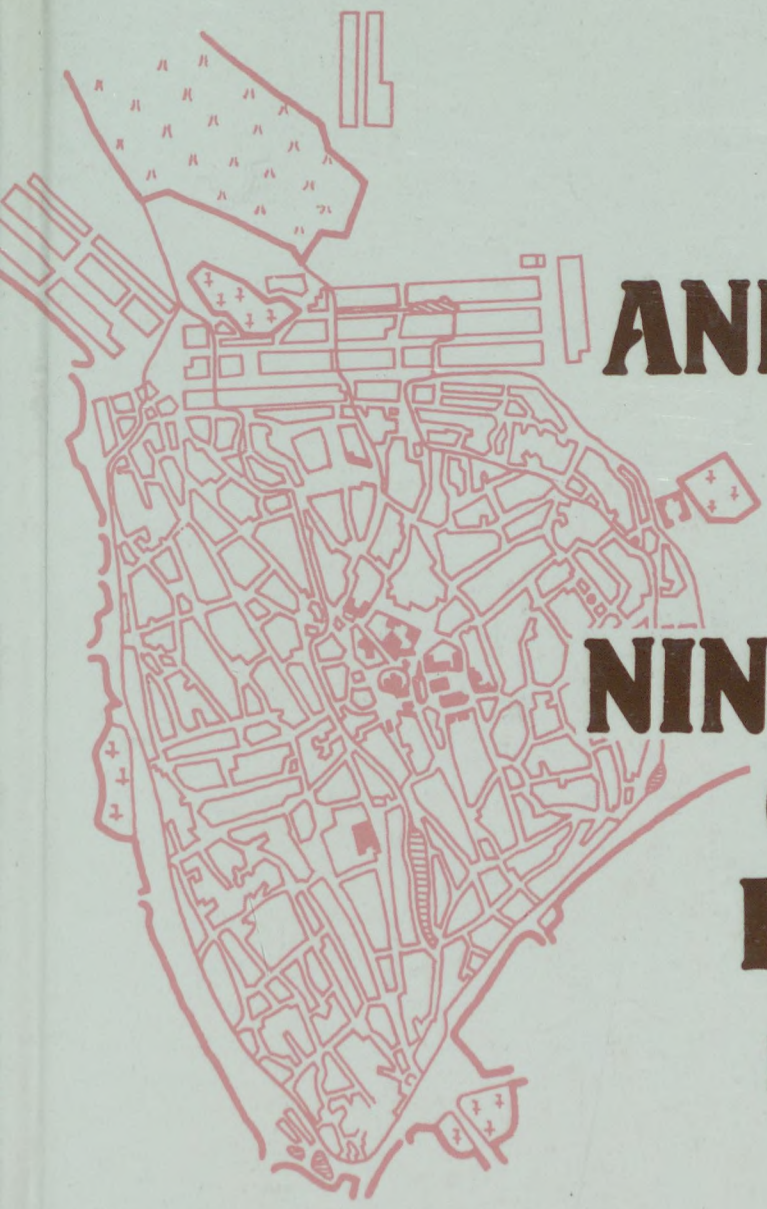

TOWNS AND URBAN SOCIETY IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY HUNGARY

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Towns and Urban Society in Early Nineteenth-Century Hungary

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Foreword

The present work consists of two closely connected parts. Both are based on the same source—the data of the national tax census of 1828—but they differ in the method of processing. In the first part, the network and types of towns with central place function in Hungary at the beginning of the 19th century are identified using mathematical methods—factor analysis, cluster analysis—and computer technology. In the second part, the social structure of these towns is reconstructed from data processed and analyzed through traditional historical-statistical methods. As a consequence, the depth of the analysis is also different in the two parts.

The computer-assisted investigation permitted us to cluster and examine great amounts of data on the relations between market centres or towns and their areas of attraction. Several viewpoints were taken into account; thus, hidden connections were also revealed among the phenomena. Limiting subjective evaluation to the minimum, the computerized process categorized the factors influencing the formation and range of market centres and their urban functions on the basis of the socio-economic relations between the various towns and their areas of attraction. This procedure permitted us to set up clusters of towns belonging to the same group on the basis of objective criteria.

In choosing traditional methods for our analysis of urban society, I was aware that this method would not permit us to take into account the entire range of interconnections. It would reveal the obvious transformations, but some of the hidden connections could remain hidden. Under the circumstances, we would risk conjectures about them, but were likely to fall short of explaining their operation.

Aware of all this, I still decided to do a traditional investigation because neither the computer capacity nor the technical knowhow for processing such vast amounts of data was available to me at that time. I did so also because I realized that my knowledge about the society of late feudal towns was insufficient to form examination parameters: the sources available were too incomplete and too unsystematized to allow me to proceed right away to computer-assisted analysis. Yet, even my traditional analysis of the 1828 census included substantial data hitherto overlooked, and shed new light upon a number of issues and connections. However, several open questions remained. Nevertheless, the exercise did take the research of urban society in Hungary a step further and created a basis for the further investigation of the entire network of towns, of groups of towns, or of just individual towns, with more refined methods, including computer technology.

Part I

Towns with central place function in early nineteenth-century Hungary, and their typology

1. The concept of towns; definitions of towns in Hungarian historical literature

The road to urban development in Hungary was different from that in Western Europe. The number of industrial-commercial *civitates*[1] with wide-ranging autonomy and urban liberties had been very low ever since the Middle Ages. Their development came to a halt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when a rather different type of agrarian-urban settlement took over the lead as market places. The number and market share of the *oppida*—towns of very heterogeneous social, legal and economic character—increased from the fifteenth century; they gradually displaced the few, stagnant towns of the classical urban type in the domestic exchange of commodities.

In the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism, the places that really fulfilled urban functions were increasingly unlikely to be the places that were, legally speaking, *"civitates"*. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a great number of royal free towns had lost their earlier role in foreign trade or other branches of the economy, while their administrative and cultural functions, if indeed they had any, had not yet become motors of further development. The loss of their central role was also reflected in their stagnant or even decreasing population. At the same time ever more agrarian towns still under seigniorial jurisdiction and enjoying some privileges tended to fulfill genuine urban roles by virtue of their large population, commercial significance and frequently other central functions as well. They did not receive urban status for another half century, when the reform of civil administration in the 1870s granted it to many of them.

Thus it is not surprising that students of urban history in Hungary have discarded definitions based on legal status and have been striving to formulate a concept of towns applicable to the specific development of the country, and to define the range of settlements really fulfilling an urban role. As to medieval towns, the urban functions of the *oppida* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are generally recognized but are assessed in different ways. One school considers the *oppidum* to

[1] *Liberae ac Regiae civitates* were settlements with urban legal status in Hungary; they were subject to the king alone, their inhabitants were free men. These towns were represented at the Diets, as entities, held the rights of corporate nobility over their serfs and enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. Their courts of appeal were that of the Chief Justice, and/or the Lord Chief Treasurer. In contrast, *oppida* were under the authority of their landlords; their autonomy and privileges were quite varied, though most of them had the right to hold fairs.

be a transitional form between town and village which had reached a deadlock in its urbanization. The development of craft industry has been applied as the measure of urbanization and the significance of agricultural production as the indicator of rural character.[2] Other urban historians regarded some *oppida* as instances of a special type of town, characterized by specialized agriculture coupled with handicrafts. The intertwining of the two types of production over centuries was seen as a sign of adjustment to the particular economic structure of Hungary.[3]

While it may be justified to accord paramount importance to crafts in the development of the early medieval towns with their small and closed market districts, the same does not hold true for the centuries of late feudalism.

With the development of a modern network of towns, the contrast between *civitates* and *oppida* as industrial-commercial and agricultural towns, respectively, lost its meaning. The roles and functional priorities of both had changed, and when a number of market towns were raised to the rank of royal free towns, the homogeneous character of the *civitates* ceased. Along with the greater availability of data, this may be another reason why the contrast between *civitates* and market towns is rarely emphasized in the writings on this age, and that the functionalist approach has gained more ground. This approach considers the town as a characteristic form of settlement in the territorial division of labour: as the economic, political and intellectual centre of an area with only approximate boundaries. Some of its functions are unique to this kind of settlement, and, consequently, affect also territories lying beyond these central places.

The functionalist view of towns developed from the geographical theory of central places, as proposed by Hans Bobek and Walter Christaller.[4] Its essence is centrality. The central functions fulfilled by the town may also be defined in the words of Tibor Mendöl[5] as activities making a more intensive use of the surrounding territory, or as ones catering to non-everyday needs. The rank of the town is defined not by centrality in itself, but by the extent to which central activities of a non-everyday character are concentrated in it. Thus the functionalist approach, which holds that centrality is the essence of what it means to be "a town", considers the town to be a product of the division of labour. Its methods of investigation make it possible to define in a more versatile and flexible manner the place and role of towns in different ages and economic and social formations, without narrowing it down to what Marx and many others considered to be the first great social division of labour—the separation of industry and agriculture—and which, in their thinking, accounted for the establishment of towns.[6]

[2] This trend is conspicuous in textbooks on Hungarian history. For a more detailed discussion of Hungarian urban history, see Bácskai and Nagy, 1984.

[3] For example Szűcs 1955; Bácskai 1965; and Bácskai 1971.

[4] Christaller 1933; and Bobek 1927.

[5] Mendöl 1963, p. 28.

[6] Marx and Engels 1959, p. 50.

In Hungary, it was Ferenc Erdei who, on the basis of the functionalist approach, first pointed to the urban nature of the agrarian towns of the Great Hungarian Plain. In his sociological work first published in 1939[7] he was the first to attempt to describe Hungarian urban development not in terms of the Western-European urban model, but in terms of the reality of Hungarian historical development. He demonstrated convincingly that the dominance of agricultural production in a settlement does not exclude the possibility of its fulfilling an urban role. His approach and method did not find followers among historians for a long time. It was only in the 1960s that attempts were made at defining the urban network of medieval and early modern Hungary by taking into account functionalist considerations.[8] The first urban history utilizing a functionalist analysis was a book by Sándor Gyimesi[9] offering a comprehensive account of European—and more specifically, Hungarian—urban development, and of the transformation of the urban network in the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. Although this book applies the functionalist approach most consistently, and contains an analysis that is both wider in scope and deeper than others, the author followed the older literature in his ascription of a central role. He assessed it on the basis of the internal characteristics of the settlements: size of population, proportion of craftsmen, and the presence of administrative and cultural institutions.

The next necessary step was to abandon the "urbano-centric" character of the investigation and look simultaneously at towns and at their areas of attraction. This we did in the book written together with Lajos Nagy[10], which was based on the same sources as the present study, and which can be regarded as its forerunner. In our book, we took as our point of departure the number of those settlements that fulfilled a certain kind of central function, i.e. that of market centre. We considered a market function to be a market centre function when a market place established such regular and intensive economic relations with the population of a significant area of attraction that the requirements and services of the centre influenced the production, the needs and the way of life of the population of the area. We called settlements fulfilling such a role market centres, to differentiate them from the simple market places which have a small area of attraction, and fulfill market functions in respect of a limited number and volume of goods.

Thus the manifestation of a market function presupposes an area of attraction which is not affected by the attraction of any other market place. We called such areas of attraction the pure areas of attraction of the market centre, distinguishing them from what we termed a mixed area, where different degrees of attraction of several market places can be discerned.[11]

[7] Erdei 1974.

[8] Makkai 1961; Major 1964; and Dávid 1963.

[9] Gyimesi 1975.

[10] Bácskai and Nagy 1984; for a summary in English, see Bácskai and Nagy 1980.

[11] The market places attracting only mixed areas are called sub-centres.

