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## The Civis and the In-migrants<sup>1</sup>

### Spatial Patterns of Industrial Modernization in Debrecen 1870

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#### ABSTRACT

*Scholars engaged in research into the history of Debrecen have long been eager to get an answer – beyond their specific research inquiries – to the question whether the development of the city had had unique features and if they had what would hallmark the unique character of development? Was there or is there a kind of “Debreceness”?*

*My study examines – with the help of a GIS relational database (DTTTA1870) – what peculiarities can be grasped in the transformation of the traditional spatial and social structure of Debrecen enforced by the political change and industrial modernization processes two decades after the change of feudal regime (1848/49).*

*The analysis focuses on whether the alteration process of the factors determining the social status (residential segregation, neighborhood, spatial segregation and coexistence, other spatial and social hierarchical characteristics) in the cases of the “deep-rooted Debrecen residents” (cívís) and of the settlers showed specific types described in the literature or showed specific features.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Urban history, industrial modernization, geoinformation database (GIS), settlement, residential segregation, spatial pattern*

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<sup>1</sup> For centuries the non Debrecen-born persons have been said „to have had their umbilical cord cut beyond „Basahalma” to symbolically identify them. Basahalom/Basahalma is a 5-6-metre high knoll located by the creek Tóció south-west of the inner city of Debrecen. Archeological excavations render it likely that it was a prehistoric burial site, a mound or barrow. Among the legends related to it the one that enjoys widest circulation has it that the Pasha of Buda, Seidi Ahmed, put up his tent on the top of this mound in 1660 and exacted a ransom from the city after having had the municipal leaders tortured. The legends have it that those citizens who were willing to make sacrifices for the well-being and persistence of the city were identified as the true-born ones, born on the near side of Basahalma. In the civis frame of mind those born beyond Basahalma and were thus regarded a transient lot, „flotsam and jetsam” and their different status compared with the true-born citizens (cívís) was not due to their lack of privileges, but because their ancestors had not taken on any burden or sacrifice. The fact of one’s having been born inside or outside Basahalma has been raised to symbolical levels by outstanding authors ranging from Endre Ady, Zsigmond Móricz all the way through to Magda Szabó and Szilárd Borbély (Dankó 1993, Balogh 1973).

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### ABSZTRAKT

#### ***Cívisek és Basahalmán túlról jöttek***

#### ***Az ipari modernizáció térbeli mintázatai Debrecenben (1870)***

*Debrecen történeti fejlődésével foglalkozó kutatók érdeklődése évszázadok óta arra irányul, voltak-e sajátosan egyedi vonásai a város fejlődésének, és ha voltak, hogyan definiálható, miben ragadható meg a Debrecen sajátos fejlődésének jellege. Volt-e, van-e „debreceniség”?*

*Tanulmányom az 1870. évi népszámlálás térinformatikai relációs adatbázisba (DTTTA 1870) rendezett anyagának vizsgálatával elemzi, hogy két évtizeddel a korszak rendszerváltása (1848/49) után a politikai és a háttérben zajló ipari modernizációs folyamatok hogyan jelentkeztek a civisváros hagyományos tér- és társadalomszerkezetének átalakulásában, milyen sajátosságok ragadhatóak Debrecen induló polgárosodásában. Az elemzés fókuszában az áll, hogy a „tősgyökeres debreceniek” (cívisek) és a betelepülők társadalmi státuszát meghatározó tényezők (lakóhelyi szegregáció, szomszédság, felekezeti elkülönülés és együttélés térbelisége és hierarchikus sajátosságai) alakulása mutatott-e a szakirodalomban leírt típusos vagy pedig egyedi sajátosságokat.*

**KULCSSZAVAK:** *Várostörténet, ipari modernizáció, geoinformációs adatbázis (GIS), betelepülés, lakóhelyi szegregáció, térbeli mintázat*

### **Foreword – Addressing the concept of development in Debrecen**

Scholars engaged in research into the history of Debrecen have long been eager to get an answer - beyond their specific research inquiries – to the question whether the development of the city had had unique features and if they had what would hallmark the unique character of development? Was there or is there a kind of “Debreceness”?

The topics of the economy, the social organization of the city, her special self-government and the organically related church organization and school-culture were in the focus of historical scholarship. The best-known historians – the generation made up of profs. István Rácz, Károly Irinyi, and István Orosz – all disciples of the universalist museologist Lajos Zoltai and historian István Szabó, who turned out volumes of historical literature to fill libraries, helped shape the view that there had been a unique course of development spanning several centuries although diverse features gained prevalence in different periods.

How and in what state of development did Debrecen enter the age of industrial modernization, that is, the lengthy 19<sup>th</sup> century, how did she react to the challenges of economic development, what was her attitude like to the “Reform age” programmes of transition to middle-class society, whether or not Debrecen had attributes or even intentions to cross the whirling and troubled stream of industrial modernization all the way to the other side?

To come up with a correct answer Debrecen and her scholars set out at a disadvantage. At the outset of the age, Ferenc Kazinczy labelled the civis city in



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paradigmatic polemics as an adversary of modern type development, modernization and intellectual elevation/progress and as the deplorable representative of backwardness and stubborn narrow-mindedness.<sup>3</sup> Research in specific fields of historiography has perennially been carrying the burden of defence against the Kazinczyan accusation of an adverse “debreceness” while they also had to fight the dominant views of modernization-reception resting on the dichotomy of backwardness – progressive development. The overwhelming majority of theories of industrial backwardness- modernization offered interpretations of modernization processes only along the axis of *advanced development* (Western Europe as Centre) and *backwardness* (East-Central Europe, as periphery), Debrecen, however, did not seem to comply with the requirements of ideal-type urbanization in Western Europe.

The best theoretically prepared urban history scholars have come to query the exclusiveness of the dichotomous paradigm (development-backwardness, centre-periphery).

Prof. István Orosz put it explicitly, in what might be considered a kind of summary conclusion of his half-century oeuvre devoted to the civis city of Debrecen, that a better understanding and closer acquaintance with European industrialization processes and theories of modernization may well promote the better understanding the development of Debrecen and her course of urban development (Orosz 2015: 225). He put forth the idea that perhaps it is premature, too to jump to conclusions and base the concept of Debrecen urban history not only on *development* (Western Europe) – *backwardness* (East-central Europe) relative value-judgements. The industrial modernization paradigm research launched in Hungarian historiography by prof. György Ránki already exerted a strong influence on István Orosz’s approach.<sup>4</sup>

István Orosz’s position is imparted additional impetus by our own decade, when the depletion of resources and the drastic deterioration of our natural environment and climatic conditions are in themselves a critique of the notion that it is always following up on the central regions that will effectively lead to a developed stage. Just as the content of development is hoped to be changing, too, we think quite differently about various aspects of the economic life of Debrecen, about the unique „econostat”<sup>5</sup> mode of operation of the city and its surroundings: about her

<sup>3</sup> On the polemics concerning Debreceness: Balogh 1969, Orosz 1971.

Debrecen University Department of Literary History and its „Memorial Locations in Hungary” research team summarized the raw findings of its research project at the conference held in January, 2018, and published them in a volume: *A debreceniség mintázatai: városi identitás és lokális emlékezet rétegei a kora újkortól napjainkig* [The patterns of Debreceness: urban identity and the strata of local remembrance since the early modern age] (Fazakas 2020).

<sup>4</sup> Ránki György, who devoted most of his research – by conducting inquiries into the characteristic features of the convergent development of more backward East-Central Europe – to pointing out that this region identified as a self-contained regional model ought to be judged by its own standards and not by those of the centre.

<sup>5</sup> On this notion see: Liska 1988.



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development based on the dynamic balance of urban domestic trade and long-distance commerce, about the communal responsibility rendered through crises and blunders and then organically adjusted to various recurrent challenges.

It may well be true that the modern-age development of the city is not merely a story of decline; our standards may be worth reconsidering.<sup>6</sup>

### The challenges of modernization and tensions of transition

At the turn of the 18th-19th centuries, Debrecen was the most populous and wealthy and influential town in the Kingdom of Hungary, and what rendered her rather special is that it cannot be forced into any of the pigeonholes of a clear-cut urban typology. This, however, does not mean exceptional character, but a kind of historically developed complexity, without the exploration of which it is impossible to understand the modernization/marketization processes in the city that took place from the turn of the 18th-19th centuries onwards. The city arriving at the doorstep of the „brave new world” was called an oversized village, the city of hard-headed peasant-bourgers, that is, *civis*, a city of merchants, the „Calvinist Rome”, or even the „guardian-city of freedom” – owing to her role in the Hungarian war of Independence (1848–49). Which view is correct? Which aspect of it is the real one?

We are not at all in a position to give the right answer, if just one face were to be portrayed as the decisive one. Novelist Magda Szabó grasped the essence of contemporary Debrecen when she wrote: *„Debrecen turns her three faces towards me, one looking back into the past, the other looking me in the eye, the third is looking forward into the future. I consider all three my own but none without the other two.”*<sup>7</sup>

The inner core of the settlement was surrounded by 166,286 cadastral hold (=1 yoke =1.42 acres) field confines of 95,720 hectares, that is, 957 square kilometres around the city that got into municipal possession by right of different means of acquisition or obtained the title of utilization (Zoltai 1917: 114).

<sup>6</sup> New and interesting findings in historical scholarship are offered by cliometry or the use of GIS databases. SCOTT, M. EDDIE (1996): *Ami „köztudott” az igaz is? – Bevezetés a kliometrikus történetírás gondolkodásmódjába* [Is common knowledge true, too? – Introduction into the rationale of cliometric historiography] Debrecen.

<sup>7</sup> A metaphor created by author Magda Szabó "The Three Faces of Debrecen" SZABÓ 1980: 543–550.



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Map 1. Map of Debrecen free royal city's intra-urban area and her other confines, 1883  
Source: Berényi Gábor (1883): Map of the confines of Debrecen Free Royal City<sup>8</sup>

The actual territory of Debrecen together with her land-holdings was the second biggest in the Carpathian basin, second only to the municipality of Szabadka (Subotica), (974 square kilometers) in close approximation in size to the smallest county of Esztergom (1077 square kilometres). The extensive *land-holdings* of the city of Debrecen constituted the bulk of her revenue sources. The second major source of revenue was derived from the city's rights of *adrowson* and its earlier *benefices* (such as liquor licence, market and fair charges, fishing, the sale of salt and tobacco). The third pillar of the the city's economy was *handcraft industry* and *commerce*.

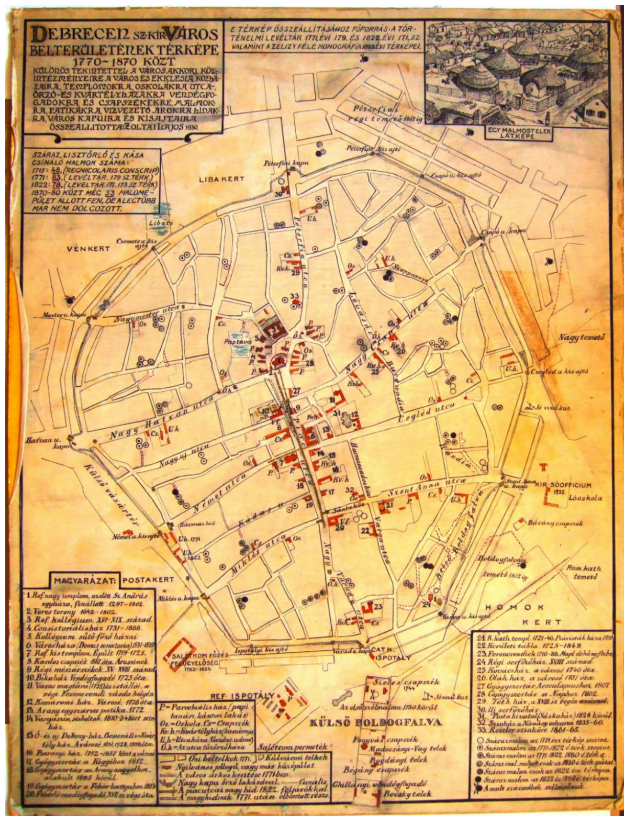
The weight of merchantry and the market-oriented merchandizing mentality is shown by the very circumstance that neary half of her land-holdings were acquired through business deals, purchased or used as morgaged estates (acquired properties, goods and chattels estates that had remained in the utilization of the city on the long run.)

The plot structure of the land, the characteristics of market-town development in the plains region had determined the economy of the city and its spatial arrangement up to the middle of the 19th century.

The inner core of the city sorrounded by palisade and ditch took up an area of 320 hectares but it was less than 4 per mille of the total area of the city, but could be considered as fairly large relative to the 50,000 strong population (that is why it was often depicted as an oversized village).

<sup>8</sup> DEA@DEENK><http://dea.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/100449>

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Map 2. Lajos Zoltai's reconstruction of the inner city of Debrecen as it took shape between 1770 and 1870

Source: Zoltai Lajos (1930): Map of the intra-urban area of Debrecen between 1770–1870 with special regard to contemporary public institutions, 70x50 cm, exhibited in Déri Múzeum, Debrecen

According to the consolidated system of privileges only citizens with unlimited rights were allowed to own plots and houses in the city. In 1848, a total of 3000 taxable houses were registered, that is, the number of civis residents is estimated to be around this figure. The plot arrangement secured for the holders of inner city plots further land-holdings in different zones around the city with diverse land-utilization goals.

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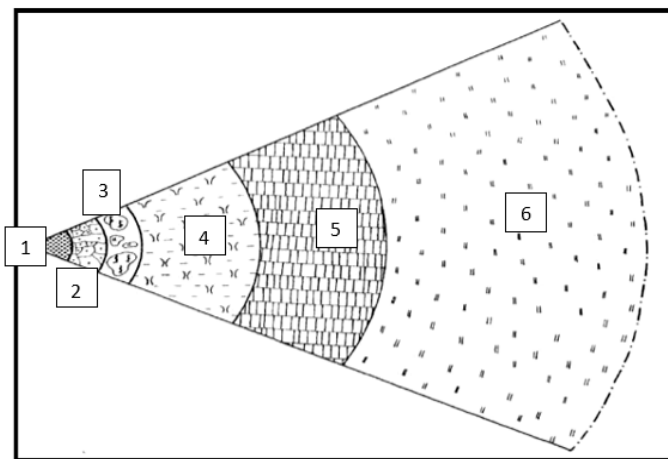


Figure 1. The conceptual scheme of spatial and field utilization based on the rigid scheme of plot-structure in Debrecen

Source: Balogh 1976: 8–10.

