

Civic Gentry in Sáros County in the 19th–20th Century. The History of Hazslinyszky Family, Part II.

Pál Koudela

*Department of International Relations and History, Nemzetközi Tanulmányok és
Történelem Tanszék, Kodolányi János University College
Fűrdő u. 1, 8000, Székesfehérvár
Hungary
pkoudela@yahoo.com*

The Unknown Brother: Tamás Hazslinszky

Discussion on such questions as the role of different groups in 19th century Hungarian social progress, or in any other historical circumstances, is mostly problematic because of its complexity. The most adequate and common viewpoint is to deal with the given situation as a structural matter: measuring the rate of officials of noble origins in state jobs in a period seems to be the easiest way to express the influence of the group.¹ This is more difficult to distinguish between social positions and define their effect in close and distant social connections.

¹ T. HAJDÚ, Nemesi tisztikarból polgári tisztikar, in: *Történelmi Szemle*, 4, 1996, pp. 343–351; L. T. VIZI, A magyarországi és az erdélyi nemesség a XVIII–XIX. században, in: K. SZALAI (ed.), *Magyarság, fehérvári polgárság*, Székesfehérvár 1996, pp. 8–32.

To get closer the social networks – the organic texture of a society – and see how such value transmission works or not is even harder.² The most difficult is to describe those values we consider to be influential. The latter is nevertheless more complicated because of the almost impossible case of deciding between those personalities who were fuglemen, and those who even didn't leave any trace behind. To extract such fine and deeply dug material from history we stand life-courses side by side and one after the other, creating a kind of texture of values getting out of these lives we dived into.

The Hazslinszky was an impoverished noble family, who lost their lands during the Rákóczi War of Independence, and, after returning from exile, lived in their original home, Sáros County in the 19th century. Probably the most famous son of the family was Frigyes Hazslinszky: founding personality in Hungarian mycology, and maybe the most popular teacher of the Lutheran Collegium in Eperjes (Prešov). His life and role in science is described in details in the first part of this sequel of studies, but he also had a younger brother, hardly known by anybody. In the following I'm going to add more details to the milieu of the Hazslinszky family's first generation. Tamás Hazslinszky was fourteen years younger to Frigyes, and also became a teacher, history and Latin, a little bit later, in the Collegium of Eperjes. He also married to the Jermy family of Késmárk (Kežmarok), a German craftsmen clan. Her name was Frederike Amalie and was born in 1835 as daughter of Carl Jermy and Maria S. Weisz. Carl had eleven children, but only two siblings: a brother (Samuel) and a sister, Maria Susanna. Maria married to a farmer, Samuel N. Putz and had three children: Teréz, Frederike and Irén. Teréz became the wife of Frigyes, thus the two brothers, Frigyes and Tamás married with two cousins. The more interesting is that Frederike married to Gustav Dietz, and gave birth to Sándor Dietz, the famous botanist.³ After the early death of Samuel Putz, Maria

² P. KOUDELA, *A kassai polgárság 1918 előtt és után*, at: http://phd.lib.uni-corvinus.hu/41/1/koudela_pal.pdf, 2007, pp. 126–178.

³ P. KOUDELA, *Mágócsy-Dietz Sándor. Mindennapi történet egy egyetemi tanárról*, Budapest 2010.

Jermy married again to Sándor Mágócsy, son of another old impoverished noble family – he became a step grandfather of Sándor Dietz, who adopted his name later on and became Mágócsy-Dietz Sándor. Sándor spent his youth at the home of his uncle, Frigyes Hazslinszky, while he studied at the Collegium of Eperjes, and was student of both Hazslinszky brothers. Tamás never became as famous scientist as his brother, but their lives were similar in any other aspects. His lifestyle was puritan, simple and, according to his painstaking work, – and certainly to his smaller height – he was called to the “little Hazslinszky”.

Tamás Hazslinszky was born in Késmárk on June 4, 1832. He never enrolled to elementary school either, but learned at home from his older brother. He remembered even in his last days of life very brightly to the case, when Frigyes brought home a textbook, decorated with a golden rooster, from the Schweiger bookstore, and made him sit on one of his arms and Linka, the younger sister, to the other, and taught them to read.

The way was similar, when Frigyes taught him to the elements of Hungarian from a translation of J.H. Campe’s *New Robinson Crusoe*, and made him love reading by an interesting German book, from which the short poems he remembered for until even the latest days of his life. Later, in the first years at the Collegium he, certainly, had to learn from the *Colloquia Latina*, and, despite even his hands were trembling on his first examination, for the second year he became the first in the class. The following class was arranged along the lines of the Roman Republic by its teacher, and he immediately started as a consul in it. He kept this position, despite all the attacks, for two years. On every lesson each responding pupil had the right to put on a higher class student for repetition; this was called “decentration”, and in case of a worse performance, due to the voting of the “curias” (i. e. the benches in the classroom), the two respondent changed their place. Tamás Hazslinszky remained eminent during the year of Rhetoric, and received 60–60 forints grants in both two years. It was not a small amount in so far as his brother earned only the twice with teaching in Eperjes.

Frigyes, who was teaching already at the Collegium that time, brought his brother to Eperjes, so Tamás finished his elementary studies there under the leadership of Herfurth and Vandrák as an eminent fellow student. By that time, thanks to the luck, he became govern at the upscale Ganczaugh family, and had first chance to learn Hungarian perfectly. He studied different fields, like law from Csupka, but finished only the Theology. After he successfully completed his studies, he visited his sister in Árva County, where Dániel Szontagh, forensic assessor asked him to establish a private school in Alsó-Kubin (Dolný Kubín). Szontagh was previously Chief Constable, and a County Magistrate at that time. The invitation was a great honor, but a forensic assessor could never ask anything of a recently graduated student, actually just ordered. This happened also to Tamás Hazslinszky, who founded that private institution, which became very successful: its students came from such noble families as the Zmeskall and the Szontagh. The latter family was an old German landowner noble family originated from Weimar, where they were already ranked Saxon Knights.⁴ The pupils made examinations to a committee complemented with the parents and county officials in every semester. After three years of successful operation he was invited to Eperjes as an assistant teacher of mathematics in October 2, 1854, and he didn't refuse, especially because his pupils' parents supported him to do so. He loved studying and not only his later subject, Latin classics, but also learned French and English. His brother's influence would be hard to deny: he made him love botany, mineralogy and zoology. Frigyes brought his younger brother with himself to the Carpathian Mountains already as a child, and if Tamás couldn't walk yet, he put on back, and continued exploring nature in such way. Some years later Frigyes even give one of his collection to Tamás.

In the first year Tamás worked in the Collegium as a temporary teacher, but in the second he was appointed full professor and became a form-master in the first class. After these events his career didn't

⁴ D. SZONTAGH, *Iglói és zabari Szontagh nemzetség származási története és oklevelei*, Budapest 1864, p. 6.

change a lot: in May of 1887, when the school received the subvention, he became the teacher of the geometry. Despite of his uneventful life he was studious, but very sickly. For this reason he was absent many times, and since May of 1895 the directorate sent him permanent sick leave, but soon, in December 22, he died. He lived modestly without showing great results: he identified himself as faithful to the slow construction. As József Hörk, later director of the Collegium wrote about him: “*he tried to make human life precious of its wiser half*”.⁵ With unassuming appearance, the weak but placid character was loved by everybody, any complaint was never made against him. Many people learned the elements of exact sciences and the basics of practical life from him, though they probably owe his exemplary personality more. Stable family background and confidence in profession helped him to “let ambitious people go on their way”.