Based on a detailed study of the economic conditions of the market centres and their areas of attraction, we tried to select the settlements really fulfilling an urban role according to the extent of the central role and the size of the area of attraction. The fact of their fulfilling a central role was established on the basis of the answers given to the questions concerning market places contained in the national census of the year 1828, taken with the aim of establishing taxpaying ability.[12] This census contained the question: Where did the inhabitants of the settlement sell their products and where did they purchase their necessities? Replies from 85% of the settlements, altogether 8,340, indicated a particular market place. The validity of these statements was supported by projecting the answers onto a map of villages and market places. The geographical parameters of the areas of attraction thus outlined, and the distance of the individual settlements from the market centre, substantiated most of the answers.

However, out of the 743 *civitates* and agrarian towns with market rights, only 282 were identified by the population as places of selling or buying. Approximately half of these settlements, 138 (see Table 1), were identified by people in areas of

Table 1. Distribution of the market centres according to the strength of their market functions (In the sequence of the value of their total scores)

I.	Fulfilling very strong market centre functions	
	Pest-Buda	Pozsony
	Pécs	Győr
	Sopron	Szeged
	Temesvár	Arad
	Miskolc	Fehérvár
	Veszprém	
II.	Fulfilling strong market centre functions	
	Kassa	Losonc
	Nagyvárad	Baja
	Vác	Dunaföldvár
	Eperjes	Rozsnyó
	Újvidék	Eger
	Nagyszombat	Nyíregyháza
	Besztercebánya	Szombathely
	Esztergom	Balassagyarmat
	Szatmárnémeti	Versec
	Pápa	Ungvár
	Debrecen	Máramarossziget
	Zombor	Kőszeg
	Rimaszombat	Kecskemét
	Nyitra	Vágújhely
	Gyöngyös	Selmecbánya
	Sátoraljaújhely	Bártfa
	Nagykanizsa	Homonna
	Körmend	

[12] Országos Levéltár (National Archives; hereafter OL), Arch. Regnicolaris N. 26. Conscriptio Regnicolaris art. VII. 1827. ordinatae. 1828–1832. N. 27. Miscellanea Conscriptionalia 1828–1833.

III. Fulfilling market centre functions of medium strength

Trencsén
Lippa
Komárom
Gyula
Moson-Óvár
Nagyszentmiklós
Lugos
Bitcse
Nagykároly
Késmárk
Zalaegerszeg
Galgóc
Érsekújvár
Pankota
Körmöcbánya
Huszt
Léva
Sassin
Kula
Illava
Tata
Nagymihály
Belényes
Zsolna
Ipolyság
Nagybecskerek
Makó
Csakova
Privigye
Törökbecse
Nagytapolcsány
Keszthely
Bán
Zenta
Kismarton
Nagybánya
Nezsider
Szered
Hőgyész
Igló
Szenic
Garamszentbenedek
Somorja
Alsó-Mecenzéf
Lőcse

IV. Fulfilling weak market centre functions

Alsókubin
Nagylévárd
Vágbeszterce
Hatzfeld
Liptószentmiklós
Paks
Oszlány
Szepesszombat
Varannó
Sztropkó
Rajec
Verbó
Trsztena
Kisucaújhely
Szepesváralja
Gölnic
Kalocsa
Tállya
Újpécs
Szomolnok
Szinyérváralja
Újbánya
Breznóbánya
Oravica
Margita
Szentendre
Puchó
Gálszécs
Szakolca
Mosóc
Bát
Korpona
Kisszeben
Felsőbánya
Kiscell
Pruszka
Lubló
Resica
Vaskóh
Korompa
Marcali

V. Fulfilling very weak market centre functions

Dézna
Varin
Libetbánya
Szerdahely
Bellus
Sósújfalu

significant size to be their exclusive place of market transaction; these may be considered as market centres in the sense of our definition.

These market centres were first ranked according to the size of the population living in their areas of attraction. This hierarchy was so surprising that our attention turned to the factors influencing the character, formation and strength of the market centre function. We attempted to discover these by factor analysis, using a computer. In establishing our approach to the set of factors which define the features and the intensity of a market centre function, we considered information on: (a) the economic phenomena that regulated the production and exchange of goods under feudalism, (b) the historical and contemporary criteria for gauging degrees of urbanization and (c) modern research into regions and spheres of influence. From the data the historical sources provided we selected 62 variables that may have influenced the development of the market centre function. Our first task was to reduce these in part hypothetical variables to the significant independent ones which actually did influence the formation and strength of the market centre role. The computer programme for factor analysis available to us in 1974 could handle only 30 variables. The significant variables were selected on the basis of a correlation matrix including all the original variables. In the first phase of the calculation, 30 variables were taken into account; then, after we weeded out the variables not displaying a close correlation with the factors, in the final phase the number of variables fell to 21. We thus arrived at five factors which altogether accounted for 92% of the total variance. The first factor accounted for the deviation of the greatest percentage of all the variables; this factor bore close correlation with the variables relating to the centre, and thus it may be considered as a complex indicator expressing the internal development level of the centre. The rank order established from the values of the first factor may be taken to give the rank order of the market centres' degrees of internal development. The second, and mainly the third, factors can be taken as indicators of the level of handicraft development in the pure areas of attraction. The hierarchy of the areas extracted from the factor scores of the third factor served as the rank order reflecting the level of development of craft industry and trade in these areas. The fourth factor presumably explains the formation of the variables in terms of the specific geographical conditions. The fifth factor could not be interpreted at all.

It was observed from the contributions of the individual factors to the variance of the variables that the degree of development of the crafts and trade of the centre determined about half of these variations, and that of the areas of attraction about a third. We had at our disposal an independently established hierarchy of centres and areas based on the factor scores of the first and third factor, and on the size of the pure and the mixed areas of attraction. With the weight difference between the first and third factors and between the pure and mixed areas taken into account, the placing scores were totalled. Given the distribution of the totalled placing scores in the hierarchy, and classifying them according to efficacy of market centre function, we found the market centres to fall into the following five sets:

Set number	Efficacy of market centre function	Number of centres falling into the set[13]
I	very strong	11
II	strong	35
III	medium strength	45
IV	weak	41
V	very weak	6

The centres with very strong and strong market centre functions formed fairly homogeneous sets: for almost every variable their group mean differed from the means of the other sets, and the variance was also smaller than in the case of the others. On the average, the population in their areas of attraction was in excess of fifty thousand people (one hundred thousand for the first set), and together they drew over a third of the country's population. Besides their central place function, the overwhelming majority of them had extra-regional commercial relations, too. The craft industry was more highly developed and more differentiated than the national average both in these centres and in their areas of attraction. Almost all these centres fulfilled high-level administrative and cultural functions as well.

The sets of centres with weak and very weak market centre functions showed a somewhat lower degree of homogeneity but still a significant one. The overwhelming majority of the centres in these sets lay in mountainous areas; the average population of their pure areas of attraction was 5,000, that of the mixed areas was short of 20,000. The pull of the majority extended to only a few villages, and almost all of them were regional centres. Both in the centres and in their areas of attraction, industry was limited to the most common crafts, and in several of the areas there were no, or only very few, craftsmen. The number of wholesale traders and specialized merchants was generally low in these centres and the exchange of goods was performed mostly by Jewish peddlers, or at the fairs. Only a small number of them fulfilled other, mostly low-level, central roles.

The set of centres fulfilling market centre functions of medium strength was more heterogeneous than the other sets with respect to the development level of both the centres and of their areas of attraction. The group means of the variables show similarities alternately to the second and the fourth sets, and deviations from the mean were the greatest for this set. Sixty percent of them fulfilled only regional central functions; in 40% of them, the dominant role was played by activities spreading over a wider area, or extending to foreign trade. The population of their pure areas of attraction was 15–20,000 people, while their mixed areas of attraction contained 30,000 people. The handicraft industry in these market centres was less developed than in the first two sets of centres, but still exceeded the level general for the country as a whole. In contrast to Sets I and II, the development of crafts in the centres was not reflected by the development levels of the areas of attraction; one

[13] For the list of the towns in the individual sets, see Table 1.

third of the centres in Set III were more highly developed than their areas of attraction and a smaller proportion of the areas of attraction were more developed than their centres.

The majority of the centres fulfilled other low-level central place roles as well.

The rank order established by factor analysis reflected the hierarchy of the centres fairly precisely and facilitated the detailed analysis of the different roles played by settlements at different levels of the hierarchy, as well as the specific features of their areas of attraction. By the time we arrived at the end of our study, we had sufficient data to identify the roles of the various types of centres in the regional division of labour, their place in the settlement network, and their relative rank by classifying them into the traditional functional groups of settlement geography such as "settlements fulfilling the role of towns" (functional towns), "central places in transition from village to town", and "villages with a limited central function."

On the basis of these parameters, 57 of the 138 market centres may be considered to have been (functional) towns in 1828.[14] With the exception of two (Selmecbánya and Kőszeg), all the market centres with very strong and strong market centre functions (Sets I and II) rated as towns; less than a third (29%) of the centres fulfilling a market centre function of medium strength (Set III) and none of the centres fulfilling weak and very weak market centre functions (Set IV and V) were classified as towns. Of these towns, 22 were royal free towns, 6 episcopal sees and 29 *oppida*. Thus in 1828 only half of the royal free towns fulfilled significant central place roles; they represented 39% of the "functional" towns.

These were the results of our previous analysis published in 1984.

[14] For the list of these towns, see Table 6. Dávid classified 107 settlements as towns, and Gyimesi only 100 (Dávid 1963, p. 120; and Gyimesi 1975, p. 162). From among the rest of the market centres we classified 20 as having a central place function with urban roles, forming a transition between towns and villages, while the rest were included in the two hierarchical levels of rural settlements fulfilling certain central roles (Bácskai and Nagy 1984, Table 129).

2. Types of market centres. Cluster analysis and its results

As demonstrated, logical classification had played a fairly important role in establishing our hierarchy of market centres. In setting up the different sets, we deviated from the general practice of factor analysis used in related disciplines. It is customary to take the values of the first (main) factor as the basis for classification, on the assumption that the first factor generally accounts for a large proportion of the total variance (60–80%), while the other factors are explanative only to an insignificant extent. In our investigation, however, the first factor—which was interpreted as the complex indicator of the internal development of the market centres—accounted for only 48% of the variance of the variables. The share of other factors, those indicating the development level of crafts in the area of attraction and its specific geographical characteristics, was 38%; i.e. more than one-third of the variance of the variables was due to features of the area of attraction.

This circumstance could not be left out of consideration when classifying the market centres. I set up a rank order for the market centres following the rank orders arrived at on the basis of the first and of the third factor, plus their rank according to the population of their pure and mixed areas. The rank numbers of the population-based rank orders were halved.

The centres fell into more or less well-defined groups along the emerging discontinuities, but naturally, such a procedure is somewhat arbitrary for grouping the borderline cases.

The classification was suitable for setting up the rank order of the groups. The fairly great homogeneity of the majority of the groups and their clear separation from one another suggested that the rank order did reflect the hierarchy of the centres fairly accurately. However, homogeneity characterized the different groups to different degrees. The groups of settlements with medium strength market functions, making up about one-third of the market centres, proved to be the most heterogeneous in respect of the geographical location of the centres, the character of their roles, and the development level of the centres and their areas of attraction. It was from the structure of this group that it emerged most clearly that centres of very different types fulfilled market centre roles of the same strength. The mathematical method, however, proved to be inadequate for the objective identification of these types.

Cluster analysis seemed to be the suitable method for separating the different types of market centres and towns while eliminating or reducing subjective criteria.

For our inquiry the fact that cluster analysis allows classes whose elements are similar in respect of several, but not all, of their characteristics was particularly useful.

The relevant variables were selected for classification by factor analysis. The repeating of the factor analysis seemed to be all the more useful as we now had a programme able to handle 60 variables, i.e., almost all the original variables (64) could be included. Repetition also enabled us to correct the data base of the variables related to trade. In our previous investigation, only the ratio of merchants to population was included. The very low factor weight of this index compelled us to differentiate among the tradesmen on the basis of their capital at least in the centres, by utilizing supplementary data. In this second investigation, the indices were considerably refined.