### Legends:

1. inner/residential area („inner city”)
2. „livestock and garden” zone („inner confines”)
3. Orchards, cabbage gardens („inner confines”)
4. Inner pastures/„grazing range” („inner confines”)
5. Plough-land zone („outer confines”)
6. Outer pastures („outer confines”)

The city as manorial lord also held villeins’ land units (8,000 hectares) in three nearby villages that lay near to – , but outside her confines.

The rigid value-system resting on feudal privilege, the main and traditional economic activity and the plot structure and land utilization, as well as the revenue generated by them constituted the main motive force of the uncompromising conservative attitude dismissive of changes even as late as the early 19th century. At the same time, municipal resources drawn from manorial rights, dues, which included those from taverns, butchers’ shops, (and in earlier times even excise revenues from the sale of salt and tobacco) as well as from the business utilization of acquired land-holdings altogether led to guarding privileges as a general principle, but also to a fairly practicable down-to-earth market-oriented business-minded behaviour and attitude. At the turn of the 18th–19th centuries, however, the change taking place in market conditions, the development of credit conditions and trade in commodities and increasing competition gaining prevalence even in the framework



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of a privilege system favourably influenced the shaping of a multi-level interregional, regional and sub-regional and local market-hub role resulting in the predisposition to modern capitalist market conditions (Gyimesi 1982, 1983, Dankó 1974, Mazsu 2012, 2013b).

In the mid-19th century in the wake of the Reform Age and the legislation of 1848, the unfolding process of modernization found a city which harboured remarkable growing transitional tensions that contained both privilege-guarding *satus-quo* conservatism and pragmatic market mindedness as well as those who desired and endeavoured to take advantage of modern market conditions.

### **Possibilities of inquiry into the characteristic features of modernization and the GIS**

In the footsteps of the spatial turn (Gyáni 2007, Berki 2015) in the approach of historical scholarship and the resulting series of international research findings, initiatives in Hungary are also gaining strength that by building computerized data bases they tend to use geographical information systems (GIS) to analyze spatial characteristics of historical structures and the geographical aspects of historical processes.<sup>9</sup>

The high standard and the combined application of historiography, socio-geography and information technology represented in the results of urban-history workshops in Hungary<sup>10</sup> may well inspire more traditional historical inquiries, for their approaches and methodological standards offer excellent footholds (Demeter – Bagdi 2016). The GIS database created of the 1869 Sátoraljaújhely census of population and its analysis serves as a model for us, too, from the viewpoint of developing our own database and addressing various historical queries. Compared with the GIS database created by the Bagdi-Demeter team, the Debrecen database betrays a few differences.

First of all, this is the present stage of a more than a decade-long, though repeatedly interrupted process, a kind of drawn-out evolution. Launching it took place in the framework of an OTKA application winning a modest subsidy in 2010<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See: Gista Hungarorum, <https://www.gistory.hu/g/gistory.index> Several of the research group are related to Debrecen: graduated from Debrecen University and some stayed on teaching, too, carrying on and keeping up the Mendöl legacy. In the course of processing population census data, I am inclined to use the HGB (Historical Geographic Information System) that first got received in historical scholarship. On this see: <https://www.nhgis.org/>.

<sup>10</sup> Történeti Térinformatikai Tanulmányok, [https://www.gistory.hu/g/hu/gistory/index#1\\_T%C3%A9r%20T%C3%A9rinformatikai%20Tanulm%C3%A1nyok](https://www.gistory.hu/g/hu/gistory/index#1_T%C3%A9r%20T%C3%A9rinformatikai%20Tanulm%C3%A1nyok)

<sup>11</sup> „DTTTA – Debrecen 1870-72 évi tér- és társadalomszerkezetének rekonstrukciója” c. 81488 számú OTKA pályázat [„DTTTA – the reconstruction of the social and spatial structure of Debrecen in 1870-72” – OTKA application project no. 81488.]





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as a further GIS development of the Debrecen urban history computerized database (DszVA).<sup>12</sup> The 1872 collection of city maps made at the same time as the Census of 1872 deposited at the Hajdú-Bihar County State Archives under the index of DVK24 was integrated within the ERDAGIS framework into our database.<sup>13</sup> The GIS database compiled in this manner was later labelled as the 1.0 version as an identification of the stage in the works, for there occurred some data purification and the upgrading of source-criticism and likewise new findings, as well as census data that had gained in significance from the researcher's point of view got integrated into the development of the database.<sup>14</sup>

*What can, in fact, be drawn up on the basis of DTTTA 1870 3.0 version? How was the impact of modernization manifested in social and spatial structure of the population of Debrecen, in their demographic parametres, residential segregation two decades subsequent to the legislation of 1848?*

In the wake of industrial modernization and the ensuing, unfolding marketization, the change in the traditional demographic behaviour (Katus 1980), perhaps the most salient phenomenon of urbanization is migration, the growth of in-moving population into the settlements with closed spatial and social structures. This applies

<sup>12</sup> The archives of Debrecen City Council – contain the survey sheets of population censuses in the holdings of the Hungarian National Archives, Hajdú Bihar County Archives, Debrecen IV. p. 1109 containing the survey sheets for buildings and population.

<sup>13</sup> The matching of the data tables and the stock of maps of the database and its corrections were assisted by two colleagues who became members of the ERDAGIS team – Csáky György, Vásárhelyi Norbert besides Mr.Papp József, the former head of the microfilm-documentation centre of the Mayor's Offices Debrecen, who is a true successor of the late Zoltay, Lajos, in his mastery of the body of knowledge of local history documents. The staff at the Hajdú Bihar County Archives did excellent work in entering data. Mrs Uri is to be singled out of the staff for her exquisite job. The stock of maps marked DvK 24 numbered 1-31. the 11 map segment (3-4 card-board sheets each+2 cover sheets) containing the „core area of the city” without the fringes and the garden suburbs. Different colours mark the stone buildings and the wooden structures on the slates, the plots bear the proprietor's name as well as the house number in the contemporary manner which also played a key role in matching it with population census data.

The inner city of Debrecen in the 8th decade of the 19th century. Source of map: the inner part of the Royal Free City of Debrecen: the nos. 1-31 map segment on folded and bound on cardboard (32x26cm) scale 1:720, year of compilation: 1873, authors: Harásek, János; Golle, János. Archival index: MNL HBML XV. 2. (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltára térképeinek gyűjteménye) DvK 24. sz.

<sup>14</sup> The main emphasis was placed in the 2.0 version on denomination; on occupation as well as birthplace data besides constructional-evaluational coding while the present 3.0 version laid down the conditions for the valid query concerning the structural details of buildings by households/residential units. In the first stage of developing the 2.0 version, there was born the web-based „little brother” presenting the then available status with limited possibilities for query: the verb based „little brother” (<https://gis.erda.hu/erda/html/projects/orvaros/main.php?language=hungarian>)

The present 3.0 version, with the help of a new source (registry by house-numbering in the Debrecen survey of 1870-nos.1-308 microfilm) ([https://www.familysearch.org/arks/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS84-X97S-F?i=1&cat=132393](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS84-X97S-F?i=1&cat=132393)) which contains precise residential functions of the unit by social status and their location by level/floor. The data made available in our publication are verifiable and for this reason all three versions are in a researchable condition while preserving the original census data.



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most fittingly to Debrecen, where the system of privileges and the related rigidly closed social and spatial organization permitted only a slow and gradual loosening of the legal and mental barriers of in-migration into the city (Gazda 1982: 385–386).

How much had Debrecen populace changed by 1870, how many civis people were there who had been born and lived within Basahalma, how and where they lived and in what conditions did those in-migrants who had not been born inside Debrecen live?

The DTTTA 1870 facilitates the study of the outcome of the process of in-migration in a cross-section of time (1870) and the reconstruction of the settlement pattern in the city's spatial structure (intra-urban segregation).<sup>15</sup>

### Social space in Debrecen – what are we looking into?

Our GIS database does not cover the entire area of the civis city, containing only the data of the compactly populated and once stockaded area of the inner city that covered 4 per mille of the total territory of the city providing residential space to four-fifths of the total of her population (Mendöl 1939).

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<sup>15</sup> A good overview is provided by Su-Yeul Chung of both the applicability of the notion of intra urban segregation and of the development of the methods of inquiry into human spatial structures from the Chicago School of „urban ecology” to the „post-modern urbanism” of the Los Angeles School. Several of his terms having resulted from his methodological review appear to be applicable to the analysis of historical material (spatial assimilation, place stratification, neighbourhood.) His specific studies and their visual rendition offered useful lessons (Chung 2005).

However, it is worth the researcher of the long 19th century's listening to the warnings in relation to the inquiry into the social and spatial structures of pre-industrial cities according to which the methods elaborated for their study can only be applied in a limited way and with criticism. Francois Walter, for example, pointed out that the social and spatial restructuring concomitant with the modernization and expansion of cities had substantially changed closed-in preindustrial cities. The conditions preceding the changes may well require different methodological approaches, for in the old cities prior to the demolition of defence-works the well-to-do, fashionable streets used to be situated „in close proximity of filthy slums, „moreover substantial citizens often dwelled in the same house together with penniless manual labourers.” (Walter 2003: 188–189)

Derek Keene (Center for Metropolitan History, London) reported in his conference presentation on his inquiries in which comparing the shaping of zones in pre-modern and modern cities, he concluded that medieval cities had been less characterized, or had rather been characterized in a different manner by strong social segregation than what later characterized modern cities. The lecture is reported by Nagy – Szende 2003: 265.

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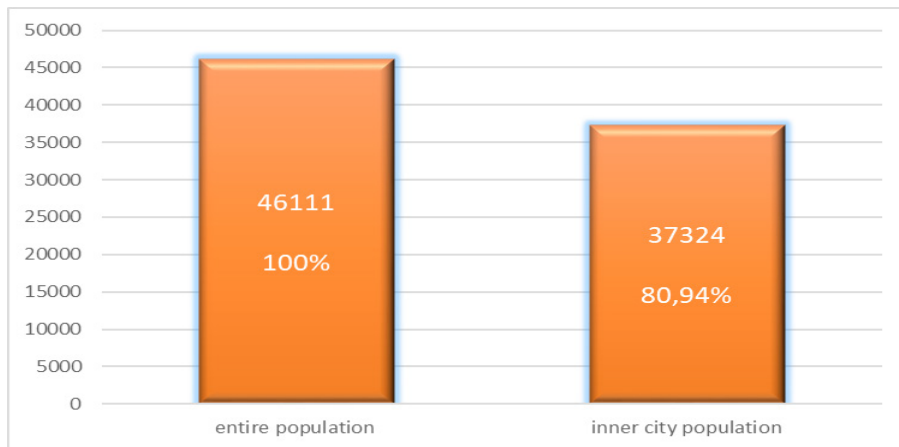


Figure 2. Distribution of the population of Debrecen, 1870

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Research is indeed limited to this compactly populated area, still identified as the inner city area even after the demolition of the city limit stockade without any further denotation.

Based on the data gleaned from the databases, 78% of the intra-urban residents identified Debrecen as their birthplace,<sup>16</sup> the rest had been born outside Basahalma and had moved into the city of Debrecen. Our case-studies show that the in-migrants' share of slightly over 20% points to a slow and trickling dynamics of migration that had been taking place in the previous two decades (Szabó 1927, Zoltai 1934: 51). Out of the 22% of in-migrant settlers, the majority (21%) had arrived from the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary and only 1% had been born outside the state's borders.

The relative majority of the in-migrants had arrived from the vicinity of the confines of the city – 2% from the Hajdú District, 5% from Bihar county and from the multi-stage course of the Jewish in-migration „unterland” trail (Mazsu 2013) from counties lying along the two banks of river Tisza using the categorization of the official population census (Keleti 1871: 471). Also significant was the number of people coming from other parts of the more middle-class oriented regions which also included the capital city making up 3% while from other parts of the home-country and Transylvanian regions in-migration remained steadily low (Mazsu 2014).

<sup>16</sup> For the sake of brevity all individuals surveyed as Debrecen-born are called CIVIS, albeit only those of citizen's rights had formerly been called as such. The share of the Debrecen-born in the external fringes was 61.11 %, that of the in-migrants was close to double of those in the inner city (38,88%) which points to the fact that a part of the in-migrant settlers reached the inner city through a two-stage migration.

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Where had settlers in Debrecen come from?

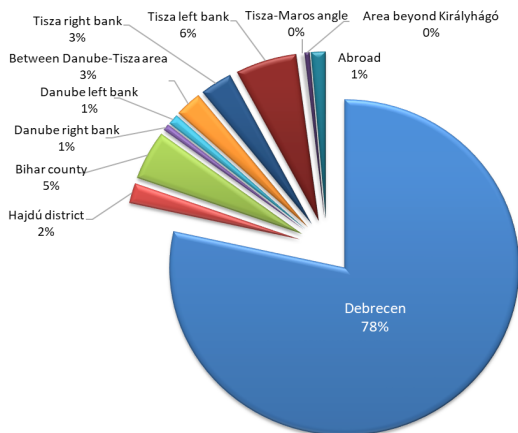


Figure 3. Composition of Debrecen intra-urban population broken down by place of birth  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

In-migrant settlers in Debrecen having come from abroad did not amount to a total of 50, however their numerical representation was far surpassed by their role in the economic life of the city. The contingent of in-migrants from abroad was dominated by those who had arrived from Galician-Poland and the Trans-Leithan regions and half as many had arrived from Bohemian, Moravian and German lands and the same number from other countries in Europe altogether.

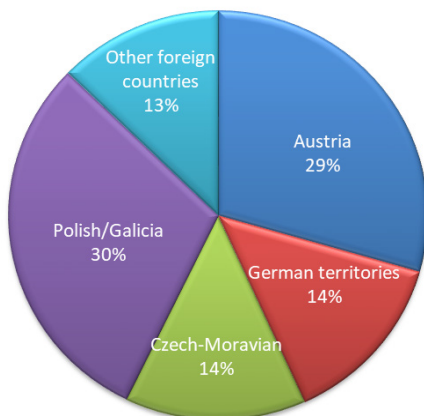


Figure 4. Distribution of in-migrant settlers from abroad in intra-urban Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

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**How old were they? – What was the age composition of civis and in-migrant population like?**

Some distortion is caused in the age-pyramid representing the age-composition of Debrecen citizens residing in the intra-urban area of the city by the fact that the under 30 years of age was not grouped into 10 year-cohorts in accordance with later literacy studies but into school-age 0-6, and public education 7-18 age groups each. Even with these modifications, it can be seen that the age pyramid of Debrecen population, at the time of census-taking, assumed the shape of a pyramid characteristic of a steadily growing population betraying features of the early stage of a demographic transition (Katus 1980).