For this generation we can conclude, that the family simply lost its noble identity and melted into the German bourgeoisie of Késmárk by the beginning of the 19th century. Civic values, lifestyle and painstaking work characterized them both as saddlers and teachers. The question in the following is, in which ways noble origin influenced the next generation in their identity, or how this element reappeared, and how much significance it got?

The Second and the Third Generations: Frigyes and His Descendants

Frigyes Hazslinszky had eight children. Gusztáv was born in 1855, and became a singing master and composer. At the Academy of Music he was the student of Ábrányi and Mikolits, and later he became a teacher at the National Conservatory. His wife was also noble descendant: daughter of Imre Csacskó, Supreme Court judge and Emilia Karolina Barlay of Barla. According to the mourners of time they lived

⁵ J. HÖRK, Hazslinszky Tamás emlékezete, in: *A Tiszai á. h. ev. egyházkerületi Collegium Értesítője az 1895–96. iskolai évről*, Eperjes 1896.

in balanced and happy marriage, but he lost soon his wife.⁶ In 1910 he married again, this time with his sister-in-law, the also noble Júlia Tahy.

Gyula Hazslinszky was born in 1847,⁷ and his first wife was Baroness Mária Stachelhausen, the second Sarolta Bornemissza of Ilosva. After Sarolta died, he married with Cornelia Tahy of Tarkeö and Tahvár, daughter of Jenő Tahy from Eperjes and Cornelia Fejérváry from Komlóskeresztes, in 1900. He studied in the Gymnasium of Pozsony (Bratislava) and later agriculture in Magyaróvár and in Germany for three years. He finished with excellent results and spent his traineeship under the leading of Gyula Thaisz. Between 1872 and 1886 he had been teaching in Igló (Spišská Nová Ves), then he worked at the Agricultural Academy of Kassa (Košice) until his retirement in 1901. He had achieved outstanding results in the field of flax production and in the modernization of agriculture in the Highlands.⁸

Hugó Hazslinszky⁹ was born on November 17, 1857 and became a doctor at the Police and a General Counsel. He also get married into a similar family: first the daughter of Béla Ivády of Ivád, landed gentleman and Jozefa Csiti, but after her early death, Hugó married again to Karola Fényes of Csokaly, sister of Szabolcs Fényes the famous composer.¹⁰ Hugó Hazslinszky graduated in 1881, and after a foreign study tour opened a free gynecological clinics in Budapest, nevertheless it didn't operate for a long time. After this initial fail he remained a police employee for 35 years, and in 1929 he was promoted to health counselor. He left behind a very nice herbarium, which, faithfully to the family tradition, he bequeathed to the Practicing Gymnasium of Budapest.

⁶ J. SZINNYEI, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, IV. köt. és hivatkozásai, 1890.

⁷ Home Office Certificate of Nobility. 111659/1904.

⁸ M. MIHÓKOVÁ, *Stredné školstvo v Košiciach v rokoch 1848–1918*, Košice 1981, p. 345.

⁹ Home Office Certificate of Nobility. 61360/1938.

¹⁰ B. TECSŐI MÓRICZ, *A dengelegi, érendrédi és csokalyi Fényes család*, Budapest 1974.

Their brother, Marcell, was born in 1850, and worked as a Royal District Judge,¹¹ when married with the daughter of Albert Horváthy, a landowner gentleman from Szepesváralja (Spišské Podhradie).

Géza Sándor Hazslinszky¹² was born on August 2, 1861 and worked for the Hungarian Royal Supreme Court as a clerk of council and judge and later prompter to Forensic President at the Royal Tribunal of Szekszárd in 1905. He married Mária Lányi of Jakob, daughter of Bertalan Lányi, parliamentarian and Minister of Justice that time in the Cabinet of Géza Fejérváry, and Gizella Vitalis of Vitalisfalva and Stószház on January 4, 1902.

He belonged to those descendants, who didn't become intellectuals or teachers but part of the genteel middle class, but preserved the values – the spirit of love for careful construction and work – of their family. He didn't consider despicable physical work: on the family wardrobe, which was made in memory of his father, decorated with his bust, and which is now in the Museum for Natural Sciences in Budapest, he carved manually the loading of inlaid himself. It is worth to mention that the Fejérváry Government – although it is often judged negatively¹³ –, not only about its short operation, but also in terms of the perception of its members, this statement is not fully acceptable. The personality of Bertalan Lányi, the father-in-law of Géza Hazslinszky, who was the Minister of Justice in that cabinet, couldn't be considered a second- or third-line politician, and particularly not such professional. Not only his jurisprudential work gives rise for this rebuttal, but also his literate and composing oeuvre does so: along with his many books, articles and codification activity, he had time for coediting of the journal *Felvidéki Lloyd* since 1872 and for the foundation of and editing the first Hungarian newspaper in Liptószentmiklós (Liptovský

¹¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (hereinafter MNL–OL), 1906.01. 04.–3. Hazslinszky Marcell beszercebányai kir. járásbírónak a táblabírói cím- és jelleg adományozása.

¹² Home Office Certificate of Nobility. 64271/1904.

¹³ P. HANÁK, A Fejérvári-kormány kinevezése és fogadtatása, in: *Magyarország története tíz kötetben 1890–1918*, 7, 1, 1988, pp. 568–572.

Mikuláš), the Tátravidéki Híradó in 1877. In addition, he was the secular supervisor of the Lutheran Church of Hibbe and the Judge of the Hungarian Lutheran Church Tribunal.¹⁴ Géza Hazslinszky was Lutheran inspector too, in the small village of Lemes (Lemešany) in 1903, for instance,¹⁵ and in the Tolna-Baranya-Somogy Counties Diocese and in the Gymnasiums of Sopron and Bonyhád in 1913,¹⁶ as long as it was quite typical for every more educated Lutheran in that era.

Frigyes Hazslinszky had three daughters: Georgina, Anna and Irén. The youngest girl, Irén, was born in 1866 and married to Captain Emil Krull.¹⁷ Although he had no noble origin, Gyula Hazslinszky adopted him in August 9, 1905, and assigned the nobility to his brother-in-law,¹⁸ who took the Hazslinszky-Krull name. Emil and Irén had a son, Géza, who was born in February 23, 1900. Géza studied, after the economic high school, at the Ludovika Academy between 1918 and 1920, and at the riding and driving teachers' training school in the military settlement Örkénytábor between 1926 and 1928. Later in life he also completed a senior officer course in 1941. He started his military career as a lieutenant at the First Military Hussar Regiment of Budapest in 1920, continued as a teacher at the riding school in Örkénytábor, and sore up gradually to lieutenant colonel, appointed in November 1, 1942.