The factor analysis performed as a preparation for the cluster analysis made use of the following variables:

1. Population of the market centre
2. Number of craftsmen living in the market centre
3. Proportion of craftsmen to the population in the market centre
4. Number of trades practiced in the market centre
5. Number of trades in the market centre with more than 5 craftsmen engaged in them
6. Number of trades represented only in the market centres
7. Proportion of craftsmen in the market centre working all year round
8. Proportion of craftsmen in the market centre employing journeymen
9. Number of journeymen per craftsman in the market centre
10. Number of merchants living in the market centre
11. Proportion of merchants to the population living in the market centre
12. Number of wholesalers in the market centre
13. Proportion of wholesalers among the merchants in the market centre
14. Number of Jews in the market centre
15. Proportion of Jews to the population in the market centre
16. Arable land per capita in the market centre in *holds* (*hold* = 1.42 English acres)
17. Pasture per capita in the market centre in *holds*
18. Vineyard per capita in the market centre in *holds*
19. Forest per capita in the market centre in *holds*
20. Total land of the market centre in *holds*
21. Score of the other central functions of the market centre
22. Population of the pure area of attraction
23. Proportion of the population of the pure area of attraction to that of the market centre
24. Number of settlements in the pure area of attraction
25. Average population per settlement
26. Number of craftsmen living in the pure area of attraction
27. Proportion of craftsmen to the population living in the pure area of attraction

28. Number of trades in the pure area of attraction
29. Number of trades present only in the area of attraction
30. Number of trades in the pure area of attraction with more than 5 craftsmen engaged in them
31. Proportion of craftsmen in the pure area of attraction working all year round
32. Proportion of craftsmen in the pure area of attraction employing journeymen
33. Number of journeymen per craftsman in the pure area of attraction
34. Number of merchants living in the pure area of attraction
35. Proportion of merchants to the population living in the pure area of attraction
36. Number of Jews living in the pure area of attraction
37. Proportion of Jews to the population living in the pure area of attraction
38. Arable land per capita in the pure area of attraction in *holds*
39. Pasture land per capita in the pure area of attraction in *holds*
40. Vineyards per capita in the pure area of attraction in *holds*
41. Forest per capita in the pure area of attraction in *holds*
42. Proportion of arable to total land
43. Proportion of pasture to total land
44. Proportion of vineyard to total land
45. Proportion of forest to total land
46. Size of the whole territory of the pure area of attraction in *holds*
47. Population of the mixed area of attraction
48. Proportion of the population of the mixed area of attraction to that of the market centre
49. Number of settlements in the mixed area of attraction
50. Average population density per settlement
51. Arable land per capita in the mixed area of attraction in *holds*
52. Pasture per capita in the mixed area of attraction in *holds*
53. Vineyard per capita in the mixed area of attraction in *holds*
54. Forest per capita in the mixed area of attraction in *holds*
55. Proportion of arable land to total land
56. Proportion of pasture land to total land
57. Proportion of vineyard to total land
58. Proportion of forest to total land
59. Size of the total land of the mixed area of attraction in *holds*[15]

[15] The data on the crafts and commerce of the centres and their areas of attraction were taken from the tax census of 1828; those referring to population and to the Jews from Nagy 1828; and the data concerning the distribution of the land, for lack of contemporary sources, from the land survey ordered in 1850 and published in 1865 (*Magyarország* 1865). Due to lack of data, the character and quantity of the agricultural production could only be estimated on the basis of the size and quality of the cultivated land. The institutions exercising the other central functions of the market centres were defined partly on the basis of contemporary statistical–geographical literature such as Nagy 1828 and Fényes 1836–1840, and partly with the help of directories.

Through factor analysis, we arrived at fifteen factors which accounted for 81% of the total variance. After the elimination of the factors with low information content, the market centres were classified into ten, and then five groups (clusters) on the basis of six and ten factors, respectively.

Following the analysis of the different classifications, the classification of the market centres into ten groups on the basis of six factors was found to be the most suitable solution.[16] This, partly because five of the six factors showed a significant correlation with several variables, while only four of the ten did; and five out of the six factors could be interpreted unequivocally. Six factors correlated with 91% of the original fifty-nine variables, and showed a close correlation with 75% of them (see Table 2).

Table 2. Rotated factor matrix
(We have included in the table the variables with a correlation coefficient higher than 0.4)

Variable	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	0.82					
2	0.90					
3				0.46		
4	0.86					
5	0.92					
6	0.81					
8	0.55	0.42				
9	0.66					
10	0.84					
11				0.68		
12	0.77					
14	0.62					
15				0.63		

[16] In cluster analysis, generally, several classifications are made. When selecting the most appropriate classification, we took into account the structure of the convergence of dots, the homogeneity of the centres classified in the individual clusters from the point of view of the relevant variables, the regularity of the clusters, and the constancy of membership in the individual clusters, as well as their degree of rearrangement. The comparison of the composition of the clusters formed on the basis of 6, and 10 variables, respectively, showed that a decrease in the number of variables did not bring about essential changes in the membership of the individual groups. While it is true that in the two groupings we found only 81 centres that fell into exactly the same group on both analyses (59% of all the market centres), even where we did get a different kind of grouping on the basis of the 6-variable analysis, we found that various sets of towns that had cohered on the basis of the 10-variable analysis fell together into the same new grouping. There were altogether 21 centres which were separated from their former sets—in all but some exceptional aspects—when grouped on the basis of six variables. That is to say, the classification seemed to be stable enough to be acceptable even after the number of variables had been decreased. An even lesser degree of rearrangement took place in the composition of those groups of five and of ten which were formed on the basis of the six variables. Here, 103 settlements, i.e. 75% of all the market centres, fell into one and the same group on both types of groupings; the number of centres shifted sporadically into the various groups was only 4.

Variable	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
16						0.55
17						0.43
19	−0.52					
20						0.60
21	0.89					
22	0.51		0.74			
23			0.70			
24			0.64			−0.47
25						0.71
26	0.54		0.67			
27						0.50
28			0.77			
29			0.65			
30	0.44		0.76			
32				0.76		
33				0.73		
34	0.44		0.62			
35						0.49
36	0.50		0.53			
38		0.66				
39					0.61	
40		0.52				
41		−0.58				
42		0.74				
43					0.44	
44		0.49				
45		−0.67				−0.41
46			0.74			
47	0.60				0.56	
49	0.40				0.49	
50					0.44	
51		0.48				
52					0.83	
53		0.50				
54		−0.58				−0.43
55		0.57				
56					0.71	
57		0.46				
58		−0.56				−0.51
59	0.55				0.62	

The six factors accounting for 57% of the variance of all the variables can be interpreted as follows:

The first factor displayed close correlation with the variables indicating the development level of crafts and trade in the market centre (number of craftsmen, number of trades, number of trades pursued by more than five craftsmen, number of merchants with significant capital), as well as with the size of the population and other, non-economic central place functions (the factor weight of these variables

was above 0.75). It was less closely correlated to the variables for the populations of both the mixed and pure areas of attraction (factor weight: 0.60 and 0.54) and for the development level of the craft industry in the pure area of attraction (factor weight: 0.54). The latter variables, however, figured with a higher factor weight in the case of the third factor.

As in the case of our previous investigation, the first factor was interpreted as the complex indicator of the development level of the market centres.

But while in the previous investigation only six variables had shown close correlation with this factor, this time eleven variables displayed close correlation with it. These variables included the number of merchants and Jews with significant capital; in the previous investigation, the proportion of merchants and Jews had figured among the variables, and these showed no close correlation with the factor.

The second factor displayed a positive correlation with the size of the arable land (to a lesser extent, of the area given to vineyards) in the pure and mixed areas of attraction, and showed a negative correlation with the size of forests, i.e. it was interpreted as the indicator of the grain and grape production in the area of attraction.

The third factor may be conceived of as the complex indicator of the size of the pure area of attraction, and of the development level of craft industry and trade in the pure area. The interpretation of this factor is similar to that given the third factor of the previous investigation. However, while there this factor bore quite close correlation with three variables characterizing the development level of craft industry in the pure area of attraction, here the third factor showed correlation with nine variables, including also the variables characterizing the size and trade of the area of attraction in addition to those characterizing its craft industry.

The fourth factor (like the second factor in the previous investigation) displayed a very close correlation with the proportion of craftsmen employing journeyman in the pure area of attraction, and with the number of journeymen per craftsman, and a somewhat lower correlation but still a significant one with the proportion of merchants active in the centre relative to the population, and the proportion of merchants with significant capital relative to all merchants.

The fifth factor displayed correlation with the size of the pastureland in the mixed area of attraction, and to a lesser extent with that in the pure area of attraction and with the size of the mixed area in general.

The sixth factor cannot be interpreted unequivocally. It was found to have the highest correlation to the average population size of the settlements in the pure areas of attraction (factor weight 0.7), a lower correlation to all the lands in the market centre (factor weight 0.6) and to the proportion of arable land in the centre (factor weight 0.55). Factor weights between 0.4 and 0.5 were found in the case of factors in no way connected to each other.

The ten groups (clusters) that emerged on the basis of these six factors (variables) follow. The names of the settlements we found to have been fulfilling an urban role have been italicized.

Group 1 (one centre)

Pest-Buda

A very highly developed centre, with a great deal of arable land of high revenue in its area of attraction (size of the average arable land per capita 1.2 *holds*; average revenue per *hold:* 3.5 florins), with many vineyards and very large areas of pasture and meadow (1.5 *holds* per capita). A high level of development of craft industry and trade in its pure area of attraction, which contained settlements with large populations (1,900 inhabitants on the average).

Group 2 (eleven centres)

Baja, Kassa, Nagykanizsa, Pécs, Pozsony, Sopron, Szeged, Újvidék, Veszprém, Zenta, *Zombor*

Very highly developed centres, sizeable arable land of high revenue in their areas of attraction (1.3 *holds* per capita, yielding 4.6 florins per *hold*), considerable vineyards, pastures and meadows (1 *hold* per capita). Very highly developed trade and craft industry in their pure areas of attraction which covered mainly settlements with large populations—2,000 inhabitants on the average.

Group 3 (twelve centres)

Arad, Debrecen, Eger, Gyöngyös, Gyula, Kecskemét, Komárom, Miskolc, Nagyvárad, Nyíregyháza, Szatmárnémeti, Versec

Developed and highly developed centres, sizeable arable land of high revenue (1.4 *holds* per capita, yielding 3.3 florins per *hold*), with many vineyards and pastures and meadows in their areas of attraction. Craft industry and trade in their pure areas of attraction were of medium development. Most of the attracted settlements had a large population—1,800 inhabitants on the average.

Group 4 (twenty centres)

Balassagyarmat, Dunaföldvár, Esztergom, Fehérvár, Garamszentbenedek, *Győr,* Ipolyság, Hatzfeld, *Keszthely,* Kula, Léva, Makó, Nagybecskerek, *Nagyszentmiklós, Nagyszombat, Pápa, Temesvár,* Törökbecse, *Vác,* Zalaegerszeg

Developed market centres and those of medium development, with sizeable arable lands of very high revenue (1.7 *holds* per capita, yielding 4.8 florins per *hold*), with very many vineyards and an average amount of pasture and meadow (1 *hold* per capita) in their areas of attraction. Developed craft industry and trade in their pure areas of attraction. They attracted settlements with large populations—1,400 inhabitants on the average.

Group 5 (nineteen centres)

Csakova, Érsekújvár, Galgóc, Kiscell, Kismarton, Margita, Moson-Óvár, Nagytapolcsány, Nezsidér, *Nyitra,* Oravica, *Sassin,* Somorja, Szenic, Szered, *Szombathely,* Újpécs, *Vágújhely,* Verbó

Centres of low development with sizeable arable lands of high revenue (1.6 *holds* per capita, yielding 3.6 florins per *hold*), but with very few vineyards, and pastures and meadows of average size (1.1 *holds* per capita) in their areas of attraction. Intermediately developed craft industry and trade in their pure areas of attraction; mainly attracted settlements with a population of less than 1,000.

