁷² His anthology of sermons on Ecclesiasticus was extremely popular and seems to have circulated in Transylvania.¹⁷³ Other discussions of marriage were among the popular

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 106.

¹⁶⁷ Karant Nunn, 'Kinder', 125.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 125.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 126.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 128-133. For women's role in the artisan household see Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household. Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 31.

¹⁷¹ Karant Nunn, 'Kinder', 131.

¹⁷² *Vom Ehestand und Hauswesen and Ehespiegel Mathesij das ist Christliche und Trostliche Erklerung etlicher vornehmen Spruhe altes und neues Testament vom heiligen Ehestande*. Karant Nunn, 'Kinder', 125.

¹⁷³ *Syrah Mathesij, das ist Christliche, Lehrhaffte, Trostreiche und lustige Erklerung und Auslegung des schonen Hausbuchs, soder weyse Mann Syrah zusammen gebracht und gescheiben* (Leipzig: Johann Beyer, 1589).

items in artisans' libraries, while other editions of Jesus Syrah seemed to circulate quite widely.¹⁷⁴

One must, however, note that, in Transylvania, Jesus Syrah was generally bequeathed by men to their sons (Caspar Weinrich to Martin, Jacob Balck to Johann),¹⁷⁵ but also by women to sons and daughters (Catharina Cronerin to Christoph, Martha Kralin to Anna Maria and Agnetha Sutorisin to Catharina).¹⁷⁶ Jacob Daumitz, a Tischler in Bistrița, is an interesting example, as in 1662 he bequeathed a book on marriage to his son Jacob and the *Spiegl der Hauszucht*, Jesus Syrah in folio and a *Regenten Spiegel* to his son Adam.¹⁷⁷ His choice of books reflects an interest in authority, in rules and norms, but also in discourses that shaped gender roles and behaviour. His bequest suggests that gendered discourses were not directed solely towards women, but also towards men, who had to model their own behaviour according to societal expectations. According to Karant-Nunn, a man, particularly acting as the husband, had to perceive himself as God's representative in the household and had to accept both the honour but also the responsibilities implied by this role. Among other duties, such as providing protection and sustenance, men as *Hausvaters* (heads of households) had to master their wives and discipline them if needed in order to maintain social order.¹⁷⁸

These examples highlight a few important points: there seems to have been a certain degree of consensus between mothers and fathers when they had to bequeath their books to their offspring. The 'reading lists' they compiled included deeply entrenched views on gender roles. Sons were supposed to embrace a life of responsibility, burdened by the need to care for the household and the extended family, to provide for them adequately and protect them from all manner of misfortune, while daughters were expected to be submissive and obedient and assume their complementary role in the running of the household and their principal role in the rearing of children.¹⁷⁹ Consequently, by bequeathing specific books to their offspring, testators designed desirable social roles for both genders, which the young men and women had to endeavour to fulfil.

¹⁷⁴ Erasmus Sarcerius *Ehestand*, *Chrsitliche Ehe buchlein*, Cyriacus Spangenberg *Ehe Spiegel*.

¹⁷⁵ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 74, 82.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 106, 226, 338.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁷⁸ Karant Nunn, 'Kinder', 133-135.

¹⁷⁹ There is an increasing amount of literature dedicated to the relationship of women with work that highlights their essential albeit complementary role in the household/workshop. See for example, Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986). Barbara A. Hanawalt (ed.), *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

This analysis has been conducted so far from the perspective of the testators, i.e., the parents who bequeathed the books. If one changes the point of view from the testators to the recipients, one needs to explore the roles these books played in the lives of those who had received them. One is thus led to consider whether one can talk about gendered cultures of reading and whether books had more complex functions in the lives of ordinary citizens of Transylvanian towns.

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In 1662, Johann Schneider, a Lederer and also a member of the city council in Bistrița, left each of his children, Johann and Catharina, a valuable book which acted as a status symbol, Martin Luther's *Tischreden* in an in-folio edition and Johannes Brenz's *Evangelia Scripta*.¹⁸⁰ His daughter Catharina also received the *Catechismus Explicationes* in quarto.¹⁸¹ Thus, true to the norm, the useful book, in more manageable format was bequeathed to the daughter. On the other hand, Martin Luther's *Tischreden* as an in-folio may have been a status symbol and that, as we have seen, was bequeathed to the son. This particular bequest highlights other reasons why books may have been passed on to the next generation and leads one to explore the meanings they were invested with by ordinary individuals.

In order to estimate the role of books in the lives of men and women in early modern Transylvania, one must return to the relevant example of the bible. If one inventories cases where burghers seem to have owned only one copy of the bible, it was likely that this copy was a valuable in-folio book. It was equally probable that the owners of such books were generally men rather than women.¹⁸² If women possessed only

¹⁸⁰ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 51-52. The *Tischreden* are a compilation of Luther's notable words taken down by his entourage, particularly by Johannes Mathesius, but also by Veit Dietrich and Johannes Aurifaber between 1531 and 1544 and published at Eisleben in 1566.

¹⁸¹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 51-52. Johannes Brenz, *Catechismus piae et utili explicationes illustratus* (o.O.: o. D., 1558).

¹⁸² 1660 Paul Russ of Sibiu, 1629 Michael Sieff, 1636 Hans Wirth, 1652 Thomas Plantz, 1654 Martin Corbel, 1669 Johann Ambruster, 1680 Sebastian Simon, 1694 Paul Wintzmann, 1697, Johann Schüller, 1698 Michael Becker, 1701 Peter Kinn, 1702 Jacob Gemmitz, 1705 Michael Briest, 1707 Michael Presser, 1707 Michael Krauss, 1709 Stephan Bibel, 1711 Johann Hern, 1718 Andreas Meschner, 1720 Valentin Mass, 1724 Johann Ressner, 1726 Valentin Klöss, 1729 Michael Kessler, 1730 Michael Diedner, 1730 Johann Eisenberger, 1732 Michael Weinrich, 1732 Johann Berner, 1735 Benedict Teutsch, 1738 Samuel Schüller, 1739 Matthias Schuster, 1739 Christian Reinhard, 1739 Peter Oreth, 1740 Georg Sontag, 1743 Daniel Ehrmann, 1744 Michael Wallich, 1745 Johann Artz all bequeathed in folio bibles. By contrast, only a handful of women could engage in the same act. 1688 Catharina Göblin, 1695 Margaretha Helvigen, 1697 Agnetha Schmidin, 1716 Maria Wessin, 1729 Maria Gibelin, 1735 Catharina Göbellin, 1735 Sophia Schullerlin, 1737 Agnetha Stadterin, 1738 Agnetha Weterin, 1742 Sophia Grossin, 1745 Sophia Hochnechten.

one bible, this was more likely to be a book in smaller format, often a so-called *Handbibel*, while wealthier women owned a *Handbibel* among various other books.¹⁸³ For example, in 1738, Agnetha Weberin bequeathed a small illustrated bible.¹⁸⁴ This was not, however, a universal principle, as sometimes women also bequeathed in-folio bibles. For example, in 1679, Sophia, the wife of senator Johann Weinhold, had "ein gross bibel in folio". Two years later, in 1681, the senator himself left his daughter Sophia "ein schone Teutsche Bibel" and "ein Ungrische Bibel".¹⁸⁵

Sometimes, these bibles are noted for being old and mentioned as "alte teutsch in folio bibel", which supports the idea that they may have been family heirlooms. The way they were described in the inventories, an *in-folio* bible, a large bible ("ein gross Bibel"), a good bible ("ein gutte Bibel"), a beautiful bible ("ein schöne Bibel" or even "ein hubsche Bibel") suggests that bibles were valued both for their content and for their intrinsic qualities, particularly since sometimes decoration was also mentioned. This is particularly striking in Theophilus Schreuer's bequest. A cobbler in Sibiu, Schreuer had several bibles to give to his heirs and all of them appear to have been extremely valuable, as they were decorated with copper or silver locks.¹⁸⁶ One can only conclude that sometimes, members of the elite owned elaborately decorated bibles. For example, Franciscus Schoebel, who was a senator in Bistrița, had a New Testament "mit Kupferstich" and a *Novum Testamentum Graecum*.¹⁸⁷

These bibles must have been perceived as valuable and cherished items, able to enhance the prestige of their owner. In this light, it becomes easier to understand the wish expressed by some testators that the 'family Bible' should remain in the homestead no matter who exercised ownership of it. In 1670, Michael Trichermacher left his daughter Anna a bible, but mentioned that the book should remain in the house.¹⁸⁸ These requests, which tied the bible to the homestead, became increasingly frequent

¹⁸³ 1723 Rosina Plantz, born Rodin, the wife of the tailor Franz Plantz had "eine kleine Handbibel"; 1724 Maria Schullerin, born Gitschin, the wife of Daniel Schuller had a Lüneburgisch Handbibel; 1726 Sara Schemeliusin, born Fleischerin had a kleine Handbibel. 1731 Maria Hermannin had a Nürnbergische Handbibel; 1740 Maria Gottschliferin, born Reinhardin had a Hallesches Handbibel; 1740 Catharine Vagnerin, born Klosserin had a Handbibel.

¹⁸⁴ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 392.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁸⁶ "ein Wittenbergische Bible in folio mit Kupferstichen, eine Leipziger Bibel in quatro mit Kupferstichen, eine Hallische Bible mit Silber beschlagene in octavo" Monok (ed.) *Lesestoffe*, 394-395.

¹⁸⁷ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 128.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 747.

beginning with the middle of the sixteenth, throughout the seventeenth and during the 18th century. This happened in the case of Johann Schuster in 1648, Michael Pffafenburg in 1661, Martin Schinke in 1663, Georg Ackermann in 1664, Johann Schuller in 1667, Johann Paulis in 1669, Michael Trichermacher in 1670 and Michael Glatz in 1675.¹⁸⁹ In some cases, the wording of the request “die Teutsch Bibel in folio bleibt ihm bey der behaussunge”¹⁹⁰ suggests that this was probably the ‘family Bible’.¹⁹¹ The wish to keep the ‘family Bible’ in the homestead suggests yet another meaning that could be bestowed upon it. The bible as ‘fetish’, as suggested by scholars such as David Cressy, who explored the deployment of books “as magical talismans, as aides to divination, as devices of social display”.¹⁹² The bible thus served for swearing oaths, making notes, such as registering births, curing the sick, making decisions and warding off evil. In Cressy’s reading of this behaviour, the bible was used as a shield or weapon or even as a talisman.¹⁹³

In the end, one must ask how this family bible was used by Transylvanian burghers. Information gleaned from a wide variety of sources tends to suggest that these bibles were used to record the major events in the life of the family. Thus, the aforementioned Hans Jordan, who had moved to Transylvania and settled in Cluj, used a ‘family Bible’ to record his family’s history and then passed it on to his son.¹⁹⁴ Thus, bibles were appropriated as ‘family Bibles’ and became interactive objects that their owners engaged with. They were eventually inherited by children and sometimes survived for generations.¹⁹⁵ In the case of this particular Bible, that had been used by Hans Jordan to chronicle his family’s history, we only know that it was given to Thomas Jordan, who was Hans’ eldest son. It is highly likely that Thomas, in his turn, bequeathed it to his eldest son, Karl Ludwig Jordan. This process of handing down a ‘family Bible’ from one generation to the next highlights the issue of the book as an inherited item, a valued object, probably cherished by both testators and their heirs.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 726, 728, 735, 737, 741, 747, 750.

¹⁹⁰ Meaning in the dwelling or in more archaic terms, the homestead.

¹⁹¹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 746, 750. In 1667 Johann Wolff and in 1673 Michael Binder, Johann Schaltzer in 1681, Andreas Teutsch in 1682.

¹⁹² David Cressy, ‘Books as Totems in Seventeenth Century England and New England’ in *The Journal of Literary History* 21/1 (1986): 92-106, especially 93, suggest that the bible could be found in households where nobody could read.

¹⁹³ Cressy, ‘Books as Totems’, 94.

¹⁹⁴ Offner, ‘Handschriftliche Bibel-Einträge von Hans Jordan’, 42-43.

¹⁹⁵ Rublack, ‘Grapho-Relics’, 159 mentions Bibles that remained in the same family for generations.

This treatment afforded the bible was by no means a unique occurrence. In his thesis dedicated to cultures of reading in early modern Transylvania, András Bandi mentions a copy of a *Calendarium Sanctorum et Historiarum* printed at Leipzig in 1579 which belonged to Georg Kossak of Braşov and his son Johann, who used it to record important events in the life of the town.¹⁹⁶ In 1628, this book was used in similar ways by Simon Hartmann, a preacher in Sighişoara and later minister at Copşa Mică (Klein Kopisch, Kiskapus), Şeica Mică (Kleinschelken, Kisselyk) and Moşna. Reflecting his attachment to the book, Hartmann's statement which refers to it as 'a beloved artefact', an indispensable accessory in the construct of the intellectual, is persuasive proof of his emotional engagement with the item and the meaning he had bestowed upon it.¹⁹⁷ Bandi has also discovered the chronicle of Albert Huet's family, started by his father Georg on the birth of his first son, Johannes, in a book printed at Basel in 1522. Bandi considers that these old books were often used as a sort of notebook even when they had strong links with the Catholic past.¹⁹⁸ Thus, while their didactic role had faded, their functions as an object had come to the fore. Interaction between the owners and the book was not limited to the act of reading, but included this use of the book as a repository of family memory.

Even if books were not necessarily used in this particular way, signatures gradually became marks of ownership. For example, in 1674, when Caspar Laur, Schlosser (locksmith) in Bistriţa, bequeathed some books to his son Georg and his daughter Anna, both had signed their names on the book.¹⁹⁹ The fact that the names of the heirs already appear on the books that were eventually bequeathed to them suggests that these items had originally been bought for their use and that the testament served simply to strengthen and certify a status quo, practically confirming existing ownership. This ultimately points to an interest in collecting books, in building libraries and in investing them with symbolic not just material value. Bequeathing libraries to the next generation serves to highlight the importance of family traditions that were constructed and upheld.

Although few personal libraries have been systematically studied, both clerical and secular collections of books suggest that not all items were actually acquired by their owners, that some were inherited from their parents, while others had been received as gifts. Lucas Unglerus' library,

¹⁹⁶ Bandi, *Lectura*, 134-135.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 135, mentions that marginalia generally included statements of faith, quotes from the bible, and personal philosophical reflections.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁹⁹ Monok (ed.), *Lesestoffe*, 66.

for instance, was built on a foundation of books inherited from members of his family. Albert Huet's library was inherited from his father's uncle, Martin Huet Pileus. Johannes Bayer's library was inherited from family and friends, such as Franz Salicaeus, minister at Biertan, and from his son, who was a student at Wittenberg, from Johannes Fabritius, who ran the printing press at Sibiu between 1595 and 1601, from Petrus Schirverus from Braşov, who became a teacher at Sibiu and later minister at Cristian (Grossau, Keresztény Sziget) and from Petrus Revel who left Bayer five books. Andreas Oltard inherited collections of sermons from his grandfather Johannes Oltard and three volumes from Andreas Scherer.²⁰⁰ This transmission of books between generations and among friends within the peer-group suggests that intellectual networks were built within secular and ecclesiastical elites. Meanwhile, and only partly reflecting the reading culture of the elites, the middling segments of urban society had developed a reading culture of their own, equally dependent on intergenerational transmission of books.

This article has set out to explore the reasons behind the bequeathing of books, the role played by gender in this process and the relationships it fostered among members of various families, vertically between generations and horizontally within them. The analysis of evidence gleaned from probate inventories has shown that both men and women were bequeathed books by their parents and could, in turn, transmit them to their children. As the legal framework of early modern Transylvanian towns allowed both men and women to inherit movables from their parents, personal preferences of all parties involved are highlighted by these decisions. If parents of either sex decided to exclude girls from inheriting books, this was their personal choice and not a restriction imposed by local legislation. In this sense, Transylvanian society does not seem to have been riddled by gender biases.

However, when considering the nature of these bequests, probate inventories suggest that, although both men and women were bequeathed religious literature, books on household management and other practical matters, as well as some, albeit few, books meant to entertain rather than instruct, the specific genres deemed appropriate for men and women were ultimately different and informed by gendered concerns. Thus, the 'reading lists' inadvertently compiled by parents when bequeathing books to their offspring were impacted on by gender stereotypes and by projections concerning masculinity and femininity. While men were perceived as God's representatives in the household, responsible for its

²⁰⁰ Gündisch, 'Unglerus', 354. Gündisch and Nægler, 'Oltard', p. 123. Bandi, *Lectura*, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124.

maintenance and protection and for the material and moral wellbeing of its inhabitants, engaging in the exercise of authority and the disciplining of their wives and offspring, women were constructed as pious, obedient and submissive creatures. Thus, the different types of books bequeathed to young men and women defined their social roles as heads of household (men) and essential auxiliaries to its inner workings (women). One is perfectly aware that, socially, this arrangement was closely bound to the more limited opportunities afforded women in terms of education and work. Not only was their relationship to books gendered, but also their access to knowledge. Instead of being invited to explore the depth of meaning in the Scriptures, they were encouraged to memorize the much-simplified tenets of faith encapsulated in the catechism. Instead of reflecting on important points of doctrine, they were meant to memorize and recite prayers and to join in song during the service. Consequently, through the literature at their disposal, men and women were channelled towards a gendered relationship to books and knowledge.

Finally, an in-depth study of the transmission of bibles from one generation to the next has highlighted that beyond the gendered tendency to bequeath the 'family Bible', which had already been handed down by previous generations and which was often an expensive, sometimes richly decorated in-folio copy of a significant edition, to the son, there was also a wish to endow daughters with the necessary props for their personal devotion, the little hand bibles they were generally bequeathed. In this case, however, gender sensitive motives were intertwined with concerns for family tradition. Exploring this mixture of concerns which informed the bequest of books allows one to identify the place of books in people's lives. Women who owned two or three books and who bequeathed a prayer book or hand bible to sons and daughters were clearly emotionally attached to these items. Men who carefully chose the recipient of the 'family Bible' obviously valued its symbolic meaning. Signing their names on the pages of books was not just a mark of ownership, but also one of affective involvement, while interaction with the book by recording family history and important events in the life of the town, transforming the book as artefact into a repository of memory, suggests that the book was no longer just reading matter, the object of literary endeavours, but had acquired a personality akin to that of the relic. In this capacity, the book could protect its owners and the household that enveloped it, as suggested by the insistence to link it firmly to the house.

Family Archives in the 16th Century. The Mikola Family Archive

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Abstract: In April 1573, after the death of the head of the family, Ferenc Mikola, the elders of the Mikolas gathered in Someşeni to take over the family archive from his widow. The action carried out according to the custom, but also to the legislation of the country took place in the presence of witnesses, later a proving act being issued. The present study aims to investigate the process of handing over the noble family archives in Transylvania from the end of the Middle Ages and during the sixteenth century. In this context, the ways of keeping and ordering the charters during the researched period, as well as the circumstances of the formation of the noble family archives will be examined. The focus will be on the presentation of a case study, that of the Mikola family archive. Starting from the charter issued in April 1573, we shall briefly present the Mikola family, their family archive, but also the witnesses of the archive's transmission. Among the latter, we shall pay a special attention to Ferenc Dávid, the parish priest of Cluj and superintendent. The second title carried by the religious reformer shall provide the opportunity to reflect on the formation of the Reformed and Unitarian Churches in Transylvania.

Keywords: Mikola family, family archives, Mikola archive, preservation of the charters, Transylvania, 16th century, Unitarian Church.

Abstract: Arhive familiale în secolul al XVI-lea. Arhiva familiei Mikola. În aprilie 1573, după moartea capului familiei, Ferenc Mikola vârstnicii familiei Mikola s-au adunat la Someşeni pentru a prelua de la văduva acestuia arhiva familiei. Acţiunea desfăşurată potrivit cutumei, dar şi legislaţiei ţării a avut loc în prezenţa martorilor, ulterior eliberându-se şi un act doveditor. Studiul de faţă îşi propune să cerceteze procedeul predării arhivelor familiare nobiliare din Transilvania de la sfârşitul Evului mediu şi pe

parcursul secolului al XVI-lea. În acest context vor fi prezentate modalitățile de păstrare și ordonare a documentelor în perioada cercetată, precum și împrejurările formării arhivelor familiare nobiliare. Accentul va fi pus pe prezentarea unui studiu caz, cel al arhivei familiei Mikola. Pornind de la documentul din aprilie 1573, vom prezenta pe scurt familia Mikola, arhiva familiei, dar și martorii acțiunii de predare a arhivei. Dintre aceștia din urmă îi vom acorda o atenție deosebită lui Ferenc Dávid, preotul paroh al orașului Cluj și superintendent. Titlul din urmă purtat de reformatorul religios va oferi ocazia să reflectăm și asupra formării Bisericilor Reformate și Unitariene din Transilvania.

Cuvinte cheie: familia Mikola, arhive familiale, arhiva Mikola, păstrarea documentelor, Transilvania, secolul al XVI-lea, Biserica Unitariană.

Introduction

An important event took place in one of the several Someșeni (Szamosfalva) manors of the Mikola family in the spring of 1573. The men of the Mikola family of Szamosfalva, Pál, Imre and Farkas visited Anna Melith, widow of the late councilor Ferenc Mikola, with very important matter which directly concerned the Mikolas: handing over the family archives.¹ Ferenc Mikola, an educated man of his age, with a significant political career and a nice family, left behind a holographic last will written in Hungarian in which he made arrangements for his loved ones and for his belongings, took care of his servants and the payment of his debts. However, he made no mention of the family archives.² Let me quickly add: not because he forgot or considered unimportant to make arrangements about the family archives, on the contrary. The document collections of noble families had such a great importance that their preservation was regulated by a national law, of which Ferenc Mikola obviously was aware. He was certain thus that the fate of the archives guarded by him until that time, as the senior of the family, would be properly taken care of by the

¹ Arhivele Naționale ale României, Direcția Județeană Cluj [National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Directorate of National Archives, henceforth: NAR, Cluj], Fond fideicomisionar Jósika [The entailed archives of the Branyicskai baron Jósika family, henceforth: The Jósika archives], Seria 1 - Documente medievale [Series 1 - Medieval documents], No. 149, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-149 (accessed on 27 March 2021).

² Ferenc Mikola wrote his last will in Someșeni (Szamosfalva, today part of Cluj-Napoca) on 19 December 1560, in his own handwriting in Hungarian. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 - Medieval documents, No. 88, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-88 (accessed on 27 March 2021). Published in Kinga S. Tüdős (ed.), *Erdélyi nemesek és főemberek végrendeletei* [The last wills and testaments of the Transylvanian nobles and aristocrats] / Erdélyi Testamentumok II/ (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2006), 70-73.

members of his family. And he was not wrong about that. Before we move on to present the circumstances of the transfer of the Mikola family archives in 1573, let us provide a survey of the situation of the family archives at the end of the Middle Ages and during the 16th century, including the issue of preservation and legal regulations of family document collections.

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Charters were documents proving a completed legal matter, issued under regulated circumstances, which secured some right of their owner. Due to their legally binding nature, their preservation was a matter of great care, both in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period, therefore they could become the most important primary sources for these periods of Hungarian history. Authentic or – to a lesser extent – forged documents were preserved in original, in copies or in transcriptions. The charters were mostly written in Latin during the Middle Ages, and primarily in Hungarian and Latin in the Early Modern period, and were very varied in content: from diplomas issued by high dignities (the king, the voivode, the prince) which granted a privilege, ordered the instatement into possession, or summoning to law, etc., to declarations before any kind of authority, like purchase, pawning or even last wills. Since all of these, regardless of type and content, could have played a part in preserving one's rights over their estates, recovering one's illegally appropriated properties, and could even be decisive in proving one's inheritance rights in case of the extinction of a branch of a family, they were treasured assets of every family. The carefully preserved and growing family archives were handed down from generation to generation, which is why the medieval and early modern family archives have been preserved to this day. Even if no great changes have affected the practice of their preservation (the old family archives of the nobility are handled very carefully even today in state and private archives), there have been significant changes in the reasons for their preservation. Before the mid-nineteenth century, they were especially guarded because of their legally binding nature, consecrating their property rights. The urban compensation in the late nineteenth century in Transylvania changed the situation, and the documents of property rights only maintained their historical value. The family archives which had been closed off before from the eyes of unauthorized strangers, distant relatives,³ as well as from the public eye, including researchers, gradually

³ "Vigyázni kell reájok (ti. a Dersófi famíliára, akik Wass Dezső maradékai lennének – írta 1817-ben Wass Dániel testvéreinek), hogy a familia archivumába be ne üssék az orrokat, mert idővel familiánknak káros lehetne" [It must be taken care of them (namely to the Dersófi family, who were supposed to be the descendants of Dezső Wass – wrote in 1817 Dániel Wass

became public, to the great delight of experts. For instance, the Wass family gave the permission for research and even lent out documents from their family archives, although it wasn't always a good idea, as some of them could get lost.⁴ Even if these so carefully preserved documents have gained "inutilia", "nihil valoris" character for property rights insurance,⁵ they have become, and still are important historical sources for historiography.

Document preservation and / or the keeping of the charters

The careful preservation of charters was a general custom which, according to Katalin Péter, was characteristic not just for the wealthiest families, but also for the smallest villages and / or simplest people.⁶ However, whatever social stratum we are talking about, the preservation of charters was no easy task, as they were always exposed to natural disasters and various man-caused destructions. The difference between the two was, most importantly, that while natural disasters were very hard to fight – for instance, a fire which swept through a settlement could very easily devastate such documents,⁷ man-made causes could have often been

to his brothers) to not trust their nose into family archives because in time could be harmful to our family]. Apud András W. Kovács, 'A cegei Wass család a középkorban' [The Wass family of Cege], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 66.1-2 (2004): 3, note 13. In just half a century, however, the situation has changed radically.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁵ Alfréd Czobor, 'A családi levéltárak a középkorban' [The family archives in the Middle Ages], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 18-19 (1940-1941): 380-440, especially 382.

⁶ The issue of composing and preserving the documents by individuals belonging to serfdom as a mass was discussed by Katalin Péter. See Eadem, 'Jobbágy egyének az írásbeliségben a 17. század eleji Magyarországon. 300 éves visszatekintéssel' [Serf individuals in literacy at the beginning of the 17th century Hungary. With a 300 year retrospection], in Lajos Geccsényi – Lajos Izsák (eds.), *Magyar történettudomány az ezredfordulón. Glatz Ferenc 70. születésnapjára* [Hungarian history at the turn of the millennium. For the 70th birthday of Ferenc Glatz] (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2011), 243-252; Eadem, 'Az egyszerű ember, az oklevelek és a levéltárak a 16-17. századi Magyarországon – háromszáz éves visszatekintéssel' [The simple man, the documents and the archives in the 16th-17th century Hungary – with a 300 year retrospection], *Történelmi Szemle*, 53.3 (2011): 335-349.

⁷ The judge and prefect of the town of Făgăraș (Fogaras, Fogarasch) held a court of law in 1579, where it was said that the deeds of the estates that the trial was about were burnt in the parish of the market town of Făgăraș. Zsolt Bogdándi – Emőke Gálfi (eds.), *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222-1599* [The records of the Transylvanian chapter 1222-1599] /ETA VIII. 1/ (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006), no. 257. There were charters concerning the entire community which could have been lost in fire, and therefore they wanted to rewrite their privileges. This was the case of the salt transporters of Dés in 1591, who stated that their privileges granted by former princes, which they had previously used unproblematically, were lost in the last fire that burnt the majority of their settlement. Tamás Fejér – Etelka Rácz – Anikó Szász (eds.), *Az erdélyi fejedelmek Királyi Könyvei I. 1569-1602. Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei 1582-1602* [The *Librii Regii* of the Transylvanian princes I. 1569-1602. The *Librii Regii* of

easily avoided. Alfréd Czobor⁸ and then Zsigmond Jakó⁹ listed in a Hungarian and Transylvanian context, respectively, all the circumstances that could have contributed to the dropping number of family archives, from war devastations to the arbitrary measures of neighbours or family members. Unfortunately, the 16th century, with its stormy and frequent military events, often led to the decimation of family archives. Right at the beginning of the century, György Dózsa's peasant war tested the guarding of Transylvanian noble family archives. That was when the Thoroczka family's archives preserved at the castle of Colțești (Torockószentgyörgy) was destroyed. The "crusaders" did such a thorough work in the castle that only fragments of parchment and seals remained of the former archives.¹⁰ After the lost battle of Mohács, the competition between the two candidates for the Hungarian throne was the cause of division of the nobility, while after the death of Prince John Sigismund there were the enmities between the camps of Stephen Báthory and Gáspár Bekes. The political arena is interspersed with conspiracies to take over the political power, and then the outbreak of the Fifteen Years' War turned the anti- and pro-Turkish parts of the country against each other. All these conflicts led to clashes and power struggles which caused a great deal of suffering and damage to the people of Transylvania. It therefore comes as no surprise that we can repeatedly read about the loss of documents. Charters lost in the "past times of crisis" are mentioned before June 1568,¹¹ others lost in "these troubled times" are reported in 1569,¹² records of property rights were lost

Sigismund Báthory 1582–1602] /ETA VII. 3/ (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2005), no. 1069, 1623 (henceforth: *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei*). The same fate befell the market town of Torda. In 1602, it was mentioned that "the privileges they were granted by the old Hungarian kings and earlier princes of Transylvania were destroyed in these times of war in the time of the fire that almost completely devastated their settlement". *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei*, no. 1907.

⁸ Czobor, 'A családi levéltárak', 396–411.

⁹ Zsigmond Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy története' [The history of the Transylvanian archives matter], in Idem, *Írás, levéltár, társadalom. Tanulmányok és források Erdély történelméhez* [Writing, archives, society. Studies and sources for the history of Transylvania] /Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Értekezések/ (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2016), 40–42.

¹⁰ Zsigmond Jakó - Antal Valentiny (eds.), *A torockószentgyörgyi Thorotzkay család levéltára* [The archives of the Thorotzkay family of Torockószentgyörgy] /ENML 1./ (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1944), 6–7; apud Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy', 41, note 81.

¹¹ Tamás Fejér - Etelka Rácz - Anikó Szász (eds.), *Az erdélyi fejedelmek királyi könyvei I. 1569–1602. János Zsigmond Királyi Könyve 1569–1570* [The *Librii Regii* of the Transylvanian princes I. 1569–1602. The *Liber Regius* of John Sigismund 1569–1570] /ETA VII. 1/ (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2003 (henceforth: *János Zsigmond Királyi Könyve*), no. 54.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 183, 209, 214.

in May 1570 during the “previous troubled times”,¹³ yet other charters disappeared because of the “troubled times past” are again mentioned in 1583.¹⁴ At the turn of the century, it was Basta’s army which, in the 16th century, caused the most damage and destruction to family and other archives.¹⁵ In 1648, when transcribing an earlier charter dated 1592, they mention that the original document was damaged when it was hidden in a newly built and still damp wall during Basta’s plunder.¹⁶ In other cases, the reason of loss was merely human neglect.¹⁷ However, sometimes charters were willfully impaired, especially if unclear property rights were involved.¹⁸ The owners tried to replace the charters damaged or destroyed for various reasons: from the mid-16th century, they increasingly asked for and received new donations by hereditary right from the princes to replace their lost¹⁹ or burnt²⁰ records, thus trying to secure their property rights.

Despite the intentional or accidental destruction, the examples show that great care was taken to preserve the documents.²¹ Their survival over several generations and centuries shows that they were not used daily, not moved from place to place, not manipulated all the time, but kept in some kind of storage holders and only retrieved when necessary. While documents were initially kept in sacks and leather bags,²² later on the chests became the usual place for storing and keeping

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 310.

¹⁴ Bogdándi – Gálfi (eds.), *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 333, 340; *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei*, no. 411; *János Zsigmond Királyi Könyve*, no. 91, 355.

¹⁵ Jakó, ‘Az erdélyi levéltárügy’, 42.

¹⁶ Bogdándi – Gálfi (eds.), *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 916.

¹⁷ In 1578, Comşa Moţoc claimed in front of the court of law of the Castellan of Făgăraş that he owned a quarter of the boyar’s estate of Săsciori (Szescsor, Sassenberg), adding that they lost their letter of privilege due to their own negligence. *Ibid.*, no. 246.

¹⁸ In 1591, when the wife of Péter Piski of Tövis, Slavna, protested that her husband sold the house in Tövis which was inherited by her son from her first, late husband, against the knowledge and will of his son, for 24 forints with all its benefits, attachments and deeds, she also thought it was important to emphasise that she also wanted to prevent the buyer from purchasing it, or **to damage or lose the charters** (emphasis mine, M. L. M.). *Ibid.*, no. 818.

¹⁹ For example: *Ibid.*, no. 176, 186, 242, 253, 254, 368, 400–401, 599.

²⁰ *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei*, no. 780.

²¹ See more on this subject: Jakó, ‘Az erdélyi levéltárügy’, 44–45; Czobor, ‘A családi levéltárak’, 385–386.

²² Bálint Ila, ‘Magánkancelláriai ügyintézés és magánlevéltári rendszer a XVII. század első felében’ [Private chancellery administration and private archival system in the first half of the 17th century], *Levéltári Közlemények*, 26 (1955): 135, 137. Charters kept in sealed leather bags were reported in 1351, while in 1427 the privileges for the estates of the Cluj-Mănăştur (Kolozsmonostor) convent were placed in a leather holder. Klára Dóka – Veronika Müller – Magdolna Oszkó Réfi (eds.), *A magyar levéltártörténet kronológiája 1000–2000* [The chronology of the Hungarian history of archives 1000–2000] (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2000), 37, 44.

documents, because they were easy to handle, to transport and to adapt to changes of residence.²³ Keeping the documents in bags or sacks and then in the chests, in addition to the extra security factor, also fulfilled a very important practical aspect: the different coloured bags and sacks made it easier to find one's way in the chest.²⁴ Looking at the specific location, we see that family archives containing a small number of documents were usually kept in the family's own house. The wealthier landowners chose one of their castles for the same purpose, the Bánffys, for example, first decide on Ideciu (Idecs), then Valcău (Valkó) and Gilău (Gyalu).²⁵ Others saw fortified towns as a suitable protection for their treasured documents. Thus, in the 16th century, we increasingly see family charter chests in Cluj (Koložsvár, Klausenburg) or other Transylvanian towns,²⁶ left in the hands of trustworthy, good people. In the presence of a witness, the three chests of family charters were deposited for safekeeping at János Asztalos, a resident of Szappan Street in Cluj, by Anna Baládfi, wife of Mihály Radó.²⁷ Similar custodial functions could also be performed by certain ecclesiastical institutions, such as monasteries and places of authentication. This was the case, in 1592, of the Dely brothers Ferenc and Miklós of Sárd, also known as Kunvit, who placed the charter regarding the estate of Blăjeni (Blezsény) and the last will of their deceased third brother Farkas, a *familiaris* of the voivodal court and steward of Cristopher Báthory, "according to their common will into the sacristy of Alba Iulia (*in hanc sacristiam Albensem*) for safekeeping".²⁸

Charters were not only kept safe, at times at the cost of great efforts, but also cared for, with a permanent attention to their condition, and also

²³ In 1587, there is a mention about three chests full of deeds (*tres cistas seu arcas litteris, litteralibus instrumentis refertas*), preserved in Cluj. Zsolt Bogdándi (ed.), *A koložsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei* [The convent records of Cluj-Mănăstur from the age of principality], vol. I. 1326–1590 /ETA X. 1/ (Koložsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2018), no. 629. In 1590, we are informed that the late István Gyulafi kept the charters related to his estates in four chests. *Ibid.*, no. 786.

²⁴ According to the Mihály Kabos' list of movables from June 1587 kept in the house of the late Antal Ferenczi in Cluj, "there were charters and privileges in two bags, one bag being from green bagazia, while the other from white linen". The two bags of charters with the rest of the movable property was in a big chest. *Ibid.*, no. 618. Cf. Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy', 45.

²⁵ Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy', 43.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 43–44 with further examples for Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz), Sighișoara (Segesvár, Schässburg), Brașov (Brassó, Kronstadt), Sibiu (Szeben, Hermannstadt).

²⁷ Bogdándi (ed.), *A koložsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 629.

²⁸ Bogdándi – Gálfi (eds.), *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 882. We have knowledge about the charters preserved in the sacristy of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg/Karlsburg) chapter in 1572 and 1585 as well (*Ibid.*, no. 215, 425), and also in the sacristy of the Cluj-Mănăstur (Koložsmonostor) convent in 1559 (*Ibid.*, no. 192).

by their transcription, in order to preserve the original. For instance, János Balásfi, *requisitor* of Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg/Karlsburg), transcribed the double folio sized parchment charters found in the sacristy of the Chapter of Transylvania in 1588, in order to preserve the text of the obscure and disintegrating documents.²⁹ The transcriptions made for various reasons, the so-called *transsumptum*, which were preserved in large numbers in family archives as well, could not replace the original charters, as their legal value was lower than that of the originals.³⁰

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In time, the charters collected and preserved developed into family archives; the beginnings of these are usually placed around the second half of the thirteenth – early 14th century.³¹ The archives which were occasionally called *archivum*, but generally *conservatorium* also had the function of treasuries, or the other way round: the archives were part of a family's treasury.³² Therefore, the family archives preserved, in addition to records, all other things of value for the family.³³ However, the archives were primarily the repositories of the legal documents of the family concerning property and other legal rights. Beginning with the Middle Ages, only the title charters were actually considered archival material, which also shows their primary importance, therefore these types of documents were preserved in the largest number. No surprise then, that the collection of family charters were usually not termed archives, but usually named after the content – charters of privilege, documents of property or other rights – as *litterae et litteralia instrumenta*.³⁴ As family archives primarily contained title deeds, the most important cause for their development was the acquisition of new estates, thus the family archives

²⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 591. Cf. no. 4–10.

³⁰ Sándor Kolosvári – Kelemen Óvári – Dezső Márkus (eds.), *Werbőczy István Hármaskönyve* [The Tripartitum of István Werbőczy] /Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar törvénytár 1000–1895/ (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1897), II. 15. (De transumptis literarum, et privilegiorum, quod sit sentiendum?) (henceforth: *Tripartitum*) Cf. Imre Szentpétery, *Magyar oklevéltan* [Hungarian diplomatics] (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1930), 80, 248.

³¹ Czobor, 'A családi levéltárak', 383.

³² *Ibid.*, 384–385.

³³ In July 1587, the record of the movable and immovable properties of Zsigmond Suselity mentions a green chest in which, besides charters described in detail, there was a box with pagan coins, a white purse with small change, silver necklace, gilded buttons, textiles and even rock sugar, and empty bags for coins; and in a white chest there were golden cups with lids decorated with flowers, silver spoons with flowery handles, headpieces, silver jugs, textiles, and among these "a register about the estate of Péter scribe", and a "fassional" letter, unsealed. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 625.

³⁴ Czobor, 'A családi levéltárak', 383; Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy', 35.

grew in parallel with the number of acquired estates. The process could also be reversed, of course: if the number of estates dropped, the family archives became slimmer, as the charters followed the estates: they always accompanied the properties they referred to.³⁵ In addition to the title deeds, they also carefully preserved the documents of legal actions on estates (summonses, adjournments, protests, judgments), which served as further support to prove ownership.³⁶ Reports on the transfer of family archives rarely mention the type of deeds. A fortunate exception is the list of the goods and real estate of Zsigmond Suselity from July 1587, which offers a detailed description of the content of his charters: who it comes from, who wrote it, whether or not it is sealed, if it is, how many seals it has, and last but not least, their types: quittances, pledge letters, or *missilis, preceptoria, relatoria, obligatoria, evocatoria*, etc., in originals or copies.³⁷ The migration of title deeds most often due to donations, purchases or exchanges also explain how the documents of certain families ended up in the archives of other families. Other causes might have also added up to the changes in family archives, as deeds could also change their owners in case a line of the family died out or in case of distaff lines.

The legal regulations on the preservation of documents were drawn up in the beginning of the 16th century. Vladislas II's charter issued on November 19, 1514, which enforced the collection of laws and customary law of royal judge István Werbőczy,³⁸ was published in Vienna some years

³⁵ E. g. in 1500 Ilona Keresztes, wife of Miklós Nagy of Esztény, sold her part of the *predium* with the pertaining charters for 60 golden forints to Péter Dés of Temesel. Zsigmond Jakó (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei, 1289–1556* [The convent records from Cluj-Mănăştur, 1289–1556] / *A Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II/* (2 vols, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990), vol. 1, no. 3147.

³⁶ András W. Kovács (ed.), *A Wass család cegei levéltára* [The archives of Wass family of Cege] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006), no. 141.

³⁷ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 625.

³⁸ Known as the VIIth decree of Vladislas II. Sándor Kolosvári – Kelemen Óvári – Dezső Márkus (eds.), *1000–1526. évi törvényczikkek* [Articles of laws, 1000–1526] / *Magyar törvénytár. Corpus Juris Hungarici* / (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1899), 705–741. According to András Kubinyi, the resolutions of this diet were not sanctioned by the king even eight months later, in July 1515. The date of 19 November 1514 means only that an antedated deed was issued after royal confirmation. Idem, 'Werbőczy Mohács (1526) előtti politikai pályafutása' [The political carrier of Werbőczy before Mohács (1526)], in Gábor Hamza (ed.), *Tanulmányok Werbőczy Istvánról* [Studies on István Werbőczy] / *Magyar Felsőoktatás Könyvek 21/* (Budapest: Professzorok Háza, 2001), 74. Kubinyi's theory seem to be supported by recent researches, see Gábor Mikó, 'Az 1514. évi Lukács-napi országgyűlés törvénykönyvének megszületése. A dekretum eredeti változata' [The born of the code issued by the diet on the day of Saint Luke in 1514. The original version of the decree], in Norbert C. Tóth – Tibor Neumann (eds.), *Keresztesekből lázadók. Tanulmányok 1514 Magyarországról* [From crusaders to rebels. Studies

later, in 1517, with the title *Tripartitum*. Among the legal norms applied in everyday practice, this collection of law contains details on what matters must be taken care of in writing, what a valid deed must contain, what secures the validity of the charters, how the authenticity of a document can be established, and what is the punishment for keeping a charter secret. It also gave dispositions about the family archives, which must be safeguarded by the eldest son / eldest brother.³⁹ This decree was actually the recording in writing of a long existing customary law, which is already documented for an earlier period. In 1474, the charters of the Wass family, according to the general custom of the age, were preserved by the oldest male family member at that time, László Wass, kept in a chest closed with the seal of the other family members as well.⁴⁰ Werbőczy's regulations on family archives were also mentioned later on. Mihály Bánffy's widow Katalin Bojnicsit specifically referred to it in January 1555, when she handed over the privileges and other documents of her estates to her late husband's relatives in the market town of Bonțida (Bonchida), saying "because the documents are always kept safe by the oldest [male] relative".⁴¹ It is important to mention that the transfer happened in the presence of witnesses, usually at the house of the person who had kept the documents before. This was the case of Katalin Bojnicsit as well, who transferred the title deeds for the properties of the late Mihály Bánffy to his relatives, István, Pál and János Bánffy of Losoncz in the presence of four noble judges at his house in Bonțida. The significance of this transfer is also indicated by the fact that the relatives had to obtain a letter of reassurance from the convent of Cluj-Mănăstur (Kolozsmonostor), with a bond of 1000 florins.⁴² As the above case shows, the charters were often left with the widows, and were later reclaimed by the deceased husband's next of kin.⁴³

The ways and possibilities of the migration of family archives, whatever their content was, were strictly regulated, and rooted in the idea of the symbiosis between the property right and the charter attesting to it.

about Hungary in 1514] /Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Értekezések/ (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2015), 271–317.

³⁹ *Tripartitum*, I. 42. (Quod litalia instrumenta frater natu major conservabit)

⁴⁰ W. Kovács, 'A cegei Wass család', 31.

⁴¹ "... considerando et animo sepius revolvendo, quod universe littere privilegiales factum qualiumcumque bonorum et iurium possessionariorum tangentes iuxta regni consuetudinem apud fratrem natu maiorem teneri et conservari debeant." Jakó (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, vol. 2, no. 5341.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 5341.

⁴³ See for more details Czobor, 'A családi levéltárak', 436–438 and Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy', pp. 37–39, who follows also the resolutions taken by the diet at the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the 17th century to preserve family charters.