Riding schools of the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy remained on Austrian lands after the disintegration of the empire. To fill the resulting gap new riding schools were founded in Budapest and then on the army fields of the close Örkénytábor. Several young experts were sent for study tour to different West-European countries, especially to Italy, France, Germany and certainly to Austria, where the highest standard

¹⁴ J. SZINNYEI, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, Vol. VI, 1890.

¹⁵ S. POSZVÉK (ed.), *A Magyarországi Ág. Hitv. Evang. Keresztyén Egyház Névtára az 1903. évben*, Sopron 1903, p. 239.

¹⁶ J. HEGEDŰS (ed.), *Az ág. hitv. ev. egyház Egyetemes Névtára 1913*, Budapest 1913, pp. 133–166.

¹⁷ B. KEMPELEN, *Magyar Nemesi Almanach*, Budapest 1910.

¹⁸ Diploma in: Viena, October 15, 1912. Liber Reg. LXXII. 818.

equestrian dressing and jumping schools operated.¹⁹ The Spanish Riding School was established in September 1, 1933, between the frames of the Riding and Eventing Teachers Training School of Örkénytábor. Hazslinszky-Krull Géza became the deputy commander of the new institution.

He was a very successful gallop and jumping rider, who educated several leading Hungarian cavalry officer. In 1930 he was deployed to the Spanish Riding School in Vienna for a while, but later he continued his career as a teacher in Budapest. He was appointed to the director of the Spanish Riding School in 1940 and later to the commander of the Second Independent Cavalry Regiment and finally to the commander of the Horse Guards in 1943. After the abolition of the Guards, in 1944, he went to Bábolna to be a teacher in the riding school of the stud, but he was soon ordered to the front. Between 1945 and 1948 he was a prisoner of war in the Soviet Union.

After all of these antecedents he was certainly enrolled on the B-list in the Rákosi era: his origin and previous activity was enough to expatriate, as everybody who “only lost their rank”, after 1951.²⁰ Nevertheless he soon returned, first as a night watchman, and later he worked in agriculture like many of his fellow sufferer. At the same time he received an unusually influential rank compared to the situation: he became the professional sports supervisor of the State Farm of Mezőhegyes. Although it was a lower rank compared to his previous jobs, but still surprising in the communist era. Despite all of this, the most sudden event in the narrative of his lifecycle was, when, on March 7, 1959, the Dutch Royal Court asked the Hungarian Government to let his immigration to the Netherlands, where he became the teacher and supervisor of the Royal Dutch Equestrian Federation and, at the same time, the riding teacher of the Royal Court.²¹ He was a non-typical example

¹⁹ I. MAGYAR – A. GYÓRFFY-VILLÁM, *Iskolalovaglás*, Budapest 1988, p. 144.

²⁰ S. SZAKÁLY, *Honvédség és tisztikar 1919–1945*, Budapest 2002.

²¹ J.S. MAIBURG, The Forgotten Spanish Riding School: The Story of the Royal Hungarian Spanish Riding School of Budapest and its Last Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Vitéz Géza Hazslinszky-Krull von Hazslin, in: *Haute École*, 15, 4,

for the legal emigration from Hungary during the Communism, along with those of family reunification etc. He received several awards in his life, like the Knight's Cross of the Order of Merit of Hungary, Governor's recognition of praise, but also the 1st class Royal Order of the Sword Swedish Kungliga Svärdsorden and the Knight Grand Cross of the Order Orange-Nassau.

He performed feats during the war: rescued István Bethlen, former prime minister, on the day of German occupation, March 19, 1944, circumventing the German armored units, and making him get to his first hideout, for instance. Later in the autumn, during the night of October 16 he disarmed his former patrol commander, who defected to the Nazi Arrow Cross forces, and reported the betrayal. In the Netherlands even a challenge-cup was named after him, but his literary oeuvre was already quite extensive by that time. He was retired from his last duty, the national supervisory position, in 1971, but kept his riding teacher status till his death in 1981 – he taught to ride Queen Beatrix. He spoke English, French, Russian and Italian.²² Profession and political circumstances surely shaped his character, but, despite of our general knowledge about the Horthy era soldiery, his personality was rather humane.²³

Despite of its extraordinary turning points and events, the life of Géza Hazslinszky-Krull represented a major type of the 1945-before era society from different viewpoints. On the one hand, his and his family's integration to Hungarian gentry is important to interpret carefully. The general view about the era is that value transmission went from the upside to downwards, meaning the highest ranks to be the most prestigious ones with noble origins, but without the component of current successfulness. This comes partly from the artificially generated picture about the lazy and unconstructive, poor but ostentatious noble officials, appeared in different literate platforms, like Kálmán Mikszáth's

2007, pp. 2–5.

²² J. ERNST et. al., *Gondolatok a lovaglásról, Örkényi lovaglótanárok írásai*, Budapest 2001, pp. 11–32.

²³ *Reiter Zeitung*, 1980/2, p. 1.

novels and short stories, very popular in the period, and first in the caricatures in newspapers, by, perhaps the most well-known and popular author of these kind, Aurél Kecskeméthy.²⁴ But getting closer, we already know that this noble family, his father married in, the Hazslinszky, was quite different from this retrograde view of middle classes. Thus his father's marriage and his adaptation must be viewed as snobism with doubts. Despite of his father's German civic origins, the integration was fully accepted both by contemporaries and later generations.²⁵ On the other hand, officers with noble origins mostly served at the cavalry: their gentle behavior obviously proved to be very adequate there, though its role in warfare was secondary that time, and provided only policing and representative purposes.²⁶ Although at the Guards differentiation between cavalry, infantry or artillery officers was not usual, it must have had some importance in social interactions due to the differences in prestige.

This lifespan was also frequent in so far as more than a half of the top military leadership, to which the commanders of the Guards belonged, came from the detached parts of the country, 17 percent especially from the former Upper Hungary.²⁷ Coming from a military family, like him, was also typical, such as many other small details: he had two siblings, his earning was the average within the officer corps, and inasmuch he wanted to belong to the elite, for what his social life provided a basis, this income proved to be very little. As a lieutenant-colonel he earned 865 pengó monthly, supplemented with some housing and family allowance, while the dividing line between the middle

²⁴ E. FABÓ, *A magyar dualizmus kori karikatúrák és paródiák. A nőekkel kapcsolatos társadalmi sztereotípiák változása az élclapok tükrében, doktori disszertáció*, Budapest 2007, p. 25.

²⁵ E. BANGHA, *A magyar királyi testőrség 1920–1944*, Budapest 1990, p. 281.

²⁶ T. HAJDÚ, Tisztikar és középosztály a dualizmus korában, in: *Előadások a TTI-ben*, 15, Budapest 1991, p. 8.

²⁷ S. SZAKÁLY, A magyar katonai felső vezetés társadalmi és anyagi helyzete 1919–1945, in: T. HAJDÚ (ed.), *“A magyar katonatiszt” 1848–1945*, Budapest 1989, pp. 85–110, p. 89.

class and the elite was about 24 000 pengo annually.²⁸ However, comparing to the average payments among the genteel middle class, this income was fairly high since it was equal to the salary of a state secretary.