The male-female ratio in the population was very well balanced: There were only 184 more women than men. Women showed a majority in the fertile age-groups as well as in the most senior (over 71) age-groups. Among the males, however, a majority was found in the 31-70 age-groups.

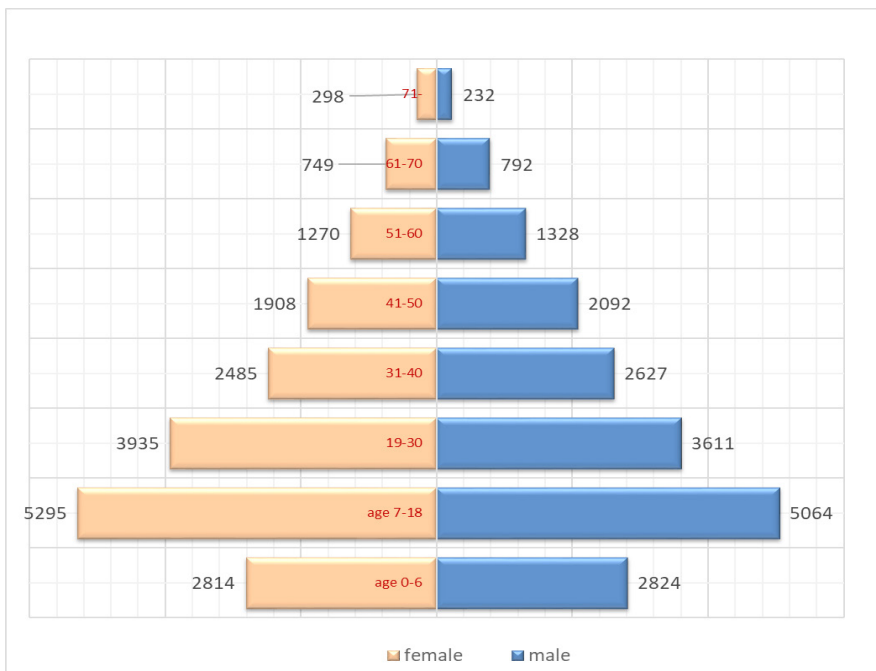


Figure 5. Age-pyramid for intra-urban Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

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If we look at the overall age composition of the indigenous and allochthonous population, the in-migrant population was, on the whole, younger than the recipient population. Especially amongst the economically active age-groups (19–30; 31–40 and less in the 41–50 group), but those of better income and business potentials, one can see an apparently higher proportion of younger individuals among the in-migrants. The Debrecen-born are, on the other hand, predominant among the youngest school-age population, but also in a relative majority among the apprentice-age (7–18) and older age-groups (51–60; 61–70 and 71<), too.

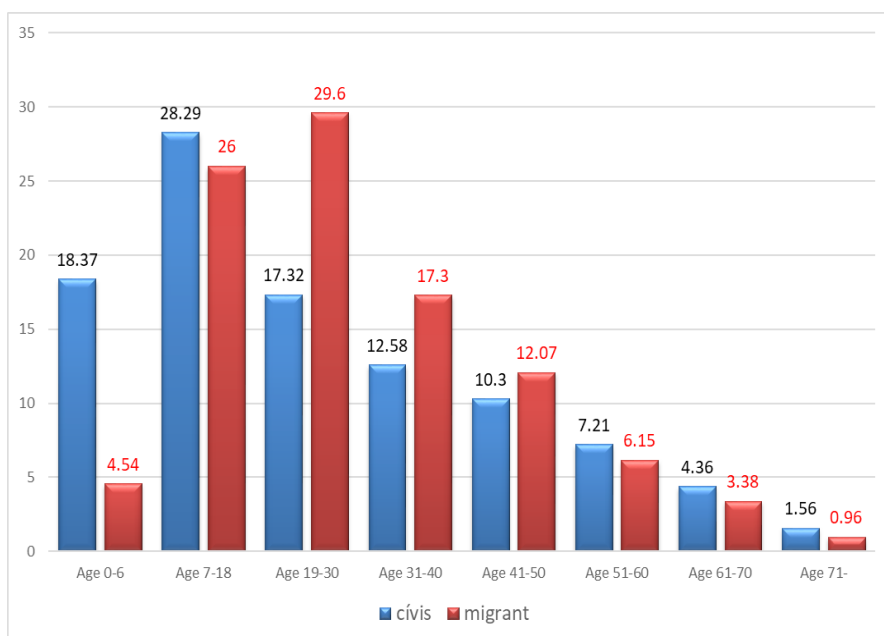


Figure 6. Percentage proportions in the intra-urban area of Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

The oldest resident in Debrecen in 1870 was a 98-year-old widow of the Reformed Calvinist denomination, Mrs. Ferenc Tót, who resided in the front section of a duplex, at plot no. 2240 in Cser street. As she was a beggar and recipient of municipal alms, the owner of the house also a widow, a 43 year-old land owner, admitted the former into her family of five children of her own in a bedsitter +kitchen+pantry unit.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The other residential unit on the plot, a bed-sitter, was occupied by a cab-driver with his wife and an under-age daughter.



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**General conditions of culture – Literacy of the civis and in-migrant population**

The 1869 census of population distinguished three levels of literacy. Apart from the illiterates, a special category was set aside for those who were only able to read but not able to write, and a third rubric for those capable of both reading and writing. The advent of school-based primary education resulted in the literacy of masses of people in the more developed regions of Europe between 1750 and 1850 in connection with the advance of industrial modernization (Mazsu 1991: 63–70). In the decade of the Austro-Hungarian compromise, on average two-thirds of the population already got fully literate in the more developed regions of Europe and the process of alphabetization had essentially become complete in those regions. Hardly a third of the adult male population in the kingdom of Hungary had accomplished alphabetization with one-fifth of the population remaining illiterate in the years proceeding World War I.

Thanks to the school system of Debrecen, the same period saw the attainment of literacy by nearly two-thirds of her adult population. Within the total of the intra-urban population literacy rate surpassed the two-thirds (2/3) level and among the people older than 6 years of age literacy approximated 75 % (Mazsu 1991: 63–66). At the time of the census of population a 10 % difference was registered to the advantage of the in-migrant population (63.23%-74.69%). The difference detected in erudition can be attributed partly to contemporary conditions – the 6-year-old or

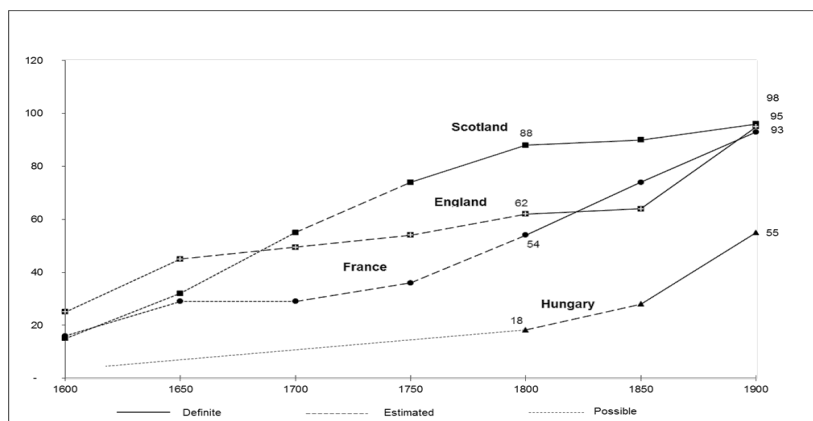


Figure 7. The alphabeticization of adult male population

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Stone, L.: Literacy and education in England 1640–1900. Past & Present, 42. 121.;

Furet, F. – Ozouf, J.: Literacy and Industrialization: the Case of the Département du Nord in France, Journal of European Economic History vol. 5. 1976. 15.;

Áfra Nagy János: Az írástudatlanok Budapesten, Statisztikai Közlemények 63. k. I. sz. 8. ,16–20. és 34.

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younger age-groups were significantly under-represented among the in-migrants. The difference in the rate of basic culture established among the in-migrant population is undoubtedly an outcome of their higher schooling.

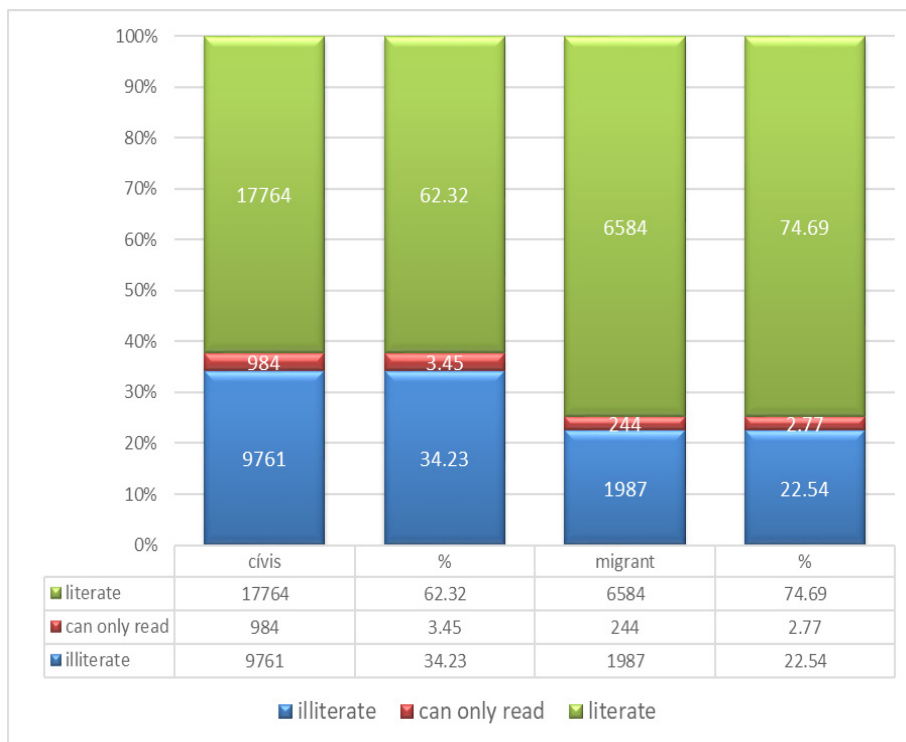


Figure 8. The rate of alphabetization among the intra-urban population of Debrecen by place of birth, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

### Who lived where? – Conditions of residential segregation and neighbourhood relations

The GIS database will perhaps offer the most new and exciting opportunities: How in-migration gave rise to changes in the urban residential distribution, where did the civis population reside?

Did in-migration result in changes in residential conditions? Where did in-migrants settle? Was there a strong residential segregation? What kind of neighbourhood patterns took shape between the recipient and in-migrant populations (Demeter – Bagdi 2016, Mendöl 1939, Kovács 1937: 381)?





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Table 1. Plots and residential conditions in Debrecen intra-urban area, 1870

Number of plots	3 626
Total area of plots (m <sup>2</sup> )	2 723 281
Buildings:	
• ground floor only (single storey)	3 539
• two storeyed	81
• three storeyed	4
• four or more storeyed	2
Number of residential units	8 162
Residential unit location *	
• on ground floor	7 993
• on first floor	155
• on second floor	11
• on third floor or higher	2
• on mezzanine floor	11
• in cellar (basement)	17
• in attic	4
Number of rooms	12 750
Number of entrance halls	583
Number of kitchens	6 947
Number of kamra	293
Number of cellars	1 747
Number of stables	2 172
Number of sheds	1 309

\* One housing unit may have occupied more than one level in which case it is included in the data for each level.

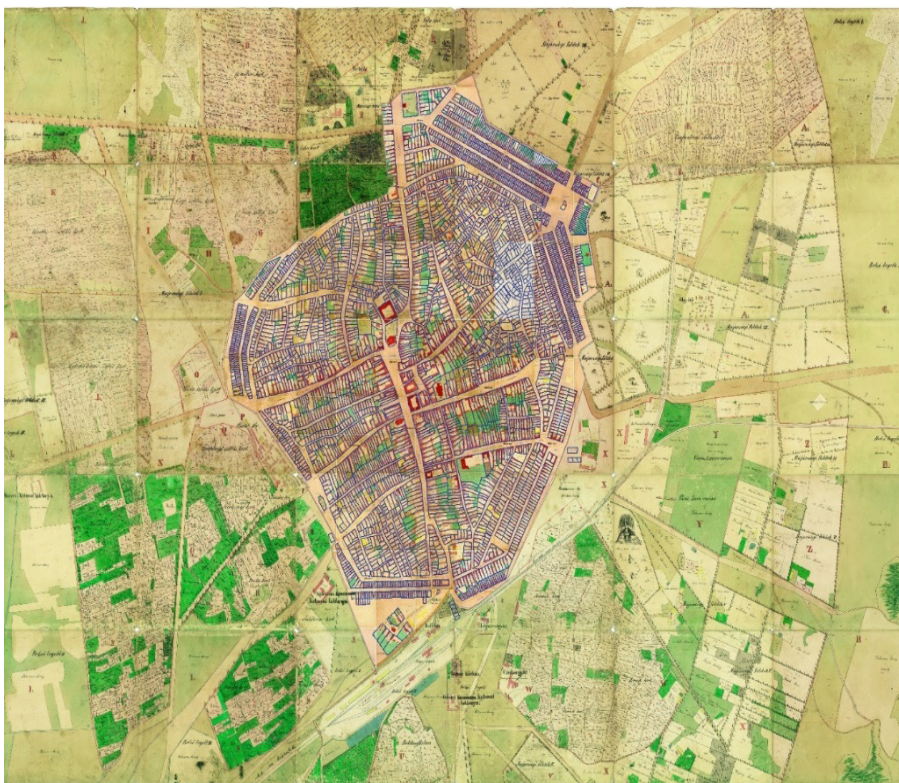
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Out of the 3626 plots in the census survey there are 20 plots for which no census survey data could be found in the census survey sheets. The total of plot land area was further enhanced by public places (common), therefore the total of the studied area amounted to 3,835,224 square metres.

The digital base-map of the database contains the numbering of plots (house numbers) and the plot boundaries within the inner-city limits, the bordering lines

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of both solid and wooden structures, the names of public places as well as the bordering lines of blocks and city quarters and the outer boundary-line that lay inside the “turnpikes”.