Group 6 (one centre)

Dunaszerdahely

A centre of low development, with sizeable arable lands but of low revenue (1.3 *holds* per capita, yielding 1.4 florins per *hold*), with an average area of pasture land and meadow in its pure area of attraction (1 *hold* per capita), and much larger arable lands in its mixed area of attraction (1.9 *holds* per capita). Very underdeveloped craft industry and trade in its pure area, employing many journeymen; the average population of the settlements attracted was around 700.

Group 7 (thirty-four centres)

Alsókubin, Alsó-Meczenzéf, Bán, *Besztercebánya,* Bitcse, Gálszécs, *Homonna,* Illava, Kalocsa, Kisucaújhely, *Körmend,* Körmöcbánya, Lippa, Liptószentmiklós, *Losonc, Lugos, Nagykároly,* Nagylévárd, Nagymihály, Paks, Pankota, Privigye, Pruszka, Puchó, *Sátoraljaújhely,* Sztropkó, Tata, Trencsén, Trsztena, *Ungvár,* Vágbeszterce, Varannó, Varin, *Zsolna*

Centres of low development with arable lands of average size and low revenue (1.1 *holds* per capita, yielding 1.8 florins per *hold*), with average-sized pastures and meadows (1 *hold* per capita), and few vineyards in their areas of attraction. The craft industry and trade in their pure areas of attraction were very poorly developed; the average population of the attracted settlements was around 800.

Group 8 (sixteen centres)

Bártfa, Bát, *Eperjes,* Igló, *Késmárk,* Kisszeben, Kőszeg, Lőcse, Marcali, *Rimaszombat,* Selmecbánya, Sósújfalu, Szakolca, Szentendre, Szepesváralja, Tállya

Centres of very poor development with small areas of arable land of fairly good revenue (1.1 *holds* per capita, yielding 2.5 florins per *hold*), and with very few pastures and meadows (0.5 hold per capita) in their areas of attraction. Vineyards could be found only in the areas of attraction of half the centres, and only in three of them in significant size. A very low development level of craft industry and trade in the pure areas of attraction. They attracted settlements with a small population (500 inhabitants).

Group 9 (six centres)

Dézna, Hőgyész, *Huszt, Máramarossziget,* Resica, Vaskóh

Centres of very poor development with a small amount of arable land of low revenue (0.7 *hold* per capita, yielding 0.96 florins per *hold*), and with sizeable

pastures and meadows (1.7 *hold*s per capita) in their areas of attraction. A low level of development of craft industry and trade in their pure areas, at best a medium level of development; they attracted mainly settlements with a small population (700 inhabitants).

Group 10 (eighteen centres)

Belényes, Bellus, Breznóbánya, Felsőbánya, Gölnicbánya, Korompa, Korpona, Libetbánya, Mosóc, Nagybánya, Ó-Lubló, Oszlány, Rajec, *Rozsnyó*, Szepesszombat, Szinyérváralja, Szomolnok, Újbánya.

Centres of very poor development, mainly mining towns with little arable land of low revenue (0.9 *hold* per capita, yielding 1.3 florins per *hold*), with an average area of pastures and meadows (1 *hold* per capita) in their areas of attraction. A low level of development of craft industry and trade in their pure areas; they attracted mainly settlements with a small population (650 inhabitants).

As in the case of the sets formed on the basis of the strength of the market centre function, the legal status of the various market centres was not reflected in the clusters arrived at. Group 1 (Pest-Buda) was the only group to include only settlements of urban legal status (although "legal status" was reflected in the scores of the other functions). This distribution of the clusters also proves the non-coincidence of a centre's legal status and its actual urban role.

The market centres fell into the different groups based on their internal development, their size, and on the development of craft industry and trade in their pure areas. Homogeneity within the groups was mainly manifested in relation to the size of the arable land in the areas of attraction, the development level of the centres, and, to a lesser extent, the level of development of the craft industry and trade in the pure areas (factors 1–3). Groups 2, 5 and 10 proved to be the most homogeneous, while Groups 3, 4 and 8 proved to be the least so.

Developed and highly developed market centres with large areas of attraction can be found where mixed agricultural production prevailed, industry and trade were significant (or at least reached the national average), and the settlements in the areas of attraction had a population of 1,000 or more. In these areas, the arable land per capita was at least one *hold*, revenue per one *hold* of land exceeded 3 florins, there was wine production, and the average size of pastures and meadows, which lent themselves to animal husbandry, was at least one *hold* per capita.

These criteria characterized primarily the areas of attraction of the centres belonging to Groups 1–4. There were quite a few exceptions—especially in Group 4—and we found one or two developed centres with a larger area of attraction in the other groups, too.

Group 4 is differentiated from the first three groups mainly by the difference we find in the development level of the crafts in the centres as compared to the areas of attraction. While in Groups 1 and 2 the centres and their areas were equally highly developed, in Group 3 the developed centres generally attracted areas of lesser development. By way of contrast, in Group 4 the relative development levels of the areas of attraction exceeded those of the centres, or were equal to them. It was in these areas that the arable land per capita and the revenue per *hold* were the highest.

Group 5 constitutes a transition between Groups 1–4 (highly developed, developed and medially developed centres) and Groups 6–10 (centres of low development). The development level of crafts and trades in the centres and in the pure areas, the limited areas of attraction, the population of the attracted settlements (under 1,000) places this group alongside Groups 6–10, while the favourable conditions for agricultural production in the areas of attraction are similar to those of the first four groups. The settlement structure of this group suggests that these were centres distributing the grain surplus of areas with high cereal production. The mixed areas of attraction of the centres in Group 5 were almost three times as large as their small, pure areas of attraction, which included 12,000 inhabitants on the average. They seem to have been mediators between the countryside and the more significant centres in their vicinity, such as Pozsony, Nagyszombat, Komárom, Győr or Várad. The attraction of these more significant

centres and the proximity of the Group 5 towns to each other hindered their development and their attraction of larger areas.

In both Groups 7 and 8 arable land per capita was 1.1 *hold*s, but in the latter, probably due to the greater proportion of vineyards, the revenue per *hold* was somewhat higher than average. In the areas of attraction of this group, animal husbandry seems to have been insignificant, as indicated by the lowest proportion of pastures and meadows per capita. Both groups consist of centres of low development, with minimal crafts and trade both in the centres and in the areas of attraction. The development level of the areas of attraction was roughly equivalent to that of the centres in this respect for Group 7, and fell short for Group 8.

Groups 9 and 10 include market centres located in areas of poor agricultural potential, insignificant industry and poor internal development. In the areas of attraction of Group 9, given the high proportion of pastures and meadows per capita, animal husbandry was significant, and the development of crafts in the areas of attraction either exceeded that of the centres or was equivalent to it.

Correlating the groups—or clusters—with the sets formed on the basis of strength of market centre function (see Table 3) suggests that the towns fulfilling a very strong market centre function all fall into Groups 1–4, and those with weak and very weak functions into Groups 5–10. The distribution of the centres having a strong or medium strength market centre function is much less unequivocal. Only 54% of those with a strong market function belong to Groups 1–4, and the majority (77%) of those of medium strength are divided among Groups 4, 5 and 7, 21% of them being in Group 5, which represents a transition.

Table 3. Distribution of the ten groups of centres on the basis of strength of market centre function

Group	Very strong	Strong	Medium strength	Weak	Very weak	Total
1	1					1
2	5	5	1			11
3	2	8	2			12
4	3	6	10	1		20
5		3	11	5		19
6					1	1
7		6	14	13	1	34
8		5	3	7	1	16
9		1	2	2	1	6
10		1	2	13	2	18
Total	11	35	45	41	6	138

This arrangement is due to the principles of classification. Cluster analysis revealed the types of market centres and their areas, differentiating them according to the production potentials of their areas of attraction. This procedure took into account agricultural production as well as the development of crafts and trade, which were less extensively analyzed in the previous investigation. It is character-

istic of the sophistication of cluster analysis that the factors serving as the basis for classification display a close correlation to many more of the original variables than those used in grouping the market centres by the strength of their market functions (see Table 4):

Table 4. The number of variables showing higher than 0.5 correlations with the factors in the two classifications

Factors	Grouping by strength of market centre function							Classification by groups (clusters)						
	Variables applying to													
	the centre		the pure area of attraction		the mixed area of attraction		total	the centre		the pure area of attraction		the mixed area of attraction		total
	1	2	1	2	1	2		1	2	1	2	1	2	
1	7	—	—	—	—	—	7	11	1	3	—	1	1	17
2	1	—	2	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	5	—	4	9
3	—	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	9	1	—	—	10
4	—	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	—	2	—	—	—	4
5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	3	5
6								—	2	2	—	—	1	5
Total	8	—	6	2	—	—	16	13	3	16	7	2	9	50

1 Variable involving the crafts, commerce or other non-agricultural aspects
2 Variable involving agriculture

Not only the principles of the two classifications were different; so were their objectives. In our first evaluation, the criteria of ranking were the strength of the market centre function, expressed in terms of the size of the area of attraction, of the variety of the services provided by the centre (the level of development of the centre), and of the potential needs of the area of attraction (the level of development of the area of attraction). Half of the variables were related to the population size of the areas of attraction, which thus became the decisive factor of the classification. In the second investigation this factor played a much less significant role. The sizes of the areas of attraction were found to differ for the different types of market centres, though this difference—especially in the case of Groups 5–10—was quite small. The composition of the earlier sets had suggested that centres fulfilling market centre functions of the same strength would differ as greatly as the production potentials of their areas of attraction. This difference, which we had merely suspected earlier, is explained by the distribution we got for the centres fulfilling strong and medium strength market functions.

Of the centres fulfilling a strong market function, those in Groups 7 and 10 had areas of attraction which covered mainly settlements situated in mountainous areas. (This also holds true of Nyitra and Vágújhely in Group 5, forming a transition between the two groups.)

More than three quarters of the centres fulfilling a market centre function of medium strength fell into Groups 4, 5 and 7. Only Zenta falls into Group 2; however, it had the least developed area of attraction as compared to the other members of its group. In Group 3, Gyula and Komárom represent the centres fulfilling market centre functions of medium strength, and it was these two settlements that had the least developed areas of attraction in respect of craft industry and trade, and the smallest areas of attraction in respect of the size of the population.

Thus, the groups fulfilling market centre functions of different strengths were made up of centres attracting areas of very different natural potential. The pattern of the arrangement of the different types seems to be this: of the centres attracting areas with less agricultural potential, those fell into the stronger market centre function categories whose areas of attraction had relatively more favourable production potential. Thus, for example, only six of the thirty-four centres of Group 7 (Besztercebánya, Homonna, Körmend, Losonc, Sátoraljaújhely and Ungvár—all settlements fulfilling an urban role) belong to the category of centres fulfilling a strong market centre role, although there were more centres in this category which were of equal rank as to the population of their pure areas. However, these six centres attracted areas of better potential for agricultural production, areas where—with the exception of Sátoraljaújhely—the craft industry had reached a higher level than elsewhere. These very same factors were to make for Eperjes, Bártfa, Rimaszombat, Selmecbánya and Kőszeg in Group 8, Máramarossziget in Group 9, and Rozsnyó in Group 10 falling in the category of centres fulfilling a strong market centre function.

All this proves that our classification and grouping of the centres on the basis of the strength of their market centre function was correct. Cluster analysis did not modify basically the results gained from our previous examination, only refined and developed them further. By defining the different types of market centres, it provided an explanation for the structure of the different sets.