The Royal Hungarian Guards was established by Miklós Horthy in 1920 as the successor of the *darabont* guards.²⁹ Composition and features of this military body were very peculiar, if for no other reason, because it had no concrete defense functions. Due to its representative character and that they considered themselves to the heirs of the Guards of Marie Therese, it was a “fossil” even in the archaic Hungarian society of the period between the two world wars. Thirty two officers, out of the all thirty nine, had noble origins; having regard to the fact that after 1848 not any of the military corps had such a high rate, this composition was extraordinary, especially if considering that among the students of the Ludovika Military Academy petty bourgeoisie dominated already during the years of the Monarchy. According to this social position, officers of the Guards lived in exclusive apartments with four and five bedrooms, furnished with high quality wardrobes, decorated with expensive paintings and Persian carpets. Their social life was characterized by cocktail parties, but under the surface something else was hidden. Already at the selection there were cultural aspects, such as speaking foreign languages. Among luxury fixtures there were books in their homes: light readings, such as Gyula Pekár, but also classics, historical books and certainly the fashionable authors of the period, such as Sándor Márai or Ferenc Herczeg. We can also find a typically bourgeois habit in their everyday life: many of them played an instrument and often played classical music at home together. Géza Hazslinszky-Krull was a nationally renowned, erudite equestrian, but also had a wide range of social connections – everybody loved him, and had no doubt of his honesty – thus he was an illustri-

²⁸ G. GYÁNI – G. KÖVÉR, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig*, Budapest 2003, p. 259.

²⁹ G. SÁGVÁRI, *Gárdák, díszbandériumok Budavárban*, in: *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából*, 29, 2001, pp. 185–205, p. 185.

ous member of this society. Nevertheless, behind this glamorous social life, personally they could be rather characterized with quietness and modesty than with ostentatious behavior or even Prussian military discipline.

Géza Hazslinszky-Krull represented this old world with his thinking, social connections and behavior: he was a typical k. u. k. hussar officer. He believed in honesty and chivalry, society was a “vital fluid” for him and he was famed as an excellent dancer. Respect for tradition, proficiency in etiquette, and that he required these not only himself but others, characterized his view of life. Contemporaries considered him selfless, helpful and loyal. An example for his humane philosophy was in 1944. When Békássy and Földes guard captains’ lives were in danger, due to the revenge of Skorzeny, despite he had been only translating for the Germans, he succeeded for both to survive. Namely, according to Skorzeny’s request and Lázár’s command, he worked as an interpreter in the occupied Castle of Buda. When they opened fire to the Germans, on Horthy’s instruction, and many of them fell, Skorzeny arrested the participating guards, selected the two, mentioned above, and hinged them immediately. However Hazslinszky enjoyed good relations with the German aides, according to the frequent meetings, and mentioned them what kind of fate was expected for their peers. During the evening, when the commander was already sufficiently illuminated, he succeeded to get in and induce him to forgive the Hungarian officers and let them go.

The contradiction between his position in an obsolete social context and his personality, represented values can be amended with further details, if we emphasize some elements in his career. Despite of his very genteel place at the cavalry, he became finally a teacher and a scientific expert of his profession. Already as the teacher of the Spanish Riding School he taught trainers rather in an explaining and soft-spoken style and worked patiently, that was pretty rare in the army, even among military teachers. His commander and fellow teacher, László Hanthy was rather dynamic and impatient personality: strong, explosive and energetic just like training officers in general, for instance.

In this school, which was no more than the both formally and substantive surviving of the Monarchy's gentle milieu, the Hazslinszky grandchild, who became leader in 1940, had an antagonistic role, for as much his personality was contradictory. He directed a school in which the introducing hussars wore Hadik-uniforms from the era of Marie Therese with stand-up collar, gold braid and trim, their blue dolman was decorated with white-yellow or golden belt with a sabretache hanging on it. All of this unrealistic staff symbolized an atavistic and retrograde world; the director, perfect in etiquette, permanent and honored member of society, represented this fossil-like, surviving gentry sphere; on the other hand however, several signs pointed out he doesn't fit seamlessly into this image.

The contrast between previous generations of the family and the situation of its member, analyzed above is so important, because this was not only him, we can characterize this way. Not only Irén's son served as an officer, but the son of Marcell Hazslinszky, called László too. He was a lieutenant-colonel and his daughter, Márta married to a captain, Ernő Solti. The son of Géza Hazslinszky, Zoltán became a cavalry major of the Guards, and the mentioned Géza Hazslinszky-Krull's sister married also to an officer: Detlev von Arentschildt, lieutenant-colonel of the Royal stud. In addition, all of them belonged to that part of the army, which was verge of extinction in the absence of any function, and in which the rate of nobility remained the highest all along.

These people lived that time mostly on their relationships, and were at pains to strengthen their social position by maintaining an illusion-world: gentlemanly manifesting in home interiors, keeping cars or private horse-keeping for example. The mentioned other grandchild, Zoltán Hazslinszky was also a contradictory character. His career can be considered average: after finishing the Ludovika Academy he studied riding and got to Örkénytábor, where, entering the footsteps of his relative, became the commander of the school in 1944. Along with many honors and awards he was also a modest, kind and considerate person, characterized with the greatest benevolence. As an individual, he represented such civic values, which, though, matched his

professional environment, but still differed. We can say the same about Géza Hazslinszky-Krull's brother in law, Detlev von Arentschildt, who was the commander of the stud at Bábolna, honorary member of the Sovereign Order of Malta, and whose son yet started a business career inasmuch he became the chief executive in one of the Swiss Cantonal Banks later.³⁰

The Other Family Branch: Tamás and His Descendants

Their grandfather's lifespan personified the civic development in Hungary, but also preserved something from the family's noble past. Both of his five sons married with daughters of the gentry, which was by no means a coincidence. In order to get a broader picture about the family, we are going to take a look at the descendants of Tamás Hazslinszky in the following. He had four sons: Rezső Hazslinszky, the oldest was born in December 4, 1869, in Eperjes. He became a historian, journalist and museum director. He studied in Eperjes and graduated of history and archives in Budapest. His doctorate inauguration was in 1894, by that time he was already a teacher of the Collegium of Eperjes. He started educational career there in 1890 and two years later followed in Békéscsaba; Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) and Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota) came one after the other in the forthcoming years and finally the Lutheran Gymnasium of Rozsnyó (Rožňava) in 1898, where he taught history, Hungarian language and literature, geography and Greek, French and English languages.

In the 1894/95 school year three Hazslinszkys taught at the same time in the Main Gymnasium of the Collegium: Frigyes, Tamás and his son, Rezső. Rezső became also the director of the Museum of Rozsnyó City (today Mining and Metallurgy Museum of Rožňava) since

³⁰ Ganz üzlet brit szemmel, in: *Magyar Hírlap*, August 26, 1899. The Arentschildt family originally came from Hanover, and arrived to the Monarchy in 1866. When Hannover, the ally of Austria capitulated the Austro-Prussian war, and the winner Prussia annexed it after the Peace of Prague, the majority of the military leadership was forced to flee, and this way the family moved to Austria.