Map 3. The digital base-map of inner-city Debrecen with its plot- and outer boundary line on rastered layers 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTA1870)



## KÖZELKÉP

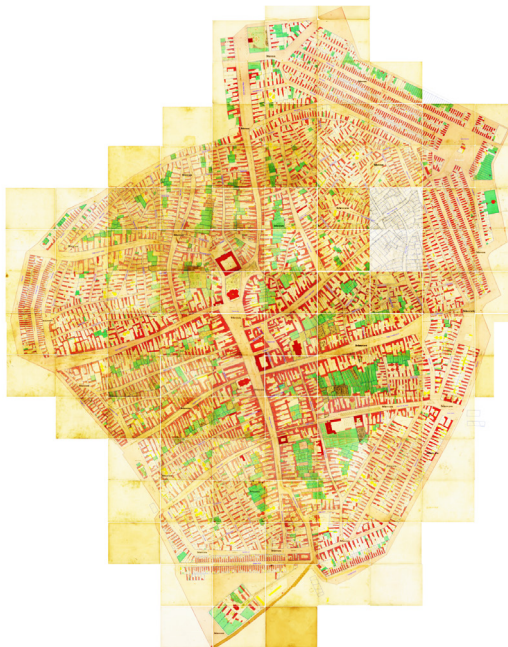


*Map 4.* The digital base-map of inner-city Debrecen with its plot- and outer boundary line  
*Source:* own edit (DTTTA1870)

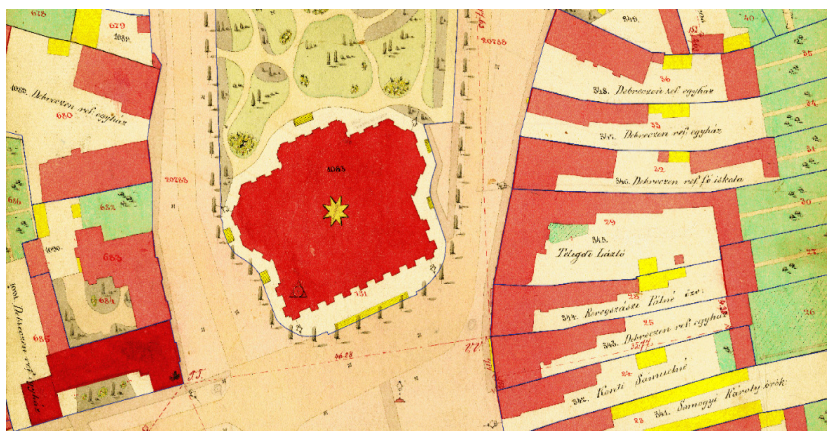
The hand-drawn and subtitled surfaces can be displayed on separate tone-block surfaces, which contain with a slight time-delay (1872) the green (park, trees and bush) areas and characteristic buildings in public places (public halls, public lighting, lines of paved walk-ways) and the data of the plot-owners in addition to the information made available in the base-map.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> In the case of changes taking place between two data surveys, the data of the population census were taken into consideration.

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Map 5. Rastered surface of the manuscript map of the inner city  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)



Map 6. The Big Church and its surroundings on rastered surface of the manuscript map.<sup>19</sup>  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

<sup>19</sup> The handwritten information in the manuscript map and its colouring proved false in the source criticism of census data and in their occasional supplementation.



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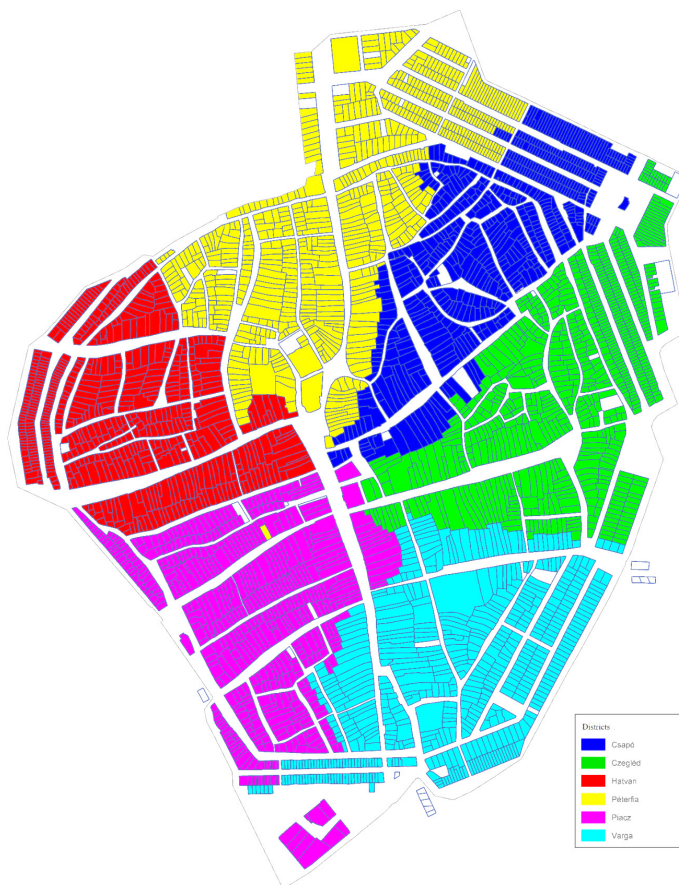
The data available in the demographic survey were attached to the households/residential units in the plots of the base-map, which, in turn, facilitates queries by plots, households, and individuals as well as certain interconnections between them. Apart from the results of the queries being registered in a data tabulation, they can be shown in the base-maps (mapping). Moreover the GIS software also permits inquiries into certain aspects of spatial relations of which the historian can most profitably use the measurement and visualization of density (frequencies found within a specified place).

In accordance with the internal administration of the city and its role in shaping the district boundaries, the city was organized into six “*derék*”, that is around six major thoroughfares (streets). The districts bearing the name of “*derék*” streets were each traditionally authorized to have their subdivisions or sectors, the “*platoons*” (*tized*) and to rely on them for purposes of administration and/or law enforcement. Five of them for each district in the traditional inner city amounting altogether to 30, while on the outskirts adjacent to the old city boundary containing new plots they were divided into 11 external *tized* each of which organically adhered to its inner district both in naming and numbering.

House numbers started with No.1, the city Hall, then continued on the northern side of Cegléd street then on to the Csapó street –, Hatvan street –, Piac street – and then Varga street precincts covering a great circle back to the Cegléd district which then continued in the external *tizeds*. It was only after the 1898 replanning of the city that they returned to the method of numbering plots and houses used before 1845, that is, starting numbering houses and plots from the beginning of the street down.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> On the streetnames in Debrecen and the traditions in giving streetnames see: Balogh 2007, Kovács 2011.

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Map 7. Districts in Debrecen, 1870

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Because of the queries relating to the plot and household level or queries to be initiated from place and targeted, at will, at a designated area, inquiry by district has less significance, whereas in professional literature this approach has had greater significance owing to data aggregation and has got consolidated methodology as well as findings that are worth taking into consideration for comparative studies.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The inability to render phenomena typical of districts or smaller spatial units was put down by Gyáni, Gábor to the lack of deficiency of the dissimilation index and similar approaches. „For the purposes of such renderings other sources and more sophisticated methods will be needed” – wrote Gyáni 1995, Ladányi 2002, Ladányi 2007, Kovács 1927, Szélpál 2012.



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Debrecen still presented the picture of a city in 1870 that had grown from a typical market-town of the plains, only the church spires and the mass of a few multi-storey buildings as well as the siluettes of grain mills in the inner districts and a few smokestacks in the outskirts stood out of the rest. With the exception of 87 structures, buildings in Debrecen were all one-level constructions. 81 were two-level buildings and most of the 4 three-level ones were to be found in the core of the city, which, from this point of view, also marks the beginning of city-wards urban development – but it simultaneously shows its limited nature and its spatial shrinking (Mazsu 1995, Tímár 1993). One of the two taller buildings in the census sheets was registered under the no. 1062 plot was the Reformed College of Debrecen containing 1 chapel, 25 classrooms, 7 library rooms on the three floors over the ground floors, 111 students were taken stock of as living in the rooms of the college.<sup>22</sup>

The other four-level building registered under No. 20. one found none other than the modest municipal theatre designated as “városi színház”. The then half a decade old “permanent stone” municipal theatre<sup>23</sup> opened on October 7, 1865 with staging the play “Bánk Bán” had become one of the outstanding and decorative edifices, a proof of how hard civis citizens were to please with respect to culture and of the fact, “they could afford it” (Bényei 2012). Two official apartments were registered in the municipal theatre building, one occupied by the theatre’s superintendent with his wife and the widowed librarian of the theater. The other was inhabited by one of the celebrated actors of the period, József Szabó.

The Calvinist Reformed Big Church registered under plot no. 1603, which happened to rise higher than those edifices registered as four-levelled registered by the census taking, got registered as a ground-level building by the census taking commissioner, while the only residential unit in it, that of the town watchman was recorded as located in the tower or the attic. It is of special interest that, at the time of the census taking, the only tower watchman was called none other than Mihály Nyilas.<sup>24</sup>

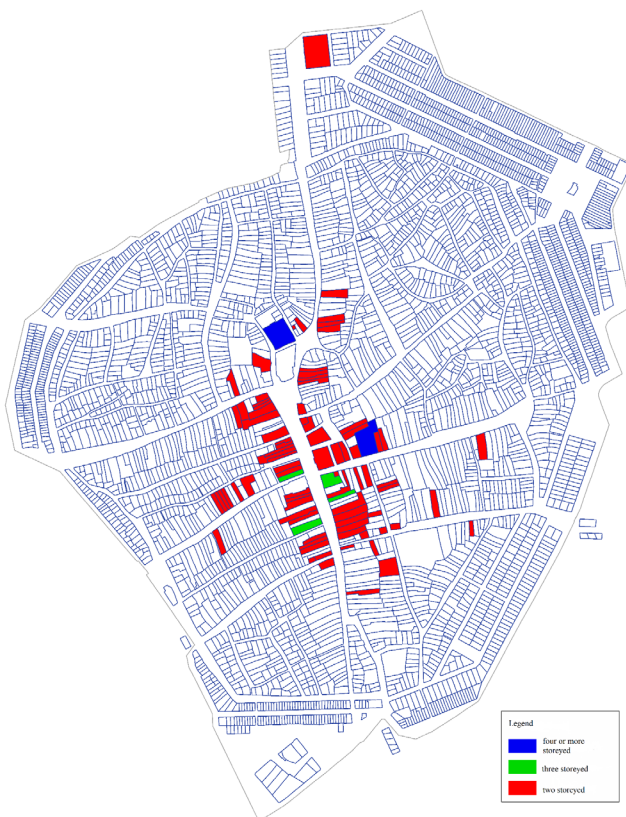
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<sup>22</sup> The majority of students registered as residents not having been born in Debrecen remarkably distorts the survey findings on population density, not unlike the number of inmates in City-Hall jail, which need always to be taken into consideration at the evaluation of the survey queries.

<sup>23</sup> Also the prologue by Mór Jókai then by the festive performance of József Katona’s „Bánk Bán”. The prologue was performed by Jókai’s wife, Róza Laborfalvy, while she also personified Queen Gertrudis, György Molnár acted in the role of Bánk Bán, Gyula Rónay played Petur and István Együd played King Andrew II of Hungary.

<sup>24</sup> Nyilas, Mihály, church-tower watchman – bell-ringer was a married man of 56 in 1870 and was illiterate. There is no information available whether or not, author Zsigmond Móricz, who started lower school at the Reformed College in 1890, 20 years after the survey of 1870, knowingly picked this particular name for the protagonist of his novel written decades later.

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Map 8. Ground-level and multi-level buildings in Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

### Proprietorship – Houses and owners

1. Up to 1849 only individuals with Debrecen citizenship rights had been lawfully eligible to possess inner city plots whereas those without citizenship rights were only entitled to get residential units only in the “back yard” from the proprietor civis.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> A Debrecen city legend has it that a master civis land owner-farmer was standing in the gateway of his house when asked by a student wearing college uniform about the whereabouts of a right honourable professor of the college. The civis land-owner replied that the lodger was to be found way back in the backyard.



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In 1840 the members of the Israelite denomination were granted the permission to lawfully move into the city (Article 29 of the Act of 1840, Szabó 1927, Zoltai 1934), but it did not automatically grant the right of acquiring property as well. As a result of the Imperial Decree of February 18, 1860 and the legislative actions of the Council of the Lord Chief Justice the window of opportunity for property acquisition opened for a short temporary period, it was only the time of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise that substantially legalized property acquisition without regard to denomination or other considerations.<sup>26</sup>

2. The citizens fully entitled and capable of possessing real estate constituted the “upper class” while the inner city cottagers or even less entitled outsiders living “outside the turnpikes” constituted the lower classes.

3. For nearly a decade after 1849, it was obtaining Debrecen citizen’s rights that secured a straight opening to the acquisition of property for individuals belonging to any other non-privileged community. This legal tradition gradually vanished in Debrecen in the 1850s, but a strict screening of in-migrants survived (Szabó 1927).

4. Only 2-3 years were open for effective property acquisition in the case of inner-city real estate in Debrecen, although there had been word going around about deals on the sly especially in relation to plots that were used to store wares prior to the great Debrecen Fairs or about rental contracts for the on-location storage of the wares of the Jewish peddlars from Hajdúsámson (Szabó 1927).

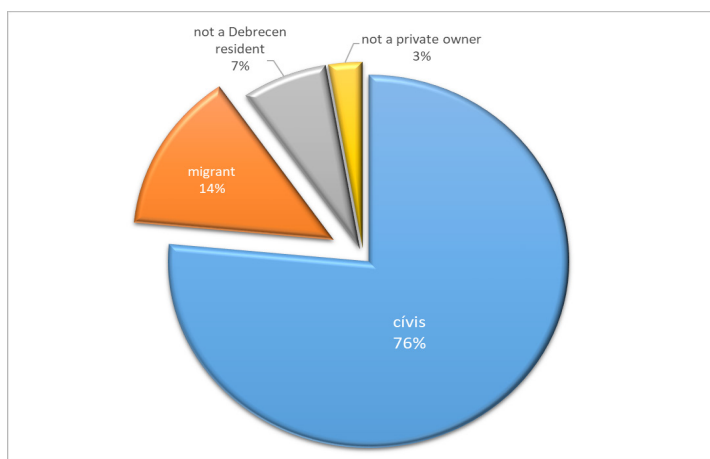


Figure 9. Owners of units of residential property, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

<sup>26</sup> Unlike individual acquisition of property, the honourable municipality had formerly made it possible for some community to worthily acquire property, such as the case of the in-migrant Jewish community’s allowance of a site for cemetery that became a matter of notoriety in 1842.