The consequence was that, as the estates originally belonged to the entire clan, the deeds in the family archives attesting to these estates were also under common ownership. And although the clans were later divided into branches and families, the common ownership had been preserved both for the old estates, the monastery of the clan, and for the family archives. Thus, they could not be separated theoretically, and, what's more, they could only be handled in the presence and with the agreement of all owners. We have mentioned the example of the Wass family before. Their family archive, kept in the second half of the 15th century by the oldest family member in a chest, was sealed by all the other owners, so the content of the chest could only be handled if they were all present.⁴⁴ Like the estates, the title deeds were also treated differently depending on whether they secured the rights of ancestral or acquired estates. For this reason, they took extra care not to give away the deeds in their original form and to make sure the distaff line of the family would get only the transcription. This is what the *Tripartitum* also prescribes.⁴⁵ It is uncertain what happened in the cases when there was no male heir or no direct heir. Katalin Péter assumes that, in those cases, the family archives were transferred to various central institutions.⁴⁶ Zsigmond Jakó thought that the family archives followed the fate of the family's ancestral estates, and just as the estates were inherited by the Crown, so were the deeds as well.⁴⁷ However, if just one branch of the family or clan died out, their estates and – although there is no mention of that, but supposedly also – the family archive were inherited by the other blood relatives.⁴⁸

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When Imre, Farkas and Pál Mikola arrived on 5 April 1573 to the manor of their deceased relative, Ferenc Mikola, in Someşeni, their visit was fortunately not motivated by the extinction of some branch of the family. The reason was less dramatic, but just as important: they had to take over the family archive from Anna Melith, the widow of their deceased senior relative, Ferenc Mikola. The quittance issued by all the three of them mentions that the documents were legally in the possession

⁴⁴ W. Kovács, 'A cegei Wass család', 31.

⁴⁵ *Tripartitum*, I. 42. 3. (Quod literalia instrumenta frater natu major conservabit)

⁴⁶ Péter, 'Az egyszerű ember, az oklevelek és a levéltárak', 348, especially note 50.

⁴⁷ Jakó mentions the example of Simon, son of Mihály, son of Radó of Kentelke, who died without an heir and left his letters in a small chest to the Crown. Jakó, 'Az erdélyi levéltárügy', 35. However, when the ruler, Sigismund of Luxemburg, donated these estates to Dávid Lack of Szántó, he also handed over the charters belonging to them. *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁸ Czobor, 'A családi levéltárak', 429.

of Ferenc Mikola as the senior, the oldest member of the family. After his death, this duty and the supervision of the estates befell the Mikolas. To honour their duty, they came to take over the family archive from their sister-in-law in front of witnesses. At this time, the archive of the Mikola family, as it could be expected and as it was indeed mentioned by the three Mikolas, mostly consisted of the title deeds securing the family's property rights, of many types: "privilege on parchment with hanging seal, donations, statutes, letters of pawned estates, pawned land and all trials" (*"hártyákon való fíggő pecsétes privilegium, donatiok, statutiok, zálagos jószágról való zálagos határról [?] való és minden processusról való levelek"*), that is, legal documents about the estates. We do not know the number of these documents, the Mikolas did not mention it, but they did observe that they examined "with their own eyes", before the witnesses and Lady Anna, the widow of their late brother, and although they do not make note of it, they also had to count them, because they declared that they received them "with none missing". They explained that they did all this "according to the last will of their deceased brother [Ferenc Mikola]" (*"az megholt urunk bátyánk [Mikola Ferenc] testamentoma szerint"*) which is a little strange, since his last will, written in 1560, did not mention any charter.⁴⁹ He may have written another will during the over ten remaining years of his life, especially since his family also grew.⁵⁰ However, the archive of the Mikola family could not have been very rich. Almost 100 years earlier, the Mikola family archive fell victim to the conflict between the family and the town of Cluj. On 1 and 2 May 1488, some 2000 armed citizens of Cluj attacked the Someşeni manor houses of the Mikola family. As a result of the investigation undertaken by István Telegdi, vice-voivode of Transylvania, the extent of the damages was known, and estimated to ten thousand golden florins. The damage also included the deeds and other documents, some of which were taken away, and some were torn into small pieces and thrown into the Someş (Szamos) River.⁵¹

⁴⁹ NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 - Medieval documents, no. 88, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-88 (accessed on 27 March 2021.) Cf. note 2.

⁵⁰ He disposed of his wife, of his two little daughters and of his two stepchildren. The family will be expanded with another girl, Judit, and a boy, János. Cf. note 62.

⁵¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary], Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Collection of pre-1526 charters] 27072. It could have been a consequence of the matter that a large part of the town and the parish church burnt down the next year, in 1489, and Ferenc Mikola was suspected to be behind it. Elek Jakab (ed.), *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez* [Chartulary for the first volume of Cluj history] (Buda: Magy. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1870), vol. 1, 289–291.

The Mikola family

In the following, let us meet the characters in this charter. **Ferenc Mikola** of Szamosfalva was mentioned in the quittance of 5 April 1573 as the oldest member of the family, who had already deceased at that time. As a significant and decisive character of the political and religious events of the 1550s and 1560s, he could obviously not escape scholarly attention,⁵² so there is no need for his detailed presentation, I would just add new information to his already known life path.

His father was László Mikola,⁵³ *comes* of Cluj (Kolozs) County (1530),⁵⁴ vice-voivode and *comes* of the Székelys (1537),⁵⁵ royal vice-regent (1543),⁵⁶ vice-regent of the queen and vice chief judge of Transylvania (1545),⁵⁷ and from 1542 to his death member of the princely council;⁵⁸ his mother was probably Anna Kemény.⁵⁹ This relationship proved to be fruitful, which was quite important for the survival of the family; a line of boys were born: Ferenc, István, Imre and Farkas. Since after the death of his father in 1554,⁶⁰ Ferenc inherited social status rather than wealth, he had to make a good match. After a short and childless marriage,⁶¹ he had a second chance with lots of possibilities. Anna Melith, despite her relatively young age, was already twice widowed before she married Ferenc, which was important for him for two reasons. Anna Melith came to this marriage with considerable wealth inherited from the two previous husbands, Miklós Baranyai and Mihály Bánffy of Losonc, and also with two sons, Miklós

⁵² For his short biography see Ildikó Horn, 'Politikusportrék János Zsigmond udvarából' [Politician portraits from the court of John Sigismund], in Eadem, *Tündérország útvesztői. Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* [The mazes of Fairyland. Studies on the history of Transylvania] (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2005), 76–79; Eadem, *Hit és hatalom. Az erdélyi unitárius nemesség 16. századi története* [Faith and power. The history of the Transylvanian Unitarian nobility in the sixteenth century] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2009), 211–213.

⁵³ Incorrectly Ferenc II Mikola. *Erdélyi testamentumok*, vol. 2, 198.

⁵⁴ Jakó (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, vol. 2, no. 4326.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 4592.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 4797.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 4850, 4941.

⁵⁸ Ildikó Horn – Andrea Kreutzer – András Péter Szabó (eds.), *Politika és házasság. Menyegzőre hívogató levelek a 16. századi Erdélyből* [Politics and marriage. Invitation letters for wedding from sixteenth century Transylvania] /TDI Könyvek 2/ (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 2005), p. 27.

⁵⁹ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, p. 211. In 1549, Fruzsina Bywtlhy was mentioned as the spouse of László Mikola. Jakó (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, vol. 2, no. 4941.

⁶⁰ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 211.

⁶¹ The question of the council of the town of Sibiu addressed to the council of Bistrița in December 1546 probably refers to the abovementioned first marriage of Ferenc Mikola. The Sibiu council asked the Bistrița council to inform them whether they wanted to send a wedding present for the wedding of the vice-regent's son László Mikola separately or together with the Saxon nation. Horn – Kreutzer – Szabó (eds.), *Politika és házasság*, 26–27.

Baranyai Jr. and Menyhért Bánffy, which could raise the hopes of Ferenc Mikola that he might have male heirs as well. And he was right. After a boy named László, who died as a child, there came three girls, Kata, Anna and Judit, followed by the long-awaited son, János.⁶² Moreover, as the stepfather and tutor of the two other underage boys, Ferenc Mikola was also the handler of their wealth, so the prestige he inherited from his father was doubled with wealth on behalf of his wife and stepsons.

When he returned from his studies abroad at the University of Vienna,⁶³ Ferenc Mikola planned on advancing in the political structures of the Principality, which he did in small steps. In 1555, his name appeared in connection with local affairs, first as the executor of the will of scribe (*deák*) Gáspár Pesti,⁶⁴ then as an appointed judge in the case of the transferred archive of the abovementioned Katalin Bojnicsit.⁶⁵ Later, he was a *servitor* of Queen Izabella, and the chief of the Ocna Sibiului (Vizakna, Salzburg) chamber,⁶⁶ after which he reached his highest office in 1562 as princely councillor.⁶⁷ His connections network proves that although it was extensive and included well-known personalities, he was not a significant figure of national politics, in fact, in 1565-1567, he was a second-row politician of Prince John Sigismund.⁶⁸

⁶² The data for the family “picture” was mostly provided by the protagonists themselves, Ferenc Mikola and Anna Melith, through their last wills. Ferenc Mikola wrote his Hungarian language will with his own hand on 19 December 1560 in Someșeni, the beneficiaries of which were his wife Anna Melith and their two daughters, Kata and Anna (Judit and János were not yet born), and his two stepsons. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 88. Cf. note 2. The pregnant Anna Melith (Melÿk), in her last will written in Hungarian on 3 February 1558, mentions her two previous testaments, considering the new one a completion for the previous two. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 78. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-78 (accessed on 27 March 2021). According to this, her last will in Latin written on 12 May 1559 was the fourth in the line. *Ibid.*, no. 83. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-83 (accessed on 27 March 2021). Anna Melith compiled her goods in 1576, her 14 page inventory in Hungarian was dated on 13 February in Someșeni. *Ibid.*, no. 170. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-170 83 (accessed on 27 March 2021)

⁶³ Miklós Szabó – Sándor Tonk, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a korai újkorban 1521–1700* [The peregrination of the Transylvanians in the early modern period 1521–1700] /*Fontes rerum scholasticarum IV/* (Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992), no. 499.

⁶⁴ Jakó (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, vol. 2, no. 5338.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 5341.

⁶⁶ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 211.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁶⁸ For more details about the connection network that Horn called the Mikola circle, see *Ibid.*, pp. 212–213. Cf. Eadem, *A hatalom pillérei. A politikai elit az Erdélyi Fejedelemség megszülárdülésének korszakában (1556–1588)* [The pillars of power. The political elite in the consolidation period of the Transylvanian Principality (1556–1588)] (Budapest: Thesis manuscript, 2012), pp. 104, 140 (accessed on 25 March 2021).

The Transylvanian Principality saw a series of confessional changes within a short period of time, and Ferenc Mikola was one of the first adepts who accepted and supported the Anti-Trinitarian teachings of Ferenc Dávid from the beginning, which the parish priest of Cluj started to preach from January 1566. At the same time, in that period of ideologically burdened religious and political struggles, there was a need of thoughtful people supporting the protestant unity and reconciliation, like Ferenc Mikola. No wonder that in the following year Ferenc Dávid dedicated his *Rövid útmutatás* (Short guide)⁶⁹ to him, and the solemn celebrations at the transfer of the church in the central square of Cluj to the followers of Ferenc Dávid were also officiated by Ferenc Mikola together with István Cserényi.⁷⁰ In the mirror of these events, it is not surprising that one of the witnesses for the handover of the Mikola family archive was Ferenc Dávid, as parish priest of Cluj and superintendent, but we might also assume that he was also present as an admirer of his deceased patron, or even as a good old friend. The time of his death is uncertain, it is usually placed after 1567,⁷¹ around 1568.⁷² To my knowledge, we can still push the date of his death a couple of years forward, as he was granted a new estate on 7 March 1570,⁷³ and his name appears in a trial on 15 May 1571.⁷⁴ As far as I am aware, this is the last evidence about him.

⁶⁹ „Tenedek kedig Krisztusban Jézusban szerelmes uram, ajánlani akartam ez rövid írást két okért, első, hogy tennenmagadat vigasztalhasd az igazságnak esméretivel, mert az vetélkedésnek elejétől fogva gyűlölséges volt az te neved.” Ferenc Dávid, *Rövid útmutatás az Istennek igéienec igaz értelmere, mostani szent haromságról tamadó vetélkedésnek megfeytesere es itelesere hasznos es szűkséges* [Brief guidance...] (Albae Iuliae, 1567), in Gedeon Borsa et al. (eds.), *Régi magyarországi nyomtatványok* [Old Hungarian prints] (4 vols, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó-OSZK, 1971–2012), vol. 1, no. 233. Cf. Ferenc Dávid, *Rövid útmutatás, 1567* [Brief guidance, 1567], ed. by Katalin Németh S. (Budapest: Magyarországi Unitárius Egyház, 1985), 9.

⁷⁰ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 213.

⁷¹ Horn, ‘Politikusportrék János Zsigmond udvarából’, 79. Most recently, Dóra Mérai also made this date probable. Eadem, ‘Síremlékek és patrónusok a templomtérben: a Mikola és a Gyerőfi család fejedelemség kori síremlékei’ [Funerary monuments and patrons in the church interior: Memorials of the Mikola and Gyerőfi families from the period of the Transylvanian Principality], in Péter Levente Szócs (ed.), *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészeti Erdélyben. Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania VI* (Satu Mare/Szatmárnémeti: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2020), 343.

⁷² Horn – Kreutzer – Szabó (eds.), *Politika és házasság*, 27.

⁷³ King John II instructs the men of the king to instate Ferenc Mikola and Pál Kapitány into certain estates in Hunedoara (Hunyad) County. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 126. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-126 (accessed on 23 February 2021). The charter was preserved in a transcription (transsumptum) from 12 March 1570. The children of the grantees, János Mikola and Katalin Kapitány, had to start a legal case against the Barcsai family, which extended to most of the seventeenth century, and a sentence was only reached in 1669. Pál Török, ‘Középkori magyar nemes családok Erdélyben. III. A

It seems that Ferenc Mikola made a conscious effort to create a family memorial. In the parish church of Someșeni, the centre of his estates which also gave the nobility prefix of the family, he had a tomb built for the memory of his father László and his son László who died as a child, with a Latin inscription and the family coat of arms. The pair of tombs erected in 1557 and 1559, today built into the southern wall of the nave, witnesses Ferenc Mikola's patronage by the inscription and also the importance of the place of burial of the Mikolas, by four other tombs.⁷⁵ One of these, with the right amount of caution, can be regarded as the memorial of Ferenc Mikola or one of his brothers. Since of all the Mikola brothers Ferenc was the one that had a career for which, according to the fragmentary Latin inscription of the tomb, he could be mourned by the entire Transylvania,⁷⁶ his name has the most chances to have stood in the place of the missing first name. All the more so since one of the brothers, Imre, had one daughter, Farkas had two daughters, István had no children we have knowledge about, so it could have been János, the son of Ferenc Mikola, who might have erected a memorial for his father, following the tradition of his grandfather, László Mikola, vice-voivode of Transylvania, and his father, Ferenc Mikola, councilor and patron of the church of Someșeni, where "the old and young Mikolas rest to see the holy land of God together".⁷⁷

Of the three **Mikolas** who took over the family archives, **Imre** and Farkas were the younger brothers of Ferenc, and he mentioned both of them in his will, along with his third younger brother, István, who was not included into the charter of quittance.⁷⁸ There is little information about Imre Mikola. It seems that he was active on the level of county administration. In 1563, on the orders of King John II, he appeared as a member of the committee which had to assess the house in Cluj which was given to Mihály Gyulai as a result of Ferenc Kendi's betrayal, since

sálfalvi Sálfi család' [Medieval Hungarian noble families in Transylvania III. The Sálfi family of Sálfalva], *Magyar Családtörténeti Szemle*, 8.9 (1942): 207. Cf. Bálint Kis, 'Az ismeretlen Rákócziak kérdéséhez' [To the question of the unknown Rákóczi family], *Turul*, 30.1 (1912): 180-181.

⁷⁴ NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 127, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-127 (accessed on 23 February 2021).

⁷⁵ Mérai, 'Síremlékek és patrónusok', 339-344.

⁷⁶ Mérai's suggestions for identification. When listing the brothers mentioned by name in Ferenc Mikola's last will (István, Farkas), Mérai leaves out Imre. *Ibid.*, 342-343.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁷⁸ Ferenc Mikola repeatedly mentioned in his last will that he took good care of the family estates, he was a good brother, so he hopes that they will help and protect his widow and orphans. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 88, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-88 (accessed on 25 February 2021).

they wanted to buy it back and returned it to the town.⁷⁹ In 1564 he was member of the court of justice of Cluj County,⁸⁰ in 1569 he appeared as a man of the king in the admonition and summons letter of King John II,⁸¹ while in 1572 Imre was mentioned as a man of the voivode.⁸² Ildikó Horn lists him among those Anti-Trinitarian noble family members who – mostly at a young age – activated as a completion of their studies in the minor and major chanceries for a shorter or longer period of time.⁸³ His wife was Kata Gerendi.⁸⁴ They had one daughter, who was mentioned as an orphan already in 1578. The little girl was taken under the guardianship of her mother's relative, János Gerendi, who did his best to protect her inheritance from the violent land-grabbing actions of his powerful uncle, Farkas Mikola.⁸⁵

The male lineage of the ancestors of **Farkas Mikola**,⁸⁶ mentioned as the son of the vice-voivode of Transylvania, László Mikola, can fortunately be reconstructed for three generations. In 1578, when the charters issued on 31 August and 10 December 1553, referring to some of the Mikola estates were transcribed on the request of Anna Melith, widow of Ferenc Mikola, in a privilege charter issued by Voivode Cristopher Báthory, Farkas was mentioned as the son of the late László, son of the late Ferenc, son of the late János Mikola Sr.⁸⁷ Similarly to his brother Imre, he was also active in county administration in the 1570s, as

⁷⁹ NAR, Cluj, Fond Primăria Municipiului Cluj-Napoca [The archives of Cluj], Seria A. Privilegii și acte [Series A. – Privileges and documents], Subseria A1. Privilegiile orașului [Subseries A1 – The privileges of the town], fasc. I/24, no. 131a (in Latin transcription from around 1696).

⁸⁰ Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* [The history of Cluj] (3 vols, Buda–Budapest: Kolozsvár város közönsége, 1870–1888), vol. 2, 77–79.

⁸¹ Zsolt Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 62.

⁸² NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Bánffy [The archives of the Bánffy family], Seria 2 – Instrumente contemporane de evidență și documente după instrumente contemporane de evidență [Series 2 – Tools of contemporary evidence and documents based on the tools of contemporary evidence], Subseria 2 – Documente ordonate după Registrul 2 [Subseries 2 – Documents ordered based on Register 2], fasc. UU, no. 9. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00320-1-2-2-UU-9 (accessed on 26 March 2021).

⁸³ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 65.

⁸⁴ When Péter Gerendi asked for property division on 5 November 1568, Kata Gerendi, wife of Imre Mikola is also mentioned. NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Korda [The archives of Korda family], no. 5, fasc. 54, no. 21. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00377-5 (accessed on 26 March 2021). – Based on the Romanian content excerpt because no image is attached.

⁸⁵ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 261.

⁸⁶ 6 November 1578. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 159.

⁸⁷ 25 November 1578. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 218, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-218 (accessed on 20 January 2021).

a man of the voivode.⁸⁸ However, as mentioned earlier, he gained fame through his land deals, which were often not without excesses. From the end of the 1570s onwards, his name is frequently mentioned in pledge⁸⁹ and litigation cases,⁹⁰ loan transactions⁹¹ and the sale⁹² of his own estates and those of his family. In 1582, his house of Filpișu Mic (Szászfülöpös, Klein-Phlepsdorf) was mentioned.⁹³

Farkas Mikola married twice. His first marriage with Ilona Kabos⁹⁴ seems to have been childless. His second wife was Sára Hagymási,⁹⁵ with whom he had two daughters, Fruzsina and Borbála, mentioned in 1587. At this time, the girls were orphans for both parents, raised by their cousin János Mikola, Ferenc Mikola's son as their protector.⁹⁶ Farkas also lived in Someșeni, like his older brother Ferenc. Before 9 January 1583, the death of Farkas Mikola, his noble estate next to the garden of Pál Mikola is mentioned, as the place where he lived in Someșeni before his passing away.⁹⁷ He made his last will before his death, lying in bed with illness. We

⁸⁸ First on 16 October 1572: NAR, Cluj, The archives of the Bánffy family, Series 2 – Tools of contemporary evidence and documents based on the tools of contemporary evidence, Subseries 2 – Documents ordered based on Register 2, fasc. UU, no. 9, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00320-1-2-2-UU-9, and then on 25 October 1577: Bogdándi – Gálfi (eds.), *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 243. On 26 November 1576, he appears with Pál Mikola in the voivode's estate registration order. NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Suky [The archives of Suky family], Seria 1 – Documente medievale [Series 1 – Medieval Documents], no. 266, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00423-1-266 (accessed on 20 January 2021).

⁸⁹ 12 June 1576. The pledge affair of Ilona Kabos, wife of Farkas Mikola. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 80; 6 November 1576. Anna Melith pledges the Iuriu de Câmpie (Őr) from Cluj County and Farkas Mikola also figures. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 175, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-175 (accessed on 20 January 2021).

⁹⁰ His name appears again together with Pál Mikola in November 1577 in a case of the Mikola of Szamosfalva and Gyerőffy families regarding the boundaries of their estates and the town of Cluj. NAR, Cluj, The archives of Cluj, Series A. – Privileges and documents, Subseries A1 – The privileges of the town, no. 240, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00001-A-1-240; NAR, Cluj, The archives of Cluj, Series A. – Privileges and documents, Subseries A2 – Acte fasciculate [Subseries A2 – Bunched documents], fasc. 4, no. 6, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00001-A-2-4-6 (accessed on 20 January 2021).

⁹¹ 26 September 1578. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 140.

⁹² 3 November 1578. He sells the half part of the Cara (Oláhkara) estate. *Ibid.*, no. 154.

⁹³ Horn – Kreutzer – Szabó (eds.), *Politika és házasság*, 163.

⁹⁴ 12 June 1576. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 80.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 442, 459.

⁹⁶ The prefect of the castle of Făgăraș made an agreement with the *familiares* of the castle in the name of János, son of Ferenc Mikola in the case of the guardianship of Fruzsina and Borbála, the daughters of the late Farkas Mikola from her late wife Sára Hagymási. *Ibid.*, no. 590.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 380.

have two records of this. First, his nephew, János son of Ferenc Mikola, protested on 9 January 1583 that the late Farkas Mikola had made a deal with his wife, and enforced it in his testament.⁹⁸ Then, in September 1584, his widow, Sára Hagymási confessed that her husband had made his last will as a bedridden sick man.⁹⁹

We have detailed evidence about **Pál Mikola**, similarly to Farkas, from the aforementioned charter from 1578, according to which Pál is the son of the late János, son of the late István, son of the late János Mikola Sr.¹⁰⁰ A decade later, Pál is mentioned as a son of the late János Mikola of Szamosfalva from his wife, the late Ilona Kabos, daughter of Mihály Kabos and Anna Dienesi.¹⁰¹ The appointed judges wrote about Pál and his older sister Anna in 1568 that “they are all from the same father and mother, and the siblings were the children of the late nobleman János Mikola”.¹⁰² He was probably still underage in 1557, because in the agreement with the Ádámos (Adămuș) estate of László Mikola of Ádámos he was represented by his tutor Ferenc Mikola.¹⁰³ As a grown man, he married Borbála Szentegyedi. The invitation to their wedding, addressed to the judge and council of Bistrița (Beszterce, Bistritz) by the father of the bride at the beginning of January 1580, betrays that the ceremony took place a month later.¹⁰⁴ In the first five years of their marriage they had three daughters: Zsuzsanna, Margit and Erzsébet.¹⁰⁵ In 1587, several instructions were formulated about some of the estates in case Pál Mikola would die without a male heir.¹⁰⁶ A similar situation occurred a year later. When the widow of

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 381.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 459.

¹⁰⁰ 25 November 1578. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 218, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-218 (accessed on 25 January 2021).

¹⁰¹ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 592.

¹⁰² Anna might have been the older, because they called each other “néném” (my older sister) and “öcsém” (my younger brother) in the same document. The siblings reached an agreement over some estates in Alba (Fehér) and Târnava (Küküllő) Counties. Parts of the estates were pawned earlier to Orsolya Mikola, wife of János Temesváry, and now they are under the tutelage of Ferenc Mikola. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 295 (in transcription from 1585), www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-295 (accessed on 25 January 2021). Published by Attila Szabó T., ‘Erdélyi szövegemlékek 1552–1560 tájáról. Mikola Orsolya és Mikola Pál egyezséglevele 1557’ [Transylvanian textual monuments from around 1552–1560. The letter of agreement of Orsolya Mikola and Pál Mikola 1557], *Magyar Nyelv*, 68.2 (1972): 224.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Horn – Kreutzer – Szabó (eds.), *Politika és házasság*, 143. Cf. *Urkunden-Regesten aus dem Archiv der Stadt Bistritz in Siebenbürgen*, begründet von Albert Berger, hgg. Ernst Wagner (3 vols, Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 1986–1995), vol. 3, no. 4729.

¹⁰⁵ Horn – Kreutzer – Szabó (eds.), *Politika és házasság*, 145.

¹⁰⁶ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 592.

the late Ferenc Mikola, Anna Melith, made an agreement with Pál Mikola also in the name of her son, János Mikola, about the expenses that were paid by Pál for the trial to gain back their ancestral estates, the pawned lands of Iclod (Iklód) and Pâglişa (Poklostelke), they emphasized that János and Pál Mikola had the same rights over these pawned estates, and there was no mention whatsoever of Pál's heirs.¹⁰⁷ The boys must have been born later, and we have data of at least two sons: László, who died at age seven in 1601, and János, who lived to adulthood. A beautiful memory of the relationship of the siblings and also of the church of Someşeni as a family pantheon and the patronage of the church is demonstrated by the tomb decorated with a Latin inscription and the family's coat of arms, erected by János Mikola for the memory of his brother who had died as a child.¹⁰⁸ In 1589, Pál Mikola got into an awkward situation with his wife and her parents, Gergely Somlyai of Szentegyed, fiscal director of Transylvania¹⁰⁹ and his wife, Ágnes Wass. Out of carelessness and clumsiness, he was unable to carry out his mother-in-law's process concerning the division of properties according to their lineage and order of inheritance. Therefore, Pál's wife, Borbála Szentegyedi was forced to withdraw and invalidate the mentioned division act on behalf of her mother as well.¹¹⁰ Even if he wasn't careful enough with the estates of his wife's family, Pál was about his own. His name appeared several times whether together with that of her sister, Anna, or alone in certain issues¹¹¹ or court trials connected to the family estates.¹¹² His name oftentimes also appeared as a man of the voivode¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ The abovementioned ancestral estates were pawned by the late László Mikola. Pál Mikola went to court for them for seven years at the court of justice of Dăbâca (Doboka) County, and for the last two years János was also involved in the case. *Ibid.*, no. 665.

¹⁰⁸ Mérai, 'Síremlékek és patrónusok', 343.

¹⁰⁹ His career was presented by Zsolt Bogdándi. Idem, 'Szentegyedi Somlyai Gergely deákról [About Gergely Somlyai literate], in Klára Papp – Levente Püski (eds.), *A magyar arisztokrácia társadalmi sokszínűsége, változó értékek és életviszonyok* [The social diversity, changing values and living conditions of the Hungarian aristocracy] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2013), 37–46.

¹¹⁰ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 747.

¹¹¹ He dealts with Anna Mikola about the estates of Adămuş (Ádamos) and Dâmbău (Dombó) on 10 October 1576. NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 166, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-166. On 25 October 1578 he is mentioned again in connection with the Adămuş possession. *Ibid.*, no. 215 (transcript in the charter of Cristopher Báthory dated on 16 November 1578), CJ-F-00255-1-215 (accessed on 25 January 2021).

¹¹² In November 1577, in the lawsuit of the Mikola of Szamosfalva and Gyerőffi families in the case of the boundary with Cluj, both Farkas and Pál were mentioned. NAR, Cluj, The archives of Cluj, Series A. – Privileges and documents, Subseries A1 – The privileges of the town, no. 240, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00001-A-1-240; NAR, Cluj, The archives of Cluj, Series A. – Privileges and documents, Subseries A2 – Bunched documents, fasc. 4, no. 6, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00001-A-2-4-6 (accessed on 20 January 2021); On 1 May 1585 he

and at instatements into possession.¹¹⁴ He probably used his legal knowledge at these occasions: in 1587, he is appointed judge in a movable property case as a nobleman of law.¹¹⁵ In 1592, as vice-comes of Cluj County, he ordered that the Cluj County estates and manor houses of the orphans of his deceased relative Farkas should be managed by János Mikola.¹¹⁶ He must have died sometime after 1607, since according to a privilege issued in that year Pál Mikola and his wife, Borbála Szentegyedi were still alive, just like their daughter Erzsébet.¹¹⁷

Pál Mikola probably also had a manor house in Someșeni as well, like his relatives, Ferenc and Farkas. His garden was next to Farkas's plot,¹¹⁸ and in 1585 there is specific evidence of his Someșeni estate, from which one of his serfs ran away.¹¹⁹

The witnesses

The list of witnesses, consisting of two clergymen and two laymen, begins with the members of the clergy. First, there is **Ferenc Dávid**, "parish priest and superintendent of Kolozsvár". His life seasoned with a series of confession changes is well known,¹²⁰ therefore I would

reaches an agreement in a case about the property rights of some possessions. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 483.

¹¹³ E. g., on 12 February 1573 he appeared as a man of the voivode in the case of a mill to be built on the Someș (Szamos) river, between two members of the Suky family. NAR, Cluj, The archives of Suky family, Series 1 – Medieval Documents, no. 237, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00423-1-237 (accessed on 25 January 2021).

¹¹⁴ E. g., on 26 November 1576 he appeared together with Farkas Mikola in the voivode's order of instatement of possession. *Ibid.*, no. 266. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00423-1-266 (accessed on 25 January 2021).

¹¹⁵ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 612.

¹¹⁶ NAR, Cluj, The Jósika archives, Series 1 – Medieval documents, no. 360. www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00255-1-360 (accessed on 25 January 2021).

¹¹⁷ Erzsébet Mikola married János Tholdalagi, and had a daughter called Druziána. József Kádár – Károly Tagányi – László Réthy – József Pokoly, *Szolnok-Doboka vármegye monographiája* [The monograph of the Solnok-Dăbâca County] (7 vols, Deés: Szolnok-Doboka vármegye közönsége, 1901–1905), vol. 6, 336.

¹¹⁸ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 380.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 520.

¹²⁰ I would just mention the most important titles in the scholarship: Elek Jakab, *Dávid Ferenc emléke* [The memory of Ferenc Dávid] (2 vols, Budapest: Magy. Kir. Egyetemi Könyvnyomda, 1879); János Szász, *Dávid Ferenc* [Ferenc Dávid] (Budapest: Unitárius Egyház, 1982); Mihály Balázs, *Ungarländische Antitrinitarier IV. Ferenc Dávid* /Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dixseptième siècles. Édité par André Séguenny 26; Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 222/ (Baden-Baden-Bouxwiller: Koerner, 2008); Mihály Balázs, 'Dávid Ferenc életútja' [Ferenc Dávid's path of life], in András Kovács (compiled), Gyöngy Kovács Kiss (ed.), *A reneszánsz Kolozsvár* [The Renaissance Cluj] (Kolozsvár: Kolozsvár Társaság, 2008), 176–210 (henceforth: Balázs, 'Dávid Ferenc – Kolozsvár'); Mihály Balázs,

just refer to his offices mentioned in the Mikola-charter. After his studies in Braşov (Brassó, Kronstadt), he attended the university of Wittenberg, from where he returned to his home town in the second half of the year 1551. After a short period of being a schoolmaster, beginning with 1555, already an adept of the Reformation,¹²¹ he was elected parish priest of Cluj, an office he held throughout his life, until his death in November 1579. When he was elected, although there was a strong Protestant community already in the town, the Catholics were still present. The mendicant friars, after their expulsion in 1551, were brought back to the town the next year with a decree of the Diet, but the atmosphere remained just as tense, or perhaps even tenser. Dávid preached at the Protestant services in the parish church in the central square, while the Dominican and Franciscan churches officiated the Catholic Mass until mid-March 1556, when the still standing institutions of the Catholic Church, which lost the support of the already predominantly Protestant population, were permanently exiled from the town.¹²²

Not much later, sometime in 1556-1557, when the Protestant superintendence replacing the former Catholic bishopric of Alba Iulia split in two, creating the Saxon and the Hungarian superintendence, with the centres in Sibiu (Szeben, Hermannstadt) and Cluj, respectively,¹²³ the first

'Dávid Ferenc életútja' [Ferenc Dávid's path of life], *Keresztény Magvető*, 114.2 (2008): 173-202; Sándor Kovács, 'Dávid Ferenc az emlékezet és felejtés határán' [Ferenc Dávid on the edge of the memory and oblivion], in Orsolya Száraz (ed. in chief), Tamás Gergely Fazakas – Mihály Imre (eds.), *A reformáció emlékezete. Protestáns és katolikus értelmezések a 16-18. században* [The memory of Reformation. Protestant and Catholic interpretations in 16-18th centuries] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2018), 156-167.

¹²¹ Balázs, 'Dávid Ferenc - Kolozsvár', 177-182.

¹²² Radu Lupescu, 'Utriusque ordinis expulsi sunt. Kolozsvár, 1556. március 15' [Utriusque ordinis expulsi sunt. Cluj, 15 March 1556], in József Csurgai Horváth (ed.), *Az első 300 év Magyarországon és Európában. A Domonkos-rend a középkorban* [The first 300 years in Hungary and Europe. The Dominican Order in Middle Ages] (Székesfehérvár: Alba Civitas Történeti Alapítvány, 2017), pp. 295-303; Mária Lupescu Makó - Radu Lupescu, 'Mendicant Friars and Religious Revival in Sixteenth Century Cluj, Transylvania', in Ulrich A. Wien (ed.), *Common Man, Society and Religion in the 16th century / Gemeiner Mann, Gesellschaft und Religion im 16. Jahrhundert. Piety, morality and discipline in the Carpathian Basin / Frömmigkeit, Moral und Sozialdisziplinierung im Karpatenbogen / Refo500 Academic Studies 67/* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck-Ruprecht Verlag, 2021), 173-190.

¹²³ This territorial organization in which the church structure followed the political organization, was preserved until the mid-1570s. It actually meant that one of the bishoprics was formed on the territory of the Saxon seats with the centre at Sibiu, while the other on the territory of the Hungarian-inhabited counties, with the centre at Cluj. The congregations living on the given territories were subordinated either to the bishop of Sibiu or that of Cluj, regardless of which branch of Protestantism they had embraced. Zoltán Csepregi, *A reformáció nyelve. Tanulmányok a magyarországi reformáció első negyedszázadának vizsgálatára alapján* [The language of Reformation. Studies based on the analysis of the first quarter of the Hungarian

leader of the Hungarian superintendence became Ferenc Dávid. In 1559, seeing that he could not have the Saxons accept regarding the Helvetian doctrine of the communion which he had already accepted and there was no hope of creating the Protestant unity he so much desired, Dávid resigned his title as bishop.¹²⁴ The situation changed in 1564, when, due to the permanent growth and influence of the Helvetian side, the settling of the issue could no longer be avoided. The first obvious sign of this was that Ferenc Dávid was once again elected bishop of the Church of the Hungarians of Transylvania¹²⁵ and court priest of the Prince instead of Dionysius Alesius, who was withdrawn (or had resigned) his title as bishop. As court priest of Prince John Sigismund, he most probably spent little time in Cluj, but his parish priesthood was by no means merely symbolic. The town registers prove that Dávid did preach, albeit rarely, he took measures in the case of the preachers under his supervision, and carried out negotiations with the town learders.¹²⁶ After the death of Prince John Sigismund in 1571, his successor, Stephen Báthory, displaced Ferenc Dávid as court priest and possibly also as superintendent. His place as court pastor was taken by Dionysius Alesius. Ferenc Dávid, who had held until then three offices as parish priest, superintendent and court priest, returned to his first clerical duty to his home town, which at this time – around 1570 – could already be considered Anti-Trinitarian. Ferenc Dávid played a major role of course in this change of confession, as he had started preaching Anti-Trinitarian doctrines from the pulpit as early as January 1566.¹²⁷ Not long after his return happened the major event which eventually led to the birth of the Unitarian and the Reformed Church. Sometime between 1572 and 1575, the common church of the Hungarians living on the historical territory of Transylvania, the “church of Cluj” (as opposed to the “church of Sibiu”) split and the independent Reformed and Unitarian Churches came into being. The superintendent of the former, the “Trinitarians” in the contemporary terminology, was Dionysius Alesius, also favoured by the Catholic Prince Stephen Báthory. The superintendent of the Anti-Trinitarians became Ferenc Dávid. At this point, we should turn back to the quittance charter of the Mikolas from 1573, in which Ferenc

Reformation] /Humanizmus és Reformáció 34/ (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2013), p. 479; Balázs, ‘Dávid Ferenc életútja’, 182.

¹²⁴ Balázs, ‘Dávid Ferenc – Kolozsvár’, 190–191.

¹²⁵ The official proclamation of the two confessions in Transylvania happened at the Diet of Medgyes: the Lutheran, called the religion of Sibiu, and the Calvinist (Reformed), called the confession of Cluj. *Ibid.*, 191.

¹²⁶ Balázs, ‘Dávid Ferenc életútja’, 192–193.

¹²⁷ According to Laurentius Filstich’s note. *Ibid.*, 190.

Dávid is called the parish priest of Cluj and superintendent. The question is: was he a superintendent at all, and if so, of which church?

Before I put forth my opinion, I must add: I do not want to deal with the problem of the splitting of the common Hungarian church around the dates of 1572-1575. On the one hand, it is not a subject of this paper, on the other hand, this field, the circumstances of the birth of the Reformed and Unitarian Churches, has its own researchers who have been studying, analyzing and publishing the sources related to the subject for many years. My own research rather proposes to insert the information contained in the charter into the timeline of Ferenc Dávid's biography, and to tackle the possible consequences of his title of superintendent (the birth of the autonomous Reformed and Unitarian Churches). However, since the subject, albeit secondary, is still somehow part of the theme of this paper, I will formulate my take on the matter as a reflection rather than a statement. At the same time, I leave space for other interpretations as well.

The views regarding Ferenc Dávid's title as bishop are unitary to a point, but based on the sources used and the various interpretive perspective matched to them result in diverse consequences. It seems to be a common view that Stephen Báthory, after his election as Prince in May 1571, displaced Ferenc Dávid as the head of the Hungarian diocese.¹²⁸ The Diet of May 1572 settles this state for Ferenc Dávid as being removed from his office as court priest and superintendent. The famed law that interdicted further religious reforms also decreed the name of the experts who decided the reforms, as **Ferenc Dávid and the superintendent** (emphasis mine, M. L. M.).¹²⁹ The scholarship unanimously claims that the superintendent was Dionysius Alesius,¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Mihály Balázs, "A hit ... hallásból lészön". Vallásszabadság és bevett vallások (receptae religiones) Erdélyben a 16. században' ["Faith ... comes from hearing". Religious freedom and established religions (receptae religiones) in sixteenth century Transylvania], in Idem, *Felekezeti és fikció. Tanulmányok 16-17. századi irodalmunkról* [Confessionalisation and fiction. Studies on 16-17th century our literature] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006), 29-30; Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 121. In the absence of data, the authors are cautious about how Dávid was relieved of his superintendent title. It is less likely that Prince Stephen Báthory would have done it with a stroke of a pen, in theory the synod would have had the power to do so.

¹²⁹ Sándor Szilágyi (ed.), *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek. Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae / Monumenta Hungariae Historica 3. osztály: Országgyűlési Emlékek. Monumenta Comititalia/* (21 vols, Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1875-1898), vol. 2, 528.

¹³⁰ For example, Balázs, "A hit ... hallásból lészön", p. 29; Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 115-116; Előd Ősz Sándor, 'Az Erdélyi Református Egyház "kanonikus" püspöknévsoráról' [About the "canonical" bishop list of the Transylvanian Reformed Church], in József Kolombán Vilmos (ed.), *A „recepta religiók” évszázadai Erdélyben. Egyháztörténeti tanulmányok* [The centuries of the "recepta religions" in Transylvania. Studies of church history] (Kolozsvár: Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológiai Intézet, 2019), 32-33.

and the phrasing also clearly indicates that Ferenc Dávid was no longer that at the time. The law of May 1572 was modified at the Diet of 1-6 January 1573; the name of Ferenc Dávid disappeared in this version, and the experts who had to decide about the reforms were the two superintendents with the help of an expert committee.¹³¹

In the autumn of 1572 and in 1573, Ferenc Dávid appeared again as a superintendent. The first evidence about it came from Adam Neuser's letter written from Constantinople to Germany on 7 April 1574. Neuser wrote, looking back to the events that took place two years prior, in the autumn of 1572, that he had left Cluj equipped with the public letter of recommendation of **superintendent Ferenc Dávid** (emphasis mine, M. L. M.) to Pál Karádi, "who was also the preacher of Schiman, of the superintendent's diocese", to print his defence written in German "and other useful books he had" in Karádi's typography from Simánd.¹³² In April 1573, two other official documents mention Ferenc Dávid with the title of superintendent. The first is the Mikola quittance issued in Someşeni on 5 April 1573, the subject of our analysis, which mentions Ferenc Dávid as a preacher of Cluj and superintendent. The other is an extract of a charter issued in Cluj, on 22 April 1573, published by Péter Bod, and republished by József Pokoly at the end of the 19th century, signed *manu propria* by superintendent Ferenc Dávid.¹³³

There are two more pieces of evidence that shed light on Ferenc Dávid's superintendency. They are identical in content, but their dating is different. According to these, the articles of the Diet call the Unitarians "those following the religion of Ferenc Dávid", who are allowed to regard him as their bishop ("**from now on too**") (emphasis mine, M. L. M.), and after his death they have the right to elect a new superintendent. The Unitarian church history of Kénosi Tózsér and Uzoni Fosztó, referring to an old manuscript, place the date of this Diet to 6 January 1573,¹³⁴ while in

¹³¹ Szilágyi (ed.), *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, vol. 2, 528, 534.

¹³² Zsigmond György, 'Neuser Ádám' [Ádám Neuser], *Századok*, 45 (1911): 783 (in Hungarian translation). Cf. Mihály Balázs, 'Karádi Pál Simándon' [Pál Karádi in Simánd], *Keresztény Magvető*, 112.1 (2006): 149.

¹³³ József Pokoly, 'Történelmi apróságok' [Historical little things], *Keresztény Magvető*, 33.5 (1898): 281.

¹³⁴ János Kénosi Tózsér – István Uzoni Fosztó, *Unitario-Ecclesiastica Historia Transylvanica*, liber I-II, vol. IV/1, ed. János Káldos, introd. Mihály Balázs (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2002), p. 193. In the Hungarian translation of the same work the date of 6 January 1576 appeared. János Kénosi Tózsér – István Uzoni Fosztó, *Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház története* [The history of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church], transl. Albert Márkos, introd. Mihály Balázs, eds. Gizella Hoffmann – Sándor Kovács – Lehel Monár B. (Kolozsvar: Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház, 2005), p. 235. The discrepancy between the two dates was explained by Ildikó Horn, who also checked

the *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek / Monumenta comitialia regni Transylvaniae* of Szilágyi we find the same information among the decrees of the Diet of Medgyes on 28 January 1576, without the phrase “from now on too”.¹³⁵

Leaving aside Neuser’s letter, all the rest of the sources which call Ferenc Dávid a superintendent come from 1573 and 1576. We could say that Ferenc Dávid arbitrarily used the title of bishop after he was dismissed,¹³⁶ but it should also be taken into account that it was not Ferenc Dávid who used this title, but it was “attached” to him by Neuser, and it may well be that he projected the conditions of the time when the letter was written (1574) to two years before. In contrast with the former which is more of a personal nature, the two data from April 1573 are official documents, therefore I think it is highly unlikely that such an important title both religiously and politically as that of a bishop could have been used arbitrarily. As witness of the Mikola charter it was even more obvious, as the authenticity of the witnesses was of outmost importance, in order to avoid future possible legal disputes. So, if Ferenc Dávid rightfully used the title of superintendent as a witness on 5 April 1573, and on 22 April he reinforced this title by his *manu propria* signature, then it was probably legalized at the Diet of January 1573. By the fact that the decree issued at the Diet allowed “those following Ferenc Dávid’s religion” to consider him their bishop “**from now on too**”, in my opinion the Diet only legalized a pre-existing state which was considered natural by the Unitarians, and from that time onwards they could lawfully regard Ferenc Dávid as their bishop. Even more so as they already held separate synods and maintained separate schools. For this reason, the two anonymous superintendents mentioned in the second reformation law issued in January 1573, who had to investigate the suspicious doctrines in the company of “learned persons”, were Dionysius Alesius and most probably also Ferenc Dávid.¹³⁷ This was the point when the common church of the Hungarians split and the independent Reformed and Unitarian churches were born.

The next in line of the witnesses was priest **Bálint**, a cleric and preacher, about whom we unfortunately have no more information. He was possibly a clerical man of the local church or from the entourage of Ferenc Dávid or the Mikola family.

the manuscript on which the Latin edition was based, and there the date of 6 January 1573 occurred, so there was a mistake in the Hungarian translation. See Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, pp. 124–125, especially note 119. Cf. Balázs, “A hit ... hallásból lészön”, 29–30.

¹³⁵ Szilágyi (ed.), *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, vol. 2, 577.

¹³⁶ Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 122.

¹³⁷ In opinion of Horn it was about Alesius and Ungler. Her detailed and convincing point of view, see *Ibid.*, 116–122.