On the basis of all this, the strength of the market centre function could be considered the decisive criterion of identifying an urban role. Therefore our investigation was hereafter limited to those fifty-seven settlements which qualified as towns on this criterion.

3. The distribution of the towns in the groups (clusters). A typology of the towns

In classifying the towns, we considered as decisive factors the size of the area of attraction—within this primarily the size of the pure area—as well as the variety of central roles fulfilled by the centres. When selecting these criteria, our point of departure was the functional approach to what it means to be an urban centre. A town is raised above other settlements with central functions by fulfilling more versatile central roles of a higher order. It is postulated that the more versatile a town's central functions are and the more they are of a higher order, the larger the area of attraction will be.

The average population in the entire area of attraction of all market centres with a pure area of attraction was 70,000. Of this 30,000 was the population of the pure area of attraction, and 40,000 of the mixed area. We took as the lower limit of an urban area of attraction a population of 50,000; the lower limit of that of a pure area was 20,000 for centres fulfilling double and regional roles, and 10,000 for the centres fulfilling extra-regional roles. We considered a precondition of the urban role that the town, in addition to fulfilling market centre functions, also be the seat of at least one institution of a non-economic character. Fifty-seven market centres were found to meet these criteria and fulfill urban roles.

The distribution of these urban centres in the clusters was the following:

Group	Number of market centres	Number of urban centres	% of urban centres
1	1	1	100
2	11	10	91
3	12	12	100
4	20	11	55
5	19	7	37
6	1	—	—
7	34	9	26
8	16	4	25
9	6	2	33
10	18	1	5
Total	138	57	41%

In all, 77% of the market centres in Groups 1–4 fulfilled an urban role, while only 21% of the centres in Groups 6–10 and only 37% of the settlements in Group 5 met our criteria.

The towns in the different groups display a definite topographical breakdown. Most of the towns in Groups 2, 4 and 5 were in the western and central parts of the country, the overwhelming majority of the towns in Group 3 in the eastern parts, while the majority of the towns in Groups 7–10 lay in the northern-northeastern parts of Upper Hungary (today Slovakia).

Having selected the urban centres in every group, we found that the homogeneity of the groupings increased, especially in relation to factors 1–3, those factors that also distinguished the groups most sharply from one another (see Table 5). Group 3 continued to prove the least homogeneous and so did, to a lesser extent, Group 8.

Table 5. Factor scores of the towns belonging to the different groups

Name of town	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1						
Pest-Buda	83.9	21.1	37.5	4.66	16.9	14.2
2						
Pécs	20.1	9.7	22.0	−1.2	3.8	−3.7
Baja	14.1	7.9	20.8	0.2	3.0	11.3
Kassa	18.5	2.5	11.6	0.9	1.2	−3.6
Sopron	21.2	6.7	20.0	0.9	−2.0	3.4
Nagykanizsa	5.6	3.9	19.8	0.6	1.7	−1.2
Veszprém	11.6	6.9	14.2	−0.5	2.5	1.5
Szeged	18.2	13.0	9.0	0.4	6.5	17.4
Pozsony	38.2	9.4	12.2	6.9	0.5	7.6
Újvidék	17.2	12.8	12.6	0.3	0.6	9.7
Zombor	9.5	8.1	12.2	−0.5	−2.3	13.0
Average	*17.4*	*8.1*	*15.4*	*0.8*	*1.3*	*5.5*
3						
Miskolc	13.3	7.0	9.9	−0.3	8.7	−0.07
Szatmárnémeti	7.6	1.0	2.9	−1.2	4.8	−2.7
Nagyvárad	15.4	5.5	4.3	−0.6	11.8	−3.9
Nyíregyháza	2.5	7.2	1.8	−1.7	5.6	3.1
Arad	14.1	8.4	4.6	1.0	7.6	2.0
Versec	6.6	6.1	−0.9	−1.0	3.4	2.4
Eger	12.1	8.9	−1.9	0.2	10.9	1.2
Gyöngyös	9.2	8.7	−1.5	3.4	8.0	−0.07
Debrecen	23.4	10.7	−1.9	−5.4	15.9	11.9
Kecskemét	5.0	9.4	−0.5	−2.7	8.6	14.2
Gyula	4.2	4.3	−4.2	−1.9	10.7	2.9
Komárom	8.6	5.9	−2.3	−0.07	4.6	1.1
Average	*10.2*	*6.9*	*0.8*	*−0.8*	*8.4*	*2.7*

Name of town	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
4						
Balassagyarmat	2.3	3.7	7.3	3.1	−1.3	−3.3
Temesvár	17.4	8.5	4.0	5.6	3.4	2.0
Esztergom	9.0	6.3	6.2	1.3	−1.4	0.3
Keszthely	−2.5	5.5	13.2	−4.3	0.9	0.7
Dunaföldvár	3.7	8.4	6.1	−2.7	2.2	6.1
Győr	16.7	8.3	4.4	3.8	2.8	2.7
Vác	6.7	7.5	2.3	−1.8	0.7	0.7
Pápa	10.1	3.8	4.2	5.0	1.0	0.8
Nagyszombat	8.5	9.0	3.9	4.4	−2.6	2.7
Fehérvár	13.4	10.8	4.5	0.8	4.4	4.7
Nagyszentmiklós	−0.5	7.0	−2.0	−1.0	−1.8	6.2
Average	*8.6*	*7.2*	*4.9*	*1.3*	*0.8*	*2.1*
5						
Szombathely	5.3	2.7	0.2	4.4	0.6	−5.8
Nyitra	1.8	7.1	−0.8	3.5	−0.8	−0.9
Sassin	−4.1	1.4	−0.1	4.0	−1.1	0.9
Csakova	−1.0	6.1	−1.2	6.2	1.7	3.3
Vágújhely	2.0	−0.2	−0.2	5.9	−1.2	−0.4
Érsekújvár	0.0	5.1	−4.0	4.7	2.6	2.4
Galgóc	−0.5	4.5	−1.9	4.2	−1.9	−1.0
Average	*0.5*	*3.8*	*−1.1*	*4.7*	*−0.04*	*−0.2*
7						
Ungvár	2.1	−3.5	1.5	−0.1	1.4	−7.2
Homonna	−3.4	−5.7	3.5	2.0	0.7	−7.0
Körmend	−3.1	0.9	0.8	0.3	0.1	−4.7
Sátoraljaújhely	0.2	−0.8	−1.1	−0.4	−1.0	−2.0
Besztercebánya	5.7	−4.7	2.9	2.3	−0.09	−3.4
Zsolna	−5.1	−2.6	−2.8	1.2	−1.5	−2.5
Lugos	0.0	0.9	−5.2	0.04	2.9	−1.5
Nagykároly	0.5	1.1	−3.5	−0.7	2.5	−0.5
Losonc	−1.6	−1.8	6.3	1.7	1.3	−4.1
Average	*−0.5*	*−1.8*	*−0.07*	*0.7*	*0.8*	*−3.6*
8						
Eperjes	8.0	−0.3	6.8	0.4	−4.3	−4.2
Bártfa	2.1	−3.6	−3.6	−0.8	−5.5	−5.8
Késmárk	1.0	−0.4	−4.9	0.3	−2.7	−1.7
Rimaszombat	−2.2	−5.0	−0.5	1.4	−3.0	−6.1
Average	*2.2*	*−2.3*	*−0.5*	*0.3*	*−3.9*	*−4.4*
9						
Máramarossziget	−1.4	−13.7	7.6	−2.8	7.6	−6.5
Huszt	−9.4	−14.5	1.2	−5.9	3.5	−3.7
Average	*−5.4*	*−14.1*	*4.4*	*−4.3*	*5.5*	*−5.1*
10						
Rozsnyó	−0.9	−6.8	−0.3	−1.2	−0.6	−6.7

As to their agrarian hinterland, 72% of the towns developed in regions most suitable for agricultural production. Accordingly, the selling of their areas' grain surplus was decisive in their development.[17]

The areas of attraction of the towns in Group 2 (see Tables 6–7), situated in the richest grain producing territory, were characterized by extensive market-oriented cereal production, and viticulture. (The areas of attraction of Kassa and Pécs managed to be self-supporting, but produced no surplus grain for marketing.) The trades and commerce were highly developed in all these centres, as well as in their areas of attraction. The high values we found for factors 1 and 3 are due to such high averages as seventy-one for the number of trades in the centres, and thirty-nine in the areas of attraction. More than one-third of the trades in the centres were specialized, rare ones;[18] in smaller numbers but still far more than in the other regions (except for Pest), these rare trades were to be found in the areas of attraction as well. The number of craftsmen per 1,000 inhabitants in the centres was equivalent to the urban average, but in the areas of attraction exceeded the average. However, the number of merchants per 1,000 far exceeded the average both in the centres and in their areas of attraction. Considering the population of the towns and their areas together, there were 14.6 craftsmen and 2.6 merchants per 1,000 inhabitants. The number of craftsmen was equivalent to the national average, that of merchants exceeded it. All in all, Group 2 towns had areas of attraction well supplied with craftsmen and merchants, given the conditions in Hungary at the time.

As to population, mostly towns with over 10,000 inhabitants belong to this group.

The towns classified into Group 2 had very favourable geographical features: all of them were situated along primary roads or waterways, most of them at the junction of major thoroughfares; they were the most important centres of both domestic and foreign trade. The majority fulfilled high-level administrative functions as well: six of them were county seats, four episcopal sees, and four centres of military and legal districts. Owing to the diversity of their central functions and their significant role in long-distance trade, they attracted very large pure areas—while their mixed areas were relatively small. Half of the Group 2 towns played dominant roles in their mixed areas of attraction, which they shared only with

[17] Calculating the size of the arable land per capita in the market centres and their pure areas of attraction, we classified the market centres and their pure areas into three different types on the basis of rough estimates of yields and revenue per *hold*. Classified into the first type were those areas where the size of the arable land per capita exceeded 1.5 *hold*s and the revenue per *hold* exceeded 2 florins, i.e. the areas which could produce a grain surplus. The areas where the size of the arable land per capita was 0.9–1.5 cadastral *hold*s, and the revenue per *hold* was 1.5–3 florins, formed the second type. In these areas we considered the population to have been self-supporting in grain production. The third type comprised the areas which were forced to buy grain from other regions, and the arable land per capita was 0.8 *hold* or less, and the revenue per *hold* was below 1.5 florins.

[18] "Specialized", "rare" crafts are those trades which occurred in less than a third of the market centres, and only sporadically in the settlements not fulfilling the role of market centres. For a list of them, see Bácskai and Nagy 1984, Appendix VII.