1895. He travelled through Dalmatia, Greece, Germany, Sweden, Italy, but also took journey to Norway and Middle East. He visited London, Paris and Switzerland too.³¹ His scientific work mostly focused on ancient Hungarian history, his results were published in local papers (Rozsnyói Híradó, Sajó Vidék, Gömöri Újság), sometimes under pseudonym Ahasverus, and in leading national journals like Magyar Újság, Magyar Szó. He wrote several scientific books: *The Throne in the 16th Century*,³² *The Sources of the Jagello Era*, for instance. The latter was published in 1895 in Besztercebánya, but wrote about the fate of the Lutheran Church in Rozsnyó, in the great series, *Counties and Cities of Hungary*.³³ He also published different travel guides, in which he wrote about his journeys with his students, but also Latin textbook and several articles about social problems. He was editor for some newspapers and journals too, and editor in chief of the *Rozsnyói Híradó* between 1906–1910.

The Archeology and History Association of Besztercebánya was established in April 21, 1897. Rezső Hazslinszky was one of its founders and the one, who achieved its ministerial confirmation. The association had more than hundred members already at the beginning, and the exhibited articles were sent to Budapest, and were awarded by the Great Title of the Exhibition there. Three rooms were installed with them and a considerable library with historical, archeological and natural science books too. Already in the year of foundation excavation begun in the cave at Tufna.³⁴

Rezső Hazslinszky was a progressively thinking man, who wrote historical articles but also patronized sociology: he wanted to make it

³¹ SZINNYEI, Vol. IV, 1890; P. GULYÁS, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, Budapest 1939.

³² R. HAZSLINSZKY, *A királyi szék betöltése a XVI. században*, Békéscsaba 1893.

³³ R. HAZSLINSZKY – J. LISZKAY, A Gömör-Kishont Ág. H. Ev. Egyház szervezete, in: S. BOROVSZKY (ed.), *Gömör-Kishont Vármegye, Magyarország Vármegyéi*, Budapest 1903, pp. 415–422.

³⁴ The cave is close to Alsóhermánd (Dolný Harmanec), in the Fatra. In: *Századok*, 31, 9, 1897, p. 660; Hazslinszky Rezső levele Szilágyi Sándornak, OSZK Kézirattár, Fond IX/246.

become compulsory curriculum in Rozsnyó schools. The teacher, who spoke nine different languages, had doubts about social life of small cities already in Besztercebánya, as the ironic tone of his letter to Sándor Szilágyi, the editor of the *Századok* journal proves it. He asked Szilágyi to mention their community in the journal, hoping this would affect its life in a good sense and would stimulate both the whole society of the town both the members of the association. The journal *Századok* was the most prestigious in Hungary that time. When he arrived to the Lutheran Gymnasium of Rozsnyó, he considered its backwardness unbearable. In his letter in 1912 to István Apáthy, professor of the University of Kolozsvár Hazslinszky he wrote this: “*We, who were thrown awarded by fate into infant cities, where all worthwhile independent minds are run over and neglected due to selfish interests, can appreciate your activity very much.*”³⁵ (Viz. that he raised his voice on the Independence Party rally against brutalities in the Parliament). But it was exactly his readings out for audiences about sociology, what caused his downfall in the director election. In desperation he decided to go to Kolozsvár for a professorate, Apáthy would had helped him, but finally changed his mind.

Despite all of these, he did everything to improve Rozsnyó’s civilization. He had exceedingly big role in the city’s life: in Cultural Association of Rozsnyó, what he directed, they organized four-six performances in two cycles; in 1898 he founded the Teachers’ Association of Rozsnyó. He was a member of the Hungarian Kárpát Association Gömör Department,³⁶ edited the *Sajó-Vidék* newspaper, he was the first director of the local museum. He edited the *Rozsnyó Híradó* (Rozsnyó News) weekly since 1906, contributed to the compilation of the Gömör-Kishont county issue of the *Counties and Cities of Hungary* series, maybe the greatest undertaking in publishing business that time. He was also the executive secretary of the Hungarian Protective Association (Tulipán Védő Egyesület) and member of the National

³⁵ Hazslinszky Rezső levele Apáthy Istvánnak, OSZK Kézirattár, 2452 Qart. Hung. 2.

³⁶ *Túristaság és Alpinizmus*, Vol. 1, 1910–1911, p. 218.

Association of Secondary School Teachers, the Historical Society and several other scientific associations and societies.³⁷

Rezső Hazslinszky's first wife was Ilona Baranyai of Nagyvárád, whom he married in 1901 and divorced in 1906. In the same year he married with his cousin, Valéria Jermy, daughter of Carl Heinrich Jermy. Carl, her father, was the brother of Rezső's mother, Frederike Amalie Jermy. Among the wide circle of his friends, some are worth to mention: Károly Markó, famous painter, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and József Pósch, with whom he coedited the Sajó-Vidék until January 29, 1903, and who originated from a noble family of Zólyom county and was the mayor of Rozsnyó since 1908 and the superintendent of the Gömör-Kishont Diocese of the Lutheran Church.³⁸

Jolán Hazslinszky was born in 1866 and became the wife of Farkas Baloghy of Balog, clergyman, while older sister, Ilona, who was born in 1862, married to Lajos Matherny, who was also a clergyman, but in Debrecen. Their brother, Kálmán Hazslinszky was born in 1869, worked as an art teacher in the Lutheran Lyceum of Pozsony (Bratislava) since 1896 and became a well-known painter later. He studied painting in the Mintarajziskola in Budapest and painted mostly naturalistic character portraits, of which one still can be seen in the Východoslovenská Galéria, Košice.³⁹ Kálmán never married, but died very young in 1907 in Pozsony.⁴⁰

In both family branches entering members were overwhelmingly noble, which circumstance should not be underestimated. Especially because this nobility had only symbolic importance without estates, wealth or any higher social integration. But still it has its own importance: being a member of a noble society meant a kind of integration for

³⁷ G. TÖKÖLY, *Ki kicsoda Rozsnyón*, Somorja 1999, pp. 136–138.

³⁸ *Rozsnyói Híradó*, 37, 1914.

³⁹ *Správa o činnosti a hospodárení za rok 2014*, Východoslovenská galéria, Košice, at: <http://www.vsg.sk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/SPR%C3%81VA-2015-VSG.pdf> [2015-04-22].

⁴⁰ POSZVÉK, p. 280.

itself, for a baseless prestige; it was extremely fashionable to find roots to the gentry in the era, which entailed those values traditionally associated with nobility. Being a member of a social group, marriage is the most important tie to strengthen or to get in. In this kinship, among the two teachers, there were a district judge, a council clerk and an army captain husband, but even the successor, choosing medical profession, can't be seen only as a capitalist intellectual, since he worked for the police as an official, reaching the rank of councilor.