The first of the two lay witnesses was **György Ombozi of Szovát**, mentioned with the “*vitézlő*” (noble) title, a member of an old noble family with estates in Dăbâca (Doboka) County. The Ombozi family was related primarily with the Kemény, Dienesi, Suky and Almádi families. His name appeared in 1555 with his father, Miklós Ombozi Jr., and his brothers, Ferenc and János. He was probably the eldest of the three sons, since his name was the first in the list.¹³⁸ On behalf of his mother, Sára Gerlistyei, he inherited estates in Severin (Szörény) County. Due to the division process of the possessions beginning with 1556, he had several legal cases with the Ban’s court of Caransebeş (Karánsebes). As a defendant, he did not refrain even from stopping the division with his sword, “according to the old customs”.¹³⁹ In 1572, Gergely Frátai, *comes* of Cluj County, recounts in his last will that he pawned 100 golden forints to György Ombozi which must be reimbursed with 106 forints.¹⁴⁰ In 1579, in relation to the instatement of an estate, among the neighbours that were present there was also a mention of a serf of the widow of Kristóf Kabos from Suceagu (Szucság), Margit Bank, wife of György Ombozi. Interestingly, this charter also mentions the future second wife of György Ombozi, Erzsébet Szentpáli, or rather her serf, in the same way as that of Margit Bank.¹⁴¹ In 1580, one of the serfs of György Ombozi from Suceagu is mentioned in a testimony.¹⁴² In the same year, we have evidence about pledging a part of a forest of the Nagyerdő of Suceagu,¹⁴³ while in 1584 György Ombozi, together with his brother János, appears as an appointed judge in the case of an escaped serf.¹⁴⁴ In 1585, he appeared in an inheritance case connected to the Ombozis,¹⁴⁵ and in 1587 he was mentioned already as deceased. His second wife, Erzsébet Szentpáli, who was still alive at this time, had an argument with the son of her husband’s first wife, Margit Bank, Mihály Kabos of Apahida. This allows us to presume that György Ombozi had no children with either of his wives. Another interesting fact is that the parties agreed

¹³⁸ Jakó (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*, vol. 2, no. 5376. About his father, Miklós Ombozi, see also Horn, *Hit és hatalom*, 356.

¹³⁹ Frigyes Pesty, *A szörényi bánóság és Szörény vármegye története* [The history of the Severin Banate and the Severin County] (3 vols, Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1877–1878), vol. 2, 73–74. The case was completed in 1598 under Sigismund Báthory. *Ibid.*, 76–77. Cf. 275–276, 290–291, 301–302, 306, 366–367, 450–451, 453–454, 494, 547–548, 561–562.

¹⁴⁰ NAR, Cluj, The archives of Suky family, Series 1 – Medieval Documents, no. 416, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00423-1-416 (accessed on 27 january 2021, dated 22nd October 1572). Published: Erdélyi testamentumok, vol. 2, 90–93, here 92.

¹⁴¹ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 174.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 249.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, no. 281.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 466.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 512.

to invite noblemen with knowledge of the law as judges, and one of the candidates on Mihály Kabos's side was Pál Mikola of Szamosfalva.¹⁴⁶ The Ombozi family was acquainted with the Mikolas for a longer time. György Ombozi's father, Miklós, as an envoy of Prince John Sigismund, visited the Saxons about taxing issues together with Ferenc Mikola in October 1559.¹⁴⁷ György "inherited" his father's relationship with the Mikolas when he was invited as a witness to the house in Bonțida of the late Ferenc Mikola.

When his first wife, Margit Bank, wrote her last will in her house in Apahida in February 1582, she stipulated that her husband would live at Apahida until he built his house in Suatu (Szovát), and that he would build this house – until his son, Mihály Kabos, grew up – from the incomes of the estate of Apahida.¹⁴⁸ At the beginning of April 1584, Margit Bank, widow of the late Kristóf Kabos, and wife of György Ombozi, completed her last will written earlier.¹⁴⁹ By the end of April that year, Margit Bank passed away, since György Ombozi transcribed her deceased wife's will.¹⁵⁰ As mentioned before, he married again after that, his second wife was Erzsébet Szentpáli, who had already been married three times before, with Lázár Podvinyai, Ferenc Kemény of Gyerőmonostor, and Pál Cserényi of Balázsfalva.¹⁵¹ In 1590, they are both mentioned as being from Suatu, and as deceased.¹⁵²

We have just as little information about **Benedek Bornemisza**. Benedek, originating from Pata in Cluj County, appeared in the sources at the beginning of the 1560s, on account of his wife, Ilona, daughter of Antal Henke.¹⁵³ Later on, we meet him again in similar contexts: in 1566, Benes (!) Bornemisza's wife, Ilona Henke,¹⁵⁴ was mentioned in a pledge

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 612. Cf. *Ibid.*, no. 628.

¹⁴⁷ Berger (hgg.), *Urkunden-Regesten*, vol. 2, no. 2542.

¹⁴⁸ *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei*, no. 157.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 474.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 482.

¹⁵¹ Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 174. Cf. *Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei*, no. 1351.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Ilona Henke, wife of Benedek Bornemisza, was called to justice in 1561. NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Bethlen de Iktár [The archives of the Bethlen family of Iktár], Seria 3 – Acte privind administrarea posesiunilor [Acts regarding the administration of possessions], no. 410, f. 1, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00329-3-410 (accessed on 15 May 2021). We can expect some uncertainty, because in the absence of a picture of the charter, we have to rely on the Romanian extract.

¹⁵⁴ NAR, Cluj, The archives of Suky family, Series 1 – Medieval Documents, no. 283, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00423-1-283 (accessed on 27 January 2021). We can expect some uncertainty, because in the absence of a picture of the charter, we have to rely on the (erroneous) Romanian extract. The charter was transcribed on 1 November 1576. *Ibid.*

deal. Then, beginning with 1568, Ilona Henkei, wife of Benedek Bornemisza of Pata was repeatedly mentioned in a case that lasted for over a decade, about the inheritance of some (Thoroczky) estates (5 October 1568,¹⁵⁵ 27 October, 31 October and 25 November 1577,¹⁵⁶ and 2 February 1578, in the same case, as Benedek Bornemisza of Magyarpata¹⁵⁷). From the late 1560s, he was mentioned several times as a witness (in 1569, 1575¹⁵⁸), and in 1577 he was a witness again at the putting into possession of Cămărașu (Pusztakamarás) in Cluj County.¹⁵⁹ He was a man of the voivode in November¹⁶⁰ and December 1583, when his name was mentioned together with the other witness, György Ombozi of Szovát,¹⁶¹ and in 1585¹⁶², when his name appeared again in an estate business.¹⁶³ The last piece of information about him comes from 1589, when one of his serfs is mentioned.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁵ NAR, Cluj, The archives of the Bánffy family, Series 2 – Tools of contemporary evidence and documents based on the tools of contemporary evidence, Subseries 1b – Documente ordonate după Registrul 1b [Subseries 1b – Documents ordered by Register 1b], fasc. 55, nr. 28, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00320-1-2-1b-55-28 (accessed on 27 January 2021).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fasc. 66, no. 33, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00320-1-2-1b-66-33 (accessed on 27 January 2021).

¹⁵⁷ NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Thoroczky [The archives of the Thoroczky family], Seria I – Documente medievale [Series I – Medieval Documents], no. 88, fasc. VII, no. 3, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00444-1-88 (accessed on 27 January 2021). We can expect some uncertainty, because in the absence of a picture of the charter, we have to rely on the Romanian extract.

¹⁵⁸ NAR, Cluj, Colecția personală Kemény József [Personal collection of József Kemény], Seria 1 – ANR [Series 1 – ANR], Subseries 1 – Documente medievale [Subseries 1 – Medieval Documents], no. 85, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00594-1-1-85; NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Gyulai-Kuun [The archives of Gyulai-Kuun family], Seria 5 – Documente recotate [Series 5 – Re-allotted documents], no. 812, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00351-5-812 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁵⁹ NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Kemény de Ciombrud [The archives of Kemény family of Csombord], Seria 1 – Documente medievale [Series 1 – Medieval documents], no. 115, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00008-1-115 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁶⁰ NAR, Cluj, The archives of the Bánffy family, Series 2 – Tools of contemporary evidence and documents based on the tools of contemporary evidence, Subseries 1b – Documents ordered by Register 1b, fasc. 36, no. 4, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00320-1-2-1b-36-4 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁶¹ NAR, Cluj, The archives of the Bánffy family, Seria 3 – Evidențe vechi de arhivă și acte fasciculate [Series 3 – Old archival records and bunched documents], Subseries 2 – Acte fasciculate [Subseries 2 – Bunched documents], no. 47, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00320-1-3-2-28-47 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁶² NAR, Cluj, Fond familial Kornis [The archives of Kornis family], Seria 1 – Documente medievale [Series 1 – Medieval documents], no. 169, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00378-1-169 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁶³ NAR, Cluj, The archives of Suky family, Series 1 – Medieval Documents, no. 504, fasc. IX, no. 39, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00423-1-504 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁶⁴ Bogdándi – Gálfi (eds.), *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 615–616.

The relationship between Benedek Bornemisza of Pata and the Mikola family of Szamosfalva was not merely that of acquaintance as neighbours, but we can also connect them directly with sources, although the sources come from July 1577, after Ferenc Mikola's death, when his widow, Anna Melith, complained about the people of Cluj who violated the boundaries of her estates in Someşeni. Prince Cristopher Báthory's order of prohibition in Anna's protection had to be forwarded to the council of Cluj by Pál Mikola of Szamosfalva, István Gyerófi of Szamosfalva, Benedek Bornemisza of Pata and Zsigmond Györgyfalvi of Györgyfalva.¹⁶⁵ The following year, the part of estate of Voivodeni (Vajdaszentiván) of Torda County, gained as new donation, was granted not only to Benedek Bornemisza's wife, Ilona Henke, but among others also to the widow of István Mikola of Szamosfalva, Anna, wife of János Hamvai.¹⁶⁶ It seems therefore that Benedek Bornemisza of Pata lived the life of the petty county nobility, took part in instatements into possessions, and as a man of the voivode he was the local executor of the Prince's orders. Although he might have lived a long life, we have no evidence about any other family members except his wife.

*

When the Mikola relatives took over the family archive from the widow of their late brother, well protected by the oldest member of the family, they followed the customary law and the interests of their family. The archive's importance was due to the fact that the documents preserved in it secured the rights of the family and convinced the owners to do all they can to keep it safe. This careful preservation practiced by the Mikolas as well as other families assured their survival through centuries,¹⁶⁷ and

¹⁶⁵ NAR, Cluj, The archives of Cluj, Series A. – Privileges and documents, Subseria A2 – Acte fasciculate [Subseries A2 – Bunched documents], fasc. 1, no. 45, www.arhivamedievala.ro, CJ-F-00001-A-2-1-45 (accessed on 30 January 2021).

¹⁶⁶ Anna, daughter of the late János Cserényi of Vajdaszentiván, was first the wife of István Mikola, then of János Hamvai. Bogdándi (ed.), *A kolozsmonostori konvent fejedelemség kori jegyzőkönyvei*, no. 146.

¹⁶⁷ At present, the archive of the Mikola of Szamosfalva family, along other families such as the Kamuti or Kállay, are part of the entailed archive of the Baron Jósika family, deposited by the Baron Jósika family in the archive of the National Museum of Transylvania in 1941. A part of this archive is now handled by the Cluj County Office of the National Archives of Romania in Cluj-Napoca, and another part is found in the "Lucian Blaga" University Library of Cluj-Napoca. Originally, the Mikola family archive was a separate unit; around 1763, it was merged with the archives of the Kamuti family after the death of the last Kamuti married to a Mikola, when the Mikola family died out. Zsigmond Jakó, the handler of the archives, considered that the oldest and most important part of the entailed archives of the Jósika family were the Mikola and Kamuti family archives, since these two archives contain a significant amount of

from the second half of the 19th century, losing their original function, turned them into indispensable sources for the researchers of a nearer or more distant past.

Translated from the Hungarian by Emese Czintos

medieval materials, as well in terms of Transylvania. Zsigmond Jakó, *Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltárának múltja és feladatai* [The past and the tasks of the Archives of the Transylvanian National Museum] /*Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 133/ (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1942), 20–23; Idem, 'Jelentés az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltárának 1942. évi működéséről' [Report on the operation of the Archives of the Transylvanian National Museum in 1942], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 48.1 (1943): 27–28; Idem, 'Jelentés az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Levéltárának 1944. évi működéséről' [Report on the operation of the Archives of the Transylvanian National Museum in 1944], *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 49.1–2. (1944) 86–105.

The Hungry Traveller. 18th-Century Transylvanian Travellers and the Western Culinary Experience

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Abstract: The present article discusses food narratives from travelogues written by the Calvinist elite of Transylvania. The paper firstly presents attitudes toward travel and travel writing in 18th-century Transylvania and then offers examples about stories associated with food and foodways. In the first instance, we discussed the attachment of Transylvanians to familiar tastes, then we offered examples of food rejection, either culturally or confessionally motivated. The asymmetrically opposed constructions of these food narratives, the constant distinctions made by the authors between “our” food and “theirs”, suggest the importance of food in identity building. In the last part of our paper, we approached the social dimension of food, arguing that we are witnessing a cultural shift and the changing of the existing food regime, processes undergoing due to the increased number of travels, especially to Vienna.

Keywords: 18th Century, Transylvania, travelogues, culinary history, food narratives.

Rezumat: Călătorul flămând. Călători transilvăneni din secolul al XVIII-lea și experiența culinară Occidentală. Prezentul articol abordează istoria culinară din perspectiva literaturii de călătorie scrise de elita calvinistă a Transilvaniei. Lucrarea prezintă mai întâi atitudinile față de călătorii și literatura de călătorie în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea, apoi oferă exemple despre povești asociate cu mâncăruri și experiențe culinare. În primă instanță am discutat despre atașamentul ardelenilor față de gusturile familiare, apoi am oferit exemple despre respingerea alimentelor sau dietelor pe baza unor prejudecăți, fie motivate cultural, fie confesional. Construcțiile asimetric opuse ale acestor narațiuni, distincțiile constante făcute de acești autori care diferențiază mâncarea „noastră” de „a lor”, sugerează importanța alimentelor în construirea identităților locale.

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În ultima parte a lucrării noastre, am abordat dimensiunea socială a alimentației, susținând că, datorită numărului crescut de călătorii, în special spre Viena, asistăm la apariția consumului de prestigiu și la înlocuirea vechiului regim alimentar.

Cuvinte cheie: secolul al XVIII-lea, Transilvania, literatură de călătorie, istorie culinară.

We live in an age of food culture; food network channels, culinary competitions, amateur videos promote a great variety of dishes, and through foreign cuisine, they promote cultural diversity as well as contribute to the development of a national or regional sense of identity and pride. This is also reflected on a global level by the UNESCO politics, since the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage contains a great number of food-related entries, not just dishes, but rituals associated with food. Thus, foodways are recognized as being “central to our sense of identity”¹ and part of our heritage, since they play an important cultural, social, and ritual role in every society. Today, everyone seems to embrace – and is willing to try – new tastes, local dishes.

It is therefore hard to imagine that a few centuries ago people did not seem to enjoy foreign cuisine. Even more so, they rejected or feared unknown cooking and eating habits precisely for the above-mentioned reasons. Food was strongly related to identity, and those who were willing to try new and different dishes were in danger of losing their own identity, since “we are what we eat”; or, as Rousseau concluded: “In general, I think one could often find some index of people’s character in the choice of foods they prefer”². The way one chose how and what to eat and drink was part of one’s identity, since popular wisdom states that consuming a particular food could transfer characteristics of that food to the eater³. This could explain why the great philosopher described nations through their eating habits, affirming that the Italians who mostly consumed greenery were effeminate; the English, due to their meat consumption, had something harsh about their demeanour and were inflexible; the Swiss were cold and simple, but violent; and from all these European nations, the French, who consumed all sorts of food, were the most flexible and changeable⁴. English travellers would strongly disagree with Rousseau, as suggested by the large number of reflections written by

¹ Claude Fischler, “Food, self and identity” in *Social Science Information*, vol. 27 (1988): 275.

² Jean-Jaques Rousseau, *Julie or the New Heloise. Letters of two lovers who live in a small town at the foot of the alps*, (Hanover and London, 1997), 372.

³ Fischler, “Food, self and identity”, 279.

⁴ Rousseau, *Julie or the New Heloise*, 372–373.

British travellers during their stay in France, who constantly found something to criticize about French foodways⁵. These characterizations reveal much more about the perception of the other nation than about the actual food consumption; the criticism was made more on a cultural rather than a nutritional level, because the way someone accepted or rejected unfamiliar tastes was strongly related to the origin of the food.

The present article focuses on 18th-century Transylvanian nobles who, during their travels in Western Europe, were challenged by foreign customs and tastes as well. Our presentation will rely on personal narrative sources, travel impressions integrated into autobiographies, memoirs, but also diaries and letters written by Transylvanian nobles and intellectuals between 1736 and 1787. Some of the authors visited the imperial capital (László Székely; Ferenc, László and Gergely Bethlen, László Naláczi, Ferenc Gyulay), and some were on an academic pilgrimage to Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and France (Sámuel Fogarasi, István Halmágyi, Sámuel and József Teleki). We want to draw the attention towards the fact that the majority of the travelogues we have from this century belong to the Calvinist male elite of Transylvania; therefore, we will analyse the topic from the standing point of a Protestant literate minority.

Travel and narrative

Travelogues, just like ego-documents in general, were not among the most popular historical sources, since many believed that their subjectivity made them improper for historical research⁶. The situation had changed by the last decades of the 20th century, when, due to the influences of ethnography and later anthropology, historians started to read these narratives with a different approach, admitting their importance in the study of mentalities and collective imagination⁷.

To avoid some of the risks in interpreting these sources, we must pay attention to several aspects, such as the boundaries of the genre itself, the issue of remembrance in the case of the revised travelogues, and the danger of misunderstanding the local cultural system and social behaviour. We have to be sensitive to the “variety of gazes” in these sources and learn how to identify the authors’ strategies, because a

⁵ Jeremy Black, *The British and The Grand Tour*, (London, 1985), 47–50.

⁶ Michael Harbsmeier, “Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen. Überlegungen zu einer historisch-antropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen”, in Antoni Mączak, Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (eds.), *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1982), 1.

⁷ Peter Burke, “The Cultural History of the Travelogue”, in *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. CI (2010): 4.

travelogue reveals much more about its writer than the countries or places they visited⁸.

Besides these personal, subjective reflections, we must pay special attention to the mimetic function of writing. The few books on *ars apodemica* do tell how and what to record, and we believe the members of the Transylvanian elite were familiar with these instructions, thus these books had already shaped how the authors perceived things⁹. Some travellers had previously read other travel narratives kept in their family archive and travelogues drafted on academic pilgrimages. In the account book of József Teleki from 1760, we found an interesting entry saying “I have paid for Keisler’s Reisebeschreibung 4 forints”. Count Teleki was in Basel by that time, which means he was on the road when he decided to buy himself a travelogue¹⁰.

We must pay attention to the question of genre as well. There is a difference between spontaneous perceptions (transmitted by letters and diaries) and ulterior reflections, included in autobiographies and memoirs, where travel is only one stage in the life story of the writer and not necessarily the most important one. Such is the case of László Székely, who included the events of his travel to Vienna (1743–44) into his autobiography: “Dear Reader, in this work I have not written down everything as I should have, because by that time, everything I have seen and heard and thought every day, I wrote down in two volumes, and here, in the story of my life I can include only some of it”¹¹. The quotation suggests that the author made significant changes in order to integrate this travel into his life story. Such is the case of József Teleki, whose travelogue and account book from his journey are highly detailed; however, he mentioned several times that “I wrote more about this in my other diary”¹².

The way things are recorded and the thoroughness of the descriptions varies from case to case. On their first journey, young nobles record almost every impression they have because they were required to, as the letter from 1736 written by Ferenc Bethlen to his widowed mother reveals: “It was your wish dear mother, to send me on my journey in the name of God, offering me advice and expenses. It is, therefore, my duty as

⁸ Burke, “The Cultural History of the Travelogue”, 8–9, 11; Harbsmeier, “Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen”, 1.

⁹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Travel writing and ethnography”, in Idem, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (London, 2002), 141–142.

¹⁰ József Teleki, *Egy erdélyi gróf a felvilágosult Európában (Teleki József utazásai 1759–1761)* (ed. by Gábor Tolnay), (Budapest, 1987), 285.

¹¹ *Gróf Székely László Önéletírása* (ed. by Andrea Fehér), (Budapest–Kolozsvár, 2019), 129.

¹² Teleki, *Egy erdélyi gróf a felvilágosult Európában*, 59.

a son to report to you from my travel”¹³. Justifying the money spent was of utmost importance, and not only for the Bethlen brothers. József Teleki included an appendix to his travelogue entitled *Flawless Table of expenses during my travels to Germany (1759, 2nd of July – 1761, 3rd of April)*¹⁴, where he mentions all of his expenses (*with no mistakes*, as he said), from the smallest to the costliest ones. His account book is thus of great significance for our topic because the count recorded every penny spent on food¹⁵, not just his general impressions on the local cuisine or dining invitations.

The cautious Transylvanian traveller

The 18th century is indeed, as Péter Apor, one of the most known Transylvanian memoir-writers, characterized it, a time of changes, metamorphoses¹⁶. Moreover, these changes also occurred in the way travellers perceived Western culture.

Some argue that the history of travel writing can also be defined as a history of curiosity¹⁷. This statement is not entirely applicable to Transylvanian travellers, since they did not travel abroad. They went to Vienna often, which explains the large number of diaries and letters. However, only students ventured beyond the borders of Austria, not out of a particular passion, but out of necessity¹⁸. Protestant students were compelled to continue their studies in Calvinist countries, nearby universities being all Catholic¹⁹. Despite the many works that militated for the importance of travel, Transylvanians preferred to stay at home. And not necessarily out of convenience, but also out of a certain reluctance towards Western modernism. Our ancestors were especially concerned about the unfortunate consequences that Western Europe might have on the character of the individual. As mentioned, most of our

¹³ Ferenc Bethlen to his mother, Mária Folti. Debrecen, July 30, 1736. Romanian National Archives Cluj County Branch, Cluj-Napoca (Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Județean Cluj, hereafter cited as: Nat. Arch. Cluj), Bethlen Family Archive (fond. fam. Bethlen), The Correspondence of Mária Folti (Corespondența Máriei Folti, soția lui László Bethlen, hereafter cited as CMF). Fond nr. 328/39, 248.

¹⁴ Teleki, *Egy erdélyi grófa felvilágosult Európában*, 268–310.

¹⁵ He mentions buying almond milk, coffee (and milk for it), tea, wine and beer, fruits such as cherries or grapes, and cakes.

¹⁶ Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae* (transl. By Bernard Adams), (London–New York, 2010).

¹⁷ Rubiés, “Travel writing and ethnography”, 5.

¹⁸ For earlier centuries, see the travel impressions of Transylvanian students. Pál Binder, *Utazások a régi Európában. Peregrinációs levelek, útleírások és útinaplók (15850–1709)*, (Bukarest, 1976).

¹⁹ During the 18th century, cca. 16–17 students/year were studying at Western Universities. Only those who were studying to become Priests were allowed to go abroad, and those who could afford to study. László Szógi, Miklós Szabó, *Erdélyi peregrinusok – Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701–1849*, (Marosvásárhely, 1998), 9.

sources on this subject are written in Calvinist, Protestant circles, where the fear of being converted to Catholicism was extremely strong. As evidenced by this fragment from the letter written by Ferenc Bethlen from Vienna: “I believe in my God, and You shall not doubt and feel sorrow, because I will not do anything that evil. And I have told those who tried to persuade me that if I do not have the chance to have what I came for, then I will wait because I do not want my fortune at any cost”²⁰. Parents were concerned about the influences of the Court elite, since in Vienna young nobles were easily persuaded to convert.

The danger of being converted or corrupted was a constant preoccupation for the Transylvanian conservative elite, and trips abroad, but especially to Catholic countries, were considered to be extremely dangerous, or, in the words of Sámuel Teleki: “I could write a lot about Paris if it were not needless. I could briefly write that man can learn lots of good and bad things there, conversate with scholars and fools and learn more often from bad examples than good ones”²¹. This is the reason why young boys were generally not allowed to travel alone. Letters kept in the Bethlen family archives show that at the beginning of the 18th century, boys were first sent to Vienna by the age of 26; in the second half of the century, they were on the road by 18 or 19, which shows a serious change in the perception of travel, also noted by László Székely: “Because what once seemed to be so far that many refused to go, even if summoned, today, for the young boys, is just as near as Turda”²². These young nobles were not concerned by loss of identity anymore; they simply enjoyed the high life of the imperial city. And despite the anxiety of their parents, they wanted to travel, such as it is written in the diary of Ferenc Gyulai: “my mother did not want me to become a soldier. It is true that she loved me much and promised me many things if I will not go; more so, she promised to send me to Vienna from time to time”²³.

However excited young nobles were, preparing a journey was not an easy task. The travellers had to first procure a travel-pass – in earlier centuries, these were provided by the Prince, later by the Gubernium²⁴. The passport usually came with a tutor or servant, because young nobles were not supposed to travel alone. After that, the authors made

²⁰ Bethlen Ferenc to his mother, Mária Folti. Vienna, September 19, 1736. Nat. Arch. Cluj, CMF, Fond nr. 328/39, 264–265.

²¹ *Teleki Sámuel peregrinációs naplója* (ed. by Anikó Nagy Déé), (Kolozsvár, 2020), 103.

²² The author lived in Cluj-Napoca, which is about 30 km away from Turda, therefore the quote suggests that distances were not perceived as before. *Gróf Székely László Önéletírása*, 75.

²³ Gyulai Ferenc, “aki nem tudja, mi légyen a kimeríthetetlen és felérhetetlen költség, csak jöjjön Bécsbe ...”, in Margit Sárdi (ed.), *Bécsi utazások*, (Budapest, 2001), 253.

²⁴ Szögi, Szabó, *Erdélyi peregrinusok*, 11.

considerable efforts to change their appearance, because travel involved the temporary renunciation of the conservative Protestant look. Travellers got rid of the Hungarian moustache, they ordered wigs or curled their hair, and they changed their wardrobe. This change of look was a traumatic but extremely necessary action, because dress and facial expressions were of utmost importance for a civilized person²⁵. One of the most sympathetic quotes regarding this metamorphosis is recorded in the travelogue of Teleki Pál's companion, István Halmágyi: "I woke up early in the morning and got rid of my moustache, put on a wig and some German-fashioned clothes. I barely recognized myself. The lords also wondered upon my change and laughed at little Sigó, who otherwise was very fond of me. He recognized me as his friend from my voice but considered me a stranger by my look"²⁶. The fact that children could not look beyond appearances asserts once more how important appearance was in defining one's identity, and this seems to be suggested by all the authors, every one of them mentioning the first time they dressed in German clothes²⁷. Just as amusing is the story recorded by Sámuel Fogarasi. Their traveling group was followed by packs of children screaming and causing panic among the citizens of Leipzig because of the "hussar-look" of the Hungarian boys: "Gyarmathy started to rush, the count (Elek Bethlen) hid, and I trudged myself on the streets"²⁸. According to Halmágyi, the reason for the antipathy and fear toward Hungarian dresses could be explained with the fact that parents scared their children with hussars, "just like Hungarians did with Turks"²⁹. However, Hungarian clothing seemed odd in Hannover too, where king George did not want to accept the greetings of count Pál Teleki because he was dressed in the Hungarian style. It was therefore of utmost importance to wear proper clothes, which is why it is no wonder that Gergely and László Bethlen had remained in their room in Vienna for days, since they had no proper gentlemen cloaks: "until our clothing is made, we will not go anywhere, and then if we start to go out, we will

²⁵ Norbert Elias, "The Development of the Concept of *Civilité*", in Idem, *On Civilization, Power, and Knowledge. Selected Writings*, (ed. by Stephen Mennel, Johan Goudsblom), (Chicago-London, 1998), 77.

²⁶ Halmágyi István *napló*. 1752–53, (ed. by Lajos Szádeczky) (Budapest, 1906), 459.

²⁷ Teleki, *Egy erdélyi gróf a felvilágosult Európában*, p. 53.; Teleki Sámuel *peregrinációs naplója*, 37.

²⁸ Sámuel Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga. Önéletírás (1770–1799)* (ed. by István Juhász), (Bukarest, 1974), 202.

²⁹ Halmágyi István *napló*, 462. And the hussars are not the worst image associated to Hungarians. 18th-century foreign travelers "expected" to witness scenes of anthropophagy among the Hungarian people. Andrea Fehér, "Cannibalism in Early Modern Transylvania", in *Brukenthalia*, vol. 10 (2020): 837, 840.

have more to write to you”³⁰. For nobles, changing countries could also mean changing wardrobes as well. Longer travel came with great expenses regarding clothes – for instance, in France, József Teleki changed his clothing according to French fashion, although not the latest one, since: “The new fabric costs 40–42 livres, but since mine was from last year’s fashion, I paid 24 livres. I think this tells enough about the French folly”. Pál Teleki, after his unpleasant experience with King George, also dressed up in English-fashioned costumes³¹.

Taste of home. The quest for familiar tastes

If the wardrobe must be adapted to local taste, the travellers seem to be more conservative regarding food. Sources suggest that the travellers were constantly searching for familiar tastes, which could explain their preoccupation with food. Most of the travelogues rarely reflect on travel conditions; they do so usually when the lives of their authors were in danger, or they suffered inconveniences. Accommodation is constantly but briefly mentioned in travelogues. What stand out, however, are reflections regarding food, mostly about its lack or expensiveness. Sámuel Teleki wrote from Utrecht that “life was high”, in Leyden “innkeepers were evil”, in The Hague “I had a fine table and room and did not pay a lot”, but in Versailles “I ate expensively but poorly”³². Halmágyi was also discontent with his innkeepers, mentioning that in Bamberg and in nearby places “inns are poor and innkeepers are inhuman”³³. This mistrust regarding taverns and inns is present in every travel narrative. No wonder that Transylvanians, like most travellers of this century, travelled with serious food supplies, did not leave the table to chance, and very often ate home-cooked dishes from Transylvania, even when they were abroad. As long as their own resources were available, no money was spent on food. Cold supplies were always at hand; among them, the most appreciated were bacon and sausage. This could be explained, besides the attachment to familiar tastes, with the fact that without supplies, travellers in this century were vulnerable, and as István Halmágyi noted, “if we did not have food with us, we would starve”³⁴. Therefore, travellers were carrying considerable amounts of food, even on a “short journey” – especially then.

³⁰ Gergely Bethlen to his mother, Borbála Nalácz. Vienna, June 29, 1787. Nat. Arch. Cluj, Bethlen Family Archive (fond. fam. Bethlen), The Correspondence of Borbála Nalácz (Correspondența Borbalei Nalácz, soția contelui Gergely Bethlen II., hereafter cited as CNB). Fond nr. 328/67, 17.

³¹ Teleki, *Egy erdélyi grófa felvilágosult Európában*, 189; *Halmágyi István naplói*, 525.

³² Teleki Sámuel peregrinációs naplója, 43, 77, 79, 81–82, 84, 86, 99.

³³ *Halmágyi István naplói*, p. 477–478.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 460.

Letters written on the way to Vienna prove that most nobles travelled with their own cooks, and sometimes sent them back only after they reached their destination: "The cook was there with us all the way and prepared for us twice a day 4–5 hot dishes", wrote Ferenc Bethlen to his mother.³⁵ The Székely family, during their 6-month stay, relied on their "old woman" [servant], who occasionally prepared, at the request of the Viennese elite, "traditional Transylvanian" dishes, especially cabbage. Moreover, not only the method of preparation was Transylvanian; the cook had to use cabbage from Transylvania, László Székely having also taken along a barrel of sauerkraut and bacon to Vienna³⁶. The attachment of our travellers to this particular dish is expressed in Fogarasi's narrative, too. The author and Elek Bethlen decided to make Transylvanian cabbage in Göttingen. They asked for the recipe, did everything according to the instructions, but were disappointed with the result. Both travelogues contain explanations for the failure: according to Székely, the Viennese did not prepare good *sauerkraut* because they did not chop the vegetable well, while the Germans did not achieve the proper taste because they did not have quality salt – at least that was Fogarasi's conclusion, after visiting a saltern in Halle³⁷.

Bringing along bacon or cabbage for miles is somehow understandable, but it is hard to imagine how poultry meat was sent to Vienna. László Naláczí wrote to his sister in February 1764: "I have received the fowls ... I do not know if you paid for them. However, I did, 2 forints, and I would not mind if all of them were in good condition, but those which were at the bottom were not good... I mean they are good in here, but not for me, accustomed to fresh meat; I will not eat them, but the others will. I must tell that I would scold that bad man or crone because they did not take out the intestines and the maw, which caused the rotting"³⁸. Under normal conditions, a journey to Vienna took about 2 or 3 weeks, which is a considerable amount of time to transport meat in "natural conditions" even during winter. What is surprising, however, is that Naláczí was convinced that no one would care about the bad-smelling meat, because his soldier colleagues could not recognize good quality food. The count's attachment to home-baked and cooked food is

³⁵ Ferenc Bethlen to his mother, Mária Folti. Debrecen, July 30, 1736. Nat. Arc. Cluj, CFM, Fond nr. 328/ 39, 248; László Bethlen to his mother Borbála Naláczí. Vienna, August 25, 1787. Nat. Arch. Cluj, CNB, Fond nr. 328/ 67, 3.

³⁶ Gróf Székely László *Önéletírása*, 174.

³⁷ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 192.

³⁸ László Naláczí to his sister, Borbála Naláczí. Vienna, February 24, 1764. Nat. Arch. Cluj, CNB, Fond 328/66,33–34.

also traceable during the Christmas Holiday, because he requested that his sister send him some Christmas Cake, too.

As shown by the quotes, supplies arrived in Vienna relatively easily, but the situation was different when one spent months or years in Western Europe, in the Netherlands or Germany. On these occasions, we have noticed that travellers usually searched for accommodation in inns and taverns accustomed to Hungarians. Diaries suggest that most of the authors changed their taverns if they could not get proper food. "I persuaded Mr. Türenisz to make his table better and to offer me roast at least once a day, and I will pay him more, but since there were many other guests who would not pay more, nothing changed", thus József Teleki left³⁹. Sámuel Teleki, for example, left the inn he lived in but kept his table, being more than content with the company and food. Also, he recorded that during his travels, he sometimes disguised himself as a simple student in order to pay less for food. Nevertheless, he could not fool everybody. For example, in Köln, the innkeeper charged him properly. Students did not receive good quality food all the time, but they were charged far less than the other travellers. Fogarasi, who could not afford expensive taverns after separating himself from count Elek Bethlen, mentioned that at the University of Marburg, he ate at the free-table a few times, where "lunch was thin, dinner thinner"⁴⁰. Students saved themselves from starving with some Roggenbrot, which was in abundance⁴¹. As the author noted, "those who travel shall be determined to eat everything, they should not be picky and fastidious, because they cannot afford that"⁴².

Along with food, drinks were also constantly present in these descriptions, and if we could trace down another attachment to the familiar, that would be the preference for good quality wine. Wine was something Hungarians were extremely proud of. József Teleki constantly narrates about events where he provided the Tokaj wine, and "all were extremely content" with it. The count paid a considerable amount of taxes for the wine he took with himself, not just for making a good impression at his dinner table, but because he believed that there was no illness, he could not cure with Tokaj wine⁴³. Sámuel Fogarasi also wrote that his German landlord mentioned: "that we Hungarians are very friendly, and often invite strangers to dine with us, and that we eat greasy food, and

³⁹ Teleki Sámuel *peregrinációs naplója*, 73.

⁴⁰ The Calvinist nobility from Transylvania often supported the meals of Transylvanian students at Universities such Halle, Leipzig, Utrecht. Szögi, Szabó, *Erdélyi peregrinusok*, 14–15.

⁴¹ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 252.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 204.

⁴³ Teleki, *Egy erdélyi gróf a felvilágosult Európában*, 69–70.

drink such excellent wine”⁴⁴. The quote is suggestive from several aspects because, on the one hand, it reveals the general opinion Germans had on Hungarian/Transylvanian foodways, and, on the other hand, it seems that these nations were associated with quality wine and high consumption. Generally, Transylvanians and Hungarians were accustomed to consuming great quantities of wine (and alcohol in general),⁴⁵ which is also suggested by Sámuel Teleki’s recount of a Banquette from Basel: “the wine would not be sufficient if it were poured in the Hungarian way”⁴⁶. No wonder that all Transylvanian travelogues narrate about visits to (and heavy drinking at) different cellars.

The rejected food

As Felipe Fernández-Armesto asserts in his book on food history: “When tasters are tempted to experiment, the palate often rejects unfamiliar flavours”⁴⁷. Food preferences could be, on the one hand, explained by individual preferences but, on the other hand, they could just as well be inculcated by culture⁴⁸. We find examples for both reasons of food-rejection.

Reluctance towards new tastes could manifest through embarrassment, disgust, or lack of linguistic knowledge because people, in general, display distrust towards unfamiliar food⁴⁹.

Most criticism refers to bakery and dairy products. Although Transylvanians thought that the French were more extravagant with their clothes than with their diet and ate – for their taste – too little meat, they still had a great advantage over the rest of Western Europe, namely because they prepared tasty bread. Germans also prepared acceptable bread, though a little unsalted for the taste of the authors. In the Netherlands, bread was not to the liking of Transylvanian students at all, as Miklós Bethlen complained a century earlier: “not even table servants and those of lower rank would eat such a thing”. Most of the negative notes refer to rye bread, the so-called Roggenbrot, which was red-purple or black in colour, was as heavy as salt, thick as soap, could not even be

⁴⁴ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 206.

⁴⁵ We also want to draw attention to the fact that alcohol consumption changed significantly in the 18th century, and that alcoholism was no longer tolerated in higher circles. Andrea Fehér, “Trends and Controversies in The Transylvanian Kitchen. Contribution to the Culinary History of Eighteenth Century Transylvania”, in *Brukenenthalia*, vol. 9 (2019): 946-947.

⁴⁶ Teleki Sámuel *peregrinációs naplója*, 41.

⁴⁷ Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables. A History of Food*, (New-York, London, 2002), 132.

⁴⁸ Carolyn Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste. Food and Philosophy*, (Ithaca, London, 2002), 89.

⁴⁹ Fischler, “Food, self and identity”, 283.

cut, but was scraped with a knife into small pieces. To the great surprise of the Transylvanians, the locals enjoyed it, “even the wealthy and fastidious people”⁵⁰.

Some German taverns offered bread with butter, another novelty for Transylvanians who were not used to the taste of butter, since in Transylvania it was only used for cooking. Some were initially disgusted with the taste of raw butter, but later it seems that they overcame their disgust, as was the case of Sámuel Fogarasi: “I almost finished the bread when it split, I looked at it, and noticed that it had butter spread on it. I felt nauseated because I had never eaten butter until then; moreover, I felt disgust looking at others eating it. But then again, I thought it was not that bad, and I have enjoyed it since”⁵¹. He was not alone in this discovery: according to the Account book of Teleki, he must have been accustomed with this new taste, because we have daily entries regarding money spent on French rolls with butter, especially during his stays in France.

In addition to the remarks regarding bakery products, dairy products seemed to be among the most debated foods. Butter was a pleasant surprise for some Transylvanian travellers, unlike milk, which smelled of manure. We might have become accustomed to the curiosity shown by Fogarasi in this regard: he provides an explanation, namely that the foul smell and taste of the milk can be attributed to the fact that in western towns, cattle were not grazed, but kept in the stable⁵².

Cheese was also rejected, although this dish would be more affordable for students. Apparently, in this case, it was not only taste that created problems, but also uncertainty. In the refusal to try new products, the fear of being ridiculed plays a significant role: “Once, when there was no one to see me and laugh, I cut a piece and I started to chew, without any boredom, but I did not feel anything pleasant, or any taste, there was no way I could swallow it”⁵³. Fogarasi could not overcome his distrust, so he never tasted cheese again. Cheese was a real punishment for Transylvanians, as it appears from the notes of count Székely, who, in his autobiography, mentions several gambling scenes in which the stake was tasting dishes one disliked, and cheese seemed to always be among them⁵⁴.

Another interesting fact is provided by József Teleki, who visited the town Gouda, famous today for its cheese, but he mentioned nothing about its food, instead recording that “I stood here for two hours or more to visit

⁵⁰ *The autobiography of Miklós Bethlen*, (trans. by Bernard Adams), (London, New York, 2004), 188.

⁵¹ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 203.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 230.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁵⁴ *Gróf Székely László Önéletrása*, 344.

the two most worthy things, the church and the pipe-manufacture"⁵⁵. Therefore, what today seems to be considered a brand may not have been perceived as an evident trademark by 18th-century travellers.

As mentioned, the lack of linguistic knowledge also created disturbances. Fogarasi did not understand the Viennese waiter who, according to the author, was talking too fast, and in order not to embarrass himself, at one point he said "ja" without knowing exactly what he ordered. The author noticed the amusement of his entourage, but he realized only days after that he ate fried frog. The story reveals something interesting about the perception of unfamiliar tastes. The travel companion of Fogarasi, Gyarmathi, a physician, asked the author: "If, out of ignorance, someone ate something he did not like, and after that, he found out what he had eaten, would this person have then fallen ill?" Fogarasi answered: "It depends on the nature of that person; it is likely for someone weak and sensitive to fall sick." After the author found out about the frog, he started to wonder: "Was it that bad? It did not feel that way. After that, I ate it knowing what it was, but only fried. Boiled I have not, because I imagine it is sticky and silky"⁵⁶. Therefore, it was believed, as mentioned before, that unfamiliar dishes could make one ill, since we eat with the mind as much as with the mouth⁵⁷. We want to draw attention to another interesting detail. Frog is usually something that belongs to the French culture; all travellers express their disgust with this "French delicatessen"⁵⁸, they condemn the frog-eating French; therefore, the appearance of the dish in Vienna is surprising. According to the above fragment, the *nationality* of this food is shadowed by the general disgust; therefore, trying out a new dish in a country other than its homeland changed the perception of the food as well.

In the last part of this subsection, I would like to draw attention to the religious dimension of food⁵⁹. Curiously, most of the notes about this topic are related to the adventures of Calvinist travellers during fast. A good Protestant could not glorify the Catholic diet and often rebelled, if he could, over the rules imposed by Catholic innkeepers on food. Transylvanian Calvinists will try to defy these restrictions, as László Székely did in Komarno: "the waiter had come, I ordered meat, the waiter

⁵⁵ Instead of cheese, Teleki bought here some pipes. Teleki, *Egy erdélyi gróf a felvilágosult Európában*, 153.

⁵⁶ Fogarasi, *Marosvásárhely és Göttinga*, 170.

⁵⁷ Alan Beardsworth, Teresa Keil, *Sociology on the menu. An invitation to the study of food and society*, (London, 1997), 52.

⁵⁸ Black, *The British and The Grand Tour*, 45–46.

⁵⁹ Fischler, "Food, self and identity", 281.

reported to the innkeeper, they gave us meat, but they were very upset that they had to fry our meat together with the fasting dishes. I got annoyed right away and told him that the innkeeper has an obligation to give the traveller everything he asks for in exchange for money"⁶⁰. The arrogance of the traveller was probably ill-perceived by the Catholic owners or guests, but this did not seem to trouble the author, who constantly mocked Catholic rituals, architecture, and religion in his autobiography.

Another fasting-related narrative is given by Istvan Halmágyi. During his travel in Germany together with Count Pál Teleki, they were accompanied on the road by "a fat Franciscan monk, who claimed to be the confessor of the Kaiser, lustful, a great eater and drinker, and very useful on the road. He ate meat with us all the way, but here [Bavaria] he was afraid knowing how pious the Bavarians are, otherwise there was no meat to be found in the whole town [Filschoffen]; since we still had some capon with us, he kept telling us that we will have problems if we ate it; I think he said that out of envy, because we ate the meat without any trouble, and he was left without it because of his monastic robe"⁶¹.

The quotes thus create the impression that Calvinists were ardent carnivores. Not by far. József Teleki mentioned that in Bern, all Protestants were fasting on the 13th of August; they went four times to church, and ate their first meal at 4 o'clock in the afternoon; Teleki, however, was invited to dine earlier⁶². Many Transylvanian Protestants fasted; for instance, the great-grandmother of the aforementioned László Székely, who kept a strict diet most of the year, and Zsuzsánna Gálffy's grandchildren and great-grandchildren were convinced that she had lived 100 years precisely because of her strict diet. The above quotes suggest that in the perception of the Protestant authors, Catholic fasting was not authentic; it was held only superficially, because, in reality, Catholics were desperately seeking to escape restrictions.

For Protestant travellers, being in Catholic places was always disturbing. We already mentioned the critiques of Sámuel Teleki about the French in general and Paris in particular. But the author was not content with German Catholic towns either: "I have never seen a town so ugly, stinky and weedy as Colonia, big crazy city, with lots of priests, fraters and all kinds of monks. Has 270 Temples and Chapels, that one is disgusted to walk on its streets"⁶³. This disgust and despise is present in every diary written in Vienna. Protestant nobles visited churches only to

⁶⁰ *Gróf Székely László Önéletírása*, 226.