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By the time of the population census-taking it can be safely stated about the owners of properties inside the “turnpikes” that more than two-thirds (76%) of them belonged to civis individuals born in Debrecen, although the proprietors of 227 plots (7%) were natural persons, who were not living in Debrecen and it is not known whether they had acquired their property formerly as Debrecen citizens at that time. In the owner’s rubric of 41 of them the heirs of former Debrecen citizens are found recorded. These cannot with certainty be listed among the Debrecen-born, even if most of them were likely to have been born in Debrecen. 14 % of the owners of plots had been born outside Debrecen and had purchased property in the civis city over the span of decades – especially in the short period subsequent to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. On the whole an estimated one-fifth of all residential plots having changed hands may well be regarded as a fairly large number of properly in view of the rather short period of time that had elapsed since 1848 or 1867.

A further 3% (90 plots) were in the possession of the city, or the state, or the Churches, or in that of business organizations. The greatest of them was the Right Honourable City (Municipality) herself (46) her buildings ranging from City Hall, “Ispotály”, (sick- and alms-house) military hospital, the herdsmen’s hall, the cantor-schoolmaster’s residence, or the well-known Hotel Bika all functionally served the community. Apart from the municipal buildings in the city centre, City hall and the Theatre followed the traditional spatial arrangement: the Hospital was built outside the earlier boundary stockade in the south-western direction presenting an expediently sporadic block-like spatial arrangement.

The other major communal proprietor in the city of Debrecen (27) was the Reformed Calvinist Church and the ecclesiastical and other institutions of hers. Besides the church and school buildings owned by the church it used property items for the purposes of vicarage, hospital or even some for commercial purposes. Reformed Church properties were located around two well-defined centres. The Reformed quarter with the Big Church and the Reformed College and their attendant buildings, the “Little Church” and the related real property units in Széchenyi street.

Apart from those, dispersedly: school building in Kossuth street, residential building in Szent Anna street and the milling house for the hospital in Veres street were held by the Reformed Church.

The Hungarian Royal Treasury (7) owned the the Revenue Office, Customs, stores, Tobacco Exchange, the excisemen’s hostel or the buildings of the above-mentioned higher school of farming. Besides the Roman Catholic Terezianum orphanage, the school and Church in Szent Anna street were also registered as the property of the Piarist Order.

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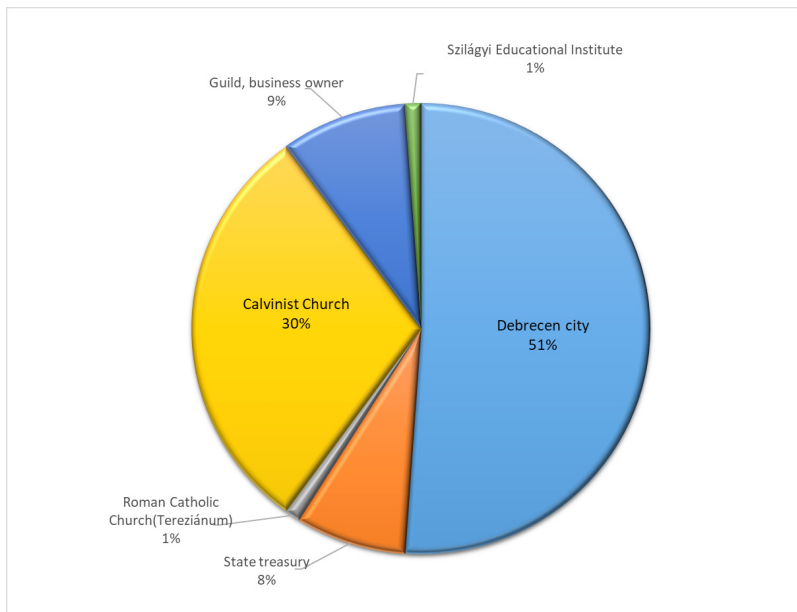
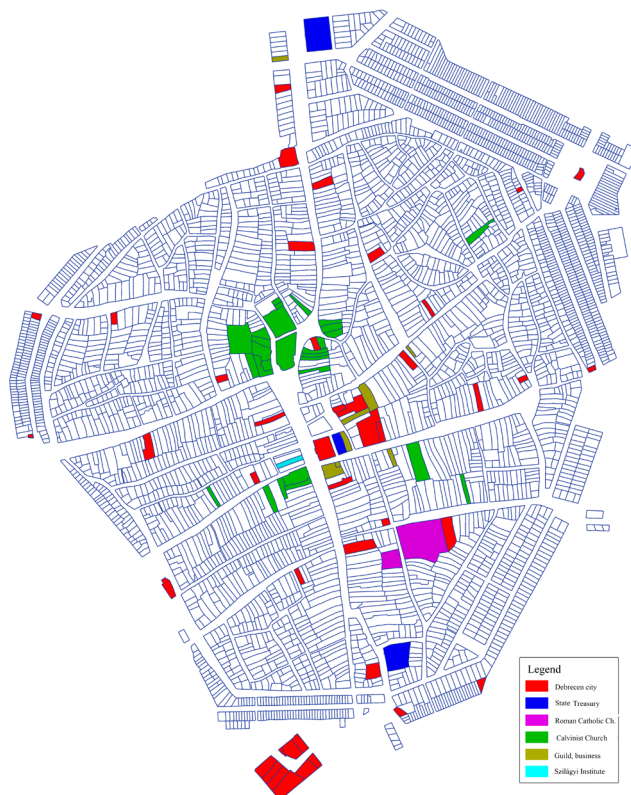


Figure 10. The number of Real property items not held by natural persons  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Of the guilds in the city of Debrecen the pig slaughterhouse, the butcher's and bootmakers' guilds owned such property. Besides these organizations, The First Debrecen Savings Bank and the Merchantmen's Society's „Kóroda” (almshouse) were all to be found and operated in the very centre of the city. This range of property owners was closed by the Szilágyi educational institute. Its property was located opposite City Hall, its premises provided place for a pharmacy and a vinegar factory as well.

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MAP 9. The spatial pattern of real property not in the possession of individuals  
*Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)*

The analysis of the data shows that a channel of in-migration – though a narrow one – was the acquisition of real property. 15-18% of the intra-urban residential plots got into the hands of in-migrant settlers born outside Debrecen or others who were not Debrecen residents! This can be regarded as a remarkable departure from prior conditions. It was the rental of real property items that had proved to be the main channel of in-migrant settlement and it had become part of civis mentality to highly appreciate income generated by letting out property units. On the one hand, because of tying property acquisition to citizen rights, permission to settle in was granted, but without privileges (villeins), many were traditionally eligible to obtain residence – while the civis could take advantage of cheap labour and also income from rentals, on the other hand marketers at the Great Fairs of Debrecen showed,



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from the last third of the 18th century, increasing interest in some kind of residential convenience in the city and the garden areas. The marketmen and the pedlars concluded contracts with the civis concerning residence for the intervening periods between the Great Fairs in order to store merchandise. To their mutual satisfaction the shaping of interpersonal relations included remarkable learning processes as a result of which civis and the outsiders began to develop mutual acceptance resulting in a special pattern in neighbourhood settlement. The civis citizen owners had their houses built in most cases on the street front-line of their inter-city plots. Villeins were permitted to build residential structures at the back of the civis owners' plots, acquiring the ownership of the superstructure only! Or sometimes they were able to rent housing units of lower standards right behind the residential unit at the street-front which in many cases required the transformation of a farm utility section. Civis and „lodger” – the hierarchic relationship of the citizen owner and the tenant determined before 1848 and even after relaxing and dismantling the privilege system, the neighbourhood conditions of those living together.

### **Residential segregation of civis citizens and in-migrants**

Where the in-migrants settlers moved inside the civis city was influenced, besides the characteristic civis ownership conditions, by the fact that no legal regulation or legal condition prohibited or limited them in their choice of place of residence apart from their financial means or other considerations of theirs.

If we look at the plots where one of the housing units or one of the households was occupied by Debrecen-born individuals (as well), only in exceptional cases can we find a place where there were no civis occupants (only 41 plots, in all) not taking into consideration the uninhabited plots not concerned by the results of the survey query.

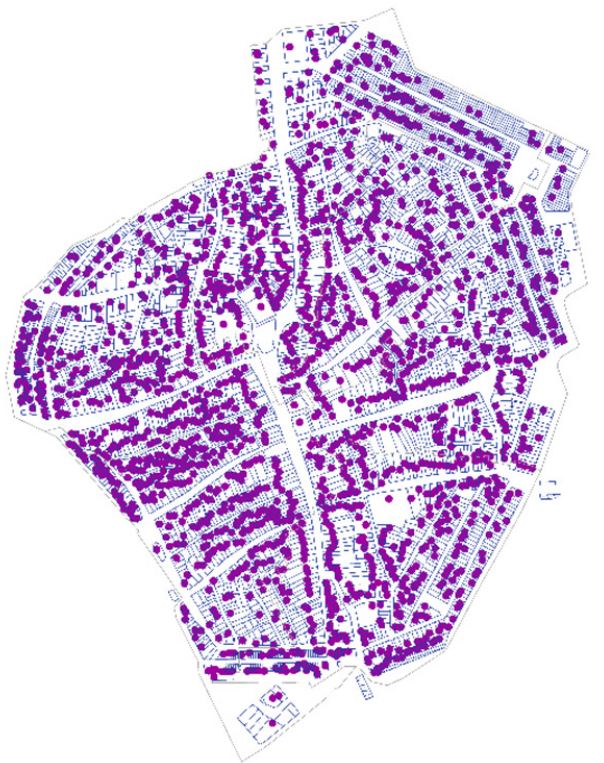
## KÖZELKÉP



Map 10. Plots inhabited by the Debrecen-born within the intra-urban area, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Similarly dispersed though slightly less dense was the spatial pattern of residential plot distribution where in-migrants also resided; with only the Piac street and Hatvan street districts west of the axis of the city showing some increased density of plots inhabited by in-migrants, (too).

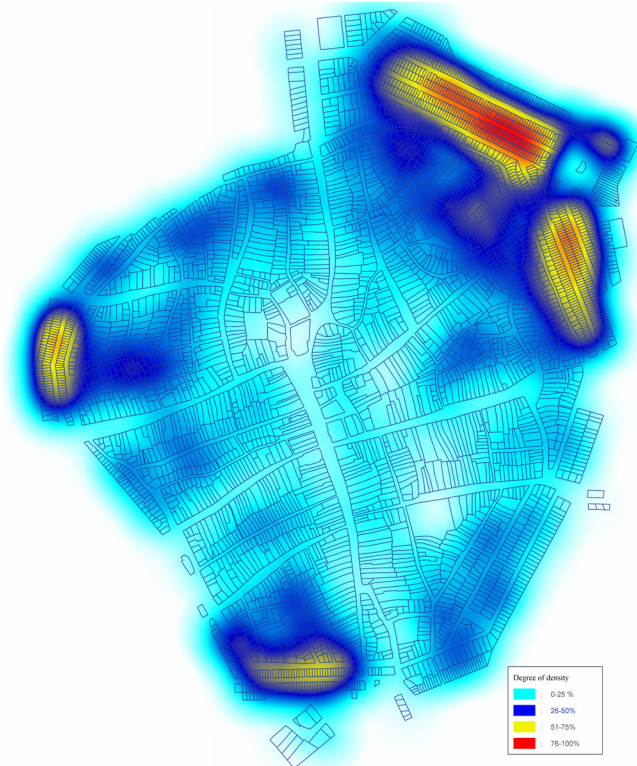
## KÖZELKÉP



Map 11. Plots inhabited by the non-Debreceen-born within the intra-urban area, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Much to the real surprise of the researcher the results of measuring population density the Debreceen-born yielded unexpected findings for a unit of area (150 metres in diameter) compared with what has so far been assumed: the smaller size of sites allotted to new ranges, (*hóstát*) residential plots, resulted in a more crowded pattern of residence. The fact, however, that the assumed higher density meant mainly indigenous population living in these quarters has not so far been assumable.

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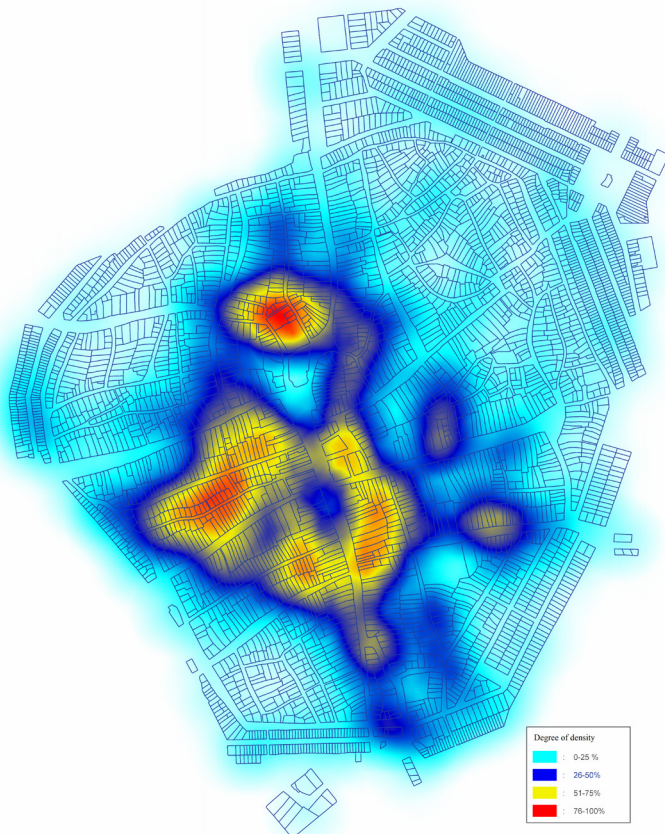


Map 12. The residential density of the Debrecen-born population  
in the inner city of Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

The other less expected finding was produced by the inquiry into the density of the in-migrant residents:



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Map 13. Residential density of the in-migrant settlers in the inner-city of Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

The two-prong approach to measuring density shows that a part of the indigeneous population were gradually squeezed out of the centre of town to the fringes, while the new in-migrants endeavoured to get to the centre just in the process of transition into a bigger city assuming large city downtown functions of a larger centre. This strong concentration of non-indigeneous population in the area behind the Big Church is explained by the large number of students admitted to the Reformed College, while the prisoners in the City Hall jail also added to density in the very centre. The residential segregation pattern of the indigeneous and the in-migrant settler populations clearly directs attention to the fact that further inquiries are likely to establish that the process of industrialization went hand-in-hand with the marginalization of a considerable part of Debrecen citizenry, while

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the opportunities offered by market conditions could be exploited by a well-to-do segment of in-migrants joining the narrower civis elite. *An unequivocal reading of the geographical pattern is that the dividing lines of former social structures of privileged Debrecen citizens – villeins, outside residents shifted to the structural division of civis elite capable of adjusting to market conditions and getting increasingly wealthy and holding municipal positions and the new business elite of in-migrants as against the massively marginalized indigeneous majority and the in-migrant families in a similar social position.*

The recipient and in-migrant societies did not stand juxtaposed like two monolithic blocks. Meanwhile the contemporary social transition caused differentiation which, in turn, polarized traditional Debrecen society; similarly segmented social block-formations can be observed among the in-migrants. The wealthy elites purchased real estate property in the inner city and by establishing their own business enterprises were able to fit into the social structure of Debrecen just gaining strength as a hub of the regional market while a majority of them found a living residing “in the backyard” of plots as rentees in the residential areas of Debrecen joining in the social strata below the elite (Michael 2002, Ellemers 1984, Schrover 2010).