Table 6. The most important indicators characterizing the towns and their areas of attraction

Name of town	The population of			The score of the other functions	In the	
	the town	its pure area of attraction	its mixed area of attraction		no. of crafts	no. of special crafts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1						
Pest-Buda	86,578	227,118	371,876	116	153	86
2						
Pécs	11,322	221,372	69,869	26	83	26
Baja	14,537	136,177	23,637	11	55	10
Kassa	13,606	136,052	27,240	48	86	34
Sopron	12,501	123,267	35,370	27	85	38
Nagykanizsa	5,897	122,581	37,781	11	38	2
Veszprém	9,079	85,705	96,342	22	61	17
Szeged	32,309	70,542	47,704	15	62	15
Pozsony	37,180	38,673	48,567	60	108	73
Újvidék	20,231	60,310	1,740	11	77	30
Zombor	17,534	69,217	985	12	52	10
Average	*17,409*	*106,389*	*38,925*	*24.3*	*70.7*	*25.5*
3						
Miskolc	22,910	141,677	186,304	18	46	11
Szatmárnémeti	14,279	90,961	64,647	14	47	7
Nagyvárad	16,115	87,342	198,295	22	55	17
Nyíregyháza	15,640	56,381	117,535	1	29	1
Arad	13,824	51,291	227,049	22	54	14
Versec	15,788	31,272	83,521	10	48	11
Debrecen	45,375	29,392	329,692	34	64	19
Eger	17,487	24,732	175,818	25	52	12
Gyöngyös	14,426	12,722	208,026	5	56	10
Kecskemét	34,080	11,987	51,879	10	42	3
Gyula	13,751	9,534	167,773	7	37	3
Komárom	17,782	5,595	72,006	15	62	15
Average	*20,121*	*46,074*	*156,874*	*15.1*	*49.3*	*10.2*
4						
Balassagyarmat	3,692	67,713	30,433	6	37	4
Temesvár	11,942	59,920	144,317	54	77	39
Esztergom	9,183	55,068	23,033	21	62	16
Keszthely	6,930	55,039	965	2	31	3
Dunaföldvár	8,979	40,037	68,553	4	47	3
Győr	14,472	33,470	82,604	37	93	37
Vác	11,119	32,858	89,011	12	56	11
Pápa	13,232	32,531	24,863	8	70	21
Nagyszombat	6,626	25,508	47,636	26	73	27
Fehérvár	20,069	23,121	90,832	20	71	26
Nagyszentmiklós	14,222	17,439	34,192	1	33	1
Average	*10,951*	*40,246*	*58,040*	*17.4*	*59*	*17.0*

towns				In the areas of attraction			
no. of artisans per 1000 inhabitants	no. of merchants per 1000 with large capital	small capital	Total no. of merchants	no. of crafts	no. of special crafts	no. of artisans per 1000 inhabitants	no. of merchants per 1000 inhabitants
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
82	2.7	11.7	14.4	66	15	14.4	1.2
97.3	2.0	4.8	6.8	36	5	4.8	0.4
39.6	5.2	2.8	8.0	43	4	12.1	2.0
67.2	4.3	16.2	20.5	32	3	1.4	0.01
92.9	0.2	4.9	5.1	39	2	7.9	3.1
37.5	0.3	6.0	6.3	47	3	5.9	0.8
76.9	0.3	2.9	3.2	45	3	9.4	1.1
45.1	1.7	8.0	9.7	36	3	13.6	0.8
57.7	6.8	7.2	14.0	32	—	12.0	2.6
43.0	3.5	9.5	13.0	35	—	9.6	1.5
42.0	1.8	1.7	3.5	44	2	12.8	3.0
57.0	*3.3*	*6.9*	*10.2*	*39*	*2.5*	*7.8*	*1.3*
21.4	0.5	0.8	1.3	24	1	2.0	0.1
77.1	0.6	3.3	3.9	9	—	0.2	0.02
47.9	1.2	3.3	4.6	8	—	0.6	0.2
14.7	—	0.7	0.7	18	—	1.5	0.1
55.2	2.0	2.9	4.9	26	—	6.0	0.4
38.7	3.2	3.1	6.3	13	1	2.4	0.4
51.2	0.6	3.4	4.0	3	—	0.2	0.1
59.1	0.5	1.9	2.4	8	1	2.8	—
53.9	0.3	5.3	5.6	12	1	8.0	—
12.3	0.09	0.5	0.6	20	—	11.8	0.6
30.8	0.6	0.9	1.5	5	—	0.9	0.2
45.9	2.4	3.5	5.9	5	—	1.8	—
40.0	*0.9*	*2.4*	*3.3*	*12.6*	*0.3*	*2.0*	*0.2*
64.2	2.2	20.5	22.7	23	1	2.6	0.3
122.1	5.0	11.5	16.5	27	1	4.7	0.3
93.3	0.7	5.0	5.7	22	1	8.4	1.2
12.8	—	0.1	0.1	38	2	9.1	0.3
55.5	0.3	3.1	3.4	30	—	13.2	1.0
84.3	4.3	7.8	12.1	32	2	12.5	0.6
64.4	0.9	1.7	2.6	17	—	3.9	1.3
66.5	1.5	7.9	9.4	21	1	9.1	1.6
97.2	8.4	19.4	27.8	18	—	8.3	1.1
66.3	1.0	1.5	2.5	27	1	23.3	0.2
19.7	0.1	2.0	2.1	10	—	5.4	0.3
68.0	*2.0*	*6.0*	*8.0*	*24*	*0.8*	*8.2*	*0.7*

Name of town	The population of			The score of the other functions	In the	
	the town	its pure area of attraction	its mixed area of attraction		no. of crafts	no. of special crafts
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5						
Szombathely	3,848	36,019	98,268	20	57	13
Nyitra	4,090	28,141	41,912	17	42	5
Sassin	2,690	20,518	33,147	2	24	—
Csakova	3,424	19,733	48,969	4	32	1
Vágújhely	5,417	14,151	45,413	2	43	7
Érsekújvár	6,572	14,046	42,488	2	35	—
Galgóc	4,045	12,075	52,904	1	36	3
Average	*4,298*	*20,669*	*51,871*	*6.8*	*38.4*	*4.1*
7						
Losonc	3,000	68,328	51,462	4	30	3
Ungvár	6,224	60,688	63,418	21	40	2
Homonna	2,666	59,726	27,842	6	22	—
Körmend	2,825	37,787	61,813	6	31	3
Sátoraljaújhely	6,548	24,478	56,021	11	38	3
Besztercebánya	5,214	21,063	43,873	27	68	19
Zsolna	2,432	15,370	55,717	7	34	3
Lugos	5,531	12,307	115,789	8	37	2
Nagykároly	11,055	11,591	74,207	13	30	—
Average	*5,055*	*34,593*	*61,127*	*11.4*	*36.7*	*3.9*
8						
Eperjes	7,656	83,553	1,630	28	65	17
Bártfa	5,097	56,546	3	?	?	?
Rimaszombat	8,027	45,085	24,769	6	33	2
Késmárk	4,192	9,915	39,246	8	60	13
Average	*6,243*	*48,774*	*16,564*	*11.2*	*52.6*	*10.7*
9						
Máramarossziget	3,844	76,643	24,314	16	32	—
Huszt	2,712	36,466	21,755	2	15	—
Average	*3,278*	*56,554*	*23,034*	*9*	*23.5*	
10						
Rozsnyó	6,008	43,750	71,924	12	39	5

towns				In the areas of attraction			
no. of artisans per 1000 inhabitants	no. of merchants per 1000 with large	small capital	Total no. of merchants	no. of crafts	no. of special crafts	no. of artisans	no. of merchants
						per 1000 inhabitants	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
114.2	1.5	4.5	6.0	14	1	3.8	0.1
86.0	0.5	8.5	9.0	10	—	3.5	—
50.0	0.7	2.7	3.4	22	2	10.1	0.3
67.0	5.0	11.0	16.0	20	—	7.6	0.4
67.8	0.8	14.6	15.4	20	3	10.2	0.5
53.7	0.3	0.7	1.0	9	—	4.3	0.2
82.5	0.5	4.5	5.0	14	—	9.2	—
73.0	*1.1*	*6.3*	*7.4*	*15.6*	*0.8*	*6.0*	*0.2*
115.0	—	3.0	3.0	19	2	4.0	0.2
48.0	2.0	13.5	15.5	4	—	0.2	—
62.3	—	3.7	3.7	14	—	1.4	—
35.0	0.3	2.7	3.0	11	1	1.3	—
25.7	1.0	1.4	2.4	8	—	1.6	0.3
116.4	2.0	3.8	5.8	28	3	16.2	0.8
71.5	—	4.5	4.5	16	—	3.7	0.1
47.8	2.2	7.4	9.6	2	—	0.9	0.2
25.0	0.3	1.2	1.5	1	—	0.08	—
46.0	*1.0*	*3.8*	*4.8*	*11.4*	*0.7*	*2.8*	*0.1*
96.0	0.9	7.0	7.9	27	—	4.6	0.06
71.6	0.2	1.2	1.4	14	—	0.8	0.07
48.1	—	0.5	0.5	15	1	1.7	—
131.2	—	9.7	9.7	6	—	1.5	—
81.0	*0.3*	*4.3*	*4.6*	*15.5*	*0.2*	*2.6*	*0.05*
66.5	3.7	12.0	15.7	11	—	0.7	0.2
13.0	0.3	3.0	3.3	2	—	0.05	0.03
44.0	*2.3*	*8.1*	*10.4*	*6.5*	—	*0.5*	*0.1*
49.2	0.8	2.0	2.8	20	1	1.6	—

Table 7. Land per capita and the number of merchants per 1000 inhabitants in the towns and their pure areas of attraction

Name of town	Revenue per *hold* (in florins)	Average land per capita (in *holds*)			The number of	
					artisans	merchants
		arable	vineyard	meadow	per 1000	
1						
Pest-Buda	3.5	1.2	0.13	1.4	32.8	4.9
2						
Pécs	2.6	1.5	0.19	1.1	9.2	0.7
Baja	4.3	2.0	0.10	1.5	14.6	2.5
Kassa	2.0	1.0	0.05	0.6	7.6	1.9
Sopron	4.0	1.1	0.03	0.8	15.4	3.3
Nagykanizsa	2.3	2.1	0.14	1.3	7.5	1.0
Veszprém	2.2	2.1	0.17	1.1	15.7	1.3
Szeged	5.0	1.5	0.06	1.5	23.4	3.6
Pozsony	6.6	0.7	0.03	0.9	34.3	8.2
Újvidék	7.1	1.8	0.04	0.8	17.9	4.4
Zombor	7.1	1.8	0.04	0.8	18.8	3.1
Average	*4.3*	*1.6*	*0.08*	*1.0*	*14.6*	*2.6*
3						
Miskolc	2.0	1.1	0.09	0.9	4.8	0.3
Szatmárnémeti	1.8	1.6	0.03	1.4	10.5	0.5
Nagyvárad	1.5	1.5	0.13	2.1	7.9	0.9
Nyíregyháza	2.8	2.6	0.06	1.4	4.4	0.3
Arad	5.0	2.4	0.05	1.5	16.6	1.4
Versec	5.3	1.6	0.15	1.2	15.1	2.4
Debrecen	2.1	1.4	0.09	1.3	31.1	2.5
Eger	3.8	0.8	0.11	0.9	25.6	1.0
Gyöngyös	3.4	0.7	0.16	0.6	31.8	4.5
Kecskemét	3.3	1.7	0.11	1.3	12.1	0.6
Gyula	4.4	1.6	0.03	2.7	19.1	1.0
Komárom	3.4	0.6	0.10	2.7	36.4	4.6
Average	*3.2*	*1.5*	*0.09*	*1.5*	*13.8*	*1.1*
4						
Balassagyarmat	2.7	1.6	0.11	0.9	6.1	1.6
Temesvár	4.5	1.0	0.03	0.7	24.3	3.0
Esztergom	4.1	1.5	0.15	0.8	20.4	1.9
Keszthely	2.7	1.1	0.20	1.1	9.5	0.3
Dunaföldvár	4.1	1.2	0.14	0.9	20.1	1.5
Győr	3.4	1.1	0.10	1.4	33.2	4.0
Vác	4.9	1.3	0.17	0.9	19.0	1.6
Pápa	2.4	1.4	0.06	1.1	25.1	5.3
Nagyszombat	6.3	1.9	0.10	0.5	27.8	4.6
Fehérvár	4.3	1.4	0.14	1.4	43.3	1.3
Nagyszentmiklós	7.3	1.5	0.04	0.5	11.5	1.1
Average	*4.2*	*1.4*	*0.11*	*0.9*	*21.0*	*2.3*