⁶¹ *Halmágyi István naplói*, 462.

⁶² Teleki, *Egy erdélyi gróf a felvilágosult Európában*, 67–68.

⁶³ *Teleki Sámuel peregrinációs naplója*, 79.

mock the superstitions; they argued with the clergy and generally did not hide their contempt toward Catholics.

Food – hierarchy – and the loss of the authentic

The anthropologist Mary Douglas argues that food must be treated as a code, and once we learn to read that code, we could decipher the social relations expressed through food⁶⁴, since eating is “an activity with intense social meaning”⁶⁵. Roland Barthes also sought this code on a linguistic level, considering foodways as a “part of a system of differences in signification”⁶⁶. Reading the travel narratives from the 18th century, we encountered several food narratives regarding boundaries expressed through foodways.

Rituals, such as the dining of the monarch, were among the most often recorded food-related events that do not require active participation. These ceremonial meals had deep significance. Cultural theorists believe that even a perfectly natural action, such as eating, could be transformed into myths in a way to support and maintain dominant social hierarchical constructions⁶⁷. Our sources easily support this statement. Travellers were deeply impressed by the meals they could attend as viewers and took every opportunity to take part in them. Székely’s notes are the most detailed regarding Maria Theresa’s dining habits. The author described the “everyday” and special meals of the empress, the way food was served and the table was set, paying attention to every little detail that could indicate special relational bonds between the diners; he even tried to disclose these relationships. We are under the impression that in describing the rituals of the monarch, the author tries to capture the essence of the civilized court. The long fragments on the etiquette and ceremony, regardless of whether they are food-related or not, show an increasing interest not in the system itself but in those who were privileged enough to take part in this routine. Everything had significance at the court, and all the minor details actually revealed relations of power and prestige⁶⁸. The same thorough description is to be

⁶⁴ Mary Douglas, *Implicit meanings. Selected essays in anthropology*, (London, 1999), 231.

⁶⁵ Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste*, 4.

⁶⁶ Roland Barthes, “Toward a psychosociology of contemporary food consumption”, in E. Forster, R. Forster (eds.), *European Diet from Preindustrial to Modern Times*, (London, 1975), p. 51 cited by Pat Caplan, “Approaches to study of food, health and identity”, in Idem (ed.), *Food, Health and Identity*, (London, New York, 1997), 2.

⁶⁷ Dick Hebdige, “From culture to hegemony”, in Simon During (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader*, (London, New York, 1993), 360–361.

⁶⁸ Elias, “The Changing Functions of Etiquette”, in Idem, *On Civilization, Power, and Knowledge*, 87.

found in Halmágyi's diary, when he narrates the dining rituals from the Court of King George from Hannover, or Sámuel Teleki's travelogue when recounting the dinners, he had in several German Princely Courts.

As mentioned before, travellers abroad were constantly preoccupied with procuring adequate food and searching for proper company, because eating was an indispensable aspect of social life⁶⁹. The food-related events, the dinner invitations, are narrated in detail in the travelogues and diaries. These meals had a deep significance for the authors: it was believed that those who eat together recognize each other as equal,⁷⁰ since food is never just about eating, but strongly bound to social relations and cultural ideas⁷¹. A smaller nuance in behaviour had great significance⁷². One had to choose his table-companions carefully, as suggested by this fragment from the letter of Ferenc Bethlen: "for this day we [the author and Miklós Teleki] lived in the same lodging, but the Chancellor [László Gyulaffy], since he lives near us, after finding out that we live together, he told me that he was not content with this, and if I want to call him my well-wisher, I cannot live with his *so-called enemy*, so I should find myself another place" ... "I dined often by the Chancellor, who is with good intentions towards me, but I sense that he disproves that I still live with the Teleki lords"⁷³. He was, therefore, afraid to confront the Chancellor, but the situation was a bit complicated, because the Chancellor Gyulaffy, just like the Teleki lords, Miklós and Mihály, were above him in rank, and it was dangerous to be disrespectful to someone of a higher rank. Nobles were extremely sensitive to this hierarchy, which could explain the number of food narratives where the authors enumerate those with whom they dined and often specify the menus as well. It was of great significance if someone had breakfast, dined, or drunk coffee in the company of a person with a higher social status.

It is interesting to analyse these dining rituals from an "outsider's" perspective, such as István Halmágyi's, the companion of count Pál Teleki. Halmágyi did not belong to the nobility, but he was already an accomplished clerk in Transylvania; he was also often invited to the table of the political and academic elites. From his descriptions of these occasions, we also learn about fashionable dining customs because

⁶⁹ Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste*, 69.

⁷⁰ Eadem, 200.

⁷¹ Caplan, "Approaches to study of food, health and identity", 3.

⁷² Elias, "The Changing Functions of Etiquette", 90.

⁷³ Bethlen Ferenc to his mother, Mária Folti. Vienna, August 22, 1736. Nat. Arch. Cluj. CFM. Fond nr. 328/39, 248; and another letter regarding this matter written a week after the first one. Vienna, September 5, 1736. Nat. Arch. Cluj. CFM. Fond nr. 328/39, 254.

his “outsider gaze” observed rituals which might seem familiar to authors belonging to the nobility: “At 6 o’clock in the evening, we received tea, coffee, fruits, cakes and we each helped ourselves as we pleased from the goods on the table. I was a little scared that we would not have dinner, but once we got up from the table – because some were going to play cards, others to talk ... at nine I wake up with a feast one can see only at weddings”⁷⁴. If the author felt good in Nürnberg at the table of the Haller family, he was embarrassed in Hannover at the royal court: “however, the Count was invited, I could also join, and even if I was not accepted at the table of the Hoffmeister, I could sit at the third table”. Halmágyi tried to avoid these dinners because he could not converse, since “Latin is dead, German is also in agony, all they could talk was French”⁷⁵. We thus once again encounter the linguistic barrier which shadowed the culinary experience.

Conclusions

We believe that due to these travel experiences, in the second half of the 18th century we are witnessing the change of the Transylvanian food regime and that food-related social experiences facilitated the rise of the prestige-based consumption of the “civilized” elite⁷⁶. Food no longer merely nourished, but also bore meaning, sent a message, or as Barthes said, “food will lose in substance and gain in function”⁷⁷. New hegemonic structures came into life due to these modern and fashionable food practices, which were vividly criticized by the traditional ruling classes. Péter Apor, member of the conservative Catholic elite, gives a bitter commentary on the way the authentic Transylvanian kitchen altered due to foreign culinary practices in his nostalgic work *Metamorphosis Transsylvaniae*. Apor believed that this phenomenon weakened the body and the purse of the Transylvanians equally: “there were no such weak stomachs as people have today”; “Poor Transylvania, how many thousand forints of yours are spent nowadays on that madness?”⁷⁸.

We have to underline that the change of taste does not necessarily refer to the change in the consistency of the food, but concerns especially attitudes regarding the changes that have taken place in the dining room since the “civilizing of the appetite” came with the transformation of table

⁷⁴ Halmágyi István naplói, 472–473.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 529, 533.

⁷⁶ Fehér, “Trends and Controversies”, 947.

⁷⁷ Roland Barthes, “Toward a psychosociology of contemporary food consumption”, in Counihan, P. van Esteric (eds.), *Food and Culture: A reader*, (London, 1997), 26.

⁷⁸ Apor, *Metamorphosis Transsylvaniae*, 9, 15.

manners as well, and with great expenses. Therefore, Apor's above-mentioned criticism was well justified since many Transylvanian nobles would accumulate significant debts out of their desire to conform to the new habits that were financially beyond their reach⁷⁹. Alternatively, as Sámuel Teleki wrote after he received an invitation from the son of a wealthy merchant from Amsterdam: "such are people here, they are not beggars as we are, poor Hungarians"⁸⁰.

Despite the fact that Transylvanian young nobles do not possess the economic and cultural capital of the Austrian and Hungarian aristocrats, they seek to conform to fashionable tastes to consolidate their class identity. Therefore, these *food regimes* could also be explained as *cultural regimes*, "significant in the creation of the well-mannered, civilized" individual, setting of a new system of rules of behaviour⁸¹. Hence, food, as Bourdieu asserts, could also be used for social differentiation, and changes in food habits also support this idea, since upper classes change their tastes to distinguish themselves⁸². If, at the beginning of the century, Transylvanians did not seem to be impressed by the exoticism of the Western cooking and preferred traditional dishes, by the end of the century they became more and more concerned with the gustatory pleasures and aesthetic value of food.

⁷⁹ Fehér, "Trends and Controversies", 941.

⁸⁰ Teleki Sámuel *peregrináció naplója*, 90.

⁸¹ Sara Jane Littlejohn, *The Rhetoric of Food Narratives. Ideology and Influence in American Culture* (Dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2008), 17.

⁸² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, (London, 1986) cited by Caplan, "Approaches to study of food, health and identity", 11; Beardsworth, Keil, *Sociology on the menu*, 88.

Continuity and Discontinuity in the Administrative Elite of the Szekler Seats between 1840-1876*

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Abstract. This study analyzes to what extent the frequent regime changes from the middle of the 19th century had an effect on the continuity, respectively the discontinuity of the officer corps of the Szekler seats, from the period before the Revolution of 1848 until the abolition of the Szekler seats following the administrative-territorial reform of 1876. While before 1848 we have strong continuity, the main feature of the two decades after the Revolution of 1848 was discontinuity. Beginning with the Revolution, the next two decades were marked by frequent changes and total rupture from the previous regime. The most radical break occurred in the age of neo-absolutism, when a lot of new and literally foreign people flowed into the Szeklerland administration. The next big elite change in the administration took place after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. After the Compromise the situation stabilized again; and we find representatives of much of the same families who held the majority of offices during the pre-1848 period. This shows a high degree of stability of the county elite.

Keywords: administrative elite, elite change, Szekler seats, 19th century, Transylvania, continuity, discontinuity.

Rezumat: Continuitate și discontinuitate în elita scaunelor secuiești între 1840-1876. Studiul analizează în ce măsură au influențat schimbările dese de regim de la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea continuitatea, respectiv discontinuitatea corpului funcționarilor scaunelor secuiești. Analiza începe în perioada de dinaintea Revoluției de la 1848 și merge până la reforma administrativ-teritorială din anul 1876. Dacă înainte de 1848 avem un grad

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considerabil de continuitate, cele două decenii de după Revoluție se caracterizează prin discontinuitate pronunțată. Ruptura cea mai radicală s-a produs în timpul neoabsolutismului, când o mulțime de oameni noi și străini de regiune au pătruns în administrație. Următoarea schimbare a elitei administrative s-a produs în urma Compromisului austro-ungar. În perioada următoare situația s-a stabilizat din nou; și în administrație găsim în mare parte reprezentanții aceluiași familii care au deținut funcțiile cele mai importante și înainte de 1848, ceea ce denotă un grad înalt al stabilității elitei locale.

Cuvinte cheie: elită administrative, schimbarea elitelor, scaunele secuiești, Transilvania, secolul al XIX-lea, continuitate, discontinuitate.

Reading the political history of Transylvania from the middle of the 19th century – and considering both Romanian and Hungarian historiography –, we are facing a rather turbulent period, with revolution, civil war, and frequent changes in the political regime and the administrative system. The question, however, is whether each change of regime also meant a total break with the past. Was there a total change of local elites during the neo-absolutist period, or after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise? The present study tries to analyse the extent to which the frequent regime changes from the middle of the 19th century had an effect on the continuity, respectively the discontinuity of the officer corps of the Szekler seats¹, from the period before the Revolution of 1848 until the abolition of the Szekler seats following the administrative-territorial reform of 1876, when, apart from Csík, the other seats were complemented with smaller or larger parts of the former counties. The study also follows the consequences of this reform on the composition of the body of officials.

I have included in the analysis only the administrative elites of the seats, i.e., the following positions: the chief royal judge (*főkirálybíró*), the royal vice-judge (*alkirálybíró*), the protonotary (*főjegyző*), the vice-notaries (*aljegyző*), the tax collectors (*pénztárnok*, before 1848), and, within the limits of the data, the sheriffs (their name in Hungarian in the Szekler

¹ The territorial-administrative division of Transylvania before 1848 followed the medieval and early modern traditions, and was based on the system of the three 'nations of estates': the Hungarian nobility (counties), the Saxons (*Fundus Regius, Königsboden*) and the Szeklers. There were five seats in the Szeklerland, some of which included several co-seats: Csík, Gyergyó, and Kászsónszék; Háromszék (Sepsi, Kézdi, Orbai, and Miklósvárszék); Marosszék and Udvarhelyszék formed a contiguous area in the eastern part of Transylvania, while the small Aranyosszék was wedged between Torda and Alsó-Fehér counties.

seats was *dulló* and not *szolgabíró* as in the counties), as well as, for the period of Dualism, the county attorney (*tiszti ügyész*), and the president of the orphanage (*árvaszéki elnök*); but I also collected data on other positions. From the period of neo-absolutism, more precisely from the year 1855/56, I considered all the officials from the district and circle offices. The comparison was hampered by the frequent administrative-territorial reorganizations, the changes in the number of the smaller administrative units called districts (*járás*), the chaotic situation during the years of the Revolution, and the incomplete data, resulting from the lack or inaccessibility of the sources.² The main sources are the lists of officials published in the almanacs (calendars) of the time³, respectively, for the end of the period, the Directory of Hungarian Officials⁴, as well as the press of the time, completed with archival sources. I have also used different genealogical and biographical collections to identify people⁵.

The administration of the seats and the officer corps

Prior to 1848, the seats had both administrative and legal responsibilities, and their functioning did not differ significantly from that of the counties⁶. After the death of Emperor Joseph II, Law no. XII of 1790⁷ once again regulated the election of county and seat officials. The officials were elected by the county/seat assembly, but in the end, there

² The study was written during the pandemic, so I did not have access to the archives. The data come from my previous researches, respectively the sources accessible online.

³ *Mentor. Erdélyi Népkönyv. Közhasznú ismeretek tára*, ed. by Nagy Ferenc, Kolozsvár, 1842; *Közhasznú Honi Vezér. Gazdasági, házi és tiszti kalendárium*, 1843; *Uj és ó naptár Kriszt. urunk szület. után 1848 366 napból álló szökő évre. Erdélyi nagyfejedelemség s hozzá kapcsolt részek használatára*, Kolozsvár, 1848; *Hof- und Staatshandbuch des Kaiserthumes Österreich für das Jahr 1856*. Wien, 1856; *Kolozsvári naptár 1863-dik közönséges évre*. II. Kolozsvár; *Erdélyi képes naptár 1864-dik szökő esztendőre*, vol. 5. Kolozsvár; *Kolozsvári nagy naptár 1866-dik évre*, ed. by K. Papp Miklós, vol. II. Kolozsvár; *Megbővítettett közhasznú nemzeti Kalendárium, az 1868-diki szökő évre*, vol. LIV, ed. by Red. Bucsánszky Alajos, Pesten.

⁴ *Magyarország tiszti cím- és névtára*, vol. I, Budapest, Athenaeum, 1874; vol. II, 1875, vol. III, 1879; vol. IV, 1884, vol. V, 1886.

⁵ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, vol. I-XII. Pest, 1857-1868; Béla Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok*, vol. I-XI. Budapest, 1911-1932; József Pálmay, *Udvarhely vármegye nemes családjai*. Székely-Udvarhely, Betegh Pál, 1900; idem, *Háromszék vármegye nemes családjai*. Sepsiszent-Györgyön, Jókai Nyomda, 1901; idem, *Marostorda vármegye nemes családjai*, Maros-Vásárhely, Adi Árpád, 1904.

⁶ Sándor Pál-Antal, *Székely önkormányzat-történet*, Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2002, p. 167-177. See also the chapters of Anton E. Dörner in the volume: Ioan Aurel Pop, Thomas Nægler, András Magyarai (eds.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. III (de la 1711 până la 1918) (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2008), 19-46.

⁷ Law no. XII from 1791, § 4. <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=79100012.TVT&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D52> (6.2.2021)

were two notable differences from the county: the elections took place freely, i.e., without the chief royal judge – the equivalent of the Lord Lieutenant of the counties – appointing three candidates for each position in advance, taking into account – where appropriate – the representation of each recognized religion. This latter aspect was also respected in the case of the seat elections. Another difference was that the chief royal judge was also elected, while the Lord Lieutenants were appointed by the Monarch. In fact, in the case of the chief royal judge and the more important administrative functions⁸, the names of the three candidates who received the most votes were sent through the Gubernium (the Government of Transylvania) to Vienna, and of these the Monarch usually appointed the one who gathered the most votes. The right to free election in the Szekler seats was also confirmed by the decree of 12 September, 1815⁹.

The officer corps was less numerous than in the counties. The seat officials were the chief royal judge, the royal vice-judges (who were at the head of the subsidiary seats or districts), the proto-notary and the vice-notaries, the tax collectors, the archivists, the doctors, the lawyers for the poor, the orphanage judges, various inspectors, and the auxiliary staff. At the head of the districts, we find the sheriffs, in addition to which notaries and tax collectors also worked from case to case¹⁰.

The Revolution of 1848 did not bring about notable changes in the administrative system. Law no. I of 1848, approved by the Transylvanian Diet gathered in Cluj, stipulated that the system of administration and justice will remain unchanged for the time being. The Szeklers also received assurances from Lajos Kossuth that the elections will continue according to the old custom¹¹. However, the situation became increasingly opaque and there was a lot of temporary uncertainty in the designation, competences, and composition of the various bodies. This exacerbated the already rather chaotic situation, the consequences of which were also suffered by the population. A contemporary source described the situation as follows: “Our people have a commander on every corner. [...] The people don’t even know where to turn between so many powers. There have never been so many masters over the people as there are now in this democratic age...”¹²

⁸ The royal vice-judges, the notaries, and the tax collectors.

⁹ Pál-Antal, *Székely*, 170-174.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹¹ Jenő Zepezsaner, *Udvarhelyszék közigazgatása és közéleté 1848–49-ben*, in Gusztáv Mihály Hermann, Jenő Zepezsaner, Tibor Elekes, *Udvarhelyszék. A közigazgatás és közélet története* (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print, 2016), 359.

¹² *Ibid.*, 362.

During the period of neo-absolutism, the old system was upset and uprooted. The counties, seats, and districts were dissolved. Transylvania was first divided into six, and, from 1851, into five large circles (*Kreis, District*), subdivided into 36 districts (*Bezirk*). Within the so-called “definitive” reorganization of the administration, in 1854, a new administrative-territorial division was introduced, when the province was divided into ten circles and 79 districts, and the Szekler seats were divided between four circles¹³.

Following the October Diploma (October 20, 1860), the internal autonomy of the provinces was restored, and the old administrative-territorial system was reintroduced. The following year, elections were held again for the positions within the public administration. However, the compromise period was short-lived. A large part of the newly elected officials from Hungary and Transylvania – here, especially the Hungarians – resigned as early as 1861, and there was a partial return to a centralized and absolutist system. Following the negotiations that led to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the signs of change began to become visible in 1865. As a first step, in most counties and seats, the Monarch again appointed the Lord Lieutenants and chief royal judges from 1861. Despite repeated calls from the Hungarian political elite, no general elections were held. Thus, the Lord Lieutenants and supreme judges had to work with the officials appointed during the so-called “Provisorium”¹⁴. Elections were held only after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, but these elections in the summer of 1867 were also the last to be held in the Szekler seats according to the old custom, i.e., without the prior appointment of candidates by the chief royal judge. This was the end of an era, and later, following the standardization of the administration, regulated by Law no. XLII of 1870 and other laws and decrees, the seats have lost all traces of their particularity¹⁵.

¹³ Ágnes Deák, Birodalmi centralizáció és bürokratikus modernizáció szorításában, in Ákos Egyed, Gusztáv Mihály Hermann, Teréz Oborni (eds.), *Székelyföld története*, vol. II (Székelyudvarhely: EME, 2016), 628–635.

¹⁴ The period between the end of 1861 and 1865, when the strongman of the Austrian government was Anton von Schmerling, Minister of the Interior (*Staatsminister*), and in Hungary the constitution was again suspended.

¹⁵ See Judit Pál, “Problema modernizării administrației și justiției în Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea”, in Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan (eds.), *Schimbare și devenire în istoria României* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2008), 103–116; eadem, “Schimbările sistemului administrativ de nivel mediu din Transilvania epocii dualiste, în lumina legislației (1867-1918)”, in Judit Pál, Szilárd Ferenczi (eds.), *Cadrul legislativ al administrației din Transilvania în epoca dualistă (1867-1918)* (Cluj-Napoca, Mega, 2020), 13-69.

The issue of the territorial regulation of the legislative authorities has been raised several times in Transylvania. Comprehensive regulation was finally introduced by Law no. XXXIII of 1876, which abolished the Szekler and Saxon seats, and created counties instead. But at the time of the abolition of the seats and the administrative-territorial standardization of 1876, the Szekler seats no longer differed from the counties in any significant respect, apart from their names¹⁶.

Changes in the administrative elite between 1840 and 1867

The officer corps from before 1848 are characterized by a high degree of stability. Between 1842 and 1848, except for a few minor changes, we find the same officials. Three quarters (73.2%) of them did not change, and almost two thirds (57.1%) held the same position as before. A career as an official could last for decades. In December 1847, József Baló, royal vice-judge of seat Gyergyó, retired after a 41-year career – of which he was royal vice-judge for 36 years –, citing his old age. This also meant that many officials remained stuck in the same position. For example, in seat Udvarhely, József Szombatfalvi was notary between 1834 and 1848. Most of the changes can be found between 1842 and 1848 in seats Maros and Udvarhely. As much as half of the occupants of the examined positions were exchanged in the case of the latter seat.

Following the outbreak of the Revolution, significant changes took place in the Szeklerland as well¹⁷. After the Transylvanian Law no. I of 1848 provided that the “personnel structure” of public administration and justice would remain the same until the further decree of the Hungarian National Assembly, the government initially did not want to complicate the situation with personnel exchanges. Nevertheless, partial exchanges have taken place on several occasions. However, the sources are incomplete, and it is difficult to establish from the tangled data who the officials in decision-making positions were at various times. Due to this plasticity of the seats’ officer corps, I will refrain from quantifying the changes. The situation was further complicated by the civil war situation and the temporary occupation of most of the seats; the administrative power has fallen into the hands of government commissioners anyway.

The decade after the Revolution was marked by experimentation, during which the administrative system was reformed several times. If in the initial period both local people and border guards’ officers were used

¹⁶ For the new administrative-territorial division, see Judit Pál, *A Székelyföld metamorfózisa*, in Nándor Bárdi, Judit Pál (eds.), *A Székelyföld története*, vol. III. 1867–1990 (Székelyudvarhely: EME, 2016), 45–52.

¹⁷ See Ákos Egyed, *Erdély 1848–1849*, vol. I (Csíkszereda: Pallas-Akadémia, 1999), 69–94.

in the administration, after the so-called “definitive organization” of 1854, a complete elite change took place (with a few rare exceptions); the influx of officials from other provinces of the Monarchy, especially Galicia and Bucovina, also began here. The main consideration was to create “an officer corps unconditionally committed to the all-imperial program”¹⁸. In Hungary, the proportion of non-Hungarian-born officials in county and district offices was at about 23%; 22.9% of county governors and 41.9% of commissioners came from Transleithania¹⁹.

If we look at the officials of the circles (*Kreis*) and districts (*Bezirk*) organized in the territory of the former Szeklerland in 1856²⁰, then we can see – no matter how much the myth of passive resistance has been questioned in recent decades²¹ – that a large number of officials are foreigners, a significant part of them is comprised of Transylvanian Saxons, and many came from outside the province. Several have previously served in the army, such as Ferdinand Hössler, circle commissioner of Braşov, Wilhelm Greszkowitz, chief district officer of Sfântu Gheorghe, or Gusztáv Lukács, of Miercurea Ciuc²². Hössler, who fought on the imperial side as lieutenant from 1848 to 1849, was subsequently disarmed²³, and we find him in various positions in civil administration in the 1850s. Despite repeated attacks due to his past, his is one example of an unbroken career as a civil servant after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. He was the Lord Lieutenant first of Zaránd (Zărând) county, then – from 1876 until his death in 1883 – of Beszterce-Naszód (Bistriţa-Năsăud) county.

There are almost no familiar names among the circle and district chiefs and their deputies, the commissioners. It is only at the head of the Udvarhely circle that we can find the former the chief royal judge of Háromszék seat, Albert Petrichevich-Horváth. At the head of the Maros circle was József Rácz, previously a county commissioner in Hungary,

¹⁸ Deák, *Birodalmi centralizáció*, 632.

¹⁹ Gábor Benedek, A bürokratizáció történetéhez: az 1853–54. évi definitív rendezés személyi következményei, in György Kövér (ed.), *Zsombékok. Középosztályok és iskoláztatás Magyarországon a 19. század elejétől a 20. század közepéig*, Budapest, Osiris, 2006, p. 237–239. Most of them came from Czechia and Moravia. *Ibid.*, 245.

²⁰ I did not examine the Kolozsvár district, which also included the former Aranyos seat.

²¹ Benedek, *A bürokratizáció*, p. 235–254. For a historiographical overview, see: József Pap, *Magyarország vármegyei tisztikara a reformkor végétől a kiegyezésig* (Szeged: Belvedere, 2003), 9–37.

²² *Militär-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthumes*, Wien, 1851, 649; 1842, 316.

²³ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Kriegsarchiv. KA GBBL IR 31 Abg. Kl. II. 1841–1850 5/17; KA CL IR 31 1849 Karton 107. I want to express my gratitude for the support of József Solymosi, Head of the Vienna Branch of the Hungarian Military History Institute and Museum Military History Archives.

and in Braşov we find, from 1854 to 1861, Ignaz Grüner as circle chief, who held office in the Czechia from 1837. Upon his return, he was a member of the Czech Provincial Assembly and the Austrian Parliament, then the deputy governor of Czechia from 1876 to 1881²⁴. Among the 28 people at the head of the districts, with the exception of five Hungarian, one Romanian and one Polish-sounding name, the others are all Germans. At least half are certainly Transylvanian Saxons, but it is possible that their proportion is even higher. The only Romanian, Ioan Pipoş, participated at the Romanian National Assembly in Blaj during the Revolution of 1848, and he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Zaránd county in 1861.

The “definitive” reorganization of 1854 represented such a complete caesura that it would be superfluous to represent the entire replacement of the officials on a diagram, since only two of the 107 examined officials were on the list of the officer corps of the Szeklerland before 1849. However, in order to rule out with complete certainty that the former officials of the Szekler seats did not hold any office, on the one hand, the whole period should be examined – also using the archival sources²⁵ –, and on the other hand, the other circles and districts of Transylvania should also be included in the analysis. One also finds familiar-sounding family names among the lower-level staff, such as the penmen, so family continuity is not broken now either.

It was not just contemporaries who rejected the violent modernization coming from above and those serving the regime, but they dropped out of historical memory as well or their names have acquired negative connotations. Although passive resistance was by no means as general as it was later purported, officials were held in widespread contempt. János Pálffy, a representative and secretary of state from 1848-49 described them in his memoir as follows: “These people are also morally real rubbish, and foreign officials are generally acknowledged to be much more honest. Moreover, what is amazing is that they are much more Hungarian-spirited than these Austro-Hungarians. After all, it is an old truth that there is nothing worse than a renegade.”²⁶ After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, it was especially the opposition that agitated

²⁴ <https://www.parlament.gv.at/WWER/PARL/J1848/Gruner.shtml> (14.2.2021). The short biographies on the website of the Austrian Parliament are based on the research of Franz Adlgasser.

²⁵ Because of the epidemic, I was not able to conduct any research in the archives of Vienna and Budapest. Thus, unfortunately, I could not make use of their excellent and very detailed sources on the neo-absolutist era.

²⁶ János Pálffy, *Magyarországi és erdélyi urak. Pálffy János emlékezései*, ed. by Attila Szabó T., Samu Benkő (Budapest: Nap, 2008), 42.

against the officials of the old regime. As a result of the stigmatization, many tried to hide this episode of their lives, cosmeticize their biographies, or somehow explain away their tenure of office. This “collective amnesia” also makes it difficult to reconstruct the lives of the officials²⁷.

Most of the officials from other provinces left Transylvania after 1860. Some of them, however, decided to stay. In addition to the aforementioned Ferdinand Hössler, we can mention the name of Matthias Orel, who in 1855 was the commissioner of the Gyergyó mixed district office, and from 1862 a judge in the same district²⁸. He later settled in Gheorgheni as a lawyer. At his death in 1906, he was remembered as a “straight and pure-minded man”. His merits were praised in the field of pomiculture and as the founding president of the association for the help of poor students²⁹.

We find the names of almost a quarter of the 107 examined officials (23.3%) among the later officials of the Szekler seats, but only four of them (3.7%) were identified among the members of the post-Compromise officers. The vast majority held office during the Provisorium, most of them in Háromszék (10) and Csík (7). Several bureaucrats have been able to find employment in the judiciary system, but further investigation is needed to establish accurate figures.

In the wake of foreign policy failures and domestic political problems, the Emperor Francis Joseph was forced to change course in 1860. The October Diploma restored the autonomy of the countries and provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy. Transylvania also returned to the pre-1848 administrative set-up. First, the Lord Lieutenants/chief royal judges were appointed, and in the spring of 1861, elections were held in the counties and seats. Three of the chief royal judges have had their careers dating back to the Age of Reforms (1830–1848). Count Ferenc Toldalagi (Maros seat) was a deputy royal judge before 1848, and chief royal judge in 1848, Count Dénes Kálnoky (Háromszék) was a royal vice-judge, and Antal Mikó (Csík) was a treasurer. Before 1848, Gábor Daniel (Udvarhely) worked for a short time at the Transylvanian Court Chancellery. After his return, he took on a smaller role during the Revolution of 1848, then also held office for a short time, but subsequently retired to his estate. The most interesting career was that of

²⁷ The phenomenon was also studied by Gábor Benedek, see: *Kollektív amnézia: honvédtiszti hivatalvállalás a Bach-korszakban*, in István Dobrossy (ed.), *Mikrotörténelem: Vívományok és korlátok* (Rendi társadalom – polgári társadalom, 12), Miskolc, Hajnal István Kör, 2003, 394–413.

²⁸ Miklós Endes, *Csík-, Gyergyó-, Kászon-Székek (Csík megye) földjének és népének története 1918-ig*, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1994 (first ed. 1938), 324, 326

²⁹ “Csíki Lapok” XVIII, 1906, no. 15, 11 April, p. 2.

Gergely Béldi (Aranyos seat). Before the Revolution, he was an interpreter of oriental languages in Petrovaradin (now in Serbia), and then took on the role of mediator in the Revolution of 1848. In the age of neo-absolutism, he was first a cadastral director and then, from 1852, the head of the Kolozsvár circle³⁰.

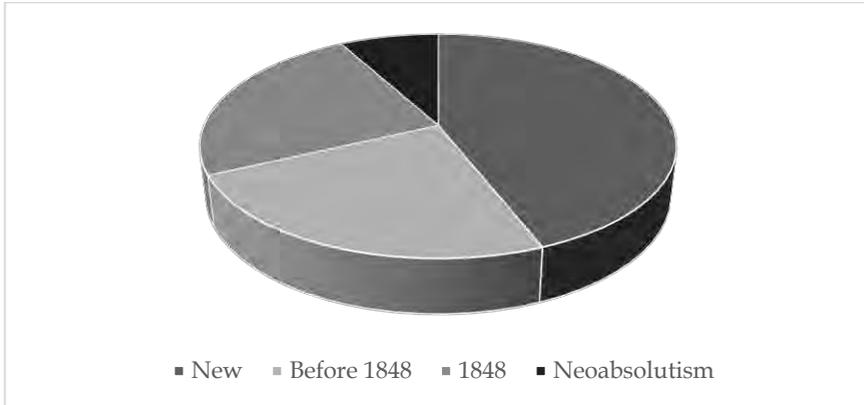


Diagram no. 1. The entry into office of the 1861 officers

The above diagram shows the composition and career development of the chief officers – chief royal judges and royal vice-judges, as well as, where available, the notaries³¹. It is clearly visible that almost half of the leadership in the Szeklerland consisted of new people, and a quarter of them had also held office before 1848. Another quarter of the group first held office in the seats in 1848-49, but more than half (56%) of the top officials took an active role during the Revolution and took part in the Hungarian War of Independence. Several were identifiable officers of the Hungarian Honvéd Army. Thus, the most striking features of the 1861 reorganization were the rewarding of the participation in the events of 1848 and the distancing from the previous era.

The officer corps elected in 1861 were short-lived. A few months later, as a protest against the situation, most of the officials – in Transylvania mainly the Hungarians – resigned. Thus, began the period of the so-called “Schmerling-Provisorium”³². The vast majority of officials

³⁰ See Judit Pál, “The Transylvanian Lord-Lieutenants after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise”, in Victor Karády, Borbála Zsuzsanna Török (eds.), *Cultural Dimensions of Elite Formation in Transylvania (1770–1950)* (Cluj-Napoca: Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, 2008), 138-158.

³¹ From the officer corps of 1861, only the identities of the chief royal judge and the royal vice-judge were revealed, and those of the notaries of several seats, but data on the sheriffs are missing everywhere.

³² I cannot comment here, for reasons of length alone, on the protests of the legislative authorities and the unfolding contradictions, i.e., the background of the resignation of the officers.

elected in 1861 retired for the time being, but after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the possibilities that opened up to them were much wider than before. This is well illustrated by the careers of the three royal vice-judges of Maros seat in 1861. Samu Nagy was appointed royal fiscal director (a position equivalent to that of Attorney-General) and in 1871 became judge at the Royal Court of Justice of Târgu Mureş, the former supreme court of Transylvania³³. Albert Filep first became a judge at the municipal court, and was then appointed school inspector of Torda county, as well as Aranyos and Maros seats. He retired after eleven years, but remained active in politics. In 1906, at the age of 80, Filep was elected as a representative, but committed suicide the following year. Dániel Dózsa was elected as a representative in the Pest parliament in 1866, but resigned two years later because he was also appointed judge at the Royal Court of Justice³⁴. He died in September 1889 as a judge at the Royal Curia, the supreme court of Hungary.

Due to the mass resignations, it was necessary to reactivate the officials in non-active status. In the new officer corps, we thus find a large number of bureaucrats from the age of neo-absolutism. The chief royal judges – appointed for the time being as deputies – were all from their ranks. Gusztáv Lukács, the administrator of Udvarhely seat, was previously the chief district official in Miercurea Ciuc. Ádám Szabó, former head of the Barót district, was appointed head of Csík seat, and József Dindár, former head of the district of Torda, was appointed head of Aranyos seat. Albert Petrichevich-Horváth was now moved to Maros seat. Before 1848, he was the chief royal judge of Háromszék, and during the neo-absolutist period, the head of Háromszék, from 1851. Then, from 1854 to April 1861, he was the head of the circle of Udvarhely. His son-in-law, landowner Imre Daniel, was appointed to the head of Háromszék. In 1849, Daniel served as commissioner to support the imperial army and took part in the retaliations against the Hungarian revolutionaries. He was later transferred to the governorate of Sibiu. In 1863, he was appointed special councillor of the Gubernium³⁵ and was replaced by Ferdinand Hössler. In the case of the chief royal judges, the practice of the

³³ György Bözödi, *Egy 1852-es székely összeesküvés. Egy kortárs emlékirata*, "A Hét", 13, 1982, nr. 12, 19 March, 8.

³⁴ József Szinyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, vol. II, Budapest, Hornyánszky Viktor, 1893, 1031-1034.

³⁵ He was definitively retired after the Compromise. Gábor Daniel (ed.), *A Vargyasi Daniel család közpályán és a magánéletben* (Budapest: Franklin, 1894), 699.

neo-absolutist period was continued, consisting in the “rotation” of officials. In this way, they sought, on the one hand, to avoid local entanglements, while on the other hand, the persons concerned could, in principle, have started with a clean slate at the head of the new municipalities, if circumstances had allowed it at all.

A detailed account of the end of the period (1866-67) has been preserved, taking into account the officials’ previous careers. This account does not detail the various career positions occupied over time, but only indicates how many years the official has been in the position and what position he occupied immediately before that³⁶.

This shows another significant change: only 16% of those who began their careers in 1861 took up further service. Compared to the state of 1861, the proportion of those who held office before 1848 decreased significantly, and the proportion of those who had assumed office during the neo-absolutist period increased. More than a third (37%) of the officer corps of the Szekler seats consisted of officials left over from the age of neo-absolutism, and another good third (35%) was made up of people who had taken office during the Provisorium. The remaining less than a third was divided between those who had taken office before 1848 (9%), in 1848 (3%) and 1861 (16%), as shown in the diagram below. Thus, the period of the Provisorium constituted a significant caesura compared to 1848 and 1861, respectively, while the continuity with the age of neo-absolutism is significant, as also shown by the researches of József Pap on the counties of Hungary; although, in the case of the latter – unlike in the Szekler seats –, the officer corps of some counties during the Provisorium was largely built on the antecedents of 1861³⁷.

Significant differences can be observed between the individual seats – as shown in the diagram below –, in which both the administrators at the head of the seats and the local conditions probably played a role. Csík and Háromszék shows very similar proportions: half of the officers were “inherited” from the age of neo-absolutism, while the proportion of those with roots in the pre-revolutionary period is very low, and the percentage of those with a past of 1861 is also quite reduced. In contrast, the composition is more varied in Udvarhely and Maros seats.

³⁶ MNL OL (Hungarian National Archives, State Archive, Budapest) K 148 Belügyminisztérium (Department of the Interior). Elnöki iratok (Presidential documents), no. 1867-III-1240.

³⁷ Pap, *Magyarország*, 278.

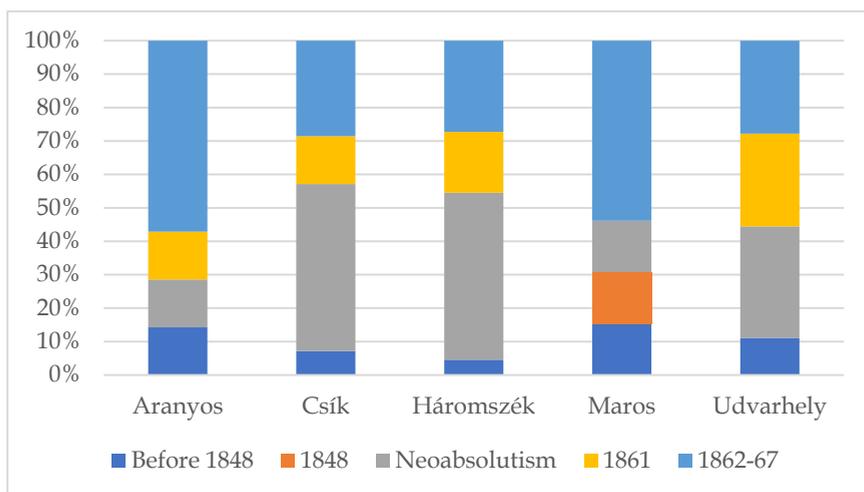


Diagram no. 2. The composition of the officer corps in 1866-67

There are significant differences not only between the seats but also among specific categories. Two thirds of the sheriffs (63.4%) had also held office during the age of neo-absolutism, but there were significant differences between the seats also in this respect. In Háromszék, more than half of the sheriffs were district penmen during the 1850s. Thus, there they practically took over most of the staff of the district offices, more precisely, with one exception, the Hungarians. The vast majority of those from other provinces of the Monarchy probably left Transylvania. The others – as a significant part of them were Transylvanian Saxons – looked for employment in the *Fundus Regius* territory and elsewhere. In Udvarhely seat, however, half of the sheriffs were formerly village or district clerks.

The effects of the Compromise and the 1876 territorial-administrative reform on the officer corps

After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, a radical exchange of the elites took place again. As the negotiations for the Compromise progressed, there was a change at the head of the seats first in 1865. Everywhere except in Maros seat, the chief royal judges appointed in 1861 were reinstated. For the time being, Albert Petrichevich-Horváth remained in place in Maros. Not only is his person interesting due to his long service, but he is also made special by the fact that he served in no less than three seats and under all the regimes. In 1859, he received the Knight's Commander Cross of the Order of Saint Stephen and the rank of baron for his service under neo-absolutism. Following the compromise, Royal Commissioner Emanuel (Manó) Péchy initiated his dismissal on

the grounds that he did not enjoy the trust of the seat.³⁸ Mihály Mikó, a former deputy judge from Csík seat, who was a member of the Hungarian Parliament at the time, was appointed in his place. Mikó's career also began before the Revolution. In 1848-49, he represented the seat in the Hungarian National Assembly. He was also appointed government commissioner during the Revolution, and was later imprisoned for four years for his role. Mikó was again elected royal vice-judge in 1861, but soon he resigned as well. In 1865, however, he was elected first to the Diet of Cluj and then to the Parliament in Pest.³⁹

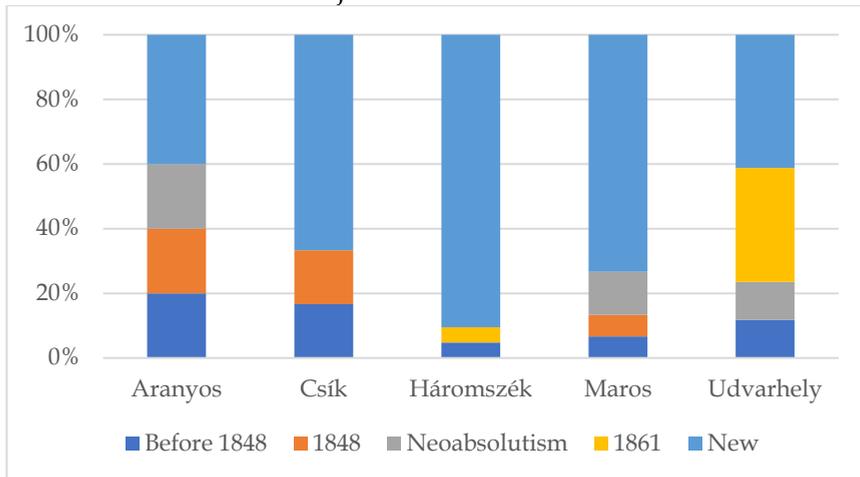


Diagram no. 3. The composition of the officer corps in 1868

Following the summer of 1867, the officer corps were radically transformed everywhere. Three-quarters (74%) of them were filled up with new people, and a good third of the remaining ones were moved into other positions. There were differences between the seats this time as well. The most radical break with the previous era took place in Csík and Háromszék. In the former, only two of the 14 senior officials (12.5%), in the latter, three out of 22 (13.6%) remained from the officer corps of the Provisorium. In contrast, in Udvarhely seat, more than a third of the officials (38.8%) also served under the previous regime, and three of these seven managed to keep their position. Especially in the former border region – in Csík and Háromszék –, where a similar development can be observed, but also in Maros seat, several members of the post-Compromise officer corps took part in the Revolution of 1848. The role in the events of 1848-49 noticeably increased their prestige after the Compromise.

³⁸ MNL OL, F 270 Királyi Biztosság (Royal Commission). Elnöki iratok (Presidential documents), 1867/37.

³⁹ See Pál, *The Transylvanian Lord-Lieutenants*.

While there is little difference between the seats, in terms of the discontinuity of 1867, we will find some (slight) differences in the dynamics of the change later on. Although the electoral system lasted until the end of the era, the administration meant a long-term career project and a source of livelihood for many. Some of the members of the officer corps elected at the time of conclusion of the Compromise have taken root and appear to have survived in a much more definite way than the other groups. They formed the “hard core” of the initial period, later emerging as key officials.

The changes were much smaller later than in 1867. As a result of the uniformization of public administration, a system of advance nomination for the election of officials was also introduced in the Szekler seats. This gave great power to the chief royal judge/Lord Lieutenant and made it more difficult for opposition candidates to prevail. The comparison with previous periods is complicated by the fact that there was also a change in the organizational chart of the officer corps. Law no. XLII of 1870 unified the administration. After this law was passed, we find, for example, county commissioners everywhere, instead of the 3-4 royal vice-judges. The number of districts also decreased significantly, and, with it, the number of sheriffs. In Háromszék, for example, in 1872, we find only six districts compared to 13 from five years earlier. Comparing the situation in 1867 and five years later, in general, about two-thirds of the officer corps in 1872 consisted of the same people (the lowest rate is 61.5% in Udvarhely, the highest is 69.2% in Maros seat), even if not everyone held the same position.