### Coexistence of civis and in-migrants: housing units/ households and neighbourhood relations

An overview of the development of household structures and neighbourhood relations corroborates the above interpretation.

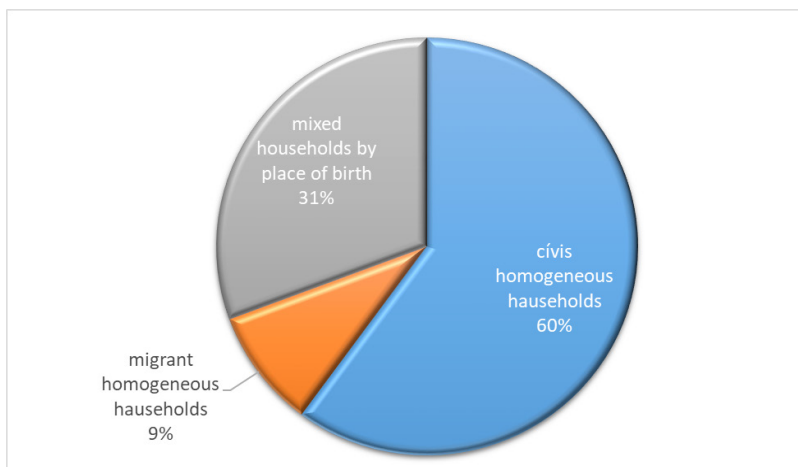


Figure 11. Distribution of households in the intra-urban area of Debrecen, 1870

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

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The process of dissolving the homogeneous blocks appears to be in a rather advanced stage based on the inquiry into the birthfield of the household members. The proportion of households consisting only of Debrecen-born members had already declined to 60% by the time of the population census-taking and that of the homogeneous in-migrants was 9%. The rate of households in which the Debrecen-born and those born outside Debrecen lived together exceeded 30%.

The geographical pattern of homogenous households (all the plots where homogeneous households were to be found) does not betray any special difference from the in-migrants' and the indigeneous population density findings support all that. The homogeneous civis households show a trend of condensation blocks moving away from the city centre, whereas those of in-migrants betray a tendency to move towards the city centre in a dispersed fashion.

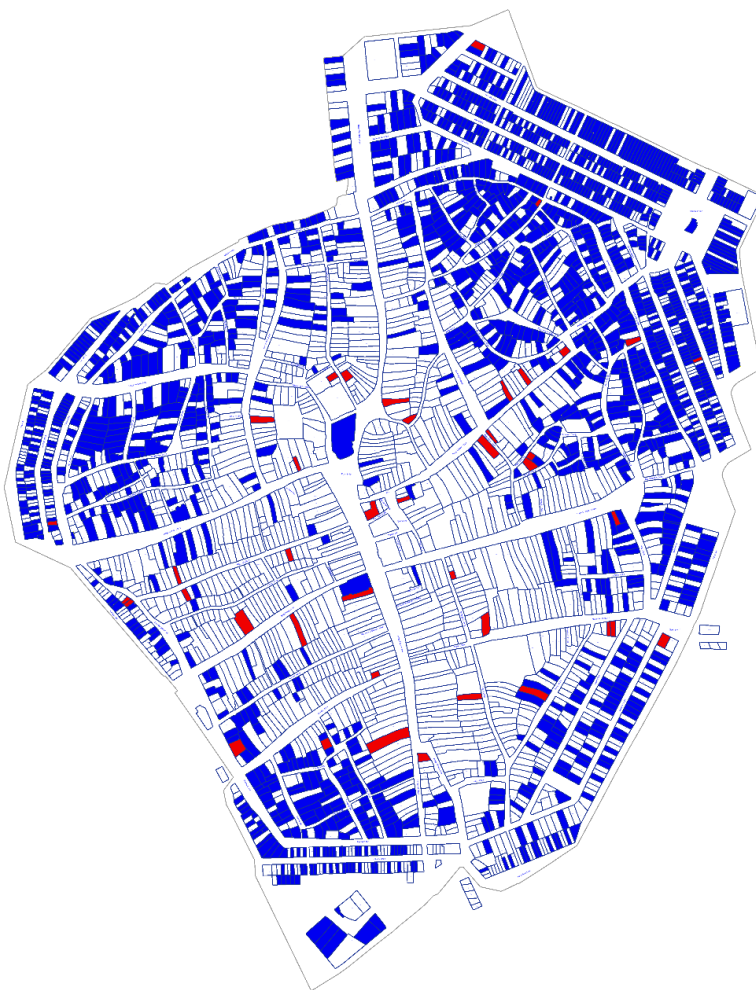


Map 14. The location of indigeneous Debrecen households (green) and homogeneous in-migrant households (red) in the intra-urban area of Debrecen, 1870

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

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If we examine, not by householders but by plots, how neighbourhood conditions developed in Debrecen, we find that on fewer than half of the plots, that is, on 1693 plots can one find homogeneous (without in-migrants) households. The purely in-migrant inhabited plots counted a total of 41 only, mostly with wealthy in-migrants who had purchased the real property, too. The majority of the recipient and in-migrant social groups entered into a direct social contact with each other either as neighbours or within the household.



Map 15. The exclusively Debrecen-born (blue) and the exclusively in-migrant occupancy plots (red) in the inta-urban area of Debrecen, 1870

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)



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### What developments took place in the denominational conditions in calvinist Rome with respect to in-migration?

One precondition of granting the legal status of the free royal city had been Debrecen's permission extended to Roman Catholics to settle into Debrecen (Balogh 1993). Habsburg Imperial Government paid close attention to Roman Catholic settlement and the prevalence of their equal rights. Even after 1693, members of other denominations were only exceptionally and occasionally allowed to move into the inner city area due to legal barriers and partly due to the city's privileges and legal traditions. Subsequent to the 1840 abolition of such a ban, the in-migration of the representatives of other denominations gathered momentum, initially by the continued regulation of acquiring citizen's rights, and later by more relaxed control mechanism imposed on those who wished to settle in Debrecen (Szabó 1927, Zoltai 1934).

Table 2. Denominational conditions in Debrecen by birthplace, 1870

Denominations	cívis	cívis %	migrant	migrant %
Adventists	9	0.03	46	0.53
Roman Catholics	1 496	5.26	2 612	29.86
Greek-rite Catholics (Uniates)	37	0.13	229	2.62
Greek orthodox	5	0.01	34	0.38
Lutherans	105	0.36	350	4.01
Calvinists	26 264	92.27	4 257	48.67
Israelites	545	1.91	1 256	14.36
Unitarians	0	0	2	0.02
Other Denominations	1	0.01	0	0
Altogether	28 462	100%	8 746	100%

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

The smaller denominations (Adventists, Unitarians, Greek orthodox) occurred in smaller numbers among both the civis and the in-migrant populations, it is just a matter of curiosity that one person of the "sula faith" also crops up in the survey data.<sup>27</sup> Among the Debrecen-born population, Calvinists made up more than a nine-tenths majority alongside one-twentieth of Roman Catholics and 2% Israelites and

<sup>27</sup> The table marks as „other faiths” the group of people that did not belong to any of the received denominations. On the one identified as one of the „sula faith” no information could be found, therefore, this particular entry may have been the result of a mistake or misunderstanding.

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37 Greek-rite Catholics (Uniates). A very different composition can be established among the in-migrant population. A relative majority, though less than half of them were Calvinist Reformed, close to 30% were Roman Catholics and very nearly 15% were Israelites among them.

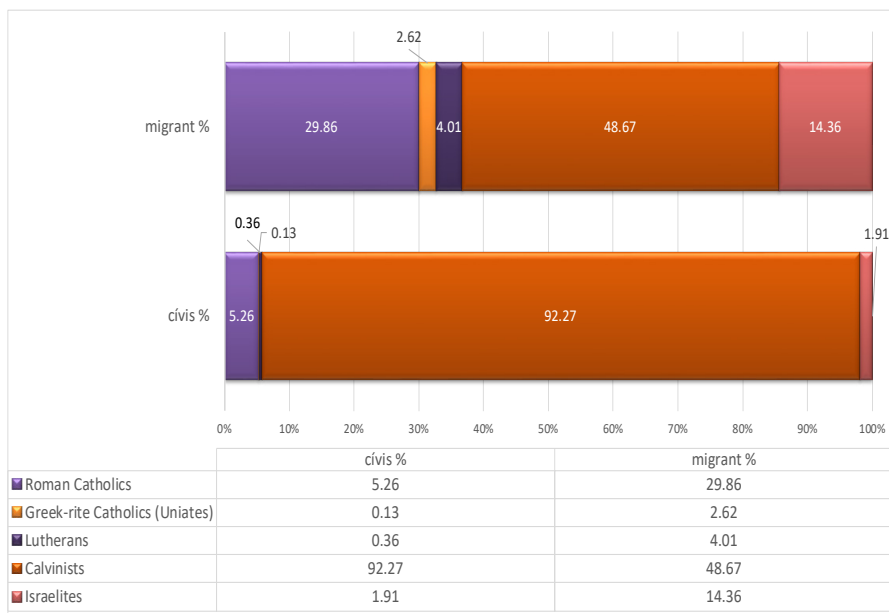


Figure 12. Distribution of Civi and in-migrants among the major denominational groups in inner-city Debrecen, 1870

Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

Besides the alterations in denominational conditions and proportions it is impossible to draw other conclusions from the census data in relation to ethnic conditions (that is, composition by native tongues), for the census of 1869 deliberately avoided collecting such data (Keleti 1871).

A decade later relying on data gathering in the 1880s for Debrecen, Daniel Zelizi pointed out in his book, that foreign language speakers did not surpass 1802 individuals out of the total Debrecen population of 49,320.<sup>28</sup> A relatively significant number of people (772 persons) were native speakers of German and 202 persons were speakers of the Slovak (tót) language in the non-Hungarian population.

<sup>28</sup> According to Daniel Zelizi, excluding those not capable of speech, 99.75 % spoke Hungarian showing how far Debrecen was a city of „true-born Hungarians” Zelizi, Dániel, 1882.



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### **A case study and its lessons – Jewish in-migration to Debrecen**

(Mazsu 2012)

#### WHERE HAD THEY COME FROM? – THE GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE OF ATTRACTION OF JEWISH IN-MIGRATION TO DEBRECEN

There was a rubric for the birthplaces of people in the population census data-sheets. However, in the course of census-taking the identification of birthplaces provided ample opportunity for numerous errors, besides spelling errors and the contemporary variants of topographic names and also that the informant did not at all or did not correctly know the Hungarian name of the settlement, nor did he know the relevant county or district. So it occurred that it became necessary to take great pains to disambiguate topographic names that can be found in multiple countries or the streams of migration had to be lumped into larger geographical units (e.g. counties or larger regions). Elek Fényes' geographical dictionary and the gazetteers of population censuses were profitably used in identifying birthplaces with special regard to their recent availability through the internet, too (Fényes 1851).

Birthplaces given for individual persons provide important identification information on the places of origination, but provide in themselves no reference concerning interim (transitional) stages of migration where sometimes quite a long period of time is spent. This barrier can be overcome relying on the database in a manner that subsequent to the study of individuals, particular families are analyzed to reveal, by surveying the birthplaces of children, which places were the interim stations of migration all the way to Debrecen where and how long they stayed in those spots. This can be performed in relation to all the families on the one hand, while on the other, it raises the methodological questions of an overall, comprehensive summary. For reasons of limitations on length we intend to pick out some examples that are considered characteristic.

With the help of the above mentioned identification procedures, *the birthplaces of 1808 Debrecen residents of the Israelite Parish in 1870 were successfully determined linked at least to country or a region of a country*, while the birthplaces of only 13 persons (0.7%) remained unclear.<sup>29</sup> The 1808 Jewish residents with identified birthplaces constitute 100% in our further calculations.

<sup>29</sup> A DTTTA 1870 adatbázis 2.0, 2012 [The DTTTA, 1870 database 2.0] 2012.