Name of town	Revenue per *hold* (in florins)	Average land per capita (in *holds*)			The number of	
					artisans	merchants
		arable	vineyard	meadow	per 1000	
5						
Szombathely	2.9	1.6	0.04	0.9	14.8	0.7
Nyitra	4.2	1.8	0.09	0.7	6.5	0.5
Sassin	3.6	1.4	0.02	0.9	15.3	0.7
Csakova	6.3	1.9	0.01	1.2	15.3	2.4
Vágújhely	2.3	0.9	0.01	1.2	24.1	4.2
Érsekújvár	5.0	1.0	0.01	1.1	20.8	0.9
Galgóc	2.7	1.8	0.07	0.7	27.6	1.2
Average	*3.8*	*1.5*	*0.03*	*0.9*	*17.7*	*1.4*
7						
Losonc	1.5	1.7	0.03	1.2	8.7	0.3
Ungvár	1.3	1.1	0.02	1.1	4.7	1.3
Homonna	0.4	1.0	—	1.4	4.4	0.2
Körmend	1.8	1.9	0.05	0.8	3.7	0.3
Sátoraljaújhely	2.1	1.1	0.06	1.0	7.1	0.8
Besztercebánya	1.9	0.9	—	1.4	35.5	1.7
Zsolna	1.5	1.0	—	0.7	11.0	0.6
Lugos	2.8	1.0	0.01	1.2	13.8	2.8
Nagykároly	2.5	1.4	0.02	1.5	16.0	0.7
Average	*1.7*	*1.2*	*0.02*	*1.1*	*9.0*	*0.6*
8						
Eperjes	0.4	1.3	—	0.6	12.7	0.7
Bártfa	0.4	1.2	—	0.9	6.5	0.2
Rimaszombat	1.7	1.3	0.01	0.9	8.7	0.07
Késmárk	0.8	1.6	—	0.8	38.5	2.8
Average	*0.8*	*1.3*	*0.00*	*0.8*	*11.6*	*0.5*
9						
Máramarossziget	0.5	0.8	—	3.1	4.0	1.0
Huszt	0.4	0.9	—	2.3	1.0	0.3
Average	*0.4*	*0.8*	—	*2.7*	*3.0*	*0.7*
10						
Rozsnyó	1.5	0.8	0.02	0.8	7.3	0.3

inferior centres, usually two other market centres. These market centres regarded the Group 2 town as their market. They may have been the supplementary places of distribution of the goods purchased in the Group 2 town and the secondary collecting points of agricultural produce.

Group 3 also included towns with large populations (on the average 20,000 people) considered to be significant trade centres by the contemporaries. These, however, were unable to join directly in the trade with the West because of their geographical position: the overwhelming majority of them were situated in the northern and eastern border areas of the country. They were instead the junctions and points of distribution of the trade among the different regions and territories of the country. Their pure areas of attraction did not have such ample grain production as those of the towns belonging to Group 2; a significant grain surplus was grown only in the areas of attraction of five of the towns, i.e. 40% of the group: Nyíregyháza, Arad, Versec, Kecskemét and Gyula. The other areas were only self-sufficient. Judging by the size of the pastures and meadows per capita, animal husbandry was of greater significance; certainly their markets were known primarily for their livestock.

A part of the goods sold here was brought to the market from their pure areas of attraction, but most of the grain and cattle brought in for extra-regional and long-distance trade probably originated in their enormously extensive mixed areas of attraction. The mixed areas of the towns of Group 3 were more than three times as large as their populous pure areas. Group 3 towns shared their huge mixed areas with other towns (6.2 towns on the average), half of them also Group 3 towns; thus, they were each other's rivals. The division of the areas of attraction as well as the merging of the mixed areas of attraction also suggest that—in contrast to the towns in Group 2—extra-regional activity was dominant.

The mixed areas of attraction of the Group 3 centres differed from those of the other groups not only in their extraordinary size but in their character as well. In the case of other towns, it was usually only the settlements on the edge of a given town's area of attraction that belonged also to the area of attraction of two or three other centres of approximately equal distance and accessibility. It was the different variety of services that each town offered that induced people to frequent a market that was farther away, one that satisfied their demand for certain goods, or offered a wider choice of supplies. Otherwise they visited the nearest market centre or sub-centre, where they sold their products and purchased everyday necessities. The simultaneous attraction of more than four centres on the same area was a rarity, and obtained in a maximum of 10% of all the settlements examined.

However, one-fifth of the settlements belonging to the mixed areas of Group 3 centres named four or even more centres as their markets, and the proportion of those attracted by three centres was also higher than in other groups. The reason for this is that the areas of attraction of the majority of these towns included settlements in the Great Hungarian Plain. The large-scale commodity sales by these populous settlements were not confined to specific centres; they sold their grain and cattle wherever it happened to be the most advantageous. In the case of bulk sales, the higher transport costs were recovered by favourable prices. And since these settlements had networks of craft industry and trade satisfying their everyday demands, at the markets for their commodities they only purchased the more

special articles and raw materials, and these were available to them in any of the larger towns.

The peculiar set-up of the mixed areas of the towns of Group 3 may, thus, be traced to the specific patterns of settlement and market networks of the Great Hungarian Plain.

The towns in Group 3 also fulfilled other central functions of a considerable variety; but while almost all towns in Group 2 had administrative roles of a higher order, of Group 3 only seven centres (58%) had county or episcopal administrative functions (Arad, Eger and Nagyvárad had both), and only Debrecen was the headquarters of a regional institution.

Craft industry and trade both in the towns and the pure areas of attraction were medially developed. It is characteristic of the lower standard of industry and trade that while in Group 2 the population of each town relied on its own market for buying and selling, in Group 3 every third town named another place as its preferred market. Gyöngyös named as many as three sub-centres as its market places. On the other hand, the towns of this group, with the exception of Kecskemét, were named as market places by several towns and market centres.

The population of all the towns in Group 3 exceeded 10,000. The rate of increase of the population was typically more rapid at the turn of the eighteenth century than later: from 1787 to 1828, their population had increased by 156%, exceeding both the national average (134%), and that of all market centres (145%).

In respect of their potential and the ratios of the pure to mixed areas of attraction, the towns classified in Group 4 showed several common features with those in Group 2, and fulfilled similar central place roles. However, their importance for domestic and foreign trade was much less. In this group, the pure areas of attraction comprised 40,000 people on the average, and the mixed areas 58,000. Thus the ratio of the two kinds of areas of attraction was more balanced than in the case of Groups 2 and 3. The average population of the Group 4 towns was 11,000; the dispersion was much greater than for the previous groups, with populations ranging from 3,692 to 20,000. Their geographical distribution was also less homogeneous than that of the previous two groups of towns. The overwhelming majority of the towns were centres of regions of high grain production. Only a few of them were active grain markets directly participating in foreign commerce. Actually, only Temesvár, Győr and Nagyszombat can be considered commercial towns of major significance. (However, the pure areas of attraction of the latter two were much smaller than those of similar commercial centres in Group 2, which explains their presence in Group 4.) Fehérvár, Pápa and, to a lesser extent, Dunaföldvár and Vác, were only important collecting places of cattle and agricultural produce, while Balassagyarmat, Keszthely and Nagyszentmiklós were only centres of regional trade.

These towns fulfilled other central functions as well: six of them were county or ecclesiastical centres (Esztergom, Győr, Fehérvár, and Temesvár were both); in addition, Temesvár was the headquarters of national government offices, and Nagyszombat housed a District Court of Appeal. Although Pápa was only a

seigniorial centre, through its college it fulfilled a cultural function of national significance.

Handicrafts and trade were both developed in the Group 4 towns and their pure areas of attraction, with the number of trades above the national average. The less frequent trades were well represented in the centres. Altogether, craft industry and trade in the areas of attraction were at a higher level of development than in the towns classified in Group 3, and the population as a whole, both urban and in the areas of attraction, well supplied with industrial and commercial goods.

Group 4 towns shared their areas of attraction with 3.6 towns—usually belonging to other groups—1.9 of them market centres, and 2.2 sub-centres on the average. These figures are almost completely equivalent to the ones for Group 2, but while there, every town indicated its own market as its sole place of buying and selling, here some indicated other towns as well.

Group 5 included towns with small populations (average 4,300); their economic and other central functions were insignificant, and their craft industry and trade were medially or poorly developed. Their pure areas of attraction, with the exception of the merely self-sufficient area of Vágújhely, produced a grain surplus; they were developed in crafts and trade, but their population was very small in comparison with the areas of high grain production. The limited character of their attraction (with 20,000 average population in their pure areas) was geographically determined: they were either situated in foothills or river valleys, or too close to other towns. The average size of their mixed areas of attraction—52,000 people—was almost identical with the areas of the towns in Group 2—but the number of the other centres attracting them (3.4 towns, 2.8 market centres and 2.6 sub-centres on the average) was much higher than for Groups 2 and 4. Their attraction, which appears significant with all market centres as the unit of comparison, is insignificant when compared to that of the urban centres. Their trade activities were limited to channeling the grain surplus of regions off the main thoroughfares to the larger centres through merchants from other towns, or local Jewish professional and non-professional traders.

A large number of craftsmen, pursuing comparatively few (and even fewer specialized) trades lived in these towns; the trade network was of medium development. The handicraft industry and trade of the areas of attraction was of the same character. The town markets were at best of local significance for the grain, cattle and wood trade. Thus it is understandable that the townsmen usually named other towns and market centres also as their market places. The proportion of towns in which the population declared their own market as their exclusive place of selling and buying was the lowest in this group. Only Nyitra and Szombathely fulfilled administrative functions of a higher order, both of them being county and episcopal seats. Sassin and Csakova were seigniorial centres, while the other towns played central roles of limited range through their post offices, salt offices, and schools.

A significant number of the towns included in Group 5 were situated in Nyitra county, where the network of market centres and their areas of attraction was

practically what it had been since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The orographic and hydrographic features of the county were such that no modifications of the type that took place in the case of analogous market centres of limited attraction, i.e. the gradual concentration of trade in a few large centres, occurred here. The lack of change was probably due to transport conditions. The number of the market centres in Group 5 changed little in the course of a century (only Sassin was a complete newcomer among the towns). However, the hierarchy among the centres according to the force of their attraction did change, as well as the proportion of the pure and mixed areas of attraction, to the benefit of the latter. This transformation of their areas of attraction also shows that the attraction of Group 5 towns extended to settlements lying farther off only rarely, and they were unable to best either one another, or centres in other groups, in the competition for areas of attraction.

The grain markets of three out of the five towns of Nyitra county—Vágújhely, Nyitra and Galgóc—were considered important enough by Elek Fényes to be mentioned. At Vágújhely, the largest, one hundred thousand florins' worth of grain was purchased annually by buyers from Trencsén county and from Moravia. Fényes also estimated its tobacco and wine trade as significant.

The towns in Groups 7–10 were centres of areas of attraction either self-sufficient in or short of grain; hence, they were buyers of the meagre surplus of cereals, and supplied their areas of attraction—generally poor in crafts and trade—with articles of basic necessity.

The towns in Group 7 attracted fairly large pure areas of 35,000 people on the average, and their mixed areas exceeded this to a great extent (61,000 inhabitants, on the average). They were mostly towns with small populations (group average: 5,000); only Nagykároly's population exceeded 10,000. In contrast to the towns of Group 5, they fulfilled many more other important central functions: five of them were county seats; one, Besztercebánya, was an episcopal see, and also had a District Court of Appeal and government mining offices. The other towns housed seigniorial administrations and schools.

The majority of their areas of attraction were self-sufficient in grain: those of Ungvár, Homonna and Zsolna needed to bring in cereals from outside, yet all were grain distributors rather than buyers. With the exception of Besztercebánya and Ungvár, there was little craft and commerce in the centres. They stand in next to last place among all the groups based on the number of trades. Their areas of attraction were similarly backward in this respect, but the number of their merchants was significant. Elek Fényes found the grain markets of Besztercebánya, Nagykároly, Losonc and Sátoraljaújhely worth mentioning.