Most of the changes took place in Udvarhely seat, where only three officials remained in place, while five are found in other positions, and two former officials re-entered the officer corps, which was “reformed” with only three new men. The case of one former as well as current official, county attorney Adolf Gerich, exemplifies that, although a radical change took place in 1867, a return was also possible for officials of the previous regime. Gerich had an interesting career. His father was an officer of the imperial army. He was born in Háromszék and leaned towards a military career. In 1849, he achieved the rank of a captain in the Honvéd army.⁴⁰ In the age of neo-absolutism, he was assigned to the Udvarhely district office. During the Provisorium, he was a judge at the court in Odorheiu Secuiesc. In 1867, his name was not included among

⁴⁰ See the database based on Gábor Bona' volumes: <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Bona-bona-tabornokok-torzstisztek-1/szazadosok-az-184849-evi-szabadsagharcban-96F2/eletrajzi-adatok-989D/g-9BCA/gerich-adolf-9BFD/?list=eyJmaWx0ZXJzljogeyJNVSI6IFsiTkZP0tPTllfQm9uYV8xIl19LCAicXVlcnkiOiAiZ2VyaWN0IGFkb2x0In0> (25.2.2021)

either the administrative officers or the staff of the court. He worked as a lawyer, and was the president of the lawyer's association founded in 1873 in Odorheiu Secuiesc.⁴¹ Later, we encounter his name as a notary (1875-83)⁴² and again as a lawyer between 1884-95. At his death in October 1896, only his role in 1848 Revolution was mentioned in his obituary.⁴³

Following the territorial regulation of the legislative authorities, in 1876, four counties were established in the territory of Szeklerland. Csík (Ciuc), Háromszék (Trei Scaune), and Udvarhely (Odorhei) counties were formed from the former seat, with some additions. The new Maros-Torda (Mureș-Turda) county included, along with Maros seat, the eastern part of the former county of Torda. Aranyosszék formed Torda-Aranyos (Turda-Arieș) county together with the other part of former Torda county, but in fact the county has swallowed the much smaller seat.

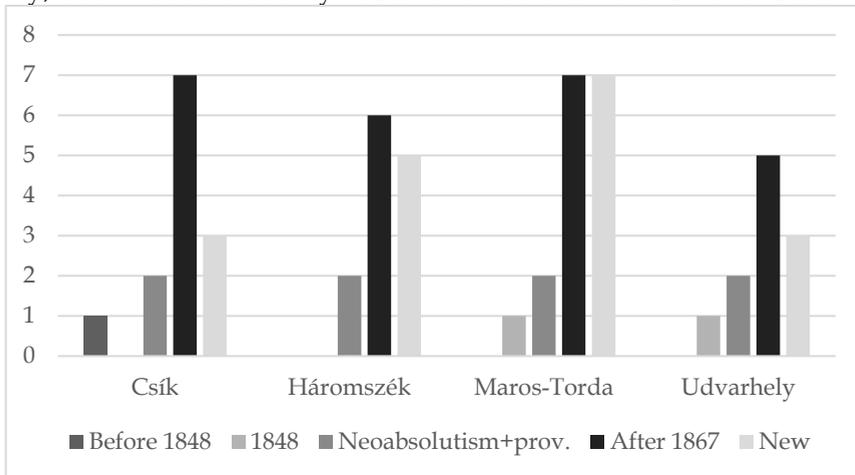


Diagram 4. The composition of the officer corps in 1879

Unsurprisingly, the biggest change is found in the case of Aranyos seat. In the officer corps of the county of Torda-Aranyos, we find only two former officials of Aranyos seat in 1879, and even they held different positions than before. In contrast, in Csík county, where there was virtually no territorial change, more than two-thirds of the officials remained in place. If we do not look at the changes in position, the proportion of former officials is also around two-thirds in Háromszék and Udvarhely county. In Maros-Torda county, not only the officials of the former seat, but also the officials of the county have to be taken into account in the renewal of the officer corps. The proportion of former

⁴¹ "Nemere", 3 1873, no. 18 (4 March): 71.

⁴² "Budapesti Közlöny", 9, 1875, no. 188 (18 August): 1.

⁴³ "Pesti Hírlap", 18, 1896, no. 270 (1 October): 10.

officials is just over half (52.9%) of the officer corps, and nearly half of them are also found in other positions than before. If we compare it with the officer corps of 1872, we find only one person from the county of Torda, while the most important positions in the new county were occupied by former officials from Maros seat. The Lord Lieutenant, Gergely Béldi, was also previously at the head of the seat.

Summary: changes in the administrative elite in the Szekler seats

While before 1848 we have strong continuity, the main feature of the two decades after the Revolution of 1848 was discontinuity. Beginning with the Revolution, the next two decades were marked by frequent changes and a total rupture from the previous regime. Officials change every 5-6 years, sometimes even more often: we have such caesura in 1849, 1854, 1861, 1862, and even, although not a complete one, in 1867. However, the phenomenon is more complicated; if we compare it not only to the immediately preceding period, then the discontinuity is not as radical, as it can also be seen on Diagram no. 5.

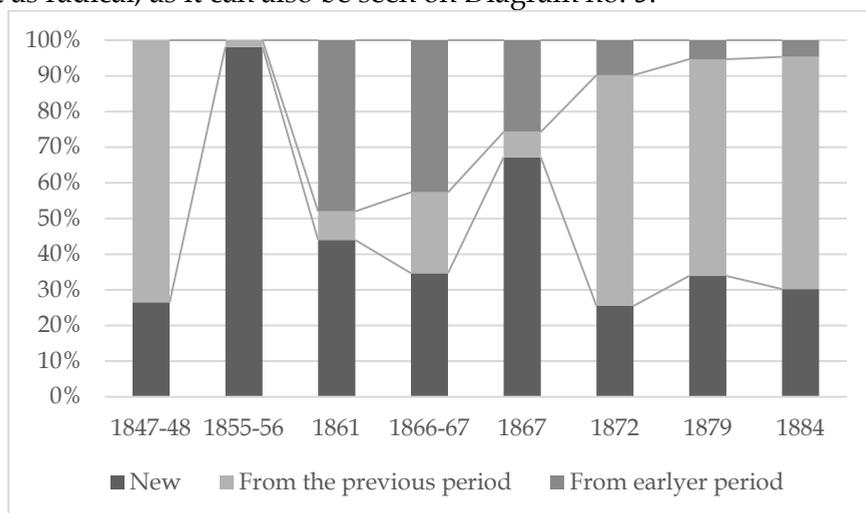


Diagram no. 5. Changes in the administrative elite in the Szekler seats

The most radical break occurred in the age of neo-absolutism, or more specifically, following the so-called “definitive” settlement in 1854, when a lot of new and literally foreign people flowed into the Szeklerland administration. By 1861, the regime had already partially reached back to the pre-1848 and 1848 officer corps. During the Provisorium, the officials who had been put in reserve in the neo-absolutist period were reactivated, and – although to a smaller extent – officials of the constitutional periods also took office. The Compromise meant another

rupture compared to the Provisorium, but officials from constitutional periods returned – even if not in too large a number.

If we compare the above results with the development of the officer corps of the Hungarian counties, then we find many similarities and some differences, although there were also significant differences between the counties there. The great turn took place in Hungary in 1854 as well: with the appearance of foreign officials, there was a significant elite change. This is also shown by Gábor Benedek's comprehensive research⁴⁴, but we find significant differences between both individual hierarchical levels and counties. While one-fifth of the officials came from other provinces, the majority, especially at the lower levels, were Hungarians. They were officials from other counties, i.e., "domestic strangers"⁴⁵. Another trend can be observed as well, which is not typical for the period before 1848: the high geographical mobility for nationals as well⁴⁶. This is only partially the case in the Szekler seats. Although there is a large number of ethnic Hungarians and even local people among the penman, very few were placed in higher positions. There were many strangers, but here too, "domestic strangers" predominated. The largest group seems to have been the Transylvanian Saxons. The tendency to appoint more prominent people from the given region, preferably of noble origin, to head the districts, can also be observed in the Szekler seats. According to József Pap, in Hungary we can talk about continuity at the national level and radical elite change at the local level⁴⁷. In the Szeklerland, we see only the radical elite change. However, the entire administrative and judicial institutional system of the province would have to be examined in order to determine whether this is also true for Transylvania.

1861 also brought a radical change of elite in the Szekler seats, as it did in some Hungarian counties⁴⁸. Here, too, what can be observed is that most of the foreign officials left the Szeklerland. However, the return of officials from 1848 was very limited. The members of the officer corps from before 1848 have returned in a greater proportion, but most of the chief officials took on some role during the Revolution. Both the exceptional significance of the Revolution of 1848 in collective memory and the importance of the roles assumed by officials in 1848, especially

⁴⁴ During the "definitive" reorganization in Hungary, about 60% of former officials lost their jobs. Benedek, *A bürokratizáció*, 243.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 239-240; Pap, *Magyarország*, 275-276.

⁴⁶ Benedek, *A bürokratizáció*, 249. Of the ministerial drafters, nearly two-thirds of the officials were transferred to another county.

⁴⁷ Pap, *Magyarország*, 276.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 277. More than 80% of the officials were sent in reserve in Benedek, *A bürokratizáció*, 236-237.

during the 1861 and 1867 elections, are clear. This is also shown by the fact that biographies and obituaries always highlight this role – sometimes even embellishing the events –, but are generally silent about their taking office in the neo-absolutist period⁴⁹. This “collective amnesia” in the case of Hungarian officials is typical of the whole era⁵⁰. If it was a disadvantage in the previous period, the situation was reversed in 1861 and 1867, and the participation in the Revolution of 1848, especially armed support, turned into a factor that positively influenced careers. Some concrete examples also show that the pre-1854 taking of office was overlooked more easily than the post-1861 one. During the Provisorium, the new elite exchange in the Szeklerland developed similarly to that in Hungary: the officer corps of 1861 resigned and were largely replaced by officials of the neo-absolutist era⁵¹.

The next big elite change in the administration took place after the Compromise. This was a rather radical change in the Szekler seats compared to the previous period, but the later picture is more nuanced⁵². Even if personnel continuity was interrupted for a time in 1867, and those who took office during the neo-absolutist period or the Provisorium were “punished”, they were not left out entirely of the new officer corps and even later had the opportunity to return sporadically. From the perspective of continuity, it would also be important to monitor the judiciary staff, since the two sectors had previously been intertwined, and fluctuation was particularly great at the beginning of the age of Dualism. A safe assumption would be that many of them took offices in the courts or at other institutions where expertise was required, since the officer corps of the neo-absolutist period – and partly of the Provisorium – was more highly qualified than the traditional one⁵³. The courts provided a more favourable opportunity, as the Austrian legal system introduced in

⁴⁹ A typical example is Ignác Bruszt, the district commissioner of Sfântu Gheorghe and later prosecutor from Dej. The news of his death on May 17, 1892, states only that he was a lieutenant general in 1848-49.

⁵⁰ See Benedek, *Kollektív amnézia*. This is also why it is so difficult to reconstruct this biographical stage without primary resources. For example, Gábor Bona’s collection of biographies on military officers from 1848 lacks their taking office in the 1850s in half of the cases. *Ibid.*, 404.

⁵¹ Regarding the measures, there were also large differences between the individual counties in Hungary, but the officer corps of the Provisorium was, in some counties, largely built on the antecedents of 1861. Pap, *Magyarország*, 278.

⁵² In Hungary, there were again big differences between the counties. In some places, more than half of the staff remained in place, elsewhere there was virtually a complete replacement. Although the 1860-61 generation partially returned, no county had a majority of officers from this generation. *Ibid.*, 278-279.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 276-277.

the era of neo-absolutism remained in force in Transylvania even after the Compromise, and unification has dragged on for decades. It can be assumed that several people sought to earn their living there, while others probably remained stuck in the penman status or at other lower positions. In order to get an accurate picture of what happened to the others who were not retired and about the degree of continuity or discontinuity, the officer and support staff of all Transylvanian municipalities should be reviewed (including orphanage sees, county treasuries, and auxiliary offices), along with all the officials of public institutions (finance directorates, cadastral offices, etc.).

After the Compromise – as also shown on Diagram no. 5 –, the situation stabilized again. At the next election, about two-thirds of the former officials were re-elected – although not necessarily in the same positions. Although some officials also returned sporadically, a quarter to a third of the staff consisted of new people. Most old–new people are found in 1872 (five people), after which former officials barely show up, as they have probably found other employment in the meantime or were retired due to their old age. The territorial-administrative reform of 1876 has not brought about any major change in this area – with the exception of Aranyos and (partially) Maros seats. Although the proportion of new people increased slightly (from 25.4% in 1872 to 35.1% in 1879), the change is hardly significant compared to the radical elite changes of the mid-19th century. In the newly established Maros-Torda county, almost half of the officer corps consisted of new people. However, the former Maros seat elites managed to retain their positions, and we find them in the most important offices.

After the Compromise, we find representatives of much of the same families who held the majority of offices during the pre-1848 period, and even throughout the 18th century. This shows a high degree of stability of the seat/county elite. The continuity of the elite families could be exemplified, among numerous instances, by the case of László Sándor from Maros seat, elected as royal vice-judge in 1867, whose father with the same name was one of the royal vice-judges in 1834, or by Mihály Lázár from Kézdi seat, whose father, Dávid Lázár, has held the same position three decades earlier⁵⁴. It can be said with a little exaggeration that, although political changes had, in many cases, temporarily or permanently blocked administrative careers at the level of individuals, there is continuity at the level of families as opposed to this individual discontinuity. However, the extent of this phenomenon

⁵⁴ *A magyar Házi-barát. Egy közhasznú házi s gazdasági kalendárium 1834 közönséges évre, Kassán, 180.*

requires further investigation. The next radical change occurred at the end of the First World War. The transfer of power and state succession in Transylvania also meant an elite change⁵⁵. Although the officer corps of the age of Dualism were more characterized by continuity and stability, it would be important to examine the subject across eras.

⁵⁵ See e.g., Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, The Transformation of the Mid-Level Civil Servants' Corps in Transylvania in the Aftermath of the First World War: The High Sheriffs between 1918 and 1925, in Peter Becker et alii (eds.), *Hofratsdämmerung? Verwaltung und ihr Personal in den Nachfolgestaaten der Habsburgermonarchie 1918 bis 1920* (Wien: Böhlau, 2020), 155-178.

Statistical Analysis of the Election Results of Urban Representatives in Hungary between 1848 and 1918*

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Abstract. In this paper, I will introduce our research results concerning the election of urban representatives. I focused on two issues: 1. What was the connection between the district and the representative, was he an outsider or a member of the local elite? 2. Can we identify groups whose representatives followed similar party preferences during elections at the time of the Dual Monarchy? The analysis is based on statistical methods. I conclude that the performance of candidates did not depend on the political attitudes of a given district. The causes of the given phenomena cannot be identified by macro-level research, but the macro-level research helps the local research by the establishment of categories within which the given local phenomena can be interpreted. The tables of this paper facilitate the national comparison of local research results.

Keywords: election, urban representatives, Dual Monarchy, statistical analysis, voting districts.

Rezumat: Analiza statistică a rezultatelor alegerilor reprezentanților orașelor în Ungaria între 1848 și 1918. Studiul prezintă rezultatele cercetării noastre privind alegerea deputaților urbani. Mă voi concentra pe două aspecte: 1. Care a fost legătura dintre circumscripție și deputat, dacă deputatul a fost un străin sau un membru al elitei locale? 2. Dacă putem identifica grupuri ai căror reprezentanți au urmat preferințe similare de partid în timpul alegerilor din timpul Monarhiei Duale? Analiza se bazează pe metode statistice. Am ajuns la concluzia că performanța candidaților nu depindea de atitudinile politice al unui anumit cerc electoral. Cauzele fenomenelor nu pot fi identificate prin cercetare la nivel

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macro, dar cercetarea la nivel macro ajută cercetarea locală prin stabilirea unor categorii în cadrul cărora fenomenele locale pot fi interpretate. Tabelele acestei lucrări facilitează compararea națională a rezultatelor cercetării locale.

Cuvinte cheie: alegeri, deputați orășenești, Monarhia Austro-Ungară, analiză statistică, circumscripții electorale.

In this paper, I will introduce our research results concerning the election of urban representatives. I shall approach my sample from a macro-level and shall try to identify tendencies to which the results of the examination of local elections can be compared. I will focus on two primary issues: 1. What was the connection between the district and the representative, was he an outsider or a member of the local elite? 2. Can we identify party groups whose representatives followed similar party preferences and expectations during elections at the time of the Dual Monarchy? My analysis is based on statistical methods and I will illustrate the limits of the statistical approach as well.

The mandate number of the representatives

The first question we must answer concerns the size of the urban representatives' parliamentary group. I based my answer on the mandates which belonged to settlements that enjoyed their own independent right to vote and that sent representatives to the Parliament between 1848 and 1918. The 102 district variations¹ had 1,393 full cycles, but not taking by-elections or interim elections into consideration in several districts, I could count 1,542 mandates. As a result of the elections, 759 representatives accessed the Parliament from urban areas, thus each representative served 2 cycles or terms on average. The following chart shows the distribution of the mandate numbers. I used all available data concerning national elections to prepare the table including 7,696 elections, 3,282 elected representatives, and there was no data available in the case of 29 elections.² It is important to note that the representatives listed in the table could serve in other districts than those indicated during their political career.

¹ I took all mentions of districts separately into consideration, thus Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros) is listed as Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros) I and II until 1878 and later it was listed as one district, therefore I identified three district variations in this case.

² I corrected the data as compared to the first version of the study, as I originally worked with data pertaining to 7,557 elections, 3,184 elected representatives, and 82 unknown mandates.

Mandate number	Urban districts only		Taking full career into consideration		National data
	Person	Rate proportion allocation	Person	Rate, proportion, allocation	
1	426	56,1%	304	40,0%	47,8%
2	148	19,5%	145	19,1%	22,2%
3	68	9,0%	86	11,3%	11,3%
4	59	7,8%	71	9,3%	7,3%
5	22	2,9%	42	5,5%	3,9%
6	16	2,1%	31	4,0%	2,6%
7	6	0,8%	19	2,4%	1,6%
8	8	1,1%	16	2,0%	0,9%
9	4	0,5%	21	2,7%	0,7%
10	2	0,3%	9	1,1%	0,6%
11	-	-	7	0,9%	0,4%
12	1	0,1%	4	0,5%	0,2%
13	-	-	2	0,3%	0,1%
14	-	-	1	0,1%	0,3%
15	-	-	1	0,1%	0,09%
16	-	-	-	-	0,06
17	-	-	-	-	0,06
Total	759	100%	759	100%	100%

Table 1.: The mandate number of representatives in different district types 1848–1918³

The table reveals that after taking national election results into consideration, in addition to the 1,542 mandates, we can add 710 other successful elections. Thus, in light of their full political career, urban representatives were more stable participants of Hungarian politics than their counterparts elected from the counties. Those with four or more mandates are significantly overrepresented. The standard actors of the political arena often received urban mandates during a certain period of their lives. Further on, I will discuss this phenomenon especially applicable to Transylvania in greater detail.

It is worthwhile to take a look at the distribution diagram of representatives who only completed one mandate as well.

³ For the list of the members of Hungarian Parliament, see: Dániel Ballabás-József Pap-Judit Pál, "Képviselők és főrendek a dualizmus kori Magyarországon II.: Az országgyűlés tagjainak archontológiája" [The members House of Commons and] (Eger: Líceum, 2020).

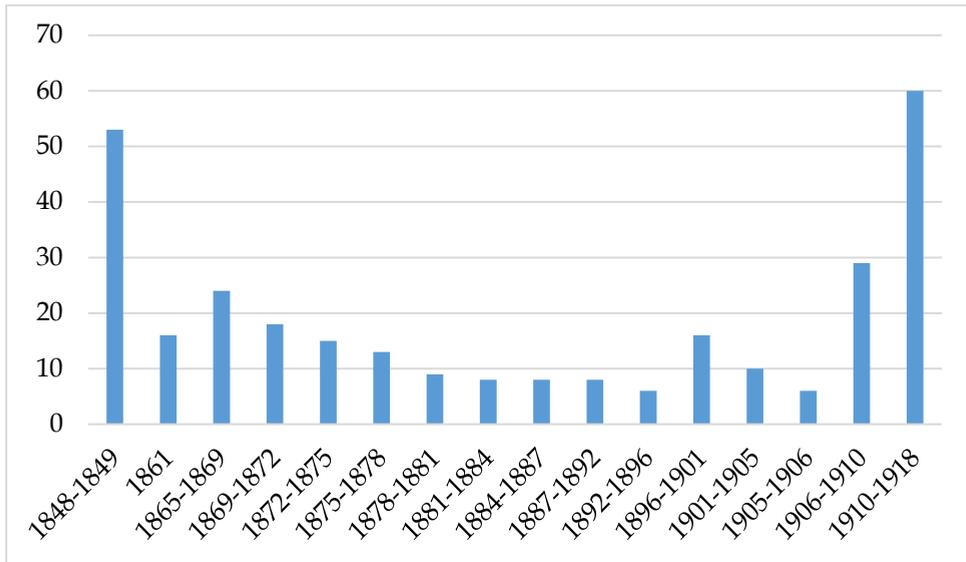


Figure 1: The distribution of representatives fulfilling only one mandate according to cycles (persons)

After the high starting numbers, the signs of stabilization can be discerned as of 1875. The especially high figures of the 1896 and 1906 elections can be explained by domestic political considerations. Those who were elected in these two years could not win again and the same applies to representatives gaining mandates at the 1910 election. Data referring to 1910 is naturally high, since first time representatives did not have a chance to run in another election. In comparison to national figures, the post-1875 stabilization process can be more clearly identified in urban districts, but the 1896 and especially the 1906 election significantly restructured the personal relations in urban areas.⁴

The local ties of representatives

Success at the local or national election depended upon whether the given representative entered national politics from the local elite or arrived at that position from the opposite direction, as a result of a so-called “representative import”. It is also important to identify settlements in which the politicians arrived from the local or national elite. We can also ask the question: was there any difference between the electoral success of local people and that of the outsiders?

⁴ Cf. Pap’s diagram at József Pap, “Az első népképviselők és a népképviselés kezdetei Magyarországon” [The first popular representatives and the beginnings of popular representation in Hungary], *AETAS* 31 (2016): 36.

The establishment of a clear connection between representatives and the given cities requires substantial local research heretofore performed only to a certain extent. Our research group focused on Transylvania⁵ and the Partium.⁶ Judit Pál developed an examination criteria system which can make the analysis of local ties more differentiated. Her primary focus was not on the greater environment of the representative, but she separated the representatives coming from the country gentry or aristocracy from that of the middle class. She established a separate category for non-burgesses belonging to the nobility representing the surroundings of the city or maintaining strong ties with it. She also proved that establishing categories is difficult, regardless of the availability of the respective information. A case in point is Béla Lukács, a representative of Gherla (Szamosujvár), later Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros), who was born in Transylvania, but lived in Budapest and, according to kinship ties, he had a strong local commitment as well. The situation is similar in the case of the officials who moved away from their place of birth. "While I allocated them into the Transylvania representatives' category and their official duty played a major role in their election, separate rubrics cannot be established for each and every representative."⁷ In another study, Pál attempted to categorize the representatives according to place of birth, origin of the family, residence, place of activity, estate, and family connections. If all indicators were connected to a voting district, she would rank the representative in the "displays full commitment" category and the applicability of three indicators referred to "close commitment." Those who moved away from their place of birth, representatives with loose or weak commitment as owners of neighbouring lands, and aliens were allocated into separate categories.⁸ As far as Transylvania was concerned, Hungarian representatives were given special attention. Within the category of aliens or outsiders, Judit Pál was able to establish several clearly visible groups,

⁵ Judit Pál, "The Representation of Transylvanian Towns in Parliament in the Period 1878–1910," *Transylvanian Review* 22. (2013): 46–67.

⁶ Ákos Szendrei, "Országgyűlési képviselők párthovatartozása és társadalmi háttere a dualizmuskori Debrecenben, Nagyváradon és közös vonzókörzeteikben," [Political party affiliation and social background of parliamentary representatives in Debrecen, Nagyvárad and their surroundings in the Dualist Period], *AETAS* 31 (2016): 76–101.

⁷ Judit Pál, "Az erdélyi városok képviseletének alakulása a kiegyezés után – a képviselők helyi kötődése" [Representations of Transylvania towns after the Compromise, the local ties of representatives], in *Szám- (és betű) vetés. Tanulmányok Faragó Tamás tiszteletére* [Papers in honor of Tamás Faragó] ed. Péter Őri (Budapest: KSH Népeségtudományi Kutatóintézet, 2014), 82–83.

⁸ Judit Pál, "Választók, választási részvétel és választói magatartás Székelyföldön a dualizmus korában," [Voters, voting participation, and voter conduct in Székely Land during the Dualist Era] *AETAS* 31 (2016): 64–65.

including that of ministers, undersecretaries, high rank ministry officials; writers, journalists, editors; bankers, entrepreneurs, owners of large estates and influential lawyers.⁹

I cannot undertake such a comprehensive analysis, because the data pertaining to the question is primarily informative. If I were to follow Pál's criteria, I could allocate the representatives into three groups: close commitment, partial commitment, and outsiders. A more refined approach requires a thorough analysis of the given careers. Currently available data, however, can facilitate a macro-level analysis identifying the main tendencies.

In the case of the 1.512 elections (I took into consideration the repeated term within a cycle only once), 951 representatives (64%) showed close ties, 102 representatives (7%) had weak ties and 435 representatives (29%) were considered outsiders. I recorded unknown data in 35 cases, and they are not included in this distribution. Regarding the non-urban districts, 3,220 cases (54%) showed close ties, and in 654 instances, the representative displayed a weak connection or commitment level to the district, while in 819 cases, he was an outsider, which amounts to 14%. The rate of unknown connection is still high, with 1,540 cases at 26%. Further on, I will display this data more accurately. It is noteworthy, however, that if we omit the unknown information (close ties 73%, weak connection 8%, and outsider 18%), we obtain values very similar to those of the counties of Székely Land.¹⁰ Thus, we can substantiate the results of Pál Judit, namely that the rate of outsider representatives was higher in the towns than in the county districts in a national context.

The grouping of a multitude containing several elements can be performed by cluster analysis. This procedure arranges the given components into groups by identifying their features or variables and, based on their respective similarities, it forms the given groups or clusters. The resulting clusters must be named and described by the researcher. During the cluster analysis, I used the k cluster procedure.¹¹ I took into consideration all elections of representatives, as I wanted to identify how many times an outsider or local politician could gain

⁹ Judit Pál, "A Székelyföld metamorfozisa" [The metamorphosis of Székely Land], in *Székelyföld története III. 1867–1990* [History of Székely Land III. 1867–1990], eds. Nándor Bárdi, Judit Pál (Székelyudvarhely: MTA BTK-EME-HRM, 2016), 101.

¹⁰ Pál, "Választók, választási részvétel," 65.

¹¹ On the applied statistical method vide: Iván Falus, János Ollé, "Az empirikus kutatások gyakorlata. Adatfeldolgozás és statisztikai elemzés" [The practice of empirical research. Data processing and statistical analysis], (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 2008), 246–261., László Sajtos, Ariel Mitev, "SPSS Kutatási és adatelemzési kézikönyv" [Research and data analysis] (Budapest: Alinea Kiadó, 2007), 283–327.

representation from a specific district. The comparison required the standardization of the data via the calculation of the percentage-based distribution. My calculation was based on the potential number of mandates, thus, in the case of the districts that lost their independent or autonomous status in 1878, the maximum number was 4 in Transylvania, and 5 in Hungary. Based on a preliminary test required by the procedure, I established four groups for categorizing the urban districts, as the following table indicates:

	A district significantly relying on an outsider political elite	A district relying on a closely committed local elite and outsiders as well	A district relying on local elite with strong and weak commitment	A district relying on closely committed local elite
Close connection (medium value %)	,29	,61	,55	,90
Weak commitment (medium value %)	,05	,03	,29	,01
Outsider (medium value %)	,65	,36	,16	,09
Number of districts	13	36	12	41

Table 2.: Clusters established according to the local commitment of representatives

A dominant segment of the districts relied on either closely or weakly committed representatives. In 12 districts, the rate of outsiders was definitive, and they played a major role in 36 additional districts. The exact distribution of the districts is shown by the following table:

A district significantly relying on an	A district relying on a closely committed local elite and outsiders as	A district relying on local elite with strong and weak	A district relying on closely committed local
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outsider political elite	well	commitment	elite
Abrud (Abrudbánya), Békés, Cegléd, Cluj (Kolozs), Csongrád, Jászberény, Ocna Sibiului (Vízakna), Orăștie (Szászváros), Pápa, Sic (Szék), Szentes, Vlăhița (Oláhfalu), Вршац (Versec)	Arad (Arad), Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya), Brașov (Brassó) I., Bratislava (Pozsony) II., Brețcu (Bereck), Buda I., Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) I., Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros), Esztergom, Gherla (Szamosújvár), Hajdúböszörmény, Hódmezővásárhely, Kecskemét I., Kiskunhalas, Komarno (Komárom), Kremnica (Körmöcbánya), Miskolc I., Nagykőrös, Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely), Oradea (Nagyvárad), Pest IV. - V., Rijeka (Fiume), Sopron, Szarvas, Temeswar (Temesvár), Кикинда (Nagykikinda), Нови Сад (Újvidék), Сента (Zenta)	Baja, Bălgrad (Gyulafehérvár), Banská Štiavnica - Banská Belá (Selmecebánya-Bélabánya), Békéscsaba, Brașov (Brassó) II., Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros)II., Eger, Gyöngyös, Győr, Kiskunfélegyháza, Sibiu (Nagyszeben) II., Székesfehérvár	Bălgrad (Gyulafehérvár)I. Buda II., Budapest I-IX., Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) II., Debrecen II-III., Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros)I., Gherla (Szamosújvár) I-II., Gyula, Hațeg (Hátszeg), Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad), Ilieni (Ilyefalva), Kecskemét II., Krupina (Korpona), Makó, Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda), Miskolc II., Nyíregyháza, Pécs, Pest I-III., Pukanec (Bakabánya), Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti), Sibiu (Nagyszeben) I., Szeged II., Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely I-II.), Сомбор (Zombor), Суботица (Szabadka) I-II., Зрењанин (Nagybecskerek)
	Higher level rate of outsiders than the group average:		
	Bălgrad (Gyulafehérvár) II., Bratislava (Pozsony) I., Debrecen I, Košice (Kassa), Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy), Szeged I, Târgu Secuiesc (Kézdivásárhely)		

Table 3.: Local commitment of representatives, the allocation of voting districts into clusters

The above listing, with some restrictions, matches our earlier information, thus districts which we knew earlier were placed into the

relevant group.¹² A potential discrepancy can result from the differing elections results in different time periods in certain settlements. Therefore, such results can be categorized into different groups, depending on an examination focus pertaining either to the whole period of the Dual Monarchy or to certain time periods. I preferred to treat the Age of the Dual Monarchy in a uniform manner, and I did not break it up into separate periods.

Professional researchers usually explain the role of outsiders in two ways. In case of Transylvania, the term “representative import” can be applicable, and, in other cases, the election of a given politician can be justified by his significant connection capital and potential interest assertion capability. While in the first case the given voting district is considered a “rotten borough”, subordinated to national political interests and to the interests of the politicians of the governing party along with carpetbaggers,¹³ in the second instance, the voters follow a deliberate interest assertion agenda and discard the leading figures of the local elite in favour of a nationally known politician.¹⁴ The two explanations can provide conflicting interpretations or results, as voting behaviour can be either anachronistically traditional or modern, while promoting self-interest.

The above data suggests that such a phenomenon was more frequent in urban districts than in the county constituencies and the respective causes can only be identified by local research efforts. Whereas the previous explanation tends to apply to voting districts in Transylvania, the latter can explain the voting behaviour in Debrecen and Oradea (Nagyvárad). Further research can focus on the differing features and attributes of periods consecutively following each other and can find justification for the differences discernible in the voting districts of a given settlement. Local results can be compared to categories established with the clustering method.

¹² Pál, “Választók, választási részvétel,” 61.; Judit Pál, “Representation of the Transylvanian Towns in the Hungarian Parliament and Town MPs after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1866–1875)” in *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1848–1918)*, eds. Judit Pál and Vlad Popovici (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014).

¹³ Pál, “Az erdélyi városok,” 85. Although working with a relatively small number of components, Judit Pál, in her study, identified a close connection between the rate of outsiders and the size of the voting population in the given district *ibid.* p. 89.; Iván Bertényi jun., 2008: “Képviselői import Erdélyben, avagy az unió egyik velejárója?” [Representative import in Transylvania, or a feature of the Union?] in *Tradíció és modernizáció a XVIII–XIX. században* [Tradition and modernisation in the 18th and 19th centuries], eds. Erzsébet Bodnár, Gábor Demeter (Debrecen: Hungarovox Kiadó, 2008), 202–213.

¹⁴ András Cieger, “A politikus mint hivatás a 19. századi Magyarországon” [Political careers in Hungary in the 19th century], *Korall*, 42 (2010): 96–98.; Szendrei, “Országgyűlési képviselők,” 89.

Next, we have to probe whether the rate of outsider or out of district representatives showed any correlation with the composition and population number of the given voting district. Such data can be considered as indicators of a modernization process. In order to answer the question, I used a correlation-based method, or bivariate correlation, and examined the data pertaining to the 1900 election.¹⁵

	Discrepancy of voter number from the average value	According to previous legislation	Manor and estate	Income	Professionals	Füstök (100 (chimneys, households) voters at least in a district)
Pearson correlation coefficient	-,329	,313	,347	-,342	,163	,340
Significance level	,003	,004	,001	,002	,146	,002

Table 4.: The connection between representatives coming from outside the voting districts and voter data pertaining to the 1900 election

The inquiry reveals that the lower voter number, the elector groups representing more traditional economic activities (the rate of voters based on previous legislation, property, or *füstök* is higher) contributed to a higher number of outsider candidates. Conversely, voters with an income obtained from more developed economic activities, tended to vote for the local candidates. The rate of the intellectuals, which could refer to those both modern and traditional, did not influence the results of the elections. Furthermore, the table shows that the two values related to Transylvania, the previous rights and the *füstök* established a correlation with the rate of outsider candidates. However, this was not only applicable to Transylvania, but occurred there more often. The exploration of nationwide voting districts justifies and substantiates the assertion of Judit Pál concerning the towns of Transylvania. Accordingly, “in towns which had the rank of the city in

¹⁵ In order to perform the inquiry, the numerical values have to be placed on an identical scale. Regarding the census structure, I determined the given values as the percentage of the voting population in 1900. The number of eligible voters was established as a percentage value of the discrepancy from the average voting district population in 1900. In 1901 the average voter number of the 81 districts was 2048. The two extreme values were provided by the 7th district of Bereck and Budapest. In the case of Bereck, the 166 voters showed a value 1 882, less than the average indicating a -92% discrepancy, while the 7th district of Budapest, with 10 515 voters, which exceeded the average with 8 467 amounting to a +413% difference. For more information on the examination method, vide: Falus, Ollé, “Az empirikus kutatások,” 178–186.; Sajtos, Mitev, “SPSS,” 205–243.

name alone, and a high portion of the population was involved in agriculture, and was illiterate”, the outsiders or strangers appeared in higher numbers.¹⁶

We must point out, however, that this is only one of the possible explanations, since, although a connection can be discerned among the various factors, it cannot stand for an explanation for everything, as the correlation coefficients refer to a somewhat weaker than medium correlation. Consequently, other factors influenced the development of the election results. Moreover, in a significant segment of towns, this was not the most important factor that influenced the outcome.

The local and external or outsider representatives can be examined from another angle, namely that of the potential differences between the average length of the term. In order to perform this inquiry, I did not focus on the number of the cycles, but on the days of the fulfilled intervals. Also, the persons listed in more than one voting district were excluded from the examination. Such a correlation can be explored with single angle variance analysis.¹⁷ This approach focuses on the applicability of the significant difference regarding the features of various groups, in this case the commitment or ties with the given voting district. Although, because of the spatial restrictions, I cannot provide a detailed introduction, I can safely discern a significant difference between the data of local and outsider representatives. The following table shows the various categories:

	Item number	Average (%)	Minimum (%)	Maximum (%)
Strong local ties	472	-,050591	-,9868	4,9453
Weak local ties	27	,122073	-,9608	1,6740
Outsider	164	,189149	-,9944	6,6994
Total	663	,015743	-,9944	6,6994

Table 5.: The correlation between the representatives’ ties to districts and the length of the mandate

Consequently, on average, local representatives served for a shorter time, while strangers or outsiders held on to their mandate longer. It can be surmised that parliamentary representation was only a temporary concern for local politicians, while influential outsider politicians had significantly longer careers as representatives. The first difference disclosed by the statistical analysis, the differing length of urban and rural mandates, was justified by the more significant role that outsider candidates played in the urban elections. Since the latter, serving for a longer time in Parliament, were considered to be professional politicians, their constituents highly

¹⁶ Pál, “Az erdélyi városok,” 89.

¹⁷ Regarding the method, vide: Sajtos, Mitev, “SPSS,” 163–177.

valued their ability to represent or assert voter interests. Representatives with local ties served fewer terms and, after the completion of their mandate, they returned to the original community.

The real difference was not between the urban and rural voting districts, but between locals and outsiders. Representatives maintaining ties with the local towns and counties performed similarly in the legislature, as the national political role was considered a stepping stone in their political career or the crowning of their achievement before retiring from political life. The latter appears to be more likely to have been the case in the towns. While a comparative inquiry between outsiders and locals has to be performed, presently there is insufficient data available.

Election results in the voting districts

In the following, I shall explore the election results obtained in the various voting districts, in order to identify groups that produced identical scores. In the present case, I would restrict my contribution to raising the particular problem and to identifying the respective tendencies, since a full explanation requires substantial local history-oriented research. At any rate, in the past years, we have amassed an amount of data that facilitates the analysis of the election results in light of the full era. Once again, I relied on the cluster analysis method.

In the inquiry, I can only include the settlements in which all the election results posted during the Age of the Dual Monarchy are known. Since this is valid in case of all settlements, all communities can be included in the examination. One problem, however, relates to the changes in the voting district of the given representative. Thus, I have to make two corrections in the case of the election results posted before 1878. If a settlement was granted the right to vote for representatives (Braşov (Brassó), Sibiu (Nagyszeben)) I focused on the districts from which the given constituency was formed. Although two districts from Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros), Bălgrad (Gyulafehérvár), and Gherla (Szamosújvár) were merged or combined in 1877, I could take into consideration the pre-1878 results, as the voting outcome in the merged districts was basically identical. Similarly, in the case of Budapest, it was relatively easy to create an accurate connection between the pre- and post-1878 districts, since the election results before 1878 did not show much change. At the same time, I omitted the communities that lost their previous election authorization after 1878, and such previous four cycles were followed by another 10, and the latter conditions or circumstances were typical of the given settlement during the period of the Dual Monarchy. Since, in the 1861 National Assembly, Transylvania could not

be represented, the starting date of the inquiry is 1865. Accordingly, 1 134 election results were posted in 81 districts. The cluster analysis, however, requires further steps as well. As in each cycle, we could only rely on one result, we could not include the outcomes of the by-elections in the inquiry. Nevertheless, the outcomes of the by-elections were basically repeated at the next national election. I disregarded the representatives who switched political parties, since a representative transferred from one party to another by his own will, and such a change did not reflect the party preferences of the voters of the given district unless the constituents accepted the given representative's party preference and the respective individual was voted for; if not, someone else received the mandate. Such a simplified model does not weaken the relevance of the party preference-specific election results in a given district.

In order to perform the inquiry, the parties were identified by rank number which facilitates the standardization process. I grouped the respective parties according to their attitude toward major political and public law issues determining political life after 1867, during the time of the Dual Monarchy. The resulting party clusters can be analysed now¹⁸ as I placed the parties that obtained mandates on a five variable (1,2,3,4,5) scale. No. 1 referred to the party family that accepted the Compromise comprised of the Deák Party, the Liberal Party, and National Work Party. Number 5 represented the opposition that rejected the Compromise. Those without a political party were assigned No. 3, symbolizing the transition between the previous two extremes. I allocated the right-wing opposition parties or opposition parties of 67 stepping out of their former governmental position along with the People's Party in between the governing party and the centre and marked them with no 2., and the mandates of the so-called democratic opposition were positioned between the centre and the independents under no. 4. Furthermore, anti-Semitic representatives, or those coming from districts dominated by ethnic nationalities, were also placed in the centre, since their political activity was not determined by the public law issues determining the given party structures.¹⁹

¹⁸ Without simplification, theoretically almost 7 000 variations can be differentiated during the five elections, which, following the party cluster-based approach, were limited to 120 options.

¹⁹ The following method was applied: József Pap, "Az 1887 és 1905 közötti országgyűlési választások eredményeinek statisztikai vizsgálata" [Statistical examination of the results of parliamentary elections between 1887 and 1905] in *Tanulmányok a dualizmus kori magyar parlamentarizmus történetéből* [Papers on the history of Hungarian parliamentaryism in the age of Dualism], ed. József Pap (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2014), 73–96.; József Pap, "Parliamentary Representatives and Parliamentary Representation in Hungary (1848-1918)" (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017) 99–103.

Since there is a high amount of data and the method of hierarchical cluster analysis cannot be used, I once again relied on the k-means cluster analysis procedure. Based upon the preliminary inquiries, I performed three cluster analyses.²⁰ I was compelled to omit the results of the 1905 and 1906 election, as these can significantly distort the long-term tendencies. The results of the analysis are shown by the following table:

	Voting districts dominated by voters preferring the governing party	Voting districts which supported the opposition at the beginning and later displayed the dominance of voters preferring the governing party	Voting district with preference of the opposition
Number of districts	44	20	17
Districts meeting the group average	Abrud (Abrudbánya), Arad (Arad), Bălgrad (Gyulafehérvár), Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya), Banská Štiavnica - Banská Belá (Selmecbánya-Bélabánya), Braşov (Brassó) II-II., Bratislava (Pozsony) I-II., Breţcu (Bereck), Budapest I-IX. Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros), Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár) I-II. Kremnica (Körmöcbánya), Gherla (Szamosújvár), Miskolc I., Ocna Sibiului (Vízakna), Pápa, Rijeka (Fiume), Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy), Sibiu (Nagyszeben) I-II., Sic (Szék), Sopron, Szeged I., Temeswar (Temesvár), Vlăhiţa (Oláhfalú), Вршац (Versec), Зрењанин (Nagybecskerek), Нови Сад (Újvidék), Сомбор (Zombor)	Békéscsaba, Csongrád, Debrecen III., Esztergom, Gyula, Komarno (Komárom), Košice (Kassa), Oradea (Nagyvárad), Pécs, Szarvas, Кикинда (Nagykikinda), Суботица (Szabadka) I-II.,	Békés, Cegléd, Debrecen I., Gyöngyös, Hajdúböszörmény, Hódmezővásárhely, Kecskemét I., Kecskemét II., Kiskunfélegyháza, Makó, Nagykőrös, Nyíregyháza, Szeged II., Szentes

²⁰ Due to the content-based restrictions of the study, we can only present the most important statistical manoeuvres.

Districts not meeting the group average	Baja, Győr, Miskolc II., Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) I. Cause of the discrepancy: Victory of the opposition in 1901	Debrecen II., Jászberény, Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely), Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti), Székesfehérvár, Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely II., Târgu Secuiesc (Kézdivásárhely), Cause of the discrepancy: Victory of the opposition in 1910	Eger, Kiskunhalas, Сента (Zenta) Cause of the discrepancy: Victory of the governing party in 1901 and 1910
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Table 6.: Voting district clusters reflecting party preference

As a result of clustering or group formation, two groups can be established, whose members or components show similar tendencies. A segment of towns showed orientation toward the governing party, while a smaller group was considered to be the bastion of the opposition. One group positioned in the middle was characterised by unstable party preferences. We must also note the districts in which certain settlements (Debrecen, Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely), Miskolc and Szeged) showed discrepancies to differing extents. The explanation requires micro-analysis, due to a potentially significant connection of the voting behaviour of communities with differing populations.

Furthermore, the party preferences of towns did not significantly differ from those of the surrounding area. Settlements and communities in Transylvania and Northern and Western Hungary tended to support the governing party, while Hungarian voters in the Great Plains supported the opposition, or did not prove to be a stable base for the governing party.

The following table shows the rates corresponding to the respective cycles:

Parliamentary cycle	"67-er" Party cluster		"Right wing opposition"		Politically neutral parties		"Democratic opposition"		Party cluster supporting independence	
1865–1868	59	73%	-	-	2	2%	-	-	20	25%
1868–1872	42	52%	-	-	3	4%	-	-	36	44%
1872–	43	53%	3	4%	2	2%	-	-	33	41%

1875										
1875– 1878	64	79%	1	1%	4	5%	-	-	12	15%
1878– 1881	43	53%	9	11%	7	9%	-	-	22	27%
1882– 1884	41	51%	9	11%	7	9%	-	-	24	30%
1884– 1887	50	62%	7	9%	8	10%	-	-	16	20%
1887– 1892	50	62%	6	7%	5	6%	-	-	20	25%
1892– 1896	49	60%	12	15%	1	1%	-	-	19	23%
1897– 1901	63	78%	6	7%	-	-	-	-	12	15%
1901– 1905	51	63%	3	4%	4	5%	1	1%	22	27%
1905– 1906	28	35%	15	19%	1	1%	2	2%	35	43%
1906– 1910	-	-	18	22%	2	2%	2	2%	59	73%
1910– 1918	52	64%	3	4%	1	1%	2	2%	23	28%
Összesen	636	56%	92	8%	47	4%	7	1%	353	31%

Table 8.: The performance of party clusters in the urban elections during the period of the Dual Monarchy

The table reveals that the so-called party cluster of 67 had significantly more mandates than it could be deduced from the voting district clusters, since most uncertain voters tended to incline toward the governing party. Conversely, supporters of independence could not win at every election in their base settlement.