The decrease of the rate of those officials who had noble origins continued in the 20th century, thus in 1927 only the seventh of the bureaucracy participated to its exclusive membership.⁴¹ Their career, we could outline in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, can by no means be described as homogenous or uniform, as the group of gentry itself cannot. It's easy to imagine that the society of a city in the Hungarian Highland traditionally with German dominant citizenry had enough assimilative power to shape his own image the immigrating gentry. So the middle class of noble origins might be clustered into different groups with different values during this period. At the same time even those, who took over civic values, could preserve something of the past, what manifested mostly in their integration or reintegration by choosing a spouse.

Back to the First Branch: the Third Generation

The second son of Géza Hazslinszky, the brother of the previously described Zoltán Hazslinszky, was called Bertalan.⁴² He was born in Budapest in November 19, 1902. Despite their father was a lawyer and a magistrate, the family was dominated by values different to a typical official gentry family. The grandfather, Frigyes and also their uncle, the mentioned Sándor Mágócsy-Dietz, had great influence on them.

⁴¹ A. C. JANOS, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary 1825–1945*, Princeton 1982, p. 25.

⁴² Z. KÁRPÁTI, Hazslinszky Bertalan emlékezete, in: *Botanikai Közlemények*, 55, 3, 1968, pp. 149–152.

The latter was already a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and a full professor in Budapest at the time of his nephew's birth. He is a good example for the dichotomy we are keen to introduce by the fate of Hazslinszky family, that even the noble Hungarian part of the genteel middle class can't be considered uniform and like-minded. A significant proportion of them had different outlook on life to the gentry criticized by contemporary István Bibó⁴³ or even to the technocrat intellectuals. This strata was more open and chosen relationships rather from the middle class with mostly German trader and artisan ancestry. Such was Gustav Dietz, Sándor's father, however their values were closer to each other than to the retrograde gentry's view of life, thus, when the grandfather of Sándor Mágócsy-Dietz, Samuel Putz died young in 1834, his widow, Susanna Jermy – both mentioned above – married to Sándor Mágócsy in 1838 and give birth to their son in Debrecen, who was also called Sándor. Sándor Mágócsy originated from an old noble family and, when Gustave Dietz died, he adopted the grandson of his wife, who took his name.

Nevertheless it's easy to misinterpret this case, if we explain it with the bourgeoisie's adaptation to the nobility. This is really popular to depict Hungarian embourgeoisement in such a contradictory way and justify unusual phenomenon with the lack of bourgeoisie. In this situation something absolutely different happened. The actively publishing botanist's real cause to change his name was that German journals wrote it in this way: Alexander Dietz, which sounded like a German name. His patriotic feeling was against this method, but nothing came to the editors, thus he decided to choose this way not to be able to think he is German.⁴⁴ Patriotism spread among German minority in Hungary after the 1848 Revolution and had prompted to change their name; they greatly identified themselves with the Revolution and Independence War. Along with the naturally intimate relationship between

⁴³ I. BIBÓ, *Értelmiség és szakszerűség*, in: I. BIBÓ, *Válogatott tanulmányok*, Vol. II, 1945–1949, pp. 507–522.

⁴⁴ Mágócsy-Dietz Sándor naplója (Diary of Sándor Mágócsy-Dietz, privately owned) 1870–1890.

step-grandfather and grandchild, this reason motivated Sándor, not the aping of prestigious gentry.

His Hungarian identity didn't derived from feudal accommodation or wish to enter genteel society but rather from the pathetic patriotic feeling connected to the 19th century German romanticism. The popular generalization about urban citizenry with German origins in the 19th century, which gave up its values and behavior accumulated during ages, seems doubtful, because this social strata was highly self-conscious, overvalued its own role and culture especially to gentry and deeply condemned the contemporary picture about its frivolous and dissolute life. Opportunities for upward mobility were available for them; they could find way to the better half of the Hungarian genteel middle class through their already existing network system without contacting with the gentry type of Mikszáth. To proof, how far the emergence of Hungarian identity among German citizenry was important, not only for themselves, but also for the progressive Hungarian genteel middle class, I cite here the announcement of Rezső Hazslinszky. *"Dear Mr. Editor! My journey had led to the house of Ferenc Oндера, citizen of Rozsnyó, by chance, where I found the following script on an inner room roof beam: THIS HOUSE WAS RENEWED BY PETER KRÚS, ALIAS: SÜVEGES ANNO 1703. Ad futuram memoriam I found it interesting to note that the German and Hungarian nations made their peace agreement in this house, which belonged to the property of the magyarized Péter Süveges (alias: Peter Krús)."*⁴⁵

Overall, we can say that German urban citizenry was just as exclusive as the gentry, and when, during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, social structures transformed, a new group developed from the middle class, which could be eliminated not by its members' professions and origins, but with the help of the different value systems. There were systems of relations, in which every kind of

⁴⁵ Sajó-Vidék, December 6, 1906. On September 18, 1707 the important meeting, which was designed to reconcile Hungarian and German Protestants of Rozsnyó, was in this house; Gáspár Ábrahám, the city's chief Justice also took part in the deliberations. In: HAZSLINSZKY – LISZKAY, pp. 415–422, p. 416.

middle-class people were represented: state officials, teachers, private clerks and merchants, just like those with noble or civic origins. We experienced this among the wide range of professions and family ties chosen by the children of Frigyes Hazslinszky. Grouping by professions and incomes is difficult anyway, especially among those jobs, like university professors, who were state employees with high prestige and intellectuals with outstanding scientific activity at the same time. It is also constrained to categorize county prosecutors with private praxis as lawyers or university professors, parliamentarians and bankers, who are members of the House of Lords at the same time. Therefore members of the Hazslinszky family belonged to intellectuals, but also to the genteel society, especially because there were sons, who had chosen official career without any other intellectual profession like teaching. As long as members of the first upwardly mobile generation, Frigyes and Tamás were teachers, among the ten children of the next generation, born in the middle of the 19th century, only four worked as teacher, one as a priest and five of them had chosen “genteel” profession: at the tribunal, as an officer and in other offices or married to husbands, working in jobs alike. Among the generation of grandchildren eleven had chosen official or military career (or husband) and only two of them became teacher.

The first generation of the family represented the type of gentry, who moved to city and received old-school education to step upwardly on the social ladder. Artisan parents made their children educated, who, thanked to this, could step upward, became teachers and as a consequence civic mentality permeated their view of life completely. They even found wives among daughters from German civic families of the Szepesség. This typical strategy was replaced by something else in the next generation. They chose noble wives or husbands and gradually turned their life-strategies to an official or military kind. At the same time parents’ or grandparents’ civic world left its mark on their mentality and values. This is not enough to notice fluctuation, but single professional groups need to be viewed in a more complex way.

