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Róbert Bagdi – Norbert Hlbocsányi: The Economic Interests of the Kohner Family

In the first issue of *Pénzvilág* in 1911, Baron Dr Adolf Kohner (1866–1937) was described as a leading figure of the economic elite in Pest. As the most successful member of a family of merchants, which by then had already spanned four generations, he inherited part of the family's economic interests. The Kohners began trading in Csongrád County in the 1830s. However, its members soon moved to Pest, where they started trading in produce as well as in down and feather in 1840. The next generation founded the Adolf Kohner's Sons, a firm trading in produce and valuable goods. In 1881, the Kohner and Hatvany-Deutsch families bought the Nagysurány sugar factory jointly, which indicates the expansion of their commercial networks. The decades that followed were a time of growing economic interests, acquisitions, and commercial relations. Adolf Kohner's membership in the 'multiposition elite' is attested to by his many positions held in economy, society and culture, as well as by his baronial title which he obtained in 1912. He founded a total of 34 companies, was a shareholder in 63 companies, and owned 3 public limited companies. Between 1894 and 1918, he was involved as founder or director in at least 42 companies, with a strong presence in the textile, chemical, milling and leather industries. The aim of this study is to systematize these disparate economic interests and analyze their intricate web of interrelationships.

Norbert Glässer – András Zima: From the "Israelite Parity" to Inter-Denominational Relations in Late Nineteenth-Century Óbecse: The Role of Locality in a Modernizing District's Elite

The local emancipation processes of rural Jewry were nuanced by local networks, local interests, and by shifting denominational and nationality ratios. Viewed from below, the creative power of locality – in the sense defined by Arjun Appadurai – to organize local structures can be illustrated by the organization of the local elite in Óbecse (Bács-Bodrog County) on the Central Tisza River after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. The royal district of Bács in Tiszáninnen, as a modern rural district structure built on the ruins of the erstwhile Estates system, was attracting new settlers to Óbecse. The local effects of the new state structure were advantageous for a number of new professions in the administration. Instead of landing at the municipality through their denomina-

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tion, the newcomers, whether lawyers, printers or industrialists, arrived via their trans-denominational network of personal connections in education or business. Local inter-denominational connections were no longer defined by rigid patterns either. New phenomena such as philanthropy, patronage, the liberal concept of confessionalism, and local patriotism became a driving force for action, transcending the formerly narrow denominational boundaries. These modern phenomena were not sharply divorced from the remnants of the Estate system. Subordinating the local question of parity to modern national aspirations, for example, it was extended to the Jewry, so that their involvement would tip the balance of Greek-Catholic (Serb) and Catholic (Hungarian and Hungarianised German) in favour of the Hungarian nation. The study examines individual career paths, community strategies behind concrete decisions, and the transforming social frameworks of the Age of Dualism (1867–1918), also providing a brief look into adapting individual strategies after the transfer of sovereignty. Through philanthropy and patronage, some of the local life trajectories under scrutiny had implications on a national level. By demonstrating the organizing power of the locality, the bottom-up perspective of the study nuances grand social patterns.

Michel L. Miller: "He Became Hungarian in Body and Soul": Moritz Jellinek (1824–1883) and the Modernization of the Hungarian Economy

Moritz Jellinek (1824–1883) was the younger brother of Adolf, a celebrated Viennese rabbi and scholar, and Hermann, a journalist and revolutionary executed in 1848. Born in Moravia, he moved to Pest in 1850, and became involved in almost all the institutions central to the modernization of the Hungarian economy. He was, among others, a founding member of the Pester Lloyd Society, of the First Hungarian Insurance Company, a member of the National Hungarian Economic Association, and a founder of the Grain Exchange in Pest, later incorporated into the Commodity and Stock Exchange. He was a board member of the Pest Academy of Commerce, and he published regularly on matters of political economy. In collaboration with Sándor Károlyi (1831–1906) and Ernő Hollán (1824–1900), Moritz's crowning achievement was the founding of the first (horse-drawn) Tramway Company, the forerunner of Budapest's public transport system. Moritz Jellinek's achievements are all the more remarkable considering that they took place before the emancipation of Hungarian Jewry in 1867. Jellinek was aware of the context of his own achievements – as well as the passions they could ignite. In the 1860s, he penned apologetic essays, which presented the economic activities of Hungarian Jewry as the fulfillment of their patriotic duty vis-à-vis the Hungarian state. Jellinek understood the

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symbolic importance of learning the Hungarian language and identifying with the Hungarian nation. "He was not born in this land," observed the *Vasárnapi Ujság*, "but his heart and tongue were fully magyarized and he reared his four sons in the Magyar spirit". In the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s, Hungary offered Jellinek a hospitable political environment that not only valued the entrepreneurial skills he had brought with him from Moravia, but also viewed his financial and commercial activities as an integral part of the nation-building process.