The last question we need to answer concerns the potential connection between the party preference of the given district and elected representative's ties to the respective constituency. The following cross-table can provide the answer:²¹

²¹ For more information on the process, vide: Sajtos, Mitev, "SPSS," 137–163.

	Voting district with preference of the governing party	Voting districts which supported the opposition at the beginning and later displayed the dominance of voters preferring the governing party	Voting district with preference of the opposition	
A district significantly relying on an outsider political elite	54,5%	18,2%	27,3%	100%
A district significantly relying on closely committed local elite and outsiders	53,1%	25%	21,9%	100%
A district significantly relying on a closely and weakly committed local political elite	54,5%	18,2%	27,3%	100%
A district significantly relying on a closely committed local elite	55,6%	29,6%	14,8%	100%
Total	54,3%	24,7%	21%	100%

Table 8.: Correlation between the origin of the representatives and the party preference of the district

Due to the small size of the sample (81 districts that can be explored), the cross-table analysis cannot be performed;²² the table illustrates that there was no significant difference between the party preference of the given districts and that of the distribution shown by all constituencies. There was no correlation between these two factors, as local and outsider representatives appeared to a similar extent in the constituencies dominated by the opposition and the governing party. Although a connection can be identified between the level of modernization pertaining to a given district and the emergence of outsider representatives, the respective extent is not too significant

²² The procedure requires that a minimum of 20% of the cells contain more than 5 components, and this cross-table cannot meet this criterion.

All in all, I can thus conclude that the performance of outsider candidates did not depend on the political attitudes of a given district. While no single dominant justifying factor can be identified, it is rather unique that it could be the mark of the traditional or modern voting behaviour. The situation provides a perfect illustration for the limits of the macro-level statistical approach. The exact causes of the given phenomena cannot be identified by macro-level research, as micro-level research is needed for the realization of this goal. Settlements belonging to voting districts with differing attitudes and behavioural patterns can be of special interest for further research. The respective triggering factors can be disclosed via an accurately sensitive and sophisticated research as well. Macro-level research can help local research by the establishment of categories within which the given local phenomena can be interpreted. Moreover, tables compiled via statistical methods facilitate the national comparison of local research results, and the target areas of potential control tests can be identified easier.

Murder, Revolt and State of Siege. Reforming Cluj/Kolozsvár's City Police in 1901*

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Abstract: *Murder, Revolt and State of Siege. Reforming Cluj/Kolozsvár's City Police in 1901.* In August of 1901, after the brutal murder of an army officer by two police agents, followed by an uprising in Cluj/Kolozsvár, long serving chief of police Pál Deák was removed from office, and the city's police institution was reorganized, to the extent of conditioning even the private life of police agents. The study presents a detailed account of the events, contextualizing them inside the dualist-era history of the city's police, attempting, in the narrative process, to bring its protagonists and their motives as close as possible to the contemporary reader.

Keywords: Urban history, Police, Self-government, Institutional reform, Violence.

Rezumat: *Crimă, revoltă și stare de asediu. Reforma poliției din Cluj/Kolozsvár în 1901.* În august 1901, după uciderea brutală a unui ofițer de armată de către doi agenți de poliție, urmată de o revoltă la Cluj/Kolozsvár, șeful poliției în serviciu de două decenii, Pál Deák a fost înlăturat din funcție, iar instituția poliției orașului reorganizată, în măsura condiționării chiar și a vieții private a agenților de poliție. Studiul prezintă o cronică detaliată a evenimentelor, contextualizându-le în istoria poliției orașului din epoca dualistă, încercând în cursul narațiunii să aducă protagoniștii evenimentelor și motivele lor cât mai aproape de cititorul contemporan.

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Cuvinte-cheie: istorie urbană, poliție, autoguvernare, reformă instituțională, violență.

The events presented in this study are absent even from the most extensive works dealing with the history of Cluj/Kolozsvár in the dualist era, even though the crime and the rebellion that followed in 1901 were an important moral landmark in the early 1920s, when Hungarian Parliament decided to nationalize the urban police forces. However, I stumbled upon a curious reference to the events in the massive series of ten volumes (but only eight were issued) *History of Hungary*, published in Budapest between 1976 and 1989 by the Hungarian Academy, under the coordination of Zsigmond Pál Pach. Inside volume 7, part 2, under the chronology of the 1890-1918 period, next to the date of August 5th 1901, we find: “In Kolozsvár workers free the jailed political prisoners”.¹ In the good tradition of the communist historiography, which tried hard to identify socialist movement even where there wasn’t one to find, only the location and the verb truthfully relate to what happened, the rest being utterly false.

The violent events of 1901, as well as their roots and consequences, could open the door to a wide range of opportunities for historical analyses into urban politics and social history, but here I chose only to account the events by following the simple order of cause and effect, beginning with a crime committed by two police agents up until the reorganization of one of the basic institutions of Cluj/Kolozsvár’s local government in the dualist era. The narrative inevitably touches on some of the particularities of local and nationwide social and political circumstances; furthermore, a contextualization of institutional functioning is necessary, so I must begin by conjuring up a short historical overview of the city’s police, and its precursor, the city captaincy.

City captaincy of Cluj/Kolozsvár was first created in 1765² (restructuring the medieval institution of the captains’ office mandated by the local council with maintaining order inside city walls³), when the Great Principality of Transylvania was reorganized as a semi-autonomous administrative territory inside the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1800, city

¹ “1901. augusztus 5. Kolozsvárott a munkások kiszabadítják a börtönbe zárt politikai foglyokat.” See: *Magyarország története 1890-1918*. Péter Hanák, Ferenc Mucsi (eds.). Vol. 7/2 of *Magyarország története tíz kötetben*, Zsigmond Pál Pach (coord.) (Budapest: Hungarian Academy Publishing, 1983), 1248.

² Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* 3. Kötet (Kolozsvár, 1888), 399–450.

³ András Kiss, “Kolozsvár településrendszere a XVI. században: fertályok, tizedek” in András Kiss, *Más források, más értelmezések* (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 2003), 193–202; Andor Csizmadia, *Tizedesek a régi Kolozsváron* (Kolozsvár, 1942), 20–22.

captaincy got its very own local regulation,⁴ led by the police captain, who also happened to be the city magistrate.⁵ The two offices were separated in 1846,⁶ and from that year on Cluj/Kolozsvár's city leadership was to elect its own police chief captain, but the events of the 1848-1849 revolution brought a swift end to this short period. In 1861, the captaincy was reinstated, and, as its first leader, the general assembly elected lawyer Károly Minorich, who held office up until 1881, when he became mayor, being followed as chief captain of city police by Pál Deák, who was also a lawyer.

Initially, beginning with 1874, the chief captain was elected for a six-year term by the general assembly of the municipal committee,⁷ but that changed with the Administrative Act of 1886,⁸ from which year on the chief captains of police were appointed by the Lord Lieutenants of the respective municipalities (in towns by the county's Lord Lieutenant), but was required to confirm them in office every six years at the general renewal of office personnel. Considering that the chief captain also served as deputy mayor in Cluj/Kolozsvár between 1874 and 1888,⁹ and since he was also a council member and had a right to vote in the most important municipal body of the city, the General Assembly, thus being the third most prestigious public official locally (behind the Lord Lieutenant and the mayor), and also considering that many aspects of local government (city policing, public services, protection of the local government, putting into operation public utilities, licensing the use of public or private buildings, response to all kinds of violations, market regulation, opening of commercial units, housing of army officers, etc.) depended on the approval of the chief captain of the police, his person and the institution built around him played a key role in both urban politics and public life. During the dualist era, Cluj/Kolozsvár had five chief captains: Károly Minorich (1861-1881), Pál Deák (1881-1901), Rezső Polcz (temporarily in 1901-1902), Endre Hadadi (1902-1918), and in the last months of the Great War, former metropolitan police draftsman Sándor Bottka.

⁴ *Szabad királyi Kolozsvár várossa Politiae Directorának Instructioja*. City Counsel document nr. 9518 of 1800. To be found at the Cluj-Napoca Library of the Romanian Academy.

⁵ I use the term "city" only for the purpose of not having to reiterate the name of the settlement, but at the time Cluj/Kolozsvár was merely a small town in comparison to the great Western-European cities. Nevertheless, in Transylvanian circumstances, it can be considered a city.

⁶ "Kolozsvártt a rendőrigazgató- és királybíróság külön választása 1846-ban", in *Kolozsvári Naptár az 1847-ik évre*, printed by János Tilsch (Kolozsvár, 1847), 37-40.

⁷ Administrative Act nr. XLII of 1870: *A köztörvényhatóságok rendezéséről*, § 65, to be found on <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torvenyei> (last accessed: 01.06.2021).

⁸ Administrative Act nr. XXI of 1886: *A törvényhatóságokról*, § 80, to be found on <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torvenyei> (last accessed: 01.06.2021).

⁹ *Sz. kir. Kolozsvár város törvényhatósági szabályrendelete. Az 1870-es évi XLIII. országos törvényczikk alapján*, printed by János Ny. Gámán and his successors (Kolozsvár, 1873), § 104, 31.

In the dualist era, starting with the Administrative Act of 1870 on the reorganisation of municipalities (counties, and cities with county rank), in the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy each city and town set up and organized its own police after the model of the one in Budapest (outside their territories, on a county level, peace and order was maintained by the gendarmerie), the only difference being that these were subdivided into self-governments with relative autonomy, which could be limited (towns with regulated council, under the administration of the county) or more extensive (cities with county rank), and these local police institutions operated with little disparities in uniforms, regulations and apparatus. In Cluj/Kolozsvár, after the implementation of the City Administrative Act of 1874, the police institution and the intervention corps were structured thusly: 1 chief captain, 2 deputy captains, 3 commissioners, 5 sector captains, 37 agents, 10 sector agents and 4 cavalry agents, completed by a small number of bureaucrats.¹⁰ In 1888, when the 1886 Administrative Act was enforced, which outlawed the former act and reorganised the municipalities, in Cluj/Kolozsvár, besides the chief of police, there were 4 deputy captains, 1 inspector, 5 sector captains, 4 commissioners, 64 agents, 10 sector agents and 8 cavalry agents.¹¹ The institution's own regulations from 1874, drafted by the then chief captain Károly Minorich,¹² specified only the legal framework and the limits of the intervention, and, over the years, these rules included additional provisions – responses to violations which were described in the self-governmental regulations of Cluj/Kolozsvár, as well as the actions necessary in case of minor or major infractions described by criminal law. According to the 1874 regulations, the agent was allowed to use his weapon (sword) only in self-defence or in cases when immediate life-saving was necessary;¹³ regarding the consumption of alcohol, he was to avoid being drunk, otherwise bearing the consequence of being fired;¹⁴ however, there was no provision on frequenting pubs during service or in his free time. City police had its headquarters in the backyard of the townhall up until 1902, when it was moved to the Bánffy Palace in Main Square, in a few ground floor rooms rented by the city.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

¹¹ *Kolozsvár szab. kir. város törvényhatóságának szervezeti és ügyviteli szabályrendelete (az 1886. XXI. és XXII. Törvénycikkek alapján)*, printed by Ferencz Ormós (Kolozsvár, 1888), 202-208.

¹² *Szab. királyi Kolozsvár városának szolgálatában levő rendőrök számára ideiglenes utasítás*. City Counsel document no. 2989-1974, printed by Miklós K. Papp (Kolozsvár: 1874), to be found at the Cluj-Napoca Library of the Romanian Academy.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm nr. 14-1-85-178: June 20 1902/247.

During the dualist era, Cluj/Kolozsvár's police institution underwent four organizational reforms: in 1874, in 1888, in 1901 and in 1906. The Municipal Administrative Acts of 1874, 1888 and 1906 (the latter was never approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but, nevertheless, the city leadership tried to implement measures inside its own purview in order to expand police bureaucracy) only set a broad framework for action, enumerated the staffing and minimally described the regulations of legal response to violations. Following the massive scandal of 1901, the city leadership was forced to specify a code of conduct for police agents, in order to restore peace and put an end to further aggression.

After this brief historical and institutional overview, it is now time to take a closer look at the individual protagonist of the scandal and the events in which he was involved in 1901.

Pál Deák was the longest-serving city official in dualist-era Cluj/Kolozsvár, an ambivalent character, who served as chief captain for about 20 years, when he was removed from office; however, the general assembly elected him chancery lawyer in three consecutive elections for another 18 years, during which time he also had a right to vote in the general assembly. In the course of his terms as chief captain, the contemporary public opinion considered him partly a romantic but hardliner conservative figure, partly a rigid bureaucrat, whose attitude towards the street and towards the opponents of the philo-Compromise liberal governing forces (student protesters, labour movement) could often be viewed as the actions and decisions of a man who had no problem with abusing his office.

Born in 1839,¹⁶ he studied at the Academy of Law in Cluj/Kolozsvár in the early 1860s,¹⁷ later opened a law firm in association with Dénes Szamaj, and in one of the most talked about divorces of the age he represented Mária Juhász against Emil Buczy, the administrator of the Mănăștur/Kolozsmonostor estate, winning the lawsuit and, moreover, even marrying the newly divorced lady.¹⁸ Their marriage ended up childless, but they adopted a boy named Mihály, who grew up to be a lawyer in the 1930s.¹⁹

In April 1881, Pál Deák was elected chief of police by the general assembly.²⁰ As such, between 1881 and 1888, he served as chief captain and

¹⁶ *Keleti Újság* V. 15. January 20 1927: 5.

¹⁷ *Emlékkönyv dr. Haller Károly működéséről. Negyven éves tanári jubileuma alkalmával* (Kolozsvár, 1906), 12-13.

¹⁸ *Keleti Újság* V. 15. January 20 1927: 5.

¹⁹ *Keleti Újság*. XVIII. 107. May 12 1935: 9.

²⁰ *Fővárosi Lapok*. XVIII. 93. April 24 1881: 517.

deputy mayor. In 1888, Lord Lieutenant Count Ákos Béldi appointed him chief of police, then in 1892²¹ and 1898²², on the occasions of renewing office personnel, re-confirmed him in office. After the riots in early August of 1901, he was immediately removed (or asked to retire), but come beginning of the following year, he was elected chancery lawyer by the general assembly,²³ a position he held until December of 1918. In the final years of his life, in the 1920s, “in order to survive, he was forced to keep buffaloes whose milk his wife carried home”.²⁴ He died on January 19th 1927, nine days after his wife, receiving an honorary burial by the mayor’s office.²⁵ The cornerstones of his active office years are often marked by events which engaged public opinion for longer periods of time, but sometimes he himself incited scandals using forceful interventions, in some cases being personally responsible for drowning out banal stories, yet his decisions on other occasions presumably averted more serious consequences.

As an antecedent to the 1901 rebellion, it is necessary to touch on a slightly similar event two and a half years prior. During the 1899 parliamentary elections held on the 17th of February in the second district of the city, Baron Arthur Feilitzsch in Liberal Party colours won against the “Ugronist” (one of the many parties for independence from the opposition, led by the Transylvanian Gábor Ugron) candidate Dénes Pázmándy. Following the announcement of the results in the evening, the crowd – which consisted of men of low-income and thus without a right to vote²⁶ – gathered under the townhall balcony attacked the police agents present to maintain the order. The crowd broke windows, threw stones at the police (many agents suffered skull fractures and facial wounds), and, in response, the agents drew their swords and blindly, indiscriminately, began chopping into the crowd. The agents of the gendarmerie who oversaw the elections also intervened; many fleeing stone-throwers trampled through the crowd, then regrouped and attacked again with stone showers from the adjacent side streets to the Main Square. The clash lasted roughly an hour, with

²¹ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm no. 14-1-85-172: April 26 1892/46.

²² National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm no. 14-1-85-176: June 6-7 1898.

²³ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm nr. 14-1-85-178, January 30 1902/41.

²⁴ *Ellenzék*. XLVIII. 91. April 24 1927: 11.

²⁵ *Keleti Újság* V. 15. January 20 1927: 5.

²⁶ Voting right in the Hungarian parliamentary elections was bound to wealth-related or intellectual census, as well as gender, alas, in the cities, only every fourth or fifth man had a right to vote (women did not), leaving an extensive number of men without the slightest influence over high politics, this also being the root of every third of fifth year’s mass frustration.

countless wounded on both sides. From the belligerent crowd, many were hospitalized with severe cuts and wounds on their heads.²⁷ It very well may have been a spontaneous reaction by the police, and not an armed intervention ordered by the chief captain, but I consider this event to be the pretence for a long-awaited revenge taken on the police two and a half years later, simmering under the peaceful surface of the everyday city life.

The details that follow were gathered from the newspapers *Magyar Polgár* (liberal), *Kolozsvári Újság* (liberal), *Kolozsvári Friss Újság* (oppositional) and *Ellenzék* (oppositional), published between the 1st and the 15th of August 1901. Considering that local newspapers from both political sides rarely contradict in narrative, I chose not to highlight the difference of accounts, but to rather use only the particular details on which all accounts agree. Accounts from the daily newspapers will be not referenced, seeing that the publications reported the same events in the same manner. Stories are narrated in the present tense.

On the night of Wednesday to Thursday, July 31 - August 1 1901, police officers Sándor Pap and Dénes Kilyén pick up their salaries and visit several pubs on Ferencz József Street (today Horea). At about 3 o'clock, they enter the Feuerstein tavern on Kőmálalja Street (today Stephan Ludwig Roth) in an advanced state of intoxication. Four students from the Academy of Economics make fun of their drunkenness. The policemen draw their swords and rush after the students, who flee towards the bridge over the Someş. As soon as the Pap and Kilyén step out into the street, they are greeted by the also tormented platoon leader Jenő Gödri, who, seeing the swords, asks the police agents to identify themselves, but they cut him swiftly with their swords, and continue to pursue the students.

Gödri, wounded and covered in blood, slowly makes his way to the bridge, when Pap and Kilyén return angrily (having been unable to catch the boys) and ready for revenge, beat the platoon leader again and cut him on the sidewalk in front of the Berde Palace. Gödri loses three fingers on his left hand, has his brachial arteries lacerated and his arms severed, destroyed a vertebra in the lumbar area, cut on the scalp and stabbed in the back. Butcher Sándor Székely, who lived on the ground floor of the Élián-Benigni Palace, goes out in a dressing gown to intervene, but is also stabbed by Pap. He runs away, the agents follow him and catch up to him near the Babos Palace, but police commissioner Gyula Philippi arrives on the spot and puts an end to the tragedy. Aided by the crowd gathered around, Philippi opens the pharmacy in the Széki Palace, calls an ambulance by telephone, which transports the two wounded to the

²⁷ Szocialista zavargás. *Magyar Polgár*. XXII. 40. February 18 1899: 3-4.

Karolina Hospital in Karolina Square (today Museum Square), and escorts his subordinates to the nearest ward. Gödri is transferred to the military hospital on Kül-Farkas Street (Traian Moşoiu), where he dies at 5 o'clock in the morning due to massive blood loss.

On Thursday afternoon, the local press breaks the news. Public opinion explodes, and the immediate dismissal of chief of police Pál Deák and the punishment of the killers are demanded. Merchant Károly Sipos collects signatures for a popular assembly, the municipal committee meets in an emergency meeting, and local press begins to count the abuses of the police in the recent past. Kilyén and Pap are interrogated, imprisoned and charged with first degree murder. The prosecutor's office appoints lawyers Lajos Hunwald and Aurel Isac (writer Emil Isac's father) to defend the two. Sent to court, Kilyén receives a sentence of 7 years and Pap 10 years in prison for aggravated murder.²⁸

On Saturday, August 3rd, at around 1 a.m., police agent no. 49 kicks an 11-year-old newspaper salesman in the chest in front of the tobacco factory (where the Office building is today), and is immediately chased by several workers on their lunch break, forced to seek shelter in the attic of a nearby house.

Jenő Gödri is buried in the central cemetery on Saturday afternoon with the participation of several thousand people. The spotlight is now shared by the widow and the six children of the platoon leader killed at the age of 48. The brother and cousin of the deceased, Judge Sándor Gödri and Ferenc Gödri, mayor of Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy promise to report what happened directly to Prime Minister Kálmán Széll. All the while, Count Ákos Béldi, Lord Lieutenant of Cojocna/Kolozs county and Cluj/Kolozsvár city, as well as mayor Géza Szvacšina spend their holidays in Western-Monarchy spas.

On Sunday, August 4th at 10 a.m., a popular assembly takes place in the courtyard of the fencing sports club in Széchenyi Square (Mihai Viteazul), attended by hundreds of people and several representatives of the townhall, as well as the liberal deputy Baron Artur Feilitzsch, who takes the opportunity to hold a long electoral speech without any relation to the current events. (The elections will take place in October, Feilitzsch wins in the city's second electoral district). A memorandum is being drafted to the Minister of Internal Affairs, requesting the restructuring of the city's police. Some participants file complaints against police officers, including abuses and "savagery" committed by them in the past.

²⁸ *Magyarország* VIII. 225. September 22 1901: 12.

At around 8 p.m., police officer Károly Élénk chases a drunken citizen through the crowd gathered around the Enders Brothers' circus tent set up in Hunyadi Square (today Ștefan cel Mare Square). Promptly, several men, workers, waiters, journeymen take the citizen's defence, and attack the policeman, who takes refuge in a nearby house. The crowd rushes at another policeman, who receives the help of other agents with swords drawn, at which point the citizens also look for some weaponry, breaking from the seedlings recently planted in Emke Park (Avram Iancu Square), and head towards the townhall. "Down with Pál Deák, down with the criminals" is chanted. Arriving in front of the townhall on Deák Ferenc Street (Eroilor today), they ask in unison the presence of the chief captain, who appears, but is hit by a piece of asphalt and retreats. With no other goal, the crowd smashes all the windows of the building.

From the nearby Command of the 51st infantry regiment of the common army (k.u.k. armee) comes a company that pushes the crowd towards the Main Square, which retreats and further reaches Unió Street (Memorandumului). They quickly realize they're on the street of Pál Deák's house. The door being locked, they climb in through the broken windows and a total devastation follows, destroying everything they grab, stealing in the process the money from the house and the captain's wife's jewels, who had meanwhile locked herself in one of the rooms at the back of the yard. The crowd then continues on to Sétatér (Emil Isac) Street, destroying streetlights, several windows, chanting and whistling.

They head to Széchenyi Square (Mihai Viteazul), overturn the merchants' tents, arm themselves with bars and poles, arrive in front of the fencing sports club building, which upstairs housed the city's history museum, and urge the guard to hand over the swords from the club's and the museum's inventory. He refuses, the crowd breaks a few windows again, heads to the house of deputy police captain József Szabó on Hosszú (Ploiești) Street, and the same scenario is repeated: furniture destroyed, money and jewels stolen. Shortly after midnight, they arrive in front of the city correctional centre (dologház) on Nagy-Malom (George Barițiu) Street, where thieves, vagrants and homeless people were imprisoned, they smash the gate and free the 26 detainees, four of which return during the night. The crowd then heads to Fürdő (Cardinal Iuliu Hossu) Street to destroy another apartment of one of the policemen, taking into consideration the burning down of the Summer Theatre, but a violent storm cuts their appetite for destruction, and return to their homes.

The next morning, first counsellor and deputy mayor Móric Nagy fires chief captain Deák Pál, a decision quickly published in the newspapers to avoid another riot, and appoints lawyer Rezső Polcz as

interim. The police arrests merchant Károly Sipos, the organizer of Sunday's popular assembly, as well as several random citizens who had gathered at the destruction sites. Armed military guard the townhall and its surroundings all day on the 5th of August, but in the late afternoon, when a new crowd starts forming in the Main Square, City Council asks for reinforcements from military commanders in Gherla/Szamosújvár and Szeged. A regiment of hussars from Braşov/Brassó, who were conducting exercises with the 51st infantry regiment enter the Main Square, dispersing the peaceful crowd. A state of siege is proclaimed, the opening hours of pubs and restaurants in the suburbs are shortened, and a 9 p.m. curfew is declared. The thieves released from the correctional centre carry out a few burglaries in the next two or three nights, until the gendarmerie manages to gather almost all of them. The Lord Lieutenant and the mayor return to the city, stop at Gödri's grave and pay a visit to the wounded butcher in the hospital. Within three days, 34 police agents resign, another 8 are fired, and attempts are being made to recruit new agents from the gendarmerie.

The position of chief captain of the police is occupied in November by Gyula Kolozsváry, a former police commissioner in Budapest, who, however, resigns following the *Ellenzék* newspaper's discrediting campaign. Eventually, the position is occupied in January 1902 by Endre Hadadi, former chief of police in Hódmezővásárhely,²⁹ who would serve as chief captain of the police of Cluj/Kolozsvár until the summer of 1918.

The new regulation of the city police is drawn up by the interim Rezső Polcz, voted in the general assembly and promulgated by the council and mayor on October 30th, entitled: *Regulation on the purpose, duties of the police agent and general instructions for service in the police guard.*³⁰ In addition to general instructions regarding the law enforcement service, the new regulation now requires military discipline in the service and strict abstinence in private life.

In fact, it even contains an article in this respect, Article 11: *The police agent's conduct in private*, which prohibits alcohol consumption, gambling, debt and disorderly lifestyle. Paragraph 14 also prohibits the police agent from entering pubs and bars, from being in contact with people of bad reputation, and from having relations with other women outside of marriage. The policeman is also forbidden to have a job other than that of agent, to practice trade, to be a member of a party or to take part in political meetings. During service, he is not allowed to enter

²⁹ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond nr. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm no. 14-1-85-178: January 27 1902/1.

³⁰ *A rendőrség őrségének rendeltetése, hatásköre és általános szolgálati utasítás a rendőrség őrsége számára.* Printed by Ferencz Gombos, Kolozsvár, 1901.

restaurants, bars, cafes for any purpose other than what the service requires, he is forbidden to smoke, even casual conversation is prohibited (paragraph 18).

"The policeman must never forget that he exists in order to serve the public, and not for the public to serve him – so his duty is to have a polite, calm and serious attitude" (paragraph 20), and paragraph 17 compels him, above all, to "conduct himself in a military, cool, sincere, polite and calm behaviour, cut his speech short, charge his step in a quiet and temperate manner."

These provisions did indeed manage to discipline police agents, thus putting an end to major scandals regarding drunken policemen in the years to come, and aside from only three excessively aggressive cases involving city police³¹ which outraged the local public opinion, the institution managed to develop a harmonious relationship with the citizens of Cluj/Kolozsvár during the 16 years of Endre Hadadi's captancy.

³¹ 1. On October 12th 1902, at the inauguration of the King Mathias group of sculptures, the police used their sword blades to try and stop Hungarian students from singing out loud during the intonation of the Austrian anthem. 2. In 1906, when a government commissioner is sent to Cluj/Kolozsvár, because city leadership refused to install the Lord Lieutenant forced upon the county and the city by the newly appointed cabinet, citizens protested by inciting small riots on the streets where they were met with force by the police at the orders of the newly instated commissioner; 3. In 1908, a police agent is murdered and another is wounded by teenagers shooting revolvers; in consequence, city leadership introduced a new regulation which limited the carry and the use of guns to a permit issued by the mayor's office.

Postcards and Tourism Brands in Central Europe around 1900

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Abstract: The paper discusses the development of tourism during the Belle Époque in Europe, especially in the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) Empire, in connection to postcards, a postal product specific to the period. The analysis of the images on the postcards that circulated during the era in question leads to the identification of actual “brands” of the cities and regions of the Empire. Those “brands” are iconic images that the general public and visitors in particular automatically associated with the depicted places. The present paper discusses the cases of Vienna and Budapest, the two capitals of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as well as the cases of cities like Bratislava, Cluj and Salzburg, spa resorts, places on the Adriatic Riviera, tourist places in Semmering and the Tatra Mountains, and those in the region of Tyrol.

Keywords: History of tourism, postcards, visual history, 1900, Austro-Hungary

Rezumat: Ilustrate și branduri turistice în Europa Centrală în jurul lui 1900. Articolul pune în discuție dezvoltarea turismului în Belle Époque în Europa, mai precis în Imperiul Austriac (Austro-Ungar), în legătură cu cărțile poștale, un produs postal specific epocii. Analiza imaginilor de pe cărțile poștale care au circulat în epocă duce la identificarea unor adevărate “branduri” ale orașelor sau regiunilor Imperiului. Aceste “branduri” sunt imagini iconice care devin asociate automat cu locurile respective, de către populație și de către vizitatori. În cazul de față, am luat în considerare capitalele Viena și Bratislava, orașe precum Bratislava, Cluj sau Salzburg, stațiuni balneare, stațiuni de pe Riviera de la Marea Adriatică, localitățile turistice din munții Semmering, Tatra și din Tirol.

Cuvinte-cheie: istoria turismului, cărți poștale, istorie vizuală, 1900, Austro-Ungaria

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In Europe and in the United States of America, one can speak of modern tourism starting with the second half of the 19th century. Among its very numerous specific expressions,¹ one can mention those referring to the *representation of territory* “delivered” to tourists for visiting. They include, for example, a great variety of depictions: maps, book illustrations, press illustrations, posters, commercials, plus the visual illustrations of travel books, especially tourist guides.

After the “printing revolution” of the 19th century (the development of modern typographic techniques, the reduction of production costs, the development of the press and of periodicals, the introduction of pocket books etc.)², the quality of the depictions increased, as revealed by even a brief overview of some of the era’s travel guides, such as those published by the famous Baedeker printing house that had launched dozens of guides, some in several editions, starting with the 1830s-1840s.³ The Baedeker guides have significantly contributed to the encouragement of traveling and, eventually, to the development of tourism. Furthermore, the tourist guides of the era played an important role in setting certain images and specific information associated with the places they refer to. For example, the Baedeker guide entitled *Southern Germany and Austria, including the eastern Alps*, printed in 1873, provides detailed information and good-quality colour maps for regions that became tourist destinations during that era: the Semmering Mountains in Austria and the Tatra Mountains at that time in Hungary,⁴ as well as cities such as Trieste on the shore of the Adriatic Sea, interesting from a tourist perspective through its history, its monuments, and the

¹ Pio Trippa, *Storia del viaggio e del turismo* (Edizioni DrawUp, 2015), 75-86, 97-105, 111-112. For Austro-Hungary and Italy, see Jill Steward, *Tourism in Late Imperial Austria*, in Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (eds.), *Being elsewhere. Tourism, consumer culture and identity in modern Europe and North America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 2001), 108-134; Andrea Jelardi, *La storia del viaggio e del turismo in Italia* (Mursia, 2012), 43-187. Also see Marina Soroka, *The summer capitals of Europe, 1814-1919* (Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge, 2017); László Kósa, *Badenleben und Kurorte in Österreich-Ungarn*. Übers. Albrecht Friedrich (Budapest, Holnap, 1999); Radu Mârza, *Cărți poștale și turism*, in *Istoria ca interogație: Mariei Crăciun, la o aniversare*, Carmen Florea and Greta-Monica Miron (eds.) (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Argonaut, MEGA, 2020), 401-404.

² Rob Banham, “The Industrialization of the Book, 1800-1970”, in Simon Eliot – Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2007), 273-290.

³ David Bruce, “Baedeker: the Perceived 'Inventor' of the Formal Guidebook - a Bible for Travellers in the 19th Century”, in *Giants of tourism*, Richard W. Butler and Roslyn A. Russell (eds.) (Wallingford, Oxfordshire; Cambridge, MA: CABI, 2010), 93-110.

⁴ Karl Baedeker, *Southern Germany and Austria, including the eastern Alps. Handbook for travellers* (Coblenz, Leipzig: K. Baedeker, 1873), 370, 474-476. Digital version: <https://archive.org/details/s/16840876.5294.emory.edu/mode/2up> (accessed March 2021).

entertainments it provided.⁵ Sometimes, the municipalities interested in attracting tourists, especially in the case of the spa resorts, published guides in very large editions and in several languages, some of which were distributed free of charge. Such an example is the work entitled *Karlsbad de odinioară și acum*, published by Ludwig Sipöcz and Josef Ruff in Karlsbad (present-day Karlovy Vary) in 1907,⁶ printed at the time in several languages, including Romanian. It was a 63 page-long brochure, small in size, containing numerous general information, as well as information targeted specifically at those visiting the spa in order to improve their health, in a simple, concise presentation accompanied by pictures and a detailed map of the town.

Taking advantage of the progress of typographic techniques and in the context of the development of tourism, another means of for the visual representation of the places that became tourist destinations became increasingly present towards the end of the 19th century: tourist posters,⁷ printed as such, but that could also be published as postcards, or included in certain publications (daily press, magazines). Some posters depict countries, regions or certain settlements, others illustrate and promote cultural events, sports events, or even hotels and restaurants. They are printed by state institutions, ministries, tourism promotion agencies, railway companies, private transportation and tourism companies, hotels, and restaurants. Starting with the second half of the 19th century, posters became, besides tourist guides, important tools in promoting certain travel and leisure destinations, employing images deemed representative for the places in question.⁸

Still, postcards were the most efficient tools in the development of tourism. They played a main role, as they promoted *images* that gradually entered public consciousness.⁹ I thus chose to use the term “brand” in the title of my paper in connection to the development of tourism during this era and to postcards, even if the use of the word might seem anachronistic for the period under discussion.

Postcards also took advantage of the “printing revolution” mentioned above. The “postal revolution” that allowed short written

⁵ Karl Baedeker, *Southern Germany and Austria...*, 396-399.

⁶ Dr. Ludwig Sipöcz, Med. Dr. Josef Ruff, *Karlsbad de odinioară și acum. Din însărcinarea consiliului municipal. În editura proprie a comunei Karlsbad*, 1907, 63 p.

⁷ Elizabeth E. Guffey, *Posters. A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 41-88.

⁸ See László Kósa's research on publicity used by spa resorts in Austro-Hungary, in the volume *Badenleben und Kurorte in Österreich-Ungarn*. Übers. Albrecht Friedrich. Budapest, Holnap, 1999 (Szeged, Szegedi Kossuth), 75-84.

⁹ Jill Steward, *Tourism in Late Imperial Austria...*, 124.

messages to be sent fast, cheaply, and over long distances¹⁰ during the final years of the 19th century, was also a major advantage: the *images* printed on one of the sides of these postcards increased their popularity during that era.¹¹

All the visual tools mentioned above have contributed to the development of tourism and, more specifically, to making specific destinations popular. The idea of making certain destinations popular for tourism is also the result of the economic, social, and transportation-related developments in the European (and North American) society after the middle of the 19th century and especially around 1900. One notes the interest of government and administrative institutions, down to the level of the individual municipalities, in encouraging tourism. They understood the benefices of tourism and of tourists: the economic development of certain regions (including those of the targeted cities) and, why not, the crystallization of certain *images*, even identities;¹² one can add the progresses in the field of publicity and printing. The case of Austria (Austro-Hungary) is, for certain, the most interesting. The central-European monarchy extended from Karlovy Vary to Braşov, from Krakow to Sarajevo and was extremely diverse from the perspective of its populations and spoken languages, as well as in the development level of its provinces. The Empire cultivated this multicultural image through literature, publications, visual depictions and events (such as the International Exhibition in Vienna in 1873).¹³

An analysis of the postcards from Austro-Hungary is thus worthwhile, as they can provide interpretative suggestions and answers to the above-mentioned topics. Jill Steward's article mentioned above is an excellent starting point and I will attempt to demonstrate the validity of her interpretations by turning to the visual illustration on postcards.

I must mention that I was unable to find written sources regarding the policies of the printing houses that published the million postcards used during the envisaged period (such as lists of publications, number of copies etc.), but my research does have a quantitative dimension, based on the large number of postcards in circulation, printed in Austro-Hungary, that I am aware of, as a collector of such items. Out of the thousand postcards that I have held in my hand, I can draw certain conclusions regarding the settlements or regions most often subjected to this project of "imagining" through postcards.¹⁴

¹⁰ Radu Mărza, *Cărți poștale și turism...*, 404-405.

¹¹ Radu Mărza, *Cărți poștale și turism...*, 405-406.

¹² Jill Steward, *Tourism in Late Imperial Austria...*, 114-115.

¹³ Jill Steward, *Tourism in Late Imperial Austria...*, 110, 118.

¹⁴ The illustrations attached to the present paper are part of the author's private collection.

The problem resides not so much in identifying the settlements and the regions (provinces) that are most often photographed and printed on postcards, but in identifying the particular spots, the squares, the monuments, and in the case of regions - the envisaged landscapes. I shall henceforth focus on this aspect. I will briefly present several categories of settlements: the metropolises of Vienna and Budapest, large cities such as Bratislava, Cluj, Salzburg, spa resorts (Karlovy Vary), and seaside resorts (Abbazia). I shall discuss mountain tourist destinations together with the mountain landscapes they are inseparably connected to. I will use as case-studies the regions of Semmering and Tyrol in Cisleithania and the Tatra Mountains in Hungary (in present-day Slovakia).

From a quantitative perspective, the metropolises of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are the cities most often depicted on postcards, not only due to their political importance, but also because they had the highest traffic of people on the level of the entire Empire, from high-status state employees to the soldiers settled in various garrisons or day laborers working on the great construction sites of the two capitals. All these people sent postcards from Vienna or Budapest. The most often used pictures are panoramic ones: from Vienna, the postcards most often depict the Ring and the main sites and the monuments along it (the Opera, the Parliament, the University, the Burgtheater, and Maria Theresia's monument). Some postcards focus on certain segments of the Ring (Kärntner Ring, Opernring, Kolowrat-Ring, present-day Schuberting). Next in their frequency of use one can mention the postcards that depict St. Stephen's dome and the Baroque church in Karlsplatz.

In the case of Budapest, the images most often employed on postcards depict the iconic bridges that cross the Danube ("The Chain Bridge", Franz Joseph Bridge (currently called the Freedom Bridge, *Szabadsághíd*), Elisabeth and Margaret bridges etc.), as well as photographs of the citadel (The Royal Palace) in Buda, rising above the Danube and the Parliament, also by the river, but on the opposite bank, in Pest. These are spectacular images that have permeated the public awareness of Hungarians and visitors of Budapest alike, made popular through postcards and through other means. One also encounters images of the Ring (*Körút*) and especially of the large Andrassy boulevard (*Andrassy út*), named so in honour of Hungarian politician Gyula Andrassy (1823-1890). It was the representative road of Budapest, envisioned as a "royal way", an axis that was meant to start from the Royal Palace, to cross the Danube on the "Chain Bridge", to pass by St. Stephen's Basilica, to cross the Ring and to lead to the interesting

Oktogon Square and to Heroes' Square, where the monumental sculpture complex of the Millennium was erected in 1896-1906.

In the case of the two capitals, the postcards mentioned above show modern and beautiful cities with new urban and architectural developments. In both cases, the grand boulevards, squares, and palaces date to the final decades of the 19th century and the first years of the subsequent century; thus, at the time the postcards under scrutiny were printed and circulated, they depicted new, recent, and spectacular views. Those who sent and received the postcards (the public in general, both from the Empire and abroad) ended up associating Vienna with the Ring and the representative monuments along it; the same is true in the case of Budapest.

Out of the large cities of the Monarchy, I have selected three that are representative for the different parts of the country: Bratislava in Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia), Cluj in Transylvania, and Salzburg in the Austrian land with the same name.

Bratislava (Hung. Pozsony, Germ. Pressburg) is an important city in the Hungarian historical consciousness, as it has acted as capital of the Hungarian Kingdom for more than two centuries, during the time of the Ottoman occupation and in the first century after the Habsburg Reconquista (1536-1783). The postcards depicting Bratislava contain a large number of representative images and one faces difficulties in ranking them.

The view most often employed depicts the city in its surrounding landscape, with the Danube in the foreground and the castle (*Hrad*) and the city in the background, with the tower of St. Martin's dome visible. These photographs were taken from the opposite bank of the Danube and sometimes include steam boats on the water. The Hrad is sometimes photographed from other angles, sometimes in the background of the city *corso* (at that time called the Kossuth Lajos square), that is another frequently employed image. The latter houses the building of the City Theatre (today the National Theatre), that is often depicted on postcards as well. One can also mention the monumental statue of Maria Theresia, erected by sculptor János Fadrusz (1897) (the one who created the monumental complex dedicated to King Mathias Corvinus in Cluj), that was blown up in 1921.

In the case of Cluj (Hung. Kolozsvár, Germ. Klausenburg), the image that surpasses by far all others in frequency out of the entire production of analysed postcards between the end of the 19th century and 1918 (though the same is also true for the Interwar period!) is the view of the Central Square, with the monumental complex dedicated to King Mathias Corvinus in the foreground. The older postcards, printed before

the unveiling of the monument in 1902, show the square with St. Michael's parish church in the foreground. But the martial, equestrian, bronze image of King Mathias has remained associated with the city of Cluj to this day, as it was used on book illustrations, product labels, cultural or commercial posters, as well as part of the logos of companies and associations. Another frequently employed image of Cluj is the city panorama, photographed from the top of the Cetățuia hill that became the favoured place for a stroll for both locals and visitors after the interventions of 1890-1900, as it provided an admirable view of the city from high up.

Salzburg, a city included in the Austrian Empire only in 1861, already had a tradition of tourism.¹⁵ The image that dominates the postcard production during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequently, during the Interwar Period, is that of the fortress (*Hohensalzburg*), located on a tall spot, looming over the city that is marked by the contours of the numerous towers of the Gothic or Baroque churches. The photographs are most often taken from the opposite bank of the river Salzach, so that they also capture one of the bridges leading to the old town that embellish the panorama.

A distinct category of cities, directly connected to the tourism of the Belle Époque in Austro-Hungary, are the spa resorts.¹⁶ They are scattered throughout the Empire, from the north-western corner of Bohemia (Karlovy Vary, Germ. Karlsbad; Mariánské Lázně, Germ. Marienbad; Františkovy Lázně, Germ. Franzensbad, currently in the Czech Republic) to those in Hungary (Trenčianske Teplice, Hung. Trencsénteplic; Piešťany, Hung. Pöstyén, both in present-day Slovakia), Transylvania and Banat (Băile Herculane), or Austria (Bad Ischl, Bad Gastein, Bad Sauerbrunn and others). Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) is the best known of these spas, not only in the Empire, but throughout the world. It has attracted thousands upon thousands of visitors throughout time and became especially popular after it was connected to the railway network of the Empire and of Europe (around 1870). For all these reasons, thousands or likely tens of thousands of postcards depicting the town were printed and used in the period under discussion. The most popular ones show the spa city from one of the surrounding hills, while others depict one of the famous colonnades, present in all of the spas that were comparable to Karlovy Vary in importance. Most focus on the colonnades of the thermal springs known as Mühlbrunn and Sprudel.

¹⁵ Jill Steward, *Tourism in Late Imperial Austria...*, 117.

¹⁶ See László Kósa, *Badenleben und Kurorte in Österreich-Ungarn...*

The first seaside resorts by the Adriatic, the only sea of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were created during the second half of the 19th century. Among the numerous cities on the shore of the Adriatic with rich history, culture, and economic prosperity (Trieste, Pola, Rijeka, It., Germ. Fiume; Zadar, It., Germ. Zara; Split, It. Spalato; Dubrovnik, It. Ragusa), one notes the town of Abbazia, Croat. Opatija. It became the main tourist destination on the Austro-Hungarian Riviera, in direct connection to the construction of the great southern Vienna-Trieste railway (*Südbahn*) and of the derived line that led to Rijeka (completed in 1873),¹⁷ in close proximity to the seaside resort. One should also mention the fact that the Ministry of Railways, with responsibilities in the development of tourism as well, invested in the construction of hotels in the emerging tourist areas, in Abbazia as well as in Semmering.¹⁸

Most postcards show panoramic views of the resort, sometimes details of the *corso* along the seashore or scenes from the settlement's tiny harbour. They construct images that create the "brand" of the Austro-Hungarian Riviera that was so popular at the time. It is interesting to note that despite the particular image of Abbazia, the types of images that depict it do not differ much from those of other neighbouring seaside resorts (such as Lovran, Ičići, Volosca, Porto Re, Croat. Kraljevica; Crkvenica).

The next places depicted as "brands" on postcards used around 1900 are those from the mountainous regions of the Empire. I have selected several spectacular regions that are at the same time representative for both halves of the Monarchy.

The first is Semmering, in the present-day Austrian land of Styria, a rather restricted mountainous region that became popular for its leisure resorts and the practice of winter sports. It also benefited from being close to Vienna (100 kilometers) and being connected to the railway network. Semmering is located on the route of the southern railway (*Südbahn*) and travellers were able to reach it by train from Vienna, starting with 1854. One should also mention the fact that the construction of this mountainous segment of railway that crosses the mountain of Semmering was very difficult for the period and required great human and technical efforts; in fact, the railway of Semmering is considered the first iron road in the world to cross a mountain massif.¹⁹

¹⁷ Cf. *Enzyklopädie zur Eisenbahngeschichte des Alpen-Donau-Adria-Raumes: Pivka-Bahn* (Elmar Oberegger, 2006): <http://www.oberegger2.org/enzyklopaedie/rijeka.htm> (accessed March 2021).