In the generational transformation of the different social phenomena locality plays a major role anyway; we cannot state that all of these processes happened in the same way in every cities. The population of Budapest was large enough, for instance, to let different social processes happen in the same place and time, but even in isolation. Every other town of Hungary was too small in turn; even the largest had population only between fifty and hundred thousand, for the period between the two world wars these cities barely exceeded the hundred thousand because of the slowed development.⁴⁶ The middle class in these small cities were proportionally small enough for informal social networks to be able to enmesh its whole membership. In such circumstances, between these frames, this is hard to imagine that independent development paths could be emerged. In other cases the culture of the recipient population is conveyed to minority immigrants and shapes them to its own image. This happened in the case of Eperjes: although old German citizenry, in terms of its proportion, became minority for the period of the Dualism, but remained culturally influential to new settlers.⁴⁷

We can say the same about Késmárk or Kassa. Later, by the 20th century German minority, due to its fast assimilation, almost fully disappeared, but those typical civic features, which originated from them, remained. The reduced bipolar view, which was depicted about Hungarian middle class during the Interbellum, and in which only two wrong alternatives existed – and what actually impugned its existence with this presumption – was certainly distortive and simplistic representation. On the whole, indeed, there was no any sufficiently internally integrated social group we could call middle class, but it was more than a kind of “unorganized conglomerate”.⁴⁸ It’s hard to tell exactly

⁴⁶ P. BELUSZKY, *Magyarország településföldrajza*, Budapest-Pécs 1999, pp. 193–203.

⁴⁷ P. KOUDELA, Protestant Education behind Policy. The History of the Lutheran Collegium in Eperjes, Austria-Hungary in the 19th Century, in: *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies*, 6, 2014, pp. 103–121.

⁴⁸ G. GYÁNI, A középosztály társadalomtörténete a Horthy-korban, in: *Századok*, 6, 1997, pp. 1265–1304, p. 1297.

when and by what reasons the Hazslinszky family changed its value system to such kind we introduced: whether it happened during their stay abroad in the 18th century or already formed before, perhaps the society of Késmárk and Eperjes provided adequate context for its birth. Education, at the same time, was a typical way for landless gentry for social advancement in the first half of the 19th century, partly because of the demand effect of the mass availability of intellectual careers.⁴⁹ What is certain that by the beginning of the 19th century this family was acclimatized to civic society, but the sons and grandsons didn't waive that maintain their claim for preserving relationships with or even belonging to the genteel middle class both in social life and official jobs. György Kövér had similar results from his analysis of the life-strategies among a Biedermeier Zipser family. Instead of a macro-level approach, he examined contemporary occupational stratification formation on micro-level: the correlation between the changes of occupations, marriages and number of children depicted the matching of family strategies and social structure. Micro-level analysis proofed that to pull a sharp line between commercial, official and intellectual careers, as previous stereotype presumptions did, is not realistic.⁵⁰

The Life of an Intellectual in the Third Generation: Bertalan

It was not only the world of commitment to botany and nature, where the representative of the third generation, the second son of Géza and grandson of Frigyes was born. It was also a family, in which tradition

⁴⁹ L. KÓSA, "Hét szilvafa árnyékában". *A nemesség alsó rétegének élete és mentalitása a rendi társadalom utolsó évtizedeiben Magyarországon*, Budapest 2001, p. 258; L. T. VIZI, "Kövesd példájokat vitéz eleid-nek..." *A magyar nemesi felkelés a francia háborúk időszakában, különös tekintettel Székesfehérvár és Fejér vármegye inszurrekciós szerepére*, Székesfehérvár 2014, pp. 17–25.

⁵⁰ G. KÖVÉR, Egy biedermeier cipszercsalád életstratégiái, in: "Kőfallal, sárpalánkkal..." *Rendi társadalom – Polgári társadalom 7*, Budapest 1997.

obliged to work hard and diligent and to seek betterment of society.⁵¹ He studied in primary and secondary schools in Szekszárd, Nyitra and Budapest, and graduated from the Lutheran Gymnasium of Fásor in the same year with Jenő Wigner. According to his parents request he enrolled to the Faculty of Medicine, but after six semesters, following his own interest changed it to the Faculty of Humanities, where he studied natural sciences and chemistry. He received doctorate of botany, geology and chemistry in 1927, but already worked since the previous year as an assistant and later as an instructor at the Institution of General Botany at the University, where he gained experiences and conducted researches determining his later life and scientific career. At the end of 1928 he started to work in the National Chemical Institution in Budapest, where he conducted microscopic examination of foods even until the end of 1940. Then he started an educational career: first as a teacher at the Polgári Iskolai Tanárképző Főiskola (Teachers Training School) in Szeged, later became a professor at the College of Education, Department of Botany.

The college, based to Szeged in 1928, was created as a result of the unification of the first college for training teachers to “polgári”⁵² schools and the first similar college for female teachers, both founded by József Eötvös and the latter directed by Janka Zirzen. The decision to move the college to Szeged was already surprising, although the educational minister, Klebelsberg had good reasons: decentralization in science and in teachers’ willingness to work, raising the standard by connecting it to the university or just simply frugality, but we must also mention that Klebelsberg became the representative of Szeged in the parliament in 1927. The formal decree about this decision was never

⁵¹ J. KOVÁCS, Hazslinszky Bertalan emlékezete, in: *Élelmiszervizsgálati Közlemények*, 12, 1966, pp. 49–51.

⁵² This type of four year secondary school was organized in 1868 for a rather practical education and existed until 1948. The word polgári means literally civic. K. FEHÉR, Oktatásügy a századforduló körüli évektől a trianoni békeszerződésig, in: T. I. KOLLEGA (ed.), *Magyarország a XX. században*, Vol. 5, Tudomány 2, Társadalomtudományok – Szekszárd 1996, pp. 457–458.

issued and, in addition, schools lost a lot with this change: firstly because both college moved out from excellent conditions and spacious buildings to a former “polgári” school’s narrow building, from which they couldn’t be freed for decades; secondly because the cooperation with the university caused rather disadvantages than benefits.⁵³

The year 1940 was also a great change in the school’s life, at least because the educational minister, Bálint Hóman presented the bill about required education and eight-class folk schools to the Parliament May 7, that year. The similar act, numbered 20, was issued later in the year and transformed former six-class school to eight-class. This influenced the future of “polgári” schools through the training of their teachers. Since the Hungarian Soviet Republic this issue was always on the agenda: the reform of teachers’ training became central discussion topic, but a complete debate and realization failed due to the Second World War. In addition, in the same year, according to the border-change the Franz Josef University returned to its original place: Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). Instead the new Miklós Horthy University was established in Szeged. Bertalan Hazslinszky arrived to Szeged in such circumstances. Professors in the only institution, supplying the whole country with teachers, preserved their humanity despite the official ideology was Christian-National since 1920, which meant far-right political influence, and despite the atmosphere was more and more militarized. The building of the college was seized for military purposes in 1944, equipment was brought to Sopron. Professors of the Department of Botany were forced to go as far as Salzburg, with the leadership of Hazslinszky, to return the objects, essential for teaching, finally in 1947. On October 11 Soviet troops entered thus school-year started on October 31, under the direction of the headquarters.