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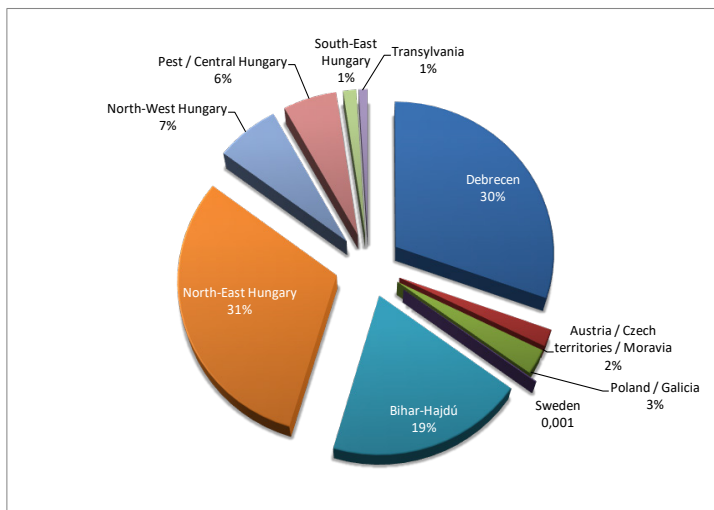


Figure 13. The distribution of the Debrecen Jewish community by birthplace, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

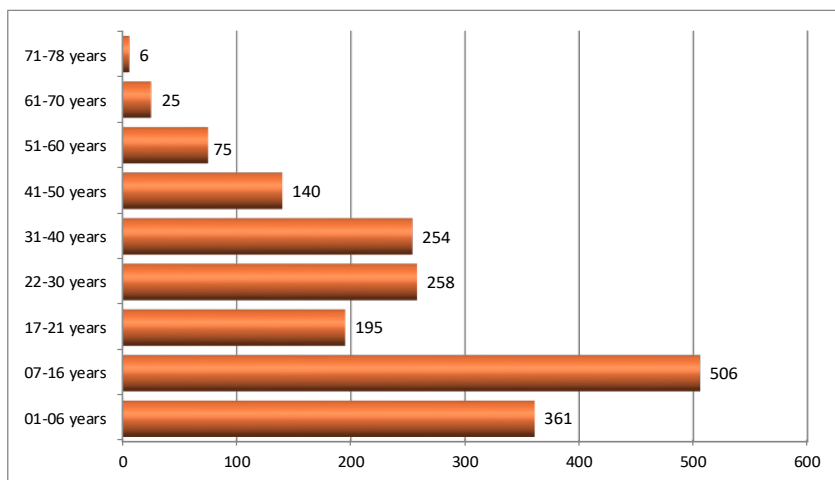


Figure 14. The age distribution of the Debrecen Jewish population in 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

*The first striking fact is that three decades subsequent to the official permission for Jews to settle in Debrecen, close to one-third of the Jewish population in Debrecen (522 persons, 30.5%) identified Debrecen as their place of birth. This is explained by*





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the age-composition of the Jewish population in Debrecen: the mean age of the 1821 residents was 8.3 years of age, and the most populous age cohorts were the under 30 Jewish residents in Debrecen, making up nearly three-quarters (1320 persons, 72%).

Just as a matter of curiosity: the three eldest members of the Jewish community were 78 years of age and all three had been born in Hajdúsámson and two of them were a married couple, a brass “pipe-ring maker” and his wife. However, nine persons out of the pool of residents over age 30 claimed to have been born in Debrecen. According to these statements, they had been residents in Debrecen prior to the 1840 legislation, article 29, permitting settlement in Debrecen. The eldest among them was Antal Steinfeld, the wealthy owner of landed estates had been born 50 years before; Ignác Fónyi, the cab-man 48 years, Ignác Steinfeld, merchant, 47 years before the census of population, that is, *20-18-17 years before the act of legislation permitting settlement*.

The other *unequivocal conclusion* that can be drawn from the birth-data is that *only an insignificant fraction of the Jews settled in the city of Debrecen (88 persons, 4.6%)* had been born abroad: 33 individuals had come from Austria and the Bohemian and Moravian parts of the Empire. 48 identified Poland (20) or Galicia (28) as their birthplaces and 2 persons had arrived from Sweden, the latter two were apprentices in cabinet-making.

*The third important conclusion* is that 225 people (12,2%) arrived from the western regions of the country, having been born in “oberland”- and settled into Debrecen, whereas only 42 (2,3%) originated from Transylvania and South-East Hungary.

In other words – and *this is the fourth conclusion of this inquiry* – the overwhelming majority of people born outside Debrecen, 555 individuals (30,7%), had come from the North-Eastern counties of Hungary while from the adjacent Bihar county and the Hajdú District 352 persons (19,5%) – with those from Hajdúsámson, 175 persons, (9,7%) prevailing among them.

*The birth-data of Jewish population that moved into Debrecen definitively prove that together with the next locally-born generation of Jewry of the “Unterland” made up the dominant part of the Jewish population in Debrecen and also determined its cultural – denominational bonds. The Jews of “oberland” background still dominant in the business life of the city at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, receded into a numerical minority with still important ties mostly with Pest and Pozsony (Bratislava). It has also been confirmed that the Jewish immigration from Poland and Galicia did not reach Debrecen in the first generation. From the 1820s onwards, it was mainly those born in North-Eastern Hungary, the second generation of “Unterland” and in relative minority of those, that after settling down in areas surrounding Debrecen, and tended to move on into the Civis City (scaling migration) only in the next generation.*



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The interpretation of the analysis of data based on the individual ground work, but carried on to the aggregate macro-level and its refinement is only feasible *through the method of case study inquiries by families*. This approach is applicable to the exploration of the course of scaling migration all the way to the place of settlement through the study of the geographic patterns of spouse selection and the birth-places of their children by particular families.

### THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION, THE CHARACTERISTICS (OF INTRA-URBAN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION) OF JEWS IN DEBRECEN

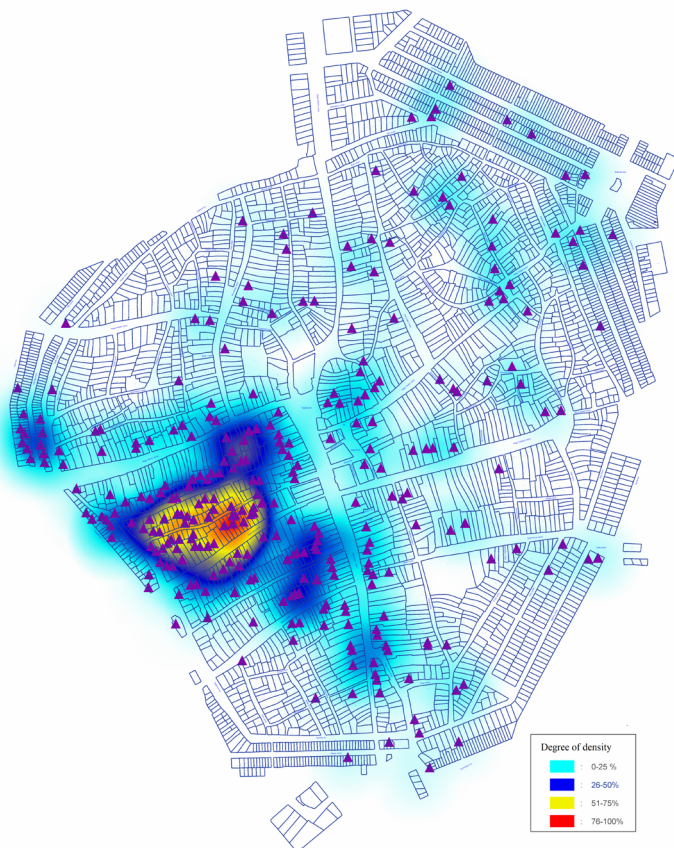
The aim of the data-base queries is, by looking into the state of conditions as of 1870, to refute or just to improve even further our conclusions drawn from the analysis of the discrete series of data on the settlement process.

Our first query meant the testing of the possibilities offered by the GIS system, for the most frequent indicator in residential segregation studies, hoping to obtain an approach more nuanced than the most frequently used indicator: the district segregation index for the query: *where and on which plots in the city did Jewish families reside?*

One could get a response to the question in two forms: one was the answer drawn from the census sheet list of queries through marking the exact identification number of the plots and house numbers. The *1821 Jewish citizens lived in houses on 290 plots in the intra-urban area of the city*, that is, on 7,8% of the total of 3699 intra-urban plots. *The number of Jewish households* (where the serial No. 1. breadwinner of the family belonged to the Israelite denomination) made up *a total of 340* of which 29 had female breadwinners in the survey. Besides the 340 Jewish households there were another 29, where the breadwinner of the family did not belong to the Israelite denomination, but in the non-Jewish families there may have been one or two Jewish employees, servants or guests working. But there were more than two dozen Jewish households which had employees of Christian denominations. It can be considered as common that a Jewish household consisted of 5-6 individuals, but households of 9-11 persons were not a rarity either. On the other hand, there were a dozen single person – or married couple households that cropped up in the survey.

The other outcome of the survey inquiry was the visualization of the spatial distribution of Jewish households by plots. The following spatial arrangement took shape:

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Map 15. The plots inhabited by Jewish population (purple triangle) and population density in intra-urban Debrecen, 1870  
Source: own edit (DTTTA1870)

The primary analysis based on survey queries clearly shows what could partly be concluded on the basis of survey queries related to various points in the settlement process.

The Jews' choice of place of residence in Debrecen – there being no external force imposed – did not lead to settlement in enclosed blocks to the exclusion of others, that is, “ghettoization”. *The spatial distribution of Jewish residential properties was not evenly spread in the city, two districts, those of Piac street and Hatvan street secured home for the majority of settlers (174 plots) The Varga street district occupied*



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*an intermediary position (41 plots), in a further three districts there were two dozen residential plots each.*

*Any further inquiry by districts clearly appeared to be unjustified, because the localities of Jewish settlement did not follow the logic of districts shaped in the course of history. Thus the choice of residence inside the districts and further spatial gravitation points along the district's fringes were rather concealed than revealed or refined by applying the district segregation index calculation. One side of the Nagy Új street most preferred by Jewish settlers belonged to the Hatvan street district, the other side did, however, belong to the Piac street district. Piac street, not as part of a district, but as Main Street, had Jewish residential plots on both sides, most of which was divided among three districts, too.*

Therefore, the inquiry into the finer details was carried on in rather more reasonable queries by particular streets. As a result it became clear the meaningful gravity centre of settlement: *nearly 40% of Jewish residential plots were to be found in six sheets.*<sup>30</sup>

*From all possible points of view, Piac street, the main street of the city stood out of them all. This downtown area, the "city", was the main target spot chosen by most of the well-to-do Jewish businessmen for settlement in the post-1840 wave of settlement, for the housing units in those buildings had relatively high comfort levels, the rentals of workshops in the backyards, husbandry service buildings and street front retail shops were attractive in spite of the high rents owing to their general familiarity and the shopping habits concentrated in the main street. The wealthiest Jewish families making a choice on the grounds of prestige and local business viewpoints, the main street remained the prime target area even in the 1860s and according to the 1870 census of population Jewish settlers rented apartments and business facilities in 27 real property units located along it.*

*Another four streets, Kis and Nagy Új streets, Széchenyi, and Hatvan streets with 75 plots in all were the sites of greater Jewish residential block-formations of a similar type which had been joined by the outer ring of Vendég street and Pesti Sor street integrated for good into the intra-urban area of the city after the 1862 demolition of the stockade border. This residential area extended from the city centre all the way to the western gates of the urban area of the city in close juxtaposition with the Outer Market Grounds (Külső Vásártér), the venue of the Debrecen Great Fairs that had formerly played a decisive role in Jewish in-migrant settlement. Personal and business ties had taken shape with the proprietors of houses in this residential area facilitating*

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<sup>30</sup> Their distribution: The congruent Széchenyi street (30 plots), Nagy Új street (27 plots), Kis Új street (17 plots), Hatvan street (13 plots), Piac street (mainstreet, cross-cutting a few districts) (27 plots), Szent Anna street (playing a role in the early ritual activity of the Israelite parish) (7 plots). The „bridgehead” incorporated into the city with Pesti sor street (7 plots), Vendég street (5 plots) became the residential area of those incapable of settling closer to the centre.



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*the storage of wares and accommodation during the Fairs.* It can also be stated that the housing solutions that had been built on sites outside the city limits in the period of the ban on settling inside the border stockades, the housing area of the “hóstát” with very low prestige and its negligible role played in intra-urban business activity, as well as the rather small size of plots and the limited number of dwellings exerted very slight attraction. *Jewish families regarded initial and temporary settling in the outer quarters only as “bridge-heads” and whoever was up to it picked a place of residence closer to the city centre for themselves.*<sup>31</sup>

Although not even in the first waves of in-migration, nor in later periods was it typical to form residential blocks or ghettos, the four-street residential areas and in their dominant parts *a remarkable enclosing tendency could be detected in 1870? in the selection of residential plots:* beyond choosing the same street, rentals in neighbouring and contiguous plots had become prevalent by 1870. It so happened that a few dozen Jewish families decided to purchase housing units. *It is for this reason that this area of town has become and is – to this day – a characteristic and emblematic residential area in the public opinion of the city.*

In other districts and residential areas of the city Jewish settlement was evenly dispersed- What was also discernible in the territorial distribution of selecting places of residence was *that the fringes of the inner city area where the rows of the houses of the marginalized poor were located – with the exception of Pesti Sor and Vendég street – Jewish population was rather thin.*

*The Jewish families from Hajdúsámson* who had been engaged in peddling in Debrecen and also due to their role played at the minor fairs had developed by 1870 century-old daily contacts, *settled on plots much more evenly distributed than the rest of Jewish settlement in Debrecen.* It was also paramount in their choice of place to be in the zone of town in proximity to the Külső Vásártér (Outer Fair Grounds), moreover, it was this element of population that made up the majority of those who were still stuck in the western “hóstát” (slum or tenement). It was striking, however, how small was the part of them who moved to, and settled in the high prestige residential area and those of Hajdúsámson background seemed rather to be the exceptions. It was typical of most of them to choose their place of residence in the North-western district linked to the earlier city-gate along the road leading to Sámson, with its gravity point lying in the Csapó street district where most of the tenants in the newly laid-out small plots with poorish houses were mostly represented by them.

*What is, however, the most striking about the „Sámson Jews” choice of place of residence is its spatial network character. With the exception of two well-defined*

<sup>31</sup> A similar „bridgehead” formation is detected in the process of settling down of alien tradesmen in London, Cologne or Regensburg by Derek 2009. On similar settlement patterns in Hungary: Csiki 1999. In the case of Pest: Ladányi 2002.



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*residential areas, the distribution of their residential plots was nearly even, which followed the spatial allocation that had evolved in their period of peddling to meet the daily needs of the population.* The practice of renting housing units from the owners of former warehouses from the 1850s onwards was identified in several cases and they moved in from Sámson – while they went on utilizing their real estate property in Sámson for business purposes. In a few cases, from the early 1860s on, when it was made legally possible for Israelites, rentals were replaced by full acquisition through purchase of the given property item.

The study of the density of Debrecen Jewish population corroborates the findings of inquiry by residential plots *with respect to the western residential district adjacent to Külső Vásártér* (Outer Fair Grounds) the downtown core and the spatial network arrangement. Beyond the verification of earlier findings, it also became clear that urban collective memory based probably on the experience of population density – correctly identified the residential area in between the Széchenyi and Hatvan street residential districts as the emblematic block of Jewish settlement. Minor residential groupings, neighbourhoods, identified as new findings of density inquiries – e.g. in the middle section of Kis Új Street, and in its section lying further away from the centre, outstanding densities could be justified on the basis of survey data on this level of queries.

The Jews settling in Debrecen endeavoured to go beyond the overcrowded fringe areas and, with the exception of the Pesti Sor – Vendég street bridgehead, chose settlement sites in the already localized zones inside the outer fridge of “hóstát”. The reason for this on the recipients’ side was, beyond the practical and business considerations, that the poorish slum buildings in the “hóstát” were very small, mostly bedsitters, without all amenities. It was the growing number of increasingly impoverished population of formerly “villein” status that were trapped in them.