¹⁸ Jill Steward, *Tourism in Late Imperial Austria...*, 115. See also László Kósa, *Badenleben und Kurorte in Österreich-Ungarn...*, 54-57.

¹⁹ Günter Dinohobl, *Die Semmeringbahn. Eine Baugeschichte der ersten Hochgebirgsbahn der Welt* (Böhlau Verlag, Wien, Köln, Weimar, 2018); Désirée Vasko-Juhász, *Die Südbahn. Ihre Kurorte und Hotels* (Böhlau Verlag, 2006).

The era's postcards are illustrated with general views, panoramas of the mountain massif, capturing by necessity the railway or even one of the numerous works of rail art scattered along the route. This suggests that the Austro-Hungarian state and the printing houses that produced the postcards in question wished to promote a spectacular image of the natural landscape that was nevertheless crossed by the great victory of man that was the railway of Semmering (included in the UNESCO heritage in 1998).

The image that dominates the postcards depicting Tyrol is that of a massive mountainous region, with peaks taller than 2000 meters, forming wild natural landscapes, but with traces of human presence. People or human settlements are rarely absent from these postcards... The standard image revealed by these postcards is a row of tall and rocky mountains with the picturesque village of Tyrol at their feet, the omnipresent steep roofs of the church towers. The villages are surrounded by sunny pastures and possibly interconnected by railways. Many of these settlements developed during that period precisely because of tourism and especially due to the railways (built in this region starting with the 1860s-1870s) that allowed tourists from all across Europe to arrive in Tyrol. This region might be the best example of an *image* ("brand") constructed at the end of the 19th century that is still working today...

In Transleithania, the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Tatra Mountains are a region that became a tourist destination in the end of the 19th century (currently on the territory of Slovakia and, partially, of Poland). The region, where tourism was also practiced during the previous decades, became more interesting after it was connected to the railway around 1870-1872 through the great railway of Bohumín (Germ. Oderberg) – Košice (Germ. Kaschau, Hung. Kassa),²⁰ that brought an increased number of visitors. The Hungarian state made efforts to promote the region and to develop it from the perspective of tourist infrastructure, along with the various tourism promotion associations,²¹ and the era's postcards reveal these efforts. Like in the case of Semmering, the postcards depict wild and impressive mountainous landscapes, but unlike in the previous case, human presence is minimal in the lot under discussion. The illustrated natural landscape shows few traces of human intervention, sometimes the electric or rack railway or several hotels. During the Interwar Period and especially during the Communist Era, the images of the Tatra Mountains painted by postcards

²⁰ Peter Michael Kalla-Bishop, *Hungarian railways* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), 43-44.

²¹ László Kósa, *Badenleben und Kurorte in Österreich-Ungarn...*, 45-48.

changed, now with a particular emphasis put precisely on the human presence in the landscape...

I believe the illustrations of the present research convincingly support the initial idea, namely the fact that these sources helped create the public image of certain cities or regions, as a result of the efforts made by state or private institutions, as well as of that printing houses, with the purpose of making them popular through postcard depictions. The success that postcards enjoyed and the great number (possibly as high as hundreds of thousands) of postcards printed, sold, written, send by post, received, read, admired and even collected have contributed over time (long after the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) to the creation of certain images or "brands" that we still enjoy today.

From Daguerreotype to Autochrome: An Incursion in European, Colonial and Romanian Pharmaceutical and Medical Photography

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Abstract: Pharmacists have the ability to be chemists and that is the reason they possess the knowledge to make photographs. For that purpose, especially in the 19th century, some pharmacists were photographers, so the two professions are related to a certain extent. The daguerreotype was an invention that was brought to the attention of the public in the summer of 1839 in Paris by Louis Daguerre. Although it was a French invention, it enjoyed a huge success in the United States, and for that purpose the most numerous daguerreotypes derive from the American continent. Some daguerreotypes from the pharmaceutical and medical domain will be presented in this work: a picture of the pharmacist Martin (Gamas), of the physician Charles Abadie and of the physician Gustave Adolphe Raichon. The description of the daguerreotypes will include some other particular examples of empirical restoration from the collection of the author. Another type of photography, important for the history of photography, is the *autochrome*, one of the first colour photographic process available to the public. It was invented by the Lumière brothers. An example of medical photography from colonial France (Morocco), portraying a case of leprosy, will be presented as well. In the end, some examples from the European and Romanian photography will illustrate the role of the pharmacy and of the pharmacist in the 19th century-early 20th century, as a snapshot of the health professional of that period. In conclusion, the picture speaks for itself and somehow, it can be a vivid time machine for the

reconstruction of the past, not only in the fields of pharmacy and medicine, but in any other field as well.

Keywords: Daguerreotype, autochrome, pharmacy, medicine, old photography, photography collection.

Rezumat: De la dagherotip la autocrom: O incursiune în fotografia farmaceutică și medicală din Europa, colonii și România. Farmaciștii posedă cunoștințele necesare în domeniul chimiei și de aceea ar putea practica și arta fotografiei. Astfel mai ales în secolul al XIX lea, unii farmaciști erau fotografi, deoarece aceste două profesii sunt oarecum înrudite. Dagherotipul a fost o invenție prezentată publicului larg de către Louis Daguerre, la Paris, în vara lui 1839. Deși a fost o descoperire franceză s-a bucurat de un mare succes în Statele Unite, de aceea cele mai multe dagherotipuri sunt de origine americană. Unele dagherotipuri din domeniul medical și farmaceutic vor fi prezentate în această lucrare: o fotografie al farmacistului Martin (Gamas), a doctorului Charles Abadie și a doctorului Gustave Adolphe Raichon. După descrierea dagherotipurilor vor fi prezentate și câteva exemple de restaurare la nivel amator din colecția autorului. Alt tip de fotografie, important pentru istoria fotografiei, este *autochrome*-ul, unul dintre primele procedee fotografice color accesibile publicului larg. A fost inventat de către frații Lumière. Va fi prezentată o fotografie medicală din Franța colonială (Maroc) care documenta un caz de lepră. La final, unele exemple de fotografie europeană și românească vor ilustra rolul farmaciei și al farmacistului, în perioada cuprinsă între secolul al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX, ca un instantaneu al profesioniștilor din domeniul sănătății din acea perioadă. În concluzie, imaginea vorbește de la sine și poate fi o însuflețită mașină a timpului pentru reconstrucția trecutului, nu numai în domeniile medicale și farmaceutice dar și în oricare alt domeniu.

Cuvinte cheie: dagherotip, autocrom, farmacie, medicină, fotografie veche, colecție de fotografie

Introduction. From daguerreotype to autochrome

The daguerreotype (from the French word *daguerréotype*) is a process presented to the general public in August 1839 by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851), after several years of improvements. The process is a directly positive photography. The process consists in obtaining the image on a polished plate with silver deposited onto copper, mechanically or electrolytically. The plate is first exposed to halide fumes. The image is formed by amalgamating silver from the photochemical decomposition of silver halides with metallic mercury. The remaining unreacted silver halide can be complexed with sodium thiosulphate. The image can be adhered on the plate with the aid of heat and gold salts.¹

Other cheaper techniques, such as calotype / talbotype or ambrotype, have been used to replace daguerreotype at the beginning of 1850s. The only disadvantage is that the quality of the image is diminished, if we were to compare the "mirror with the memory".

The disadvantage of the pictures of that period was that they did not reveal the true colour of nature. Although there were several attempts, only at the beginning of the 20th century, one of the first successful process of colour photography, the *autochrome*, became available to the public. It was invented by the Lumière brothers. It was marketed starting 1907. The colour is formed by microscopic colour grains of potato starch which act as a filter. The autochromes were produced on glass plates and later on celluloid².

Pharmacists and photography

The pharmacists who possessed better knowledge of chemistry were interested in the chemistry of photography.

We could quote several European examples:

-**Anton Drobac**, who made daguerreotype portraits in 1844, thus being the first daguerreotypist from Adriatic Coast³;

-**Ludwig Angerer**, a Slovak military pharmacist, who made photographs of Bucharest between 1854-56; he then abandoned the military career and set up a photographic studio in Vienna⁴;

¹ Beaumont Newhall, *The history of photography: from 1839 to the present* (New York: Museum of Modern Art; London: Thames & Hudson [distributor], 1982), 18, 19, 27; M. Stănescu Y. Marec, *Mirrors of the past: the daguerreotypes and some connections with the history of pharmacy and medicine* (Work presented on the XXVIIIth National Reunion of History of pharmacy, Sibiu, October 2019).

² Bertrand Lavédrine; Christine Capderou; Jean-Paul Gandolfo, *The Lumière autochrome: history, technology, and preservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2014), 1.

³ <http://bib.irb.hr/prikazi-rad?rad=649352> (accessed April 2021).

- *Gabriel Veyre*, a French pharmacist who worked as a film director and as a photographer⁵;
- *István Szentkuty*, a pharmacist from Pest, who, on the back of the cardboard of the *carte-de-visite* photograph, had inscribed the titles as *Pharmacist and photographer*. At that time, these titles were rarely found on the photographic cardboards; the titles of painter and photographer were usually inscribed on the back of the cardboard.

1. *The daguerreotypes*

The daguerreotypes collection started in 2014 and, as of April 2021, it contains 135 photographs. They are in most part portrait-types of a single person, as well as group portraits of 2 to 8 persons. The collection has 3 stereo daguerreotypes and an outdoors daguerreotype, which probably represents a hotel from the Savoy province, France or Switzerland⁶.

Some photos from the collection were restored with empirical means. In the past, the classical and historical method of restoration was cyanide cleaning, but, from a chemical point of view, the image can also be washed away. Another destructive method utilized in 1960s-1980s was thiourea cleaning. The modern restoring process consists in electrochemical cleaning and laser cleaning⁷.

The empirical restorations of the daguerreotypes are the first of their kind in Romania.

We utilized the electrochemical cleaning process for a plate bearing the Christofle hallmark from 1850s.

The plate was empirically restored based on the literature available in this sense, using silver wire, a source of continuum current and a solution of ammonia. The contrast was improved during the restoration process. The plate was then placed in a frame and sealed under glass (*Figure 1*).

⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwig_Angerer (accessed April 2021).

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriel_Veyre (accessed April 2021).

⁶ From the personal archive of Mihai Stănescu.

⁷ M.S Barger, A.P. Giri, W.B. White, T. Edmondson, "Cleaning daguerreotypes", in *Studies in Conservation*, 1986; 31(1): 15-28; Jennifer Jae Gutierrez; Debra Hess Norris; Getty Conservation Institute (Los Angeles, Calif.), *Issues in the conservation of photographs* (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Publications, 2010), 238-284.



Figure 1. Portrait of a man from 1850s, (third) plate bearing the Christoffle hallmark, before and after restoration, *Daguerreotype no. 16*.

The daguerreotype – The photography of a profession

Generally speaking, the daguerreotype portrays one person, a family, and finally, a group, which, generally, is a rare type of picture. In several cases, the profession of the person being photographed can be depicted in the photograph.

Most of the examples illustrated in the personal collection are as follows: military, priests, tradesmen and, of course, pharmacists and physicians⁸.

The Pharmacist

The collection includes four photos of a family named Gamas. A relative of this family had the profession of pharmacist. His name was Mr. Martin and he was called 'the former pharmacist', probably due to the fact that, at the time of the snapshot, he was retired (*figure 2*). He is depicted on the arm of his wife (daguerreotype no. 105).

The photos were acquired from an antique dealer from Rouen, France, who claimed that he had purchased them from the same town. Thus, we assumed that the family might have originated from Rouen or from the neighbouring areas.

Several members of the family are depicted: Johannes Graveur (Mr. Gamas), the grandfather Adrien, the patriarch (portrayed by prof.

⁸ Personal archive of Mihai Stănescu, daguerreotypes no. 40, 92, 19-21,105-108, 119-125 and 112.

Millet, photography professor) and (probably) the sister of Mr. Gamas (a picture from the studio from Rouen, Place des Carmes, 45). The mother of Mr. Gamas is portrayed near her granddaughter Marie Martin, the future madame Guillaume.



Monsieur Martin, Ancien
Pharmacien mon Beau frère
et ma Sœur

Figure 2. "Monsieur Martin, ancien pharmacien mon beau frère" (Mister Martin, former pharmacist, brother-in-law), circa 1849.

The unusual situation, in this case, consists in the fact that the names mentioned are not usually last names, but first names.

In the doctoral thesis of Alexandre Yves, a reference of Martin Joly, pharmacist on 26, rue des Bons Enfants was revealed⁹. With the support of Professor Yannick Marec, it can be asserted that we are unable to find a direct connection between the name of the pharmacist Martin and pharmacists bearing this first name in the region. In his research, we encountered several possibilities, but they do not match, which is why we cannot identify the exact name of the pharmacist¹⁰.

The Physicians

The first example from the portrait gallery of physicians is a daguerreotype purchased from a French auction house, depicting a boy and having a label on the back of the frame, *Portrait of the doctor Charles Abadie, child* (translation from French)-daguerreotype no. 112. It could represent the physician Jean Marie Charles Abadie (1842 -1932). He practiced as a physician at Hôtel-Dieu, in Paris. He also received the award Legion of Honour. A diagnostic sign of exophthalmia from hyperthyroidism bears his name, Abadie¹¹. The plate was washed with diluted ammonia solution, in order to wash the silver chloride deposits (*figure 3*).

Another example depicts a French Military physician, part of the collection of the Despaignol-Lafayette-Raichon family, acquired from another French auction house-daguerreotype no.119. The most important photo depicts the physician Gustave Adolphe Raichon (1808 Mijoux, Jura - 1874 Forbach, Moselle) and his wife Catherine Cécile Amélie, born Delinot (1814-1886) (*figure 4*).

Gustave Adolphe Raichon, who was awarded the *Légion d'honneur*, was a librarian in charge of the collections of the Military School from Strassbourg (1864). He was a major military physician, with campaigns in the Crimean War, Algeria, Italy.

⁹ Y. Alexandre, *Pharmacies et pharmaciens à Rouen au XIXe siècle* (Maîtrise d'Histoire, Université de Rouen, 1986), 220, 223.

¹⁰ Electronic correspondence with professor Yannick Marec between April-November 2019.

¹¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_Marie_Charles_Abadie (accessed April 2021).

Their daughter, Marie Marguerite Amélie Raichon (1849-1893), was married for the second time to Raoul Despaingol Lafayette (R.D.L.) (1842-1913)¹².

Despaingol Lafayette was a poet of the Pyrénées Mountains and was also a revolutionary poet. He was a Blanquist at the end of the Second Empire, a communard and then a radical-socialist. He corresponded with other writers, such as Hugo, Leconte de Lisle, Loti, Clovis Hugues... The first object from the auction was a photo of Victor Hugo, with a dedication to his friend, R.D.L.¹³



Figure 3. "Portrait du docteur Charles Abadie enfant" (Portrait of physician Charles Abadie, child), early 1850s.

2. The Autochromes

The *autochrome* process was invented by the Lumière brothers and their company made the process available to the public in 1907. An autochrome is a colour photo on a transparent glass plate. The colours of the original picture are made of a mosaic of microscopic grains of potato starch granules (15 µm in diameter) dyed in violet, green or orange. The black-and-white photographic image is found under the mosaic of potato starch grains. The elements selectively block the transmission of light through certain elements. The colours are re-created through the additive synthesis of coloured light, similarly to the way in which monitors and screens produce the colours¹⁴.

¹² <https://gw.geneanet.org/daniellelepage?lang=en&iz=429&p=raoul&n=despaingol+lafayette> (accessed April 2021).

¹³ <https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article174916> (accessed April 2021).

¹⁴ Lavedrine, Gandolfo, 1.

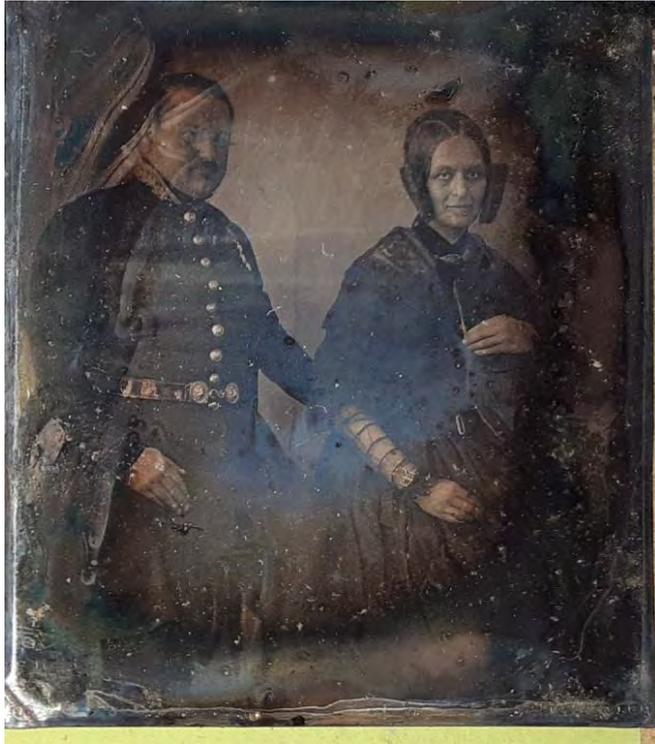


Figure 4. Portrait of Gustave Adolphe Raichon and his wife, late 1840s, early 1850s.

One other important part of the collection contains autochromes, especially of French origin. In general, they depict outdoor scenes, the portraits are scarcer.

The most important one which belongs to the medical domain is a stereo plate depicting a man with leprosy. The picture can be dated to the beginning of the 20th century.

The picture described above is part of a lot (purchased in 2017 from France) from Colonial France (Morocco): five positive stereoscopic plates – photographs of executions by shooting, three stereoscopic autochromes, two with annotations ‘Muslim college (probably from Fès)’ and eight stereoscopic positive plates with scenes and monuments from Meknès (some examples can be seen in *figure 5*).

The pictures were preserved in a wooden box and some of the pictures were sold separately. Thus, the collection is incomplete. The pictures received from the seller prove the fact that the box contained other medical pictures. He did not possess any information as far as the origin of the photographer is concerned.



Figure 5. Autochromes from the box - Left side, man with leprosy, right side, the fountain from the Muslim college (probably from Fès) - with no inventory number

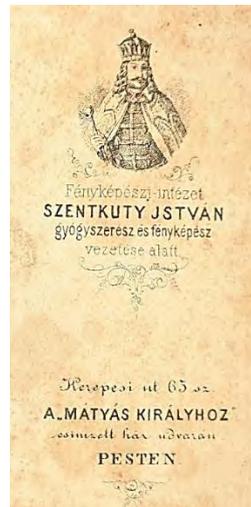


Figure 6. The back of carte-de-visite picture from István Szentkuty, photograph from a Romanian Antique shop, bought in 2020.

3. Pharmacist and photographers

As we have previously shown, the pharmacists were interested in photography, but, in general, their profession was rarely mentioned on the back of the cardboard, which contained the name of the artist. Some of the photographers were painters and this detail was also printed on the cardboard.

An interesting example is that of the pharmacist István Szentkuty, who owned a pharmacy in Debrecen. Using an online archive as a source of research, we discovered that in 1854 he was seeking a trainee

pharmacist for his pharmacy. The journal quoted is *Vasárnapi Újság*, i. e., the issue from 23 July 1854¹⁵.

He later became an independent photographer in Pest (later Budapest) starting 1864. On the back of the *carte-de-visite* (cardboard) the photographer is also called a pharmacist.

4. Snapshots from the pharmacy laboratory

In conclusion, we must also mention several pictures representing the pharmacists preparing medicine in Romanian pharmacies, during the interwar and the postbellum periods. The pictures from the Interwar period were purchased from an antique dealer in the autumn of 2020. They probably originated from a pharmacy in Bucharest. For the last picture, taken during the post-war period, acquired in the same year from another antique dealer, we do not possess any details with respect to its origin.

Before industrialization commenced, the drugs were prepared with the utmost care by the pharmacists in the pharmacy laboratories. This activity was characteristic for the pharmacists, but unfortunately, nowadays, this kind of activity is quite rare. But, in some cases, there are traditional pharmacies where drugs are still prepared using the same method as in the olden days.



Figure 6. Snapshots from pharmacy- left and center - interwar period and right- postwar period.

¹⁵ <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00030/00021/datum00573/cim100585/cim300590.htm> (accessed April 2021).

Concluding remarks

The presented work can be considered to be a brief presentation of the most important pictures from the author's collection and a chronological and regional incursion in the history of pharmacy and medicine. Some images can be common in some collections, but the historic value of the images can be important to Romania.

The images resulted from the electrocleaning of daguerreotypes are presented in the present paper, for the first time in Romania.

Finding images of physicians and pharmacists from 1850s in Romania can be quite difficult, but it can be common in France. The story of the portrayed persons can be in some cases difficult to discover, because research conducted in this sense in foreign archives is compulsory, but with some help, certain information can be discovered.

From daguerreotype to autochrome to digital pictures, the archive images will continue to amaze the researchers of this field in particular, because they are able to better reconstruct the perspective of an era.

Romanians in Austria-Hungary in the Years of “The Great War”. The Perspective of Visual Sources

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Abstract: The present article is based on two research experiences that were resulted in the printing of two volumes that included visual documents. In the present article, our aim is to present the content categories that can be found in the photographs and postcards with and about the Romanians from the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy who took part in the traumatizing experience of World War I. Thus, a first theme that is rich and varied included the “faces” of the officers, soldiers and, last but not least, the civilians, in different situations, contexts and stances imposed by the war’s developments. There are group photographs that contain a varying number of soldiers, from two – three persons, up to several dozens, along with individual photographs; in all of these photographs, there are soldiers and officers, together or separate. Next, there is a distinct category of visual materials, concerning propaganda; they are mostly illustrated postcards that circulated as correspondence between the firing line and the “home front”. The symbolism of the state authority, along with the image of the emperor and that of the imperial family, were a recurring presence in the imagistic content with which the Austrian-Hungarian postcards printed during the war tried to send a loyalist message or to consolidate it in the community’s mentality. The materials that are related to the course of the daily life near the front, as well as behind it, are particularly interesting; the photographs taken during the war usually depict non-fighting moments, the moments of rest, containing with varied and diverse themes. There is a special category of visual documents that have been preserved from the time of the war, depicting the suffering that was inflicted upon the participants and the manner in which it was “handled”. Thus, among the photographs that fall in this category, we encountered those of the wounded and hospitalized soldiers, the field hospitals and the personnel with medical attributions that served near the

units. Another theme section directly connected to the previous one is represented by the physical embodiment of death along the front line: photographs of funerals, graves and military cemeteries.

There is a category of visual sources, from both public and private collections, that related to the war “on the seas”, photographs and postal cards of the marine troops serving in the Empire; they were stationed at Pola, in the Adriatic Sea. The photographs taken during the Great War that depict soldiers alongside civilians are of particular interest. Mostly, they are soldiers together with their own family members (mothers, wives, children etc) that are depicted in photographs that were taken far from the front line, during leaves, when the soldiers could briefly re-join their native communities. The Romanians that served in the war, wearing the military uniform of the double monarchy and who left its sphere of loyalty, either by becoming prisoners or by voluntary desertion, is a theme that was not overlooked by the visual sources that have survived from that period. These photographs of prisoners and Romanian volunteers from the time of the Great War are also relevant for the geographic coordinates, very far from one another, where the course of the events carried the Romanian soldiers, from France to far-away Siberia, at Vladivostok.

The document images from the time of the Great War allow for a *sui generis* dialogue with those “who are no more”, over a temporal gap of a century. The camera lens often captured expressive faces, whose identity is known in the cases in which the photographs include markings and notes, along with those that offer no additional information concerning those who took the photos or their subjects; in the latter case, we can say that these images are the anonymous bearers of war’s memory. These materials offer us today the unique privilege of visually “communicating” with our forbearers from a century ago, with the representatives of the humanity that plunged into the terrible adventure of World War I.

Keywords: “The Great War”, Romanians, Austria-Hungary, visual sources, cultural history.

Rezumat: Românii din Austro-Ungaria în anii „Marelui Război”.
Perspectiva surselor vizuale. Pornind de la două experiențe de cercetare, finalizate prin valorificarea editorială a unor documente de factură vizuală, articolul de față își propune să prezinte categoriile de conținut care se regăsesc în fotografiile și cărțile poștale cu și despre români din monarhia austro-ungară, participanți la epopeea traumatizantă a Primului Război Mondial. Astfel, un prim tronson tematic, de mare bogăție și varietate, conține „chipuri” de ofițeri, soldați, nu în ultimul rând populație civilă, în cele mai diferite situații,

contexte și ipostaze impuse de desfășurarea războiului. Sunt fotografii de grup care conțin un număr variabil de militari, ce merge de la două-trei persoane până la câteva zeci, alături de fotografii individuale; în toate acestea regăsindu-se soldați și ofițeri, împreună sau separat. În continuare, o categorie distinctă de material vizual este de factură propagandistică, sunt în special cărți poștale ilustrate, care au circulat ca piese corespondență între linia de foc și „frontul de acasă”. Simbolistica autorității de stat, alături de imaginea împăratului și a familiei imperiale erau o prezență recurentă în conținutul imagistic cu care cărțile poștale austro-ungare din perioada războiului încercau să transmită un mesaj de tip loialist, sau să-l consolideze la nivelul mentalității comunitare. Deosebit de interesante sunt, apoi, materialele care se referă la desfășurarea vieții cotidiene din proximitatea liniei frontului și din spatele acestuia; fotografiile făcute în perioada războiului surprind de regulă momente non combative, clipe de răgaz, cu o tematică de asemenea variată și diversificată. O categorie aparte a materialului vizual rămas din vremea războiului vorbește despre suferința pe care a provocat-o marele conflict participanților și despre modul în care a fost „gestionată”. Găsim, astfel, în fotografiile din această categorie, militari răniți și spitalizați, spitale de campanie și personal cu atribuții sanitar-medicale pe lângă unități. O secțiune tematică direct legată de precedentă, care se poate individualiza în rândul imaginilor rămase din vremea războiului prim mondial, este reprezentată de întruciparea fizică a morții pe front: fotografii cu înmormântări, morminte și cimitire militare.

O categorie de surse vizuale disponibile în fonduri publice și deopotrivă în colecții private, are în vedere războiul purtat „pe mare”, fotografii și cărți poștale cu trupele de marină ale imperiului, care și-au avut baza de operațiuni la Pola, în Marea Adriatică. De un interes aparte sunt fotografiile din vremea Marelui Război, în care apar militari alături de populație civilă. Este vorba de cele mai multe ori de militari surprinși alături de membri ai propriilor familii (mame, soții, copii etc.), care apar în poze făcute departe de prima linie, cu ocazia unor permisii, când militarii puteau reveni pentru scurt timp în comunitățile de baștină. Ieșirea românilor care au luptat în uniformă dublei monarhii din zona acesteia de loialitate, prin căderea în prizonierat sau prin dezertare voluntară, este o temă care n-a scăpat surselor de natură vizuală rămase de atunci. Aceste fotografii cu prizonieri și voluntari români din vremea războiului sunt relevante și pentru traseele și coordonatele geografice foarte îndepărtate unele de altele, în care mersul evenimentelor i-a aruncat pe ostașii români, din Franța până în îndepărtata Siberie, la Vladivostok.

Documentele imagistice din anii Primului Război Mondial permit un dialog sui generis, la distanță de un secol pe firul timpului, cu

„cei ce nu mai sunt”. Obiectivul aparatului de fotografiat a surprins fizionomii adesea expresive, cu identitate cunoscută în cazul pozelor însoțite de înscrisuri și însemnări, alături de altele care nu oferă nici un fel de date privind autorii sau destinatarii, situații în care se poate spune că aceste imagini sunt purtători anonimi ai memoriei războiului. Aceste materiale ne oferă nouă celor de astăzi privilegiul unic de a „comunica” vizual cu antecesorii noștri de acum un veac, cu reprezentanții unei umanități care se aruncase în aventura teribilă a primei conflagrații mondiale.

Cuvinte-cheie: „Marele Război”, români, Austro-Ungaria, surse vizuale, istorie culturală.

In a world which makes it possible for images to be generated and transmitted quickly through social networking sites, there is a certain understanding of a statement that has come to be taken almost as an axiom, according to which “an image is worth more than a thousand words.” In the last decades, the communication revolution – the Internet in particular – has made the image a more present component of the [post-]modern man’s daily life, tending to replace written word, the printed text as a means of communication, socialisation and entertainment. From that perspective, it would be interesting to reflect on the role and the meaning played by the image a century ago in a special historical context, like that of the First World War, and to investigate what visual sources convey to us about “the Great War” and the people that caused it, went through it and bore its consequences.

Visual sources and representations have not been fully exploited in the Romanian historical writing, as compared to other cultural and historiographic spaces. The coming of a century since the First World War and the Centenary of the Great Union have created a cultural and historiographic sensitivity which facilitated the retrieval of visual records, especially in the form of exhibitions of public and private collections of photographs and postcards,¹ followed by papers focused partly or exclusively on the exploitation of images relevant to the events that

¹ A few examples in this regard: Rudolf Dinu et al., *I Romeni e la Grande Guerra 1914-1918. Mostra foto-documentaria in occasione del centenario della Grande Guerra (1914-2014)*, (București: Institutul Cultural Român, 2014); Cornel-Constantin Ilie (editor), *România în Marele Război/Romania in the Great War [Romania in the Great War]* (București: National Museum of Romanian History, 2016); Bianca Pîrvulescu (scientific coordinator), *Campaniile militare din 1917 [The 1917 military campaigns]* (București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2017).

happened a century ago.² Thus, Romanian historiography has been trying to fit in with the Western historical writing and to focus its attention on a topic about which much has been written during the time between the Great War and the first decade of the 21st century. Albums and websites, along with numerous publications³ host the results of a major endeavour, whose goal is – historiographically – a better understanding of the 1914-1918 period, whilst for the self-conscience of mankind, it should be a memento, an exhortation to reflect on the disastrous consequences of a “useless massacre”, as Benedict XV, the Roman pontiff at that time called it.

What do visual sources convey us about the Great War? Our contribution will attempt to answer that question, starting from the two research projects in the area of visual records which we have recently completed.⁴ We would like to present the types of content found in

² Here is a brief, selective review of papers published on this topic in our country in recent years: Marius Cristea, Smaranda Cutean, *Memorie și onoare, românii în primul război mondial. Album. Volum dedicat aniversării a 90 de ani de la Marea Unire din 1 Decembrie 1918* [Memory and honour, Romanians during World War I. Photograph album. Volume dedicated to the anniversary of 90 years from the Great Union from 1st of December 1918] (Alba Iulia: Editura Altip, 2008); Ioana Rustoiu, Gabriel Rustoiu, Cutean Smaranda, *Corpul voluntarilor români din Siberia (1918-1920). Album* [The Romanian volunteers from Siberia (1918-1920). Photograph album.] (Baia Mare: Editura Marist, 2010); Christophe Prochasson, Florin Țurcanu (coord.), *La Grande Guerre. Histoire et mémoire collective en France et en Roumanie*, (București: New Europe College-Institut d'études avancées, 2010); Dorin Giurgiu, Marius Cristea, Ioana Rustoiu, Smaranda Cutean, *Regii României Mari la Alba Iulia. Album* [The kings of Great Romania at Alba Iulia. Photograph album.] (Alba Iulia: Editura Altip, 2013); Carol Bereczky, *Album cu fotografii din Primul Război Mondial. Album mit Fotos aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Első-Világháborús fénykép-albuma. World War I. Photos Album*, (Reșița: Frontul Democrat al Germanilor din Județul Caraș-Severin [The German Democratic Front from Caraș-Severin county], Asociația Germană de Cultură și Educație a Adulților Reșița [The German Association for Adult Culture and Education, Reșița], „Banatul Montan” Printhouse, 2014); Alin Ciupală, *România în timpul Primului Război Mondial. Aliați, adversari și propagandă. O istorie în imagini* [Romania during World War I. Allies, adversaries and propaganda. A history in images] (București: Monitorul Oficial. Editură și Tipografie, 2018); *Albumul Marii Uniri, Samoilă Mârza* [The photograph album of the Great Union. Samoilă Mârza.], text introductiv de Radu Mârza, (București: Monitorul Oficial. Editură și Tipografie, 2018); Adrian Onofreiu, Cornelia Vlașin (coord.), *Chipuri din Marele Război. Viața în imagini a combatanților din Bistrița-Năsăud* [Faces from the Great War. The life of the combatants from Bistrița-Năsăud in images] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2018); Felicia Aneta Oarcea (coord.), *Arad. Prima capitală a Marii Uniri. Valorificarea patrimoniului cultural mobil al Complexului Muzeal Arad* [Arad. The first capital of the Great Union. Capitalizing on the mobile cultural heritage of the Arad Museum Complex] (Arad: Complexul Muzeal Arad, Editura Gutenberg Univers, 2018).

³ Among the recent issues is the volume Andrea Ciampani e Romano Ugolini (eds.), *La Grande Guerra. Un impegno europeo di ricerca e riflessione. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, Vittoriano, 9-11 novembre 2015*, Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Collana „Prospettive/Perspectives”, vol. VI, (Soveria Mannelli: Editrice Rubbettino, 2018).

⁴ Ion Cârja, Lucian Vaida, Loránd L. Mádlly, Dan Prahase (eds.), *Un ardelean în Marele Război: Albert Porkoláb (1880-1920)* [A Transylvanian in the Great War] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura

photographs and postcards of and about Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, who participated in the traumatic epic of the First World War. Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Maramureș and Bukovina paid a heavy bloody tribute on the battlefields of the first world clash, having been compelled to enrol once they received their call-up and to go “to battle” “under the Austro-Hungarian emperor’s flag”. The total number of Romanians from the historical provinces that participated in the war was about 490,000, or even 650,000, according to other estimates.⁵ It is well-known that the large majority of Romanian soldiers were enrolled in common military regiments (*K.u.K.*). However, the Romanian ethnic element was also present in Honved troops. While historical papers on the subject traditionally speak of 12 Austro-Hungarian regiments with a Romanian ethnic majority, in recent works the number has risen to 16. To those we must add a few others, in which the Romanian presence was relatively small. Thus, we can speak of a total number of 20 military units with Romanian soldiers. Moreover, about 2000 Romanians fought in Austro-Hungarian marine troops.⁶ During the war, a large number of Romanian soldiers, privates and officers were captured by the enemy in Serbia, on the Russian and Italian front. These prisoners formed the basis of the volunteer corps recruitment, in accordance with the Romanian general interests of that time.⁷ This complex journey, marked by the permanent and

Argonaut&Editura Mega, 2016) (henceforth: *Un ardelean în Marele Război*); Ion Cârja, Benkő József, Maria Alexandra Pantea, Julian Boțoghină (eds.), *De la „amurgul imperiilor” la România Mare. Românii din Austro-Ungaria în Primul Război Mondial-documente vizuale* [From the “twilight of empires” to Greater Romania. Romanians from Austria-Hungary in the First World War. Visual documents] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2018) (henceforth: *De la „amurgul imperiilor” la România Mare*).

⁵ Liviu Maior, *Soldați români în armata austro-ungară 1914-1918* [Romanian soldiers in the Austrian-Hungarian army 1914-1918] in Nicolae Edroiu, Aurel Răduțiu, Pompiliu Teodor (eds.), *Civilizație medievală și modernă românească. Studii istorice* [The Romanian medieval and modern civilisation. Historical studies] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1985), 356-358; Ioan I. Șerban, *Românii în armata austro-ungară în anii Primului Război Mondial* [The Romanians in the Austrian-Hungarian army during the years of World War I], in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, II-III (1998-1999): 206-207.

⁶ Liviu Maior, *Doi ani mai deoreme. Ardeleni, bucovineni și basarabeni în război 1914-1916* [Two years earlier. Transylvanians, Bukovinians and Bessarabians in the War 1914-1916] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2016), 191-194.

⁷ From a vast literature on this topic, two works stand out: Vasile Dudaș, *Voluntarii Marii Uniri* [The volunteers of the Great Union] (Timișoara: Editura Augusta, 1996); Ioan I. Șerban, *Voluntarii transilvăneni și bucovineni din Rusia în războiul pentru întregirea neamului 1916-1919* [The Transylvania and Bukovina volunteers from Russia in the war for the unification of the nation 1916-1919] (Alba Iulia: Editura Aeternitas, 2003). For more extensive evidence of Romanian historiographic contributions to the subject, see Ion Cârja, *Românii în armata austro-ungară 1914-1918. Considerații istoriografice* [Between history and historiography:

atrocious threat of death, but also by the hope of survival, is found in the records which have given us the terrifying narrative of the Great War: journals, autobiographies, memoirs, letters etc. Found in the same register of meaning and relevance as the narrative sources, the visual sources have a stronger, additional power of suggestion, through their own way of "mirroring" reality and their capacity to reflect the direct human experience of participating in war.

Going over these documents of our collective memory, which are more "alive", more expressive, and bear greater power of suggestion and impact than the written records, we must note that a first thematic section of great value and variety contains "images" of officers, privates, civilians in different situations, contexts imposed by the unfolding war. There are group photos of soldiers, ranging from two-three people, to a few tens, alongside individual photos; in all of these photographs, privates and officers are found both together and separately. There are photos that circulated to a greater extent, as pieces of correspondence between the front line and "home" communities along with postcards proper. All this visual material made on the front or in specialised photo studios in the great cities that troops were passing through, depict soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army before or after battles and seldom during military confrontations. While there is usually no artistic value, they offer a rich record content that allows us to "see" and understand, at a century's distance, what "the days of war" meant to those people. The notes that accompany these photos and postcards, written on the back and sometimes on the front, are of extreme importance. They allow us to identify the ethnic origin and nationality of the immortalized soldiers. More often than not, the "images" of officers and privates in the Austro-Hungarian army that have been passed down to us, through the photographs of the Great War, are marked by the expressive human physiognomy. Thus, these visual sources transmit emotions along with the intrinsic information they possess. The state of preservation often suffers, the photographs bearing the marks of time. The visual material presents different levels of deterioration – lower legibility of images and partial or total blurring of the notes on the back. The extra knowledge that these documents offer – as compared to the narrative sources of that time (journals, memoirs, autobiographies, letters) – consists in a unique

Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Army serving on the front during the Great War], in Valentin Orga, Ottmar Trașcă, Liviu Țărău, Virgiliu Țărău (eds.), *Din modernitate în contemporaneitate. Studii istorice dedicate lui George Cipăianu la împlinirea vârstei de 75 de ani* [From modernity to contemporaneity. Historical studies dedicated to George Cipăianu at the age of 75...] (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2017), 204-209 and the following.

possibility to visualize “at a one-to-one scale” - so to speak - mankind involved in the Great War.⁸

Modern wars put employ not only weaponry and fighting techniques aimed at physically annihilating the enemy, but also a propaganda apparatus whose purpose was to convey, to the battling troops and civilians, messages of political-ideological content favourable to the regime, to support beliefs and loyalties and to combat the messages that came from the enemy. The countries involved in the war used propaganda on a large scale, transmitting this kind of messages through different channels, such as churches, schools, the press etc. Written texts, as well as images, became a means of propaganda. Thus, we could say that the war was fought “with words and images”, beside classic weaponry. The Austro-Hungarian army made no exception in this regard. Images and the visual language were ways of spreading ideas such as: the bravery and heroism of front-line soldiers, the projection of an idyllic view of everyday life around the front, the illustration of the exemplary way in which the wounded were cared for in military hospitals, the comradeship within the troop and so on. The most utilised were illustrated postcards, which circulated as correspondence pieces between the battlefield and the “home front”. The symbolism of the state authority, alongside the image of the emperor and that of the imperial family, were a recurrent presence in Austro-Hungarian postcards during the war, which sought to convey a loyalist type of message and to consolidate it at the level of community. This was extremely important, as the war led to an unprecedented crisis of loyalty to the dualist regime and to the emperor-king.⁹ Frequent were also the visual representations that ridiculed the enemy by depicting it in caricature form, or by diabolising the opponent, portraying the opposing side in an exaggeratedly negative manner, as an embodiment of absolute evil. The visual language propaganda wished to transmit, to circulate feelings, states of mind. That is why the thematic content of Hungarian postcards contains not only men, but also women and children, for a stronger emotional impact on the viewers.¹⁰

⁸ A group of photos with numerous “faces” of officers and privates from the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War can be seen in *De la „amurgul imperiilor” la România Mare*, 39-86.

⁹ See, in this regard, Liviu Maior, *Habsburgi și români. De la loialitatea dinastică la identitate națională* [Habsburgs and Romanians. From dynastic loyalty to national identity] (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006), 127-135 and the following.

¹⁰ For visual records suggestive of this, see *De la „amurgul imperiilor” la România Mare*, 87-98.

Visual records were an excellent source for understanding everyday life near and behind the front. Photos taken during the war usually capture highly diverse moments of peace: preparation of food, mending of boots and clothing of the soldiers, different activities of maintenance, consolidation of positions and even entertainment activities, games (chess, backgammon, cards), consumption of alcoholic drinks, smoking, reading of newspapers etc. The "heroes" of these entertainment activities are usually officers. The memoirs that we have from the front-line participants speak about the different ways of life with regard to officers and privates. The former usually benefitted from better food, larger portions of wine or rum etc. Such images are surprising upon first glance, given the context of the war. They suggest leisure, holiday, relaxation rather than conflict. This only goes to show the extent to which reality was mystified through visual language: the transmission of such images was encouraged and supported by the official propaganda. Home communities were to receive a serene image of those who had gone to battle. However, these moments of calm were an intermezzo between two military charges. With a very real prospect of being killed by a bullet, canon ball or shell, such moments of calm were perceived and experienced by the soldiers caught in the war with greater intensity than in times of peace. Another reason why non-combative activities prevail in the visual sources is the fact that it was - technically speaking - impossible to record a fight with a photo camera.¹¹

One category of extant visual material speaks of the distress that the great conflict inflicted upon the participants and the way it was "managed". Thus, we find, in some photos, wounds and disabilities, wounded and hospitalized soldiers, military hospitals and health care personnel. Surgical operations performed in such difficult circumstances with minimal medical tools are also present.¹² They are meant to depict the real face of the war, impossible to cover up by the propaganda. Group photos with various numbers of soldiers prevail. Medical personnel appear bearing the Red Cross emblem. Finally, as we have already mentioned, the first-line medical act was the object of propaganda, which found its expression in the numerous postcards that circulated during the war.¹³

A thematic section causally linked with the previous one is represented by the embodiment of death on the battlefield: photos showing funerals, graves and graveyards. There are hundreds of military

¹¹ Ibid., 119-131.

¹² In Ibid., 136 we included a photo that shows the leg amputation of a soldier of the Austro-Hungarian army in a military hospital (22nd March 1915).

¹³ See, for example, Ibid., 91 (right) and 135.

cemeteries in the cardinal points of the Great War which swallowed up large masses of people, some of which are well preserved and accessible to visitors and tourists, such as those from Galicia and Northern Italy, to cite two of the fronts where Romanian soldiers fighting under the Austro-Hungarian flag now rest in peace. Also present are clerics, military priests and chaplains, as well as celebrations of religious services around or outside the front. In Austro-Hungarian regiments with important Romanian participation, we can find priests of the two denominations, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic.¹⁴

The collection of visual sources that reflect the participation of Romanians from the dualist monarchy to the First World War also contains images (in public or private collections) of the war "at sea". We are talking about photos and postcards of imperial marine troops which had their operations base at Pola, in the Adriatic Sea. We have found postcards of ships that belonged to Austro-Hungarian war marine, different group photos that show Romanian seamen, individual photos of sailors of Romanian and other ethnic origins. Visual records have also been preserved from the twilight of the dualist monarchy, when marine troops went into dissolution, separated based on nationality, as was also the case of the land army. Thus, the images of the members of the National Guard of Romanian Mariners at Pola and its commander Valeriu Seredan have long been part of scientific circuit.¹⁵

Of particular interest are photographs from the Great War in which soldiers appear alongside civilians. Most times, they were soldiers together with members of their own families (mothers, children, wives etc.). They appear in photos taken in locations far from first line, when on leave, when soldiers could briefly return to their local communities. Equally interesting photographs are those of soldiers and their brides, which suggests that when men who had gone to war came back, marriages also took place. Dated and sometimes with identifiable characters, these records illustrate the great diversity of the preserved visual material that, today, reveals – at a temporal distance of a century – the memory of the First World War.¹⁶

The relinquishment of loyalty of the Romanians who fought in the Austro-Hungarian army – either by falling prisoners or by voluntary desertion¹⁷ is a theme that was not omitted by the visual records of that

¹⁴ Ibid., 145-158.

¹⁵ Ibid., 169-177.

¹⁶ Ibid., 161-166.