Erzsébet Mislovics: Social Mobility and Attachment to the Jewish Community: Adolf Munk and his Family

Through the biographies of Adolf Munk (1830–1907), his ancestors and descendants, the study presents the Hungarian Jewry's opportunity of social, economic and cultural ascendance between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. The arch of this upward mobility is not linear from one generation to the next. During this period, members of Jewish society had to face the expectations of the Hungarian society, the challenges facing the Jewish society, and the transformation of the relationship between the individual and the community. The case study of Adolf Munk's family obeys these social phenomena, and at the same time contradicts them. Although his grandparents settled in the traditionalist haven of Oberland, his maternal grandparents were bearers of modernization. Throughout his life, Adolf Munk fought constantly to uphold and preserve traditional values in an almost unchanged form, while at the same time taking an active part in transforming them. In this way, unlike his fellow conservatives who opposed any change, he joined the ranks of the Maskilim. While his intellectual legacy placed his sons among the defenders of orthodox values, they continued it in different ways. Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937) turned to Hungarian society and culture, and even engaged in shaping the latter himself. Gábor Munk's (1865–1955) family ties, on the other hand, led him to become a supporter of Zionism. Despite the variety of individual choices, the family's attachment to the Jewish community remained a determining force in their lives.

Anikó Prepuk: Jewish Middle Class and the "Jewish Question" in Nineteenth-Century Hungary

Based on theories of organic historical development and pressing for the merging of social classes, the nineteenth-century liberal aristocracy considered the Hungarian middle class to be the driving force of national integration, with the landowning nobility, the *honorácior* (educated commoners in positions usually

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preserved for the aristocracy), and the upper echelons of the urban bourgeoisie being its primary constituent elements. It was not until the emancipation of the Jews that the question of integrating Jewish merchants, financiers and intellectuals into the emerging middle class was formulated in a meaningful way. The study examines how the role of the Jews in society was perceived by those who were engaged on the matter of forging a Hungarian middle class. Following an overview of the contemporaneous concepts that mentioned the Jewry, the author addresses the reasons for the absence of any narratives that would take into consideration and positively appreciate their role in the Hungarian middle class. Even though the emergence and remarkable Hungarianization of the Jewish bourgeoisie and middle classes were increasingly discernible by the 1880s, the existence of the Jewish bourgeoisie began to be solely interpreted as a "Jewish question." The scope of the paper extends to the turn of the twentieth century, the time of escalating neo-conservative tendencies embracing anti-Semitism, which played a decisive role in the negative perception of the role of the Iews in society. The analysis also looks at the responses of the progressive-neolog intellectuals of the Hungarianizing Jewish middle classes, and how they shaped the ideology that was to provide guidance to integrating Jewish groups.

Máté Tamás – Ágoston Nagy: "Brüder Heinrich und Bernhard Lackenbacher von Salamon": Conversion, Ennoblement, and the Perceptions of a Social Group in the Early Nineteenth-Century Kingdom of Hungary

In 1824, two brothers, Heinrich and Bernhard Lackenbacher, received from King Francis I Hungarian nobility and land donation, as well as the pradicatum (usually the place name of landed property donated by a monarch) "of Solomon". The brothers, who continued their father's business, were grain wholesalers of Jewish origin, who had converted to Catholicism some years before their ennoblement. The present study examines two problems concerning their ennoblement. First, it examines in detail how they earned their title and land in order to assess both the bureaucratic process and expense of ennoblement and its value for the brothers in the "society of the Estates system". Doing this, the paper also explores the meanings of the *pradicatum* and the coat of arms, as both apparently represented the personal taste and aspirations of the brothers. Second, the study analyzes contemporary attitudes towards the new ennoblements and land donations at the time. These were articulated by two members of the wealthy landowning nobility, Sándor Kisfaludy (1772-1844), a popular writer and poet from Zala County, and István Borsiczky (1783–1850), the representative of Trencsén County at the Diet of 1832-36. They both perceived and presented the Lackenbachers as members of a wider social group, seen as "other" or "alien" within the Hungarian nobility 240 KORALL 87.

despite their title and land, and discussed this new type of ennoblement as a tendency. The statistical analysis of ennoblements in this era, however, does not verify these perceptions. Constructing an image of otherness within the nobility calls the attention to the discrepancies between legal status and social prestige in the society of the late Estates system in Hungary and exposes the possibilities and limits of crossing the boundaries between the estates.

Péter Turbucz: Identity, Self-Representation, Scholarship: The Careers of Bernát Alexander and Henrik Marczali in Light of Their Works in *Budapesti Hirlap*

Examining the rise of neolog Jewish intellectuals of the post-1867 period, Bernát Alexander (1850–1927) and Henrik Marczali (1856–1940) are typically assessed on the basis of their role in scholarship and university life, as well as their academic achievements and status. They are among the few dozen Jewish intellectuals who have been internationally recognized as representatives of modern secularized scientific thought: living examples of the success of assimilation. They also belonged to the same generation, sharing not only the same erudition acquired at foreign universities, but also jobs, similar career paths, as well as religious beliefs and identity. Based on all these, posterity's judgment of progress, successes, and failures, both theirs and their generation's, has become almost like topoi. In contrast, the present study examines the careers of Alexander and Marczali in the light of their work as journalists at Budapesti Hirlap. The study examines how the two scholars' decades-long friendship with editor-inchief Jenő Rákosi (1842–1929) and their journalistic work at the paper influenced their Hungarian-Jewish identity, self-representation, and academic work. We can also gain insights into their thinking about current affairs, and social and cultural initiatives. Analyzing their views in more detail than previous biographical studies reveals how their press publications related to their academic work, and whether they helped to promote the social acceptance of Jews in general. The study also sheds light on how the editorial staff of the Budapesti Hirlap helped Alexander and Marczali shape their own careers, and to what extent their nationalistic understanding of their role was embraced by a paper that was seen as one of the most important media of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's agenda of Hungarianization.