Pauperization (Major 1988, 1991) and the social and residential marginalization was the counterpart corollary of the appreciation of the “city”-like downtown core which covered the main square of the city from the Big Church (Nagytemplom) along the central section of Piac street to its intersection with Miklós and Szent Anna streets, and the 100-150 metre range of the connected streets. It was here that they started to functionally rebuild and modernize the existing buildings and began to build multi-storeyed structures with shops, workshops with a lot of rooms for rental purposes.

The Jewish families successful in business that had chosen the core of the city as their place of residence since the first wave of the 1840s did not simply join in the business modernization of the core area of the city but was also an active agent of this process of modernization. The traditional civis proprietors in the city, the Calvinist Reformed Church, the influential guilds and wealthy citizens expanded and modernized their properties expecting and hoping to let them out to Jewish renters. And Jews having purchased real property in the centre often applied for –



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and initiated – the construction of multi-storeyed buildings to be approved by the municipal building authority.

The macro-level city-structure overview of the residential distribution of the Jewish population in Debrecen does not in itself offer sufficient grounds for the interpretation of acculturation-assimilation-integration processes of great complexity. However, some conclusions can be drawn and formulated based on the knowledge of the highlighted examples of the micro- and intermediate-level material on the settlement process taking place since 1790.

In the half-century prior to 1840, Debrecen citizenry familiarized themselves with Debrecen Jews in the persons of wholesalers, stall keepers at fairs, leaseholders, pedlars and their family-members and employees all related to the Debrecen Fairs having regional market roles and directly meeting consumer needs, too. Whereas the citizens of Debrecen, and the leading elite in the city regarded their feudal privileges and liberties as well as their communal prerogatives as something historically handed down to them experienced - . albeit through a series of conflicts - and simultaneously managed some cooperation with Jewish people with different family and cultural backgrounds and pecuniary status who were businessmen, family members or household staff, too. The consequence of all this was a characteristic ring of temporary (at times of fairs) and permanent settlement network around Debrecen, and one step closer specially functioning as a forward base, Hajdúsámson, and the inns in the outskirts and the new streets attached to the western side of the border stockade in close proximity to the Fair Grounds.

After the promulgation of article 29 of the act of 1840 it was not typical of the first wave of in-migrant settlement of Jews in Debrecen that they would choose a closer-knit neighbourhood pattern in response to some kind of pressure, fear, or regulation nor were they forced to occupy a marginal, low prestige inner district for rented residences, that is, no ghettoization occurred. Just the opposite. By the end of the 1840s, twenty families of the first settlers or more precisely, Jewish families that had obtained licence to reside in the city were from among the wealthiest ones that participated in the business life of the city, most of whom together with their staff rented housing in the high-prestige quarters from the owners who belonged to the elite of civis society.

Since the article of the Act of 1840 permitting settlement did not automatically grant the entitlement of Jews to purchase real estate in Debrecen, it was the Imperial Decree of February 18, 1860 and the Council of the Chief Justice's resolutions that permitted acquisition of property regardless of denomination – which ended a dynamization of settlement.

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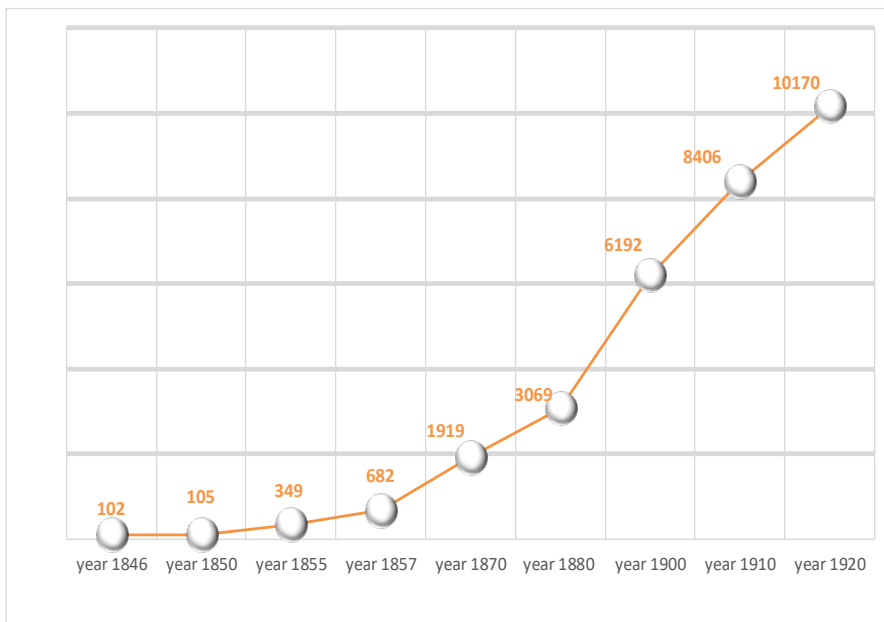


Figure 15. The pace of Jewish settling into Debrecen  
Source: Zoltai 1934, Mazsu J. 2014

Subsequent to 1860, the “trueborn” citizens of Debrecen could no longer use these “crutches” of limiting the competition’s rights to obtain real estate in order to put them at a disadvantage and it opened up the gates to circles of the urban business elite so far banned for them. The post-1863 developments tended to be favourable for both the recipients and the in-migrant settlers: political consolidation, the abolition of market constraints and the emancipation of citizens, the booming economy and the feverish spirit of burgeoning business organizations – competition appeared less and less risky and cooperation seemed increasingly promising. In this cycle of prosperity the role of Debrecen as a regional centre was visualized by all up to the crisis of 1873, as the promised land. This rendered the active presence of Jews in the life of the city more attractive even for the more moderate and parochial minded elements of Debrecen citizenry. They were able to appreciate the selection and favourable prices of goods offered by pedlars or at the market stalls but also the growing income of the less wealthy house owners obtained from rentals became a decisive factor. Less and less was their behaviour motivated by cautious guardedness towards strangers or fear of competition or prejudice feeding on several sources.





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The inquiry into the selection of place of residence show that the in-migrant Jewish settlers who bought real estate properties followed the same considerations as the members of the first wave of settlers and buyers of houses: besides being the busiest points in the city centre, the social prestige of the chosen spot ranked high among the factors in making the decision – while in most cases one can detect business relations that had taken shape with the seller, joint venture deals, or even earlier rentals (retail shop, warehouse or high quality apartment).

The gradually developing cooperation between the elite of the in-migrant Jewish settlers and the civis elite is shown not only by the ownership patterns and traditions in the high-prestige residential areas but also by the fact that the traditionally most influential proprietor institutions, associations (the Calvinist Reformed parish, the Reformed College, or the butchers' guild) or their family members were eager to lease real estate property items to Jewish businessmen. It is by no means accidental that adjustment, accommodation and cooperation can be detected in the selection of places of residence at the level of the local governing elite, in the board-membership of joint business enterprises as well as sporting associations.

The varied manifestations of intra-urban segregation in Debrecen, interpreted in a broad sense as neighbourhood relations between next-door neighbours spatial arrangement of plots and buildings render the introduction of a new terminology well justified and expedient, for apart from neighbourhood relations, various forms of *cohabitation* of recipients and in-migrants is also detected. For owing to the characteristic urban organization of plots, the overwhelming majority of the in-migrants rented a unit of housing in the house of a civis property owner, so it is a rare case for Jewish rentees not to live together with Christian owners or other Christian tenants under the same roof. It is frequent, however, to find both Jews and Christians in one and the same households in diverse combinations: Jewish family with Christian household staff and the other way round.

Only a few examples are presented here to prove that by 1870 there had been a number of patterns of Jewish-Christian coexistence in Debrecen:

*The Israelite cemetery opened in 1840 and enclosed with a stone-wall, which gave rise to public debate, for the Israelite parish employed Calvinist Reformed Mihály Bagoly as cemetery guard-and-keeper at the time of the population census-taking, and he dwelled together with his three family members in the cemetery keeper's house.*

*Miksa Áron, 36, Israelite merchant born in Debrecen (son of Abraham Áron, the major lease-holder) who lived in apartment no. 1 in a building of his own at 2545 Szent Anna street, which building contained 2 apartments, 9 rooms plus retail shops, the following persons were recorded in it as residents: Miksa Áron and Israelite business partner, Mátyás Fürts, with his wife and son and a Jewish apprentice and a remote relative studying law, as well as a Calvinist*



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*Reformed coachman, a Reformed chamber-maid, and a Roman Catholic woman-cook hired from Szepes county!*

*After several prior attempts, the place of worship of the Israelite community and their school was placed on the rented plot 2543 in Szent Anna street owned by Ignác Sichermann. The no 1. apartment of the house was occupied by Mór Rott, president of the Israelite parish with eight family members and a Reformed Calvinist housemaster and a Reformed woman-cook. Two persons, a Calvinist Reformed woman, 45, and her daughter, 9, were also registered as aliens in the same households – without any further data. At the back part of the plot was the ritual bath applied for by and granted to Miskolc-born Leopold Silberstein, Israelite leaser of baths, who resided together with his wife in the bath's premises identified as the no 2. Apartment.*

It remains, however, an open question for further research whether or not the various forms of *coexistence/cohabitation* can be interpreted as stages in the trend towards integration resulting in certain segmentation or block development at the different levels of the social hierarchy, that is, it went hand-in-hand with *pillarization* at layers way below the elites. It is to be decided what terminology and methods of analysis can yield correct conclusions.

The places of residence chosen by the Jewish in-migrant settlers in Debrecen, the conflicts and successes accompanying settlement and coexistence raise the warning for later research that in the era of modernizational transition one cannot reckon with either homogeneous Jewish society or a homogenous civis society. The in-migrant Jewish population did not adjust to a fully accomplished, consolidated and stagnant local society therefore – apart from the methodological problems it may well be expedient to rethink the mostly one-sided concept of the acculturation –assimilation-integration continuum. The Jewish population was itself fairly segmented by the different emitting community, the generational divisions which went on differentiating in the drifting current of modernization, getting increasingly fragmented according to pecuniary and social status, success or failure in business. In the meanwhile the recipient society was also going through the ordeal of the highs and lows of the transition, being more and more polarized by wealth, social position, by success and failure, being forced to give up prerogatives, but caring for their property and power status and trying enthusiastically to exploit the new market opportunities.

Viewing from both angles the in-migrant settlement of Jews appears to be a *process of adjustment based on conditional and mutual learning process (acculturation)*, and a joint effort based on coexistence to sail on uncharted waters towards only partly known but mainly unknown destinations. The mental visage of both communities, their strategies, their simultaneous modernization efforts and traditionalist



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orthodoxy did not mean an antiprogressive stance or xenophobic exclusion, *but rather communal traditions on both sides to be carried on, guarding and enhancing potentials for the ways and means of modernization and cooperation in the hope of success.* The fears and traditionalist conditioning of both communities and their increasingly frequent joint efforts and understanding laid down the foundations of the successful urbanization of Debrecen by the turn of the century, (It was not by chance that the monographer of the Debrecen Jewish community, László Gonda, called the next period “the generation of emancipation” and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century “the years of glory of the Israelite parish” resting on what had been achieved up to 1870.)

### Conclusion

Three decades after the piece of legislation that permitted the in-migratory settlement of Jews in Debrecen, and two decades after the political transition related to the legislation of 1848 and also 2-3 years after the Austrian-Hungarian Compromise, the survey of the inner zone of dense population in Debrecen, the inquiry into social space makes significant processes of transition discernible. In reaction to political and economic and market related processes as much as one-fifth of the otherwise rather exclusively enclosed civis society was made up of first generation in-migrants born beyond Basahalma.

The relative majority of the in-migrants had arrived from the neighbouring Hajdú district and Bihar county. From the viewpoint of the in-migration of Jews, the routing course was initially decisively from Pest and Pozsony (Bratislava) then from the north-eastern counties. In-migration triggered transformation in nearly all segments of civis society; besides Roman Catholics and members of other minor denominations whose settlement was permitted as part of a trade-off For Free Royal city status-rights cca 150 years before, then there appeared Evangelical Lutherans and Israelites among the in-migrants and Calvinist Reformed constituted only a relative majority. The better-off among the in-migrants purchased houses and one-twentieth of all intra-urban plots had got into the possession of in-migrants by 1870. In their choice of place of residence in-migrants preferred the „city” core area of the burgeoning big city and streets connected with it, in accordance with their existential circumstances and interests. The radical polarization of traditional civis society was also reflected in their residential marginalization; those getting impoverished and losing on modernization were crowded out to the periphery of the inner city. The drifting social current of in-migration manifested itself in the transformation of Debrecen households; locally-born and those born beyond Basahalma lived together in nearly a third of Debrecen households. In the absence of prohibition on settlement and owing to the composition of proprietors led to the juxtaposed



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coexistence of civis people and the in-migrants in the housing units of more than half of the residential plots. Ghetto-like formations or any other similar formation was not concomitant of the modernization process following the abolition of the system of prerogatives, a loose-structure, mixed coexistence and neighbourhood formations of Catholic population in the vicinity of Szent Anna church. The in-migrant Jewish population, however, settled on plots at the contact point of the Hatvan street and Piac street districts in the very core and in a more dispersed manner throughout the general city centre, the „Jewish quarter” came into being based on residential density in the area between Szechenyi street and Kiss and Nagy Új streets.

The spatial pattern of in-migration, on the basis of a sketchy overview, shows that the processes of modernization equally manifested themselves in the polarization of traditional Debrecen society and in the adjustment and learning characteristics of cohabitation triggered by in-migration. We can draw the conclusion at this point of analysis that the transition taking place in Debrecen society did not result in two opposing blocks - conservative, status-quo guarding civis versus in-migrant, endorsing and vindicating modernization, innovation, etc - that is, we cannot talk about a „dual social structure”. The spatial patterns of society would rather tend to show coexistence and a kind of integrative cooperation on various hierarchic levels and the processes of simultaneous social pillarization.

If there is any possibility of interpretation of that other narrative according to which 19th Debrecen can be regarded a kind of ideal-type of Hungarian middle-class development, can be regarded, in my opinion, as such inasmuch as it rested on the basis of traditional society, the renewal in its polarized structure, middle-class development was based on coexistence and cooperation with the in-migrant settlers. In this sense, Debrecen did not have three faces, but there were different mimic feedbacks - in response to different challenges - of the very same face.

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