¹⁷ See, in this regard, Ion Cârja, *Opțiuni și dileme în vremuri de război. Emil Rebreanu la despărțirea de „bunul împărat”* [Options and dilemmas in times of war. Emil Rebreanu at the parting with

time. Thus, we have photos of prisoners and Romanian volunteers in Russia, Italy and France, disparate pieces or richer collections, such as the lot of photographs depicting the activity of the second corps of Romanian volunteers from Russia, who were active in Siberia in 1918-1919. The lot was published a few years ago.¹⁸ Among the records preserved from the Romanian prisoners in Italy, of special interest are Petre Ugliș Delapeșca's memoirs, which, alongside the handwritten notes, contain extensive visual material.¹⁹ These photos of Romanian prisoners and volunteers from the Great War are also relevant for the great distances that these events put between the Romanian soldiers, from France to the faraway Siberia at Vladivostok. Given that the vast majority of Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian army came from rural areas, a more static cultural universe, we could say that after the emigration "to America", the war gave them a second opportunity to broaden their horizon, in that for those involved in volunteering, geographic space and its cultural dimension were considerably re-scaled. One of the many examples of this kind was that of the military priest Gheorghe Rista, who, after having been sent to battle with the Honved regiment no. 8 Lugoj, was taken prisoner by the Russians and would then activate in the second corps of Romanian volunteers on the Eastern front. The photo and letters he sent to his family (in the village Ohaba Sârbească from Banat) from Irkutsk on 25th January and 21st July 1919 are relevant for this space dilation that the war caused for Romanians. The experience of being prisoners and then volunteers, which Romanians from the former dualist empire had during the First World War, is explicitly found in the narrative sources of the time, as well as the visual records that, with their language and expression, thus complete the contribution of documents with regard to the Romanians' contact with the first world clash. The issue of prisoners and volunteers between 1914-1919 is evidently convergent with the preparation and achievement of the Great Union, to which these men brought their contribution on remote battlefields, as well as at home. In the Romanian

"the good emperor"], in vol. Ioan Lăpușneanu, *Emil Rebreanu, eroul de la Ghimeș-Făget* [Emil Rebreanu, the hero from Ghimeș-Făget], second edition by Ioan Pinteș, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2018), 5-28; Ion Cârja, Cecilia Cârja, *Marele Război și redimensionarea loialităților. Români ardeleni și bănățeni după despărțirea de „bunul împărat”* [The Great War and the resizing of loyalties. Transylvanian and Banat Romanians after parting with the "good emperor"], in *Revista Bistriței*, XXXII (2018): 225-231.

¹⁸ I. Rustoiu, G. Rustoiu, S. Cutean (eds.), *op.cit.*, passim.

¹⁹ See, in this regard, Petre Ugliș Delapeșca, *Jurnal de război din anii 1914-1919* [War journal from 1914-1919], editors: Ioana Rustoiu, Smaranda Cutean, Marius Cristea și Tudor Roșu, (Alba Iulia: Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia/Seria „Memoriale”, I, Editura Altip, 2015), passim.

territories of the former Austria-Hungary, where the campaign of the Romanian army took place in 1919, many Transylvanians joined the troops from the Old Kingdom, some of which had returned from the front. Even though they are not as numerous as other source types, visual records capture this thematic section in chronology: Romanians as prisoners in Russia, Italy or France, subsequently volunteers and fighters for the achievement of the Great Union.²⁰

Visual sources, in their very particular way, reflect the terrible experience of mankind during the First World War. For the Romanian historiography, their importance and relevance are higher, as their use is of rather recent date. Practically, a more systematic approach became noticeable around the centenary of the war. These visual materials regarding the Romanian participation in battles under different flags, which have been published so far, are from what exists - and awaits publication - in public and private collections; this should go beyond the Centenary of the Great Union, because they are as important as narrative sources. The photos and postcards from 1914-1918 are privileged records of a "cultural history" of the Great War.²¹ If, traditionally speaking, historical writing in the countries that participated in the conflict had a polemic dimension - more or less obvious - often marked by national bias, recent approaches of international historiography has focus on a supranational history or a transnational history of the First World War,²² which aims to surpass the polemic level and the vindicative approach and focuses on the participation in war as an experience of mankind, on what soldiers truly experienced on the battlefield, in and out of the trenches, regardless of loyalties, political ambitions and projects that were behind military conflicts. Distress, drama, all kinds of deprivation, from food and hygiene, to long-term separation of soldiers from their families, proximity and long-term exposure to the horrors of war, impending death, psychological terror of a modern war that used technology borne out of the 19th century industrial revolution, capable of "producing" death on the battlefield on a monstrous scale, unseen in the past wars, all these represented a common dimension of the war experience that

²⁰ Visual records in this regard in *De la „amurgul imperilor” la România Mare*, 179-192.

²¹ Odyle Roynette, *Pour une histoire culturelle della guerre au XIX^e siècle*, in „Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle” [En ligne], 30 (2005), mis en ligne le 12 juillet 2006, accessed 11.04.2019, at <https://journals.openedition.org/rh19/1003>; Bruno Cabanes (sous la direction), *Une histoire de la guerre du XIX siècle a nos jours* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2018), see considerations from 7-36, 401-407.

²² Nicola Labanca, Oswald Überegger, *La guerra italo-austriaca (1915-18)* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2014), 7-35.

transcended national and political limitations, or the official ends of commitment to the conflict. Such a "dispassionate" view on war seen as a global phenomenon²³ allows for a novel research approach that goes beyond the mere event and fact and lays emphasis on other aspects, like everyday life in times of war, history of suffering and mourning,²⁴ propaganda and manipulation on the front and among civilians, celebrations and commemorations of the Great War after 1918²⁵ and so on. The fact that life in its deepest aspects did not allow itself to be banished by the horrors of war, is demonstrated by the letter and postcard exchanges of soldiers with their loved ones at home, soldiers who got married in those short moments of peace when they were on leave,²⁶ examples like the sentimental testament written by Dimitrie Zgriban on the back of a photo sent home to his wife in Banat from the Italian front²⁷ and especially the collection of photos and postcards of the officer Albert Porkolab, which is an excellent demonstration of the survival of the feelings of deep human affection in a time of rattling of the guns.²⁸ Last but not least, visual records are illustrative alongside narrative sources of what was called "ground-level memory of war,"²⁹ the view of simple soldiers, of the mass level of the fighting troop and not that of the "commandment": major state, officer elite, politicians and diplomats. Photographs taken on the front line contain many scenes from everyday life, bits of the daily lives of the troop outside war operations. Visual sources accessible for our research depict soldiers and officers from the Austro-Hungarian army involved in daily activities: food and eating, clothes mending, leisure time. They show that these primary sources were able to convey this "human dimension" of a major conflict like the First World War.

A history of the participation of the Romanians from Austria-Hungary in the First World War, seen from the viewpoint of these sources, illustrates another component: the need for communication, amplified by the exceptional context of the conflict. On a European scale,

²³ Jay Winter, *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, vol. I. *Global War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

²⁴ Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Annette Becker, *Războiul redescoperit 1914-1918* [The rediscovered war 1914-1918] (București: Editura Corint, 2014), passim.

²⁵ An Italian publication on this topic in Lorenzo Cadeddu, *La leggenda del soldato sconosciuto all'altare di Patria* (Udine: Gaspari editore, 2005).

²⁶ See photographs published by us in *De la „amurgul imperiilor” la România Mare*, 162-163.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁸ *Un ardelean în Marele Război*, passim.

²⁹ Doru Radosav, "Memoria „de jos” a războiului. Câteva considerații" [The "Ground Level" memory of war. A few considerations], in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală*, XIV (2014): 5-54.

communication between the front line and the home communities received unprecedented proportions. Only in the case of Italy, it was estimated that over 4 billion letters were exchanged between the front line and home, in the years between 1915-1918.³⁰ The correspondence piece played the role of a symbolic substitute for the one that went to war³¹ in the same way as for soldiers sending and receiving letters was a form of symbolic emotional relation with the “good times”, from before their enrolment and with their loved ones at home, where the rhythm of life went on without them just the way it did before “the lads” were sent to “battle”. For the recipients, the contents of the letters were of secondary importance. That is because the receipt of a letter was a sign that the departed was still alive. At that time, photos also circulated in the form of postcards – a practice now gone – which allowed for the long-distance transmission of feelings and emotions, along with the written content, usually placed on the back or next to the pictures. A photograph sent from the front had the advantage of containing the visual identity of the sender. Correspondence between the front line and the civilians was poignantly assumed, more than the letters sent in times of peace, as each letter or postcard received from the departed for war could be, in fact, the last one.

As far as the content is concerned, these pieces of correspondence that left the front line had an almost standard format: they had “few words”, briefly giving information about the sender, followed by references to the weather and inquiries about those at home. All correspondence underwent strict war censorship, a fact well-known by the soldiers, who tried to leave out political comments or hints to how the war was going. In a letter from the front line sent to his wife in Câmpeni (today in the County of Alba) on 7th December 1916, Alexandru Săvuț pointed out that his situation as soldier in a combatting troop did not allow him to present reality as it was: “we live in such a way that we can’t say anything”.³²

War correspondence, which was never the object of systematic research, is important for the literacy level of the troops, given the well-known fact that the armies that clashed in the Great War had large numbers of illiterate soldiers. Battalions and regiments of the Austro-Hungarian army made no exception. The need for communication was as real and urgent for the illiterate (privates) and literate (officers) alike.

³⁰ Lucio Fabi, *Una guerra sulla carta*, in Roberto Todero (a cura di), *Stasera andremo in fuoco. Iddio me guardi. Lettere di un Honvéd fiumano dal monte San Michele*, collection (Gorizia: “Sentieri di pace”, no. 2, Grafica Goriziana, 2013), 5.

³¹ Frédéric Rousseau, *14-18, penser le patriotism* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 2018), 137-150.

³² *De la „anurgul imperiilor” la România Mare*, 112.

Epistolary pieces that contained the phrase "epistle made" come from illiterate soldiers who asked their fellows for help. War was a time when the exercise of correspondence became very important, as a result of the need for long-distance communication and relations. This was felt as vital by soldiers and civilians alike. In this regard, another category of war correspondence comes from people who used writing for the first time, which transpires from writing irregularities and lack of neatness, grammar mistakes and a style of expression that bears the clear mark of oral communication. In a totally different category was the correspondence of officers, which was well written, neat, richer in content and expression. Based on our research, we may note that war censorship was less strict when it came to the officers of the Austro-Hungarian army, as compared to lower-rank soldiers, especially when the latter came from among the "nationalities" of the dualist monarchy.³³

Postcards and photographs from the Romanian soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army belong to a general typology of war correspondence in the years 1914-1918. This category of documents intersects (as far as the content and the cultural levels of their authors are concerned) with narrative sources: journals, memoirs, autobiographies, which had as their object of expression the world war. As documents that circulated via mail, these visual sources are in close proximity to war sources of epistolary character. The correspondence of the time, visual or classic, also represents an indicator of the learning capacity of the fighting troop, especially in the case of the men that came from rural areas. In the proximity of these cultural "practices", the form of correspondence between peasant-soldiers and their loved ones was called "minor memoirs" and consists of writings by rural people of poor cultural level.³⁴

The impact of war and the transformations it triggered stimulated participants to become the narrators of their own experience on the battlefield, regardless of their education level or literacy. Concretely, that meant that apart from the oral channel, which was specific to them, many soldiers of the rural world tried to certain aspects of their own war experience into writing, in the form of memoirs. Like the letters dispatched from the front, a considerable number of texts came into being, which bore the strong mark of oral communication. They are extremely interesting as a cultural history phenomenon, in that a world of peasants returning from the front was shyly entering the realm of

³³ *Un ardelean în Marele Război*, 234, 237, 238.

³⁴ Valeriu Leu, Carmen Albert, *Banatul în memorialistica „măruntă” sau istoria ignorată* [Banat in the "minor" memoirs or the ignored history] (Reșița: History Museum of the Caraș-Severin County, 1995).

memoirs. The journal written by Constantin Hegheș of Boian (today part of the Cluj County), which contains a short account of his “troubles at the Galician border”, is an illustrative example of the way in which a rural soldier of poor literacy wished to put pen to paper and recount bits of his war experience.³⁵

The notes that accompany these images of war, which travelled predominantly by military post, make it possible to identify the nationality of the senders, even though this fact was not an absolute rule. That is because the presence of Romanian soldiers can also be seen in photos and postcards written in Hungarian or German.³⁶ Among the pieces left from Romanian soldiers we can find, in some cases, words or expressions borrowed from Hungarian or German, as a result of the inter-ethnic communication in an army which had a multi-ethnic composition (just like the dualist empire), where the two languages were official in all troops.

Finally, these visual records from the time of the Great War allow for a *sui generis* dialogue, a century back in time, with those “that are no more”. The camera often caught expressive physiognomies of people with known identities, in the case of the pictures that are accompanied by notes and writing, alongside others that do not offer any information about their authors or recipients. Here, we are dealing with the anonymous bearers of the memory of war. These materials offer us the unique privilege of visually “communicating” with our ancestors from a century ago, with the representatives of a mankind that had taken the leap into the terrible adventure of the First World War.

³⁵ *De la „amurgul imperiilor” la România Mare*, 113.

³⁶ See in this regard *Ibid.*, 73, 125.

Book Reviews

Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Hunedoreștii. O istorie europeană* [The Hunedorești Family. A European History], Cluj-Napoca, Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2020, 428p.

The book written by historian Ioan-Aurel Pop not only offers a comprehensive perspective on the destiny of a family with a significant resonance within the history of the medieval kingdom of Hungary and its province of Transylvania, but it also illustrates the political, social, confessional and cultural evolutions from this area of central and south-eastern Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. Thus, the book is at the boundary between a historical monograph dedicated to the Hunedorești family and a synthesis of the history of the Transylvanian Romanians from the Middle Ages. In fact, the history of the Romanians from Transylvania during the Middle Ages represents the research field preferred by the aforementioned historian, a theme that accompanied a prodigious academic career.

The reconstruction of the history of the Hunedorești/Corvin family, as the author of the book, I. A. Pop, emphasises, is not a unique endeavour. Since the Middle Ages, such histories have been compiled, and the popular culture had birthed myths and legends around this family, while the modern historiography has made new worthy contributions to this subject. However, professor Pop's book pleads for a historiographic reconstruction that fits into a historical concept exemplified on many occasions by the author. This historical concept follows two coordinates – on the one hand, history should reflect the lives of the people of the past and must not be written “according to any criterion other than that of the humanly possible truth”¹ (p. 11), and, on the other hand, the author assumes this historiographic exercise from the perspective of a Romanian historian (“I wrote this book as a Romanian historian”, as I. A. Pop confesses), unlike other contributions on the same subject belonging to the historiographies from Central Europe (the Hungarian, Austrian, German ones). In both of the situations above, the author resonates with the values of the contemporary historical approach. Thus, in the epilogue of a tome that aimed to describe a panorama of the historical studies from the beginning of the third millennium, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto noted, among other things, that historiography inclined towards the reconstruction of all aspects of life in the past (*nihil humanum alienum*) and towards accepting multiple discourses about the past, the

¹ Original text: “după alt criteriu decât cel al adevărului omenește posibil” (If not marked otherwise, all translations were made by the author of this text).

perspectivism of historical writing circumscribed to the available sources and to the historian's views and values (Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *Epilogue: What is History Now?*, in vol. *What is History Now?*, edited by Davide Cannadine, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 151 and 154). In professor Pop's case, the perspectivism is assumed within a cultural view, the author defining himself as "a Romanian historian".

For an adequate understanding of this book, we must also emphasise another observation made by the author, namely that it was not compiled according to an initial, standalone, autonomous plan; it came into being "step by step", along the trajectory of the historian's research endeavours, merging a series of studies and articles that approached the historical problematics of the Hunedorești family, or of the period in which its illustrious representatives lived. Thus, what must once again be specified is that the reconstructive endeavour carried out by the historian was each time based on new sources, or lesser-known historiographic sources, in his attempt to decipher the social mechanisms of the transformation of the individuals and of the society ("Historians are, however, meant to decipher history based on the sources, and even to explain the transformation of certain figures from the past into national heroes or into legendary characters."²)

Despite the merger of several studies and articles (which the author modestly divides into scientific approaches and essays that "emerged from a long experience of a historian and of a man living among the people"³, p. 14), historian I. A. Pop managed to offer an overview of the issues thus displayed, following a thematic structure that illustrates not only the acts of the key figures from the Hunedorești family (John Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus), but also the epoch in which they lived and their posterity, with the birth and the dissemination of the myths that support the contemporary knowledge about the Hunedorești. The studies and articles previously published in scholarly journals – for this reason, known by the specialists in particular – underwent a process of additions, of stylistic chiselling, and thus, within the book, they have become accessible to the wider public that is passionate about history. A distinctive feature of the volume signed by historian I. A. Pop is the author's intention to make history intelligible to the general public, to perpetuate the dialogue between the historian and his contemporaries in a cultural context freed from constraints and ideological dogmas.

² Original text: "Istoricii au, însă, menirea să descifreze istoria în funcție de surse și să explice inclusiv transformarea unor personalități ale trecutului în eroi naționali sau în figuri legendare."

³ Original text: "ivite dintr-o îndelungată experiență de istoric și de om trăitor între oameni."

In the spirit of the contemporary historical discourse, historian I. A. Pop rejects the “scientific jargon” and opts for a clear and explicit language and an academic and elegant style. As the aforementioned historian, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, also noted, “communicability is the mark of good historical writing” (p. 152); in this sense, professor Pop’s text does indeed follow the rigors of today’s historical writing. In the same way, the historian deciphers and explains the facts and processes of the past by comparing them to the present, emphasising his belief that the Middle Ages and the medieval society represent “another culture”, that the people of that time “did things differently” (*Ibidem*). This communicability and presence of history within the contemporary popular culture is that much more valuable, as in Romania, as well as in other countries, history has become a “Cinderella” of the school curriculums (*Ibidem*, p. 150-151). In the book under scrutiny, the final chapter specifically profiles this type of affinity between the past and the present, in the terms of the relation between “the Hunedorești and us”⁴ (p. 357-384).

In accordance with the reference grid that we have repeatedly called upon in order to emphasise the features of professor Pop’s book, i.e., Felipe Fernandez-Armesto’s text, we can also highlight an important characteristic of the work. Namely, the book approaches the theme of the “family history”, that of the Hunedorești family, a focal historiographic genre that corresponds with the taste and demands of the contemporary popular culture.

Built as a history book that, among the reading options of the contemporary popular culture, rivals any other literary genre, it assumes a historiographic discourse that does not directly aim to legitimise a national identity (although the author claims this cultural affiliation), as in the case of the romanticism historians of the 19th century, or to present the history of the Hunedorești family and their epoch through the filter of the Marxist ideology from the second half of the past century; however, it is rather an exercise in reconstructing and explaining the lives of the people of the past from a dual perspective – of history as a *magistra vitae* and of the patrimonial functions with which history is invested today. The historian offers the history of a family with controversial origins and ethnicity, but he also proposes a reading grid in the spirit of the contemporary times, thus reconstructing the history of a “European family”. In fact, the historian places the historiographic reconstruction on two intertwining planes: the historical research on the relation between the individual and the power structures in the Middle Ages on the one hand, and the relations between the

⁴ Original text: “Hunedorești și noi.”

community and the power during that epoch on the other hand. The first plane contains the biography of the protagonists of the Hunedorești family, John and Matthias, while the second contains the relations between the Romanian community from Transylvania, and from the Hungarian Kingdom in general, with the power structures. On the one hand, as a historical biography and, on the other hand, as a history of the Romanian community from the Hungarian Kingdom in the Middle Ages, the historian explains the social, political, confessional and cultural mechanisms that define power in its medieval limits in this kingdom from Central Europe. In this sense, the biography of John and Matthias represents a mark of the prestige and an illustration of the power that the Romanians from the Hungarian Kingdom were able to obtain. In other words, from a “powerless” community, that of the Romanians, in the Middle Ages, illustrious figures emerged and were assimilated by the culture of the dominant power.

At the end of these brief remarks, as a result of the observations above, once again calling on a note made by the historian from the University of London, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, we may conclude that the book dedicated to the Hunedorești family, to the epoch in which they lived and to their posterity, their relation with “us”, offers a broader perspective in understanding the Middle Ages in Hungary and Transylvania (thus “broadening the mind”) and allows us to become more tolerant and open to one another, thus becoming “better people” – as such, history proves its moral effects on those who read it (Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, p. 154). Professor Pop’s book provides this very opportunity.

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Antal Molnár, *Confessionalization on the Frontier. The Balkan Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality* (Rome: Viella, 2019)

In rather original manner, this book deals with Catholic confessionalization in the Balkans, a topic that has benefited from limited attention in extant literature. The choice of subject seems to have been stimulated by the fact that the Catholics, despite being the smallest religious community in the Balkans, were beyond doubt the most significant, a view supported by their commercial and diplomatic contacts with the west and by the strength and liveliness of their cultural expression in the region. As the book deals with confessional minorities, such as the Catholics in the Balkans,

it primarily refers to mechanisms of confession-building often initiated by the Holy See, but implemented locally by various agents, such as secular elites, secular clergy and religious orders. In terms of its chronologic span, the book mostly deals with developments in religious life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because strategies of confessionalization came to a halt in this region during the eighteenth century, as convincingly demonstrated in chapter nine. In terms of its geographical span, partly following in the footsteps of Fernand Braudel, the study focuses on the whole of the Balkan peninsula, with the exception of Greece, but including Ottoman Hungary as a part of the Ottoman Balkans, proposing a broader understanding of the region. Thus, the book succeeds in transcending national frameworks and evolves towards a macro-regional analysis.

Although the book does not have an over-arching research question, as it brings together a series of articles previously published in several languages, Hungarian, English, Italian and German, it does contribute to the field of ecclesiastical history and religious studies in significant ways, as previous conclusions have been expanded and reshaped by new findings. Moreover, all the chapters address the issue of confessionalization as a heuristic tool and possible interpretative paradigm, when applied to a minority confession living in the Ottoman Empire.

Consequently, the study wishes to trace the distinctive features of Catholic confessionalization in this particular region, by moving away from a historiographical narrative that emphasized the triumphant, militant or sacrificial nature of Catholic missions, embracing instead a more balanced view of the interaction between "Rome-centred Tridentine Catholicism" and local Catholicism on the peripheries of Europe. The author contends that, in this region, Catholic confessionalization was not a homogenous process, but rather "a complex of local versions emerging in different political and confessional contexts."

If one wishes to place this book within the author's work and research interests, it is noteworthy that the project builds on previous research for a PhD dissertation concerning Catholic mission institutions in Ottoman Hungary and the broader area of the northern Balkans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The thesis was eventually developed into a monograph, published in Hungarian and French, focused on the history of these institutions. The monograph thus remained firmly anchored within the field of ecclesiastical history. However, the research undertaken for that particular project seems to have raised issues that could not be answered within the framework of this particular field and thus needed to be approached from the perspective of cultural history and with the tools

provided by micro-analysis. This must have logically led to the outlining of the current project.

When compared with other contributions to this field, the book has the merit of detaching itself from previous approaches to the topic, which had been impacted by both nationalism and confessionalism, often resulting, in the author's own words, in a "lay martyrology". Instead, this book has chosen to incorporate the Ottoman viewpoint and to look at the history of Christian communities, albeit mostly with the help of Christian sources, within the framework of Ottoman confessional policy. This approach is not entirely new, as it builds on previous research on Christian communities in the Balkans, which has privileged a detailed study of parallel structures, broader social and political contexts and interactions among the various religious and confessional communities.

Stemming from this particular trend in existing scholarship, the book provides a new perspective on the history of Balkan Catholicism during the early modern period. On the one hand, Molnár succeeds in clearly defining the condition of the Balkan Catholic Church, which, in his view, was facing four major challenges: the circumstances imposed by Ottoman authorities, the pressure of the Orthodox Church, the right of patronage claimed by the Hungarian sovereign and what the author calls "the Franciscan Church" and its autonomous status. The book has the further merit of considering the history of Balkan Catholicism within the framework of Ottoman religious policies, dominated in the author's view by pragmatism, with the general aim of consolidating Sunni Islam, and little interest in the hardening of confessions initiated by the communities themselves. Within this framework, the book accounts for specific local developments by considering both medieval traditions and the constraints of Ottoman religious policy. Thus, Molnár astutely points out that Balkan Catholicism, surviving in regions where Islam was the state religion, was a rare and unusual breed, as it functioned within uncertain jurisdictional boundaries, had severe problems of church discipline, was unable to properly indoctrinate communities and had to accommodate strong trans-confessional links. On the other hand, the book identifies the main reasons for the demise of Balkan Catholicism. In the author's opinion, the process began with the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), as this considerably diminished the economic, social, military, political and intellectual force of the Balkan Catholics. This was followed by the decrease of the Catholic population, caused by losses during the war, emigration and forced Islamization. Consequently, Balkan Catholicism in Bosnia and Bulgaria lost its urban character and became a purely rural denomination, without an elite. This impacted on its confessional weight, its ability to represent its

interests and its cultural significance, crucial to its place in Balkan nation-building. Moreover, during the eighteenth century, the European powers, the Holy See and the Congregation of Propaganda Fide gradually showed less interest in Catholics living in the Ottoman Empire. Molnár ultimately claims that the great achievements of Innocent XI's papacy may be seen to have had catastrophic implications for the Balkan missions.

Thus, one of the major contributions of this book is a profound and nuanced understanding of Catholic missions in the Balkans during the early modern period. First of all, Molnár has an innovative way of looking at the missions, taking into account several, sometimes overlapping, models: missions initiated in Rome, which relied on secular priests based in Ragusa, missions led by the Franciscans based in Bosnia who held a hegemonic position in these territories, and later missions carried out by Franciscans and Jesuits under the authority of Hungarian bishops. Molnár suggests the possible existence of a fourth plan hatched in Venice and convincingly argues that this may have fed local rivalries by establishing an economic axis Sarajevo-Spalato-Venice, which aimed at dislodging Ragusan hegemony in the region. Secondly, the book outlines several stages in the development of the mission, discussing separately the pontificate of Innocent XI and the impact of his reform policy, particularly the stricter centralization of the missions. The author points out that, initially, the Holy See did not have a central authority to direct the affairs of evangelical missions and that it was only the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, set up in 1622, that established its objectives, *modus operandi* and intellectual aspirations. While the popes did not control the missions, they did wish to set some general objectives for the course of evangelization. Moreover, the strategy of the Propaganda Fide combined the principle of universality, ensconced within the universalist mission strategies of the papacy and the ideal of uniformity, with a practical pastoral strategy focused on the "special needs of the nations". Thus, as Molnár persuasively argues, these institutions made considerable allowances for differences among the nations. Accommodating these regional needs, the aims of the seventeenth century missions in the Balkans were the promotion of local clergy and church hierarchies. Thus, within the Balkan missions, support was given to new institutions, such as mission dioceses, and apostolic prefectures, to the consolidation of ecclesiastical hierarchies, with resident bishops, to the curtailment of patronage rights and the privileges of religious orders, and ultimately to the elimination of religious orders from the missions and their replacement with secular priests formed in mission seminaries. The consolidation of ecclesiastical institutions led to control exercised through apostolic visitations, while the general objective was to bring the religious life of the clergy and the faithful in line with Tridentine

requirements. While the missions began with a vague intention to bring the Muslim population and even the members of the Orthodox Church to the Catholic fold, the conversion of Muslims and Orthodox believers had come off the agenda at an early stage, while aspirations of union with Rome were only present to a modest extent. Molnár seems to suggest that, throughout the seventeenth century, the Balkan missions were primarily concerned with pastoral care for Catholic minorities living throughout the region.

Equally noteworthy is the conclusion regarding Union with Rome. As during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, in the age of confessionalization, the Catholic Church initiated unionist movements, the author chose to discuss the attempts of some of the members of the Serbian Church to achieve union with Rome, although, as it has been pointed out, this did not figure prominently among the mission's objectives. In Molnár's opinion, the failure of the union among the Serbs owes much to tensions generated by the pursuit of confessional exclusivity at the intersection of two religious and cultural worlds, the Eastern and Western Churches. Thus, the cultural and national role of Serbian Orthodoxy and its relative autonomy in Ottoman and Christian political structures rendered attempts at union meaningless. While explanations for its withdrawal from Western Christianity, which "had been transformed by the Reformation and Catholic Reform and became increasingly intellectualized" seem less persuasive, in view of recent literature that has emphasized continuities between traditional and reformed religious cultures, arguments concerning the development of a special status of the Serbian Church as a repository of medieval Serbian statehood are highly convincing. In the author's view, the disappearance of the Serbian state increased the role of the upper ecclesiastical hierarchy and the monasteries. Whilst the patriarch took the place of the monarch as the secular leader of the nation, the monasteries became the holy places of political tradition and the locus for the cult of monarchs, or the local dynasties. Moreover, Molnár would have us believe that the strength of the Serbian Church lay in its adaptation of religious practices to folk religiosity, its relinquishing of training and theology in favour of liturgy and paraliturgical practices, and its retention of political ecclesiology. The author further argues that, while the Ottoman religious policy of pitting the two churches against each other greatly contributed to the acrimony of Catholic-Orthodox relations, the movement towards union was equally undermined by the bishop's refusal to consider setting up an autonomous Uniate Church. Finally, the local clergy did not believe in evangelization among the Serbs because of the differences between Orthodox and Latin religious cultures. Thus, Molnár is ultimately led to conclude that the union was a marginal phenomenon in Balkan relations

between Orthodoxy and Catholicism. Tensions between them lay less within Roman proselytizing than within divisive Ottoman religious policy.

Choosing a novel approach, this book embraces the confessionalization paradigm, launched in the 1980s within German historiography by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard, in the wake of Ernst Walter Zeeden's book, while taking into account its development in time and its refinement by the many scholars who have tested it in various circumstances, geographical as well as religious. The author is particularly interested in the adoption of the paradigm by several scholars, intent on interpreting changes in Orthodox Christianity, Judaism and Islam, a tendency that has highlighted the dynamics of institutionalization and focused attention on the march towards modernity. Consequently, one of the principal contributions of this book is to the refinement of the concept of confessionalization, as Molnár uses this particular interpretative paradigm in his exploration of Catholicism in the Balkans. The author wishes to place Ottoman areas of the Balkans within the international research on confessionalization, joining a more general trend in various historiographies which have tested this heuristic tool in different environments, most notably the Ottoman Empire, as suggested by the outstanding work of Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu.

In this context, a few points need to be brought to the attention of the readership. First of all, Molnár restricts his investigation to Catholic confessionalization, although he often draws interesting parallels with the Serbian Orthodox Church. Secondly, he argues that, in the absence of Christian secular authorities, it was the elites of the region who gave an impulse to confessionalization. Moreover, in the absence of a landowning aristocracy and urban patricians that constituted the traditional secular elites, it was wealthy merchants who had secular authority and developed religious policies in the towns under Ottoman control. By the late seventeenth century, this group had come to perform a variety of functions: they ultimately became influential bearers of a religious culture that was increasingly adopting national features and thus shaped the course of confessionalization. Thus, one important merit of the book is this discussion concerning agency in confessionalization strategies, as illustrated by chapters three and four, which deal respectively with the Holy See, the previously unknown involvement of the Roman Inquisition in the missions conducted in the Balkans, and the Republic of Venice. In this context, Molnár highlights the role of merchant communities in the development of the confessionalization process, for instance in chapters five and six, which focus on the patronage over the chapels at Belgrade and Novi Pazar, an object of disputes between the merchants and the Church, suggesting that the usual

agents supporting these policies, such as a secular confessional state, or a “feudal ruling class” were more or less absent, fostering the forging of a specific model of confessionalization, different from the “feudal-territorial” one. The author argues that, by the time Innocent XI became pope, these factors had combined to create a model of confessionalization with a peculiarly Ottoman structure. This model deviated from western Catholic or Protestant patterns and took a path similar to that followed by the Orthodox Churches, precisely because the two Churches had to adapt in similar ways to the Ottoman system of religious regulations. These conclusions dovetail with the suggestions of Kristić and Terzioğlu, who have focused on the increasing processes of Islamization and Sunnitization, paralleled by growing intolerance towards Christians and Jews living in the Ottoman Empire. Molnár concludes by positing that this Balkan model of Catholic confessionalization constitutes a ‘hybrid confessionalization’, which fell short of the Roman centralizing ideal and the version of an episcopal national church and was, in fact, a “dual church reform model”. The author thus successfully manages to refine a well-worn concept, by positing that, by the end of the seventeenth century, a “special Ottoman confessionalization model” was created, distinct from western Catholic and Protestant traditions. This new model was shaped by the fact that Ottoman rule made confessional territorialization impossible, while the resistance of local structures to reforms prescribed by Rome, as illustrated by the second chapter of the book, did not lead to their successful implementation. The author further points out that the kinship system, prevalent in the Balkans, favoured the formation of interest groups, which forged different strategies when asked to implement orders from Rome. Although one may not entirely agree with the notion of testing transnational paradigms within new and extremely changeable circumstances, one still finds the in-depth study of the mechanisms of confessionalization initiated by the Catholic Church in the process of adaptation to regional/local contexts both challenging and, as this book successfully demonstrates, fruitful.

The author’s contention that Catholic minorities had an “extraordinary” role in forming “early national consciousness”, while perhaps less persuasive, is certainly provocative. This point is well-illustrated by chapter seven, which examines the role of Albanian priests trained in Rome who were concerned to give literary expression to the rudiments of Albanian identity. In the author’s view, national identity also comes into play in chapter eight, which deals with plans for a Catholic union among the Serbs in the context of a Balkan mission, challenging views in both Croatian and Serbian historiographies. Successful confessionalization generally leads to a strong confessional identity but, in this case, the author

links the latter to national identity. Relying on the in-depth analysis of the Albanian case study and helped by forays into other regions of the Balkans, Molnár suggests that Catholic missions made a much greater contribution to the foundation of the early Balkan national consciousness. The cultural-linguistic-literary programme of the missions effectively shaped the early conception of Balkan national identity, first of all the Illyrian and later the more particular Bulgarian, Bosnian and Albanian ones. The book argues that, in the eyes of the missionaries, national identity was closely related to the Catholic Church. They sometimes identified the national characteristics of their countries, they rewrote history and created heroes and they set out ambitious literary programmes.

In contrast to confessionalization and identity, religious and social disciplining are less clearly defined, as social disciplining is equated with the eradication of “traditional customs, folk practices and pagan cults” and even with conversion, blurring the boundaries between the two concepts. The author seems to suggest that, in a region where confessionalization was initiated by ecclesiastical institutions, social along with religious disciplining became the responsibility of the Church. This could have been further explored as a specific feature of the region, because it was markedly different from western European practices.

Beyond the innovative approach and the introduction of new or refined concepts, the merits of this book include commitment to interdisciplinarity. The micro-historical approach favoured in this endeavour reaches a peak in the tenth chapter which, by exploring gender transformation, informed by Catholic female mysticism and Balkan folk tradition, deals with the little-known history of women in this region and reinforces the author’s conclusion that Balkan Catholicism is an almost freakish mixture of European and Balkan elements. However, the option in favour of micro-analysis is not substantiated in this case by the minute examination of one subject from all possible perspectives, but rather by the presentation of several individual conflicts and careers.

The book is informed by current historiographical debates centred on confessionalization, the regional factor in historical analysis, taking on board the results of Sergio Anselmi and the ‘Ancona School’, various types of detailed reconstruction, for example Noel Malcolm’s attempt to explore the interaction of two cultures during the sixteenth century through the minute examination of collective biographies. The book shows familiarity with regional historiographies published in local languages, which are thus made, even indirectly accessible to a western audience. Moreover, Antal Molnár’s book shows extraordinary familiarity with the literature dedicated to the study of early modern Catholicism and particularly missions in the Balkans.

In most cases, the book adds to existing scholarship by offering alternative interpretations of the rich source material and by refining firmly entrenched conclusions. Sometimes, the author contends with the conclusions of previous scholarship, providing a detailed critique of various trends tainted by either nationalism and/or confessionalism. Finally, the author astutely highlights gaps to be filled in existing literature pointing out opportunities for future research.

It is almost superfluous to say that this book is based on an impressive array of primary sources, many of them formerly unknown, produced in Rome by the Holy See and the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, or locally, by missionaries and envoys or by Ottoman authorities. These have been subjected to detailed analysis and criticism. The text is accompanied by twelve maps, useful in orienting the reader in the religious/confessional complexity of the region.

Reading through the book, one may have wished that the content of these studies had been melted into a structure better able to highlight the book's major contribution to the study of confessionalization. As things stand, the reader has to sift through the, sometimes overwhelming, details in order to put together the new confessionalization model. This does not, however, diminish the book's contribution to the field, securing its place on the shelves of university libraries all over the world.

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Judit Pál – Vlad Popovici – Andrea Fehér – Ovidiu Emil Iudean (ed.), *Parliamentary elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, Berlin, International Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2018.

As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, many archives and libraries have closed down, “starving” researchers of their working material. In such cases, we start to truly appreciate digitalized databases, as well as books that can compile sizeable amounts of data, based on a large number of sources, with a good critical apparatus. One such book is entitled *Parliamentary Elections in Eastern Hungary and Transylvania (1865–1918)*, and was edited by Judit Pál, Vlad Popovici, Andrea Fehér and Ovidiu Emil Iudean, the latter three being members of the teaching staff of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Babeş-Bolyai University, and the former being a researcher at the same university. The volume describes Hungarian parliamentarism, and features a wide variety of information about the elected deputies from

Transylvania and Eastern Hungary, including important information about the electoral constituencies, while also offering a critical account of the sources used to create the tables of information.

The book has four parts. The first one can be broken down into three sections. The first section starts with the introductory study of Judit Pál, which offers a description of Hungarian parliamentarism, the electoral system of the period and the elected deputies. It provides the historical background information that is needed to interpret the data presented in the following chapters. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, the Parliament became the undisputed centre of political life in Hungary, even though it had to share a significant amount of its power with the ruler. The Hungarian parliament was bicameral, made up of the Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates. The latter had the real political power, the former – composed of aristocrats, high dignitaries of state and church – was a passive player of Hungarian politics for most of the time. The groups that took part in the activity of the Parliament were parliamentary parties and not political parties, their elected deputies organized themselves in clubs, which were the informal places of political decision-making. Local branches of the parties formed only before the elections, with the exception of the socialist party and the parties of the nationalities. The main dividing line between the parties was their attitude towards the dualist structure created in 1867; however, the dividing lines among social issues and other political issues became stronger and stronger at the turn of the century, giving rise to modern mass parties such as the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Ruling parties were – with only one exception – the ones that wanted to preserve the dualist structure, because the electoral system was built around preserving it, but Hungarian national supremacy as well. This was made possible by keeping the voting base of the general population low, granting voting rights mostly to those who had an interest in preserving the Compromise of 1867 – while also in accordance with the liberal principle of the time. The uneven distribution of the electoral constituencies, widespread electoral corruption and the increasing power of the Lord-Lieutenant – the main hand of the government in the county administration – all favoured the ruling parties. The ones elected to the Chamber of Deputies were mostly aristocrats (10–16%) and nobles (40–57%), which was especially true of the parties that were in favour of the dualist structure. There was a high continuity, as PMs of the ruling parties stayed on average for 3 cycles, opposition parties for 2,5 cycles. 90% of them had higher education studies and most of them were lawyers.

The second section of the first part focuses mainly on the sources used for the data collection. A large number of Hungarian, Romanian and

German newspapers of local, regional and national interest were used to collect data about voter turnout, election results and biographical information on the candidates running for office. While rich in details, the press has to be treated carefully, because of the erroneous name translation, typos, uncertain or contradictory information and data collection mistakes made by the journalists of that time. The information gathered in the press was checked against, and completed by sources published by parliament or with the approval of parliament, such as minutes of the Chamber of Deputies (*Képviseletőházi Napló 1866–1918*), parliaments almanacs, parliamentary schematisms, lists of elected deputies, overviews of the number of voters between 1878 and 1914, or booklets containing the names and addresses of elected MPs as well as electoral maps drawn in the era or during the Paris peace talks following World War I.

The third section of the first part contains a table and a scheme that portrays the evolution of the party system in the dualist period. The table is made out of three columns. The first column describes the political orientation of the party, assigning each party a capital letter and a number. The capital letter shows the political orientation. The numbers are used to distinguish between political groups which have the same orientation (ex. B stands for the parties that supported the Compromise of 1867, B2 stands for the Liberal party). The second column is meant to show the political factions or dissidences within a certain party, adding to the already used capital letter and number a small letter (ex. B2a signifies the The Independent Liberals, a faction of the Liberal Party). The third column tells the brief history of the parties or factions/dissidences of the first two columns, mentioning the founding and dissolution dates, and where appropriate, naming the parties/factions that merged to form said party, or the mergers and dissidences that happened during the lifespan of the party. Together with the scheme that shows the evolution of the party system, this chapter offers a detailed visual representation of the party structure of the dualist period.

The second part of the book is probably the most important one, as it presents a table about the elections and the participating candidates. The first column presents the county in which the elections were held, the second one the constituency of the election, the third the start of the parliamentary cycle that followed the election, the fourth the name of the elected MP, the fifth the party to which he belonged, the sixth the number of votes he received, the seventh the name of his opponent/opponents, the eighth the political affiliation of the opponent/opponents and finally, the ninth the number of votes that the opponent/opponents received. The table also illustrates when

a candidate was voted by general acclamation⁵, when there was a tie between two runners, or when an opponent stepped down before or during the election. The cases in which the elected MP started his mandate after the beginning of the parliamentary cycle, or ended it before the end of the cycle are also shown. In some cases, even the date of birth and/or date of death are shown. Because of the large amount of compressed information, this part can prove to be helpful to those who wish to research the shifting balance of power between political groups on the county level. It can also be used as an auxiliary for biographies or prosopographies concerning MP, and their counter-candidates.

The third part of the book reconstructs the electoral constituencies by compiling together the parts of the districts – which were the administrative units that did not, or only partially overlapped the electoral constituencies – out of which they were composed in the year 1900. The districts are broken down into the settlements that make them up. This part of the book could be a useful starting point to those interested in the degree of influence that the county administration had over the elections. The fourth part of the book presents the number of people who had the right to vote in each electoral constituency in 1869 and between 1878–1914, providing data to those interested in the effect of the increase or decrease suffered by the number of voters on the outcome of the elections.

As we have seen, the book is able to condense large amounts of information about voting districts, as well as the candidates that run in them. This was made possible by the system of signs and abbreviations developed by the authors. The representation of the elected MPs who won their mandates after the start of the parliamentary cycle, or before the end of it, is a good example in this sense. In such cases, in the bracket showing the year of election there is a date, and, if it is followed by an arrow, it means that the MP started his mandate after the start of the cycle, while if it is preceded by an arrow, it means that his mandate ended it before the end of the cycle.

The way in which the historical region names, the names of settlements and those of candidates are presented is also praiseworthy. The authors chose to use the historical region names. The term Transylvania refers to the territory of the principality. Other regions that are part of the administrative unit which we call Transylvania today, are treated separately – such as The Banat, or Partium, which is included in the term Eastern Hungary –, giving a more accurate depiction of that time. The names of the localities which make up the administrative districts are written in the Hungarian version of that time, but also in the version in which they are

⁵ These were cases when there was only a single candidate.

known today. The names of the candidates who were not Hungarian are written in the language of the nationality to which he belonged, while also displaying next to it the “hungarianized” version of the name. The authors did not mean to ascribe a primary national identity to these candidates by doing this, it was simply a technical choice.

To summarize, I recommend this book primarily to researchers who are interested in prosopography, or the development of Hungarian parliamentarism and the dualist electoral system, because of the large amount of data that the book is able to condensate, made possible by the notable system of signs and abbreviations, but also because of the good critical apparatus, with which the sources are treated. Those interested in learning about Hungarian parliamentarism will also find parts of this book a good read, because of the thorough introductory study, and the tables and schemes that present the evolution of the political parties.

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Contents

MARIA CRĂCIUN	<i>"The Bible Will Stay in the Home": Intergenerational Transmission of Books in Early Modern Transylvania</i>
MĂRIA LUPESCU MAKÓ	<i>Family Archives in the 16th Century. The Mikola Family Archive</i>
ANDREA FEHÉR	<i>The Hungry Traveller. 18th-Century Transylvanian Travellers and the Western Culinary Experience</i>
JUDIT PÁL	<i>Continuity and Discontinuity in the Administrative Elite of the Szekler Seats between 1840-1876</i>
JÓZSEF PAP	<i>Statistical Analysis of the Election Results of Urban Representatives in Hungary between 1848 and 1918</i>
SZILÁRD FERENCZI	<i>Murder, Revolt and State of Siege. Reforming Cluj/Kolozsvár's City Police in 1901</i>
RADU MĂRZA	<i>Postcards and Tourism Brands in Central Europe around 1900</i>
MIHAI STĂNESCU	<i>From Daguerreotype to Autochrome: An Incursion in European, Colonial and Romanian Pharmaceutical and Medical Photography</i>
ION CĂRJA	<i>Romanians in Austria-Hungary in the Years of "the Great War". The Perspective of Visual Sources</i>
BOOK REVIEWS	