After the war, on August 18, 1945 the 6650/1945. M. E. no. decree brought eight-year elementary schools alive and definitively diminished the “polgári” schools. At least in 1947 the two first pedagogical college were established in 1947, and later teacher-training colleges

⁵³ S. BEREZKI, A Juhász Gyula Tanárképző Főiskola története, in: *A Szegedi Főiskola Almanachja 1873–1998*, Szeged 1998, pp. 11–349.

on Budapest and Szeged, the latter as the successor of the Állami Polgári Iskolai Tanárképző (State “Polgári” Teachers Training School).⁵⁴ Training system developed in this was separating teachers’ education for eight-year schools lower and upper classes. Not only the former education system, but also explicit psychological realization stood in the background that age 9–10 is a turning point in the child’s spiritual development. It is not known how far scientific observations influenced the shaping of previous school systems instead of daily life skills. The transformation of education in general and especially of the college in Szeged would have been inconceivable without the participation of teachers in it and certainly without the underlying social and political changes. Bertalan Hazslinszky also has been involved in all of these processes.

He had been tasked to take lectures in botany at the Veterinary College in Budapest, then at the József Nádor University of Technology and Economy, Veterinary Department already in 1931 and was habilitated to university professor there in 1939. He had been teaching there until 1944, but after 1948 he was also teaching at the University of Agricultural Sciences, Faculty of Agriculture and at the University of Szeged until his forced retirement in 1950. The forty eight years old scientist worked in his prime, when his cathedra was sequestrated, but, although events indisposed him very much, he could go further: he was entrusted to be the director of the Natural History Society Museum and, in addition, to be head of the Hungarian Natural History Society Biological Research Division in Szeged. He was member of the Hungarian National Veterinary Association, the Association of Friends of the University of Szeged and the National Civil “Polgári” School Teachers Review Committee. In 1951 he received a research scholarship at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Botany and was reactivated in his academic career in 1953, when he started to work as chief engineer at the Budapest City Food and Chemical Testing Institute. He was the head of the Biological Laboratories there until his final retirement in 1963. He lost his first wife Márta Meznerics, teacher and

⁵⁴ 137.485./1947. VI. sz. miniszteri rendelet (Ministerial Decree).

mother of his son, tragically young in 1948 and only remarried long after with Ilona Visontay. His son Tamás followed the family tradition and became horticultural engineer.⁵⁵

Bertalan Hazslinszky scientific curriculum contained a wide range of different fields and extended even to examining counterfeit plants or veterinary botany. He was a very humble, quiet man, who tried to help everybody and left behind many articles, books and also collections. The erudite professor was tireless and ready to cooperate; even ill and confined to bed he gave advices, possible solutions, and would be visited at home with delicate and difficult tasks to be solved – no wonder that everybody loved him and considered him an excellent colleague. The signs of his serious illness appeared since 1954, although he has no pains, his gait became uncertain and forced him first behind the writing table then to bed. He worked always painstakingly and thoroughly, never content with the simpler solutions and was looking for correlations to the smallest details. He was a worthy successor of his grandfather according to his scientific results, but also continued family tradition in representing those values characterized them since centuries. At the same time characteristics of the strata he belonged to also remained. Although science as profession or intellectual career wasn't an aristocratic privilege during the first half of the 19th century, the status of a university professor was arguably considered genteel by the era of Dualism and later during the interwar period due both to its earnings and prestige. Emil Hazslinszky-Krull had no financial difficulty to surgically treat his intestinal disease in Vienna even during the First World War – for instance. It is therefore clear that the members of the Hazslinszky family belonged to the genteel middle class not only due to their origins but to their professions too. Relationship with others, not belonging to the gentry or later genteel middle class, or the sometimes contradictory values never excluded them from this strata. But the resulting network of relatives was very much extended, even

⁵⁵ Á. NEIDENBACH – S. PUSZTAY, *Magyar hegyisport és turista enciklopédia*, Budapest 2005.

to third cousins. Rezső Hazslinszky and his family, for example, was a frequent guest at the home of Ferenc Sziklay in Kassa, although their daughter Eva was only the third cousin of the host's wife.⁵⁶ How important it was for the family is shown in the case, when the mentioned host's younger son, László visited Sándor Mágócsy-Dietz in his home in Budapest and revealed that he never heard about the Hazslinszky family; the kindly old man did something he committed very rarely in his life: rebuked the young relative.⁵⁷

Some Final Thoughts

We ought to present a peculiar way of the development of Hungarian civic society in this study, which altered from the typical non-Hungarian and Hungarian ethnic cases, depicted so markedly in historical writings. We would have also liked to prove that the generalization about gentry in the 19th and 20th centuries was somewhat one-sided. This strata was far from being uniform, though we have seen members, representing a part of it, which couldn't be characterized with "dead-end" behavior and values. Such approach, through lifespans, careers and the close look on the everyday of ordinary people, is legitimated by the social context's similar effect on each fates. This way we can reconstruct historical narratives with the help of contemporary observers, institutions and self-constructed reality as a context.⁵⁸ The question about historical sources creating their own universe for themselves is adequate, but, according to Peter Burke, structures can be understood through narratives and these structures act as a break on the events or as an accelerator.⁵⁹ The way, how we forming sources, carries such meanings, through which not only the given culture appears,

⁵⁶ P. KOUDELA, *A kassai polgárság 1918 előtt és után*, at: http://phd.lib.unicorvinus.hu/41/1/koudela_pal.pdf, 2007.

⁵⁷ L. SZIKLAY, *Egy kassai polgár emlékei*, Budapest 2002.

⁵⁸ G. LEVI, Les usage de la biographie, in: *Annales, ESC*, 6, 1989, pp. 1325–1336.

⁵⁹ P. BURKE, History of Events and the Revival of Narrative, in P. BURKE (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 234–237.

but the creator manifests itself. This interpretation makes possible to unfold such semantic content, which couldn't be reached on the linear dimension of the text.⁶⁰ In our case the multiple career-line analysis⁶¹ investigated the common background characteristics of social groups largely overlapping each other. Such questions about marriages, births, family and social origins or even inherited economic positions, place of existence, education, wealth, religion and experiences in office involved their role in society and especially changes in this role into a formerly created universe. Combining these two approaches we could sketch fault lines in the seemingly unit historical view of different middle classes.

Abstract

In the first part of this sequence to discuss the concept of Hungarian gentry, its character, role in society and depiction in literature I wrote about the Hazslinszky family, its roots and most relevant member: Frigyes, representative of the first generation of a newly emerged gentry society in Hungary. In the following, his brother's, sons' and grandsons' lives are analyzed from the viewpoint of a more and more controversial social development during the first half of the 20th century. The signs of belonging to a rather noble strata appeared in the second generation: marriages show high connectedness, but values were constant. A new administrative stratum evolved in this period showing a fairly integrated image as a historical formation, but behind the employment groups, social positions, digging deeply into personal fates we found very altering value systems. These lives represent an alternate to those mostly described in Hungarian historiography characterizing a whole period.

Keywords

Embourgeoisement; Gentry; Eperjes; Social History; Hungarian History

⁶⁰ R. BIERNACKI, Method and Metaphor after the New Cultural History, in: V.O. BONNEL – L. HUNT (eds.), *Beyond the Cultural Turn. New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, Berkely – Los Angeles – London 1999, pp. 62–95, 73, 83; K. HALTTUNEN, Cultural History and the Challenge of Narrativity, in: *ibidem*, pp. 165–182, 166–167.

⁶¹ L. STONE, Prosopography, in: *Daedalus* 100, 1, 1971, pp. 46–71.