The four towns of Group 8 included three which used to be significant in foreign trade, but by this time were losing their importance: Bártfa, Eperjes and Késmárk. All but one, Rimaszombat, were forced to buy grain. The purchasing power of the inhabitants in their areas of attraction was weak; their crafts were medially developed, and only few merchants were active in the settlements. Eperjes and Bártfa were regional centres of high attraction; their mixed areas of attraction

included only one or two settlements, i.e. virtually none. The situation of Késmárk was just the opposite: its extra-regional role was the dominant one. Its pure area of attraction included 10,000 inhabitants, and 39,000 people lived in its mixed area, which was also attracted by four other market centres and eight sub-centres. Rimaszombat, in turn, was a centre fulfilling a double role: its pure area of attraction included 45,000, and its mixed one 25,000 inhabitants.

As a remnant of their earlier status, the craft industries were highly developed in Bártfa, Eperjes and Késmárk. They were specialized and several craftsmen pursued rare trades. But their clientele was decreasing in numbers for neither the impoverished population of the declining cities nor the poor, barely self-sufficient inhabitants of their areas of attraction were consumers with money to spend. Moreover, the industrial products of the close-by market centres, such as the towns of Szepes, were also in oversupply. As to the non-economic central roles, only Eperjes had such on a higher level.

The two towns, Máramarossziget and Huszt, belonging to Group 9, were centres of a poor area with scant population and a low-yield agriculture; only animal husbandry was significant, and their cattle markets, the only ones in the county, were widely known. Máramarossziget was also an important place of buying food and grain in the area. The two towns could attract a significant area because there were no other important market centres in the vicinity, and because their modest craft industry was able to satisfy the poor consumers of the area. Most of them had usually earned the money to buy part of their food and some other necessities by working in far-away regions of the country.

There was a great difference between the two towns. Huszt was merely a seigniorial centre; its industry was on village level, and there were few merchants. Sziget, on the other hand, was a county seat and a seigniorial centre, as well as a place with cultural and transport functions. Its crafts were much more highly developed, and the number of its merchants enabled it to satisfy the demands of a large area. A town of 4,000 inhabitants with fifteen wealthier traders and forty-eight merchants with smaller capital, Sziget's mixed area was attracted by two market centres and a sub-centre. Half of the population living in Huszt's mixed area of attraction, declared Máramarossziget as their alternate market, while the other half declared that besides Beregszász, Munkács and Nagyszőllős, they also attended markets in Poland.

There were two groups which included only one town each: Pest-Buda and Rozsnyó. Pest-Buda, of course, constituted a separate class among the market centres; we shall return to its characterization. Rozsnyó was the only member of a group consisting of eighteen market centres, mainly mining towns of minor significance, in which it alone met urban criteria. As a town of 6,000 inhabitants, it fulfilled educational and transport functions, besides its role in church administration. Rozsnyó's industry and trade were insignificant; the crafts in its area of attraction seemed to be relatively better developed in terms of the number of trades, but no merchants were registered there. We know from Fényes' description that the inhabitants carted iron from many settlements directly to Pest and Debrecen, and

on their way back took grain to the mountainous region. This kind of trade could only partially make up for the low number of professional merchants. Thus the five better-off merchants and the twelve retailers in Rozsnyó were able to make a comfortable living. Fényes considered the grain and pig market of the town significant, and noted that the citizens of Rozsnyó traded on the national level in wax, honey, candles and iron. The town's commercial role is reflected in its area of attraction; the pure area included 44,000, and the mixed one 72,000 inhabitants. The dimensions and proportions of these areas of attraction are similar to those of the Group 4 towns; however, the areas of attraction of the towns belonging to this group had high grain yields while the area of attraction of Rozsnyó, situated mainly in a mountainous region, was importing grain. Thus, the town was not a place for buying the grain surplus of its vicinity, but for distributing the grain shipped there. This fact left its mark both on the development of the town and on its connections with the settlements in its area. As to the potentials of its area of attraction its urban functions, and its craft industry, Rozsnyó shows similarities to the towns in Group 7, the group that includes Besztercebánya, the only other mining town fulfilling important central roles. Considering all this, we added Rozsnyó to Group 7 in our study of its society.

It is obvious why Pest-Buda emerged as a group in itself: these twin towns were different from all the other towns, being of a much higher order in their central roles, their degree of urbanization and the size and character of their areas of attraction. As they fulfilled the municipal function together, we considered them as one centre. Buda was the capital of administration and Pest the economic, the trade centre of the country. The score of the other central functions fulfilled by the two towns was 116, almost double the score of Pozsony (60), the next highest in this respect. Pest-Buda's economic status was paramount in national terms. In 1819 Pál Magda[19] noted that "it was the centre of Hungarian home and foreign trade", in fact, contemporaries registered it as one of the most significant market towns in Europe. The turnover of a fair in Pest came close to that of Leipzig and Frankfurt: in the 1820s, it was estimated at around fifteen–fixteen million florins, more than half of which came from raw materials. Along the Danube, Pest was the most significant market after Vienna. While it lagged far behind the *Kaiserstadt* in the trade of manufactures, the volume of raw material and animals coming to the markets of Pest on land and water was unique in all of Europe. It was also an emporium of imported industrial articles both with its specialized trade and the ever-increasing number of factory depots. Their number grew from sixteen in 1815 to a hundred at the time of the census, creating a steady supply of goods.[20] The operation of these depots had a great influence on the development of Hungarian trade, especially of that of Pest both at a wholesale and retail level. As suppliers of small-town and rural merchants, they further enhanced the role of Pest in the country's commerce. Pest-Buda's commercial strength is reflected in its area as well:

[19] Magda 1819.

[20] Nagy 1975, pp. 314–316.

its pure area of attraction included 227,118 inhabitants in 118 settlements. The mixed area of attraction extended to 371,876 people in 134 settlements: its attraction reached from beyond the River Tisza to Fehér county in the west. But the markets of Pest were visited even by traders from regions far beyond this huge mixed area of attraction; Pest merchants had depots in several towns, and were in contact with every larger town in Hungary.

Among the several conclusions that can be drawn from the investigation detailed above is a historically very significant one: in contrast to the preceding centuries, long-distance and foreign trade did not play a decisive role in the urban development of the age under review. Intensive trade relations were largely confined to their areas of attraction, and, given that these areas were neither sufficiently large nor sufficiently developed, this meant that towns formerly important in international commerce lost out on the dynamics of urbanization. They could retain their status only if the commodities sold originated in their pure areas of attraction, and the bulk of the manufactures and raw materials sold in their markets was handled by the traders of the areas in concert with (and usually subordinate to) the urban merchants. It is clear that merely collecting and exporting merchandise (cattle, grain, wine, etc.) was not sufficient to secure urban standing according to our definition. It was also necessary that these commodities be produced by the population of the areas of attraction, which then, by selling them, would obtain sufficient purchasing power to sustain a relatively sophisticated market for the industrial goods manufactured in the centre, or imported by its merchants. However, the buying capacity of the people in the agriculturally poor areas of attraction of many a commercial town was minimal, coming from wages or from peddling. The inhabitants of the mountainous regions of northern Hungary usually took simple wood implements or homespun textiles to the plains where they sold these and also earned their living by working during harvest. From what little they made, they bought their foodstuff in the agrarian regions where they worked, or received produce for their labour as sharecroppers, or as payment in kind. Little if any remained for buying manufactures back home, and then only of simple quality and in limited amounts. Thus the towns became minor markets for this type of exchange. The few, more demanding consumers, such as noblemen or officials, did not change this picture much. This, in turn, led to the decline of specialized crafts and urban employment. The town populations remained low, their industry and commerce limited, since the huge areas of attraction provided only poor consumers with minimal demands, and no goods to market.

It should be remembered that the relation between town and area of attraction was used in our analysis to determine the towns with central functions: it was by this procedure that we arrived at the limited number of fifty-seven urban centres. However, other, special functions also promote the urbanization of a settlement, regardless of its having an intensive area of attraction. Such functions did not feature in the quantified data included in our analysis, and can be added only from the study of the internal characteristics of the individual towns or types of urban settlements. Among these one might list the mining towns, which, as consumers of

foodstuff, fulfilled central functions only on a local and relatively low level. Centres of transport, such as ports or railroad-junctions, are usually counted among urban settlements: in early nineteenth century Hungary, the river ports on the Danube (Tolna, Mohács) and the Tisza (Szolnok) may qualify as such, even though they had small if not insignificant pure areas of attraction, and came out as sub-centres in our analysis. Yet, the addition of such centres would not alter the overall picture in any significant way.

A much greater number of towns with special characteristics, but without significant central place functions, could be found among the populous agrarian settlements in the Hungarian Plain, due to the area's particular settlement patterns. Their function was not to feed their areas, but rather to produce agrarian export commodities and to supply foodstuffs to the mountainous regions surrounding the plains. Their crafts and trades were geared to local demands. If they attracted a larger region, it was usually due to their educational institutions (seminaries, Calvinist colleges, other schools). Nevertheless, they did not have significant pure areas of attraction, because the scattered pattern of settlement in the Great Plain was characterized by towns with large populations all fulfilling the same functions. Beyond doubt, these settlements based on the high volume of agrarian production and commodity exchange did develop certain urban characteristics and central institutions. Yet, following our definition of urbanism, neither of these criteria in themselves are sufficient to class these towns among the urban centres. If they did not attract sizeable populations in their pure and mixed areas of attraction, they did not qualify for inclusion, even if they did fulfill certain particular central functions typical of the economy and the settlement pattern of central Hungary.

All these reservations have to be kept in mind when judging the statements we have made on the towns of early nineteenth century Hungary: they do not refer to the entire urban network of the country, but only to those towns which fulfilled a central place function, according to our pre-determined parameters of analysis. But, in fact, these fifty-seven towns did constitute the core of the urbanization of the age,[21] and their varied legal statuses are an important comment on the validity of identifying the towns with the *civitates*. Little more than a third of them (twenty-two) were such privileged royal free towns; six others were under episcopal jurisdiction, and about a half (twenty-nine) were *oppida (mezővárosok)*. This breakdown suggests the increasing separation of genuine urban roles and the legal concepts of urban privilege. Were we to include the towns with specific functions discussed above, the divergence of legal norms and socio-economic reality would be only more conspicuous.

[21] Only 4 or 5 of the mining towns may have been in the position to fulfill urban roles. In the majority of cases their urban functions were hindered by their scarce population. Five of the agricultural towns in the Great Hungarian Plain were included among the towns because of their significant central roles. Taking into account the local and other significant central roles played by these settlements in the era under examination, we presume that the number of settlements fulfilling special roles must have been about the same.

The process of adjusting legal status to the realities of bourgeois development took some time and was completed only at the end of the nineteenth century, when a new, modern system of administrative categorization was introduced. The date of our data base (1828) places us rather at the very beginning of this process, as the most important factor of capitalist urbanization, i.e. factory industry, was barely present at all, and the developing non-economic functions of towns were in their most inchoate stage as well. What was already obvious was the decline of the medieval, feudal urban structure, in which those towns dominated which were primarily oriented towards long-distance export-import commerce. There are also signs of decline among the lower status group of towns, those whose standing was based on centuries of exchange between town and country. They did not vanish yet from the picture, but there are already clear changes in the hierarchy of towns. Some of those which, due to their areas of attraction, were still able to fulfill urban roles according to our criteria, later lost their standing, and several of them were not even granted minor urban status by the end-of-the-century rearrangements.[22]

[22] Balassagyarmat, Csakova, Dunaföldvár, Galgóc, Homonna, Huszt, Keszthely, Körmend, Nagyszentmiklós, Sassin and Zsolna.

Part II

Urban society

The changes in the number and hierarchy of the towns, more precisely, the economic processes which had brought about these changes, also transformed the social relations that obtained in the towns. This transformation can only be sensed in the period examined, rather than demonstrated in figures. It did not entail a significant modification of the occupational structure or the large-scale growth of new occupations or of new social classes, or the vanishing of ailing old ones. Yet there is enough evidence for the beginning of serious changes. A slight increase in merchants and a more significant decrease in craftsmen can be seen in certain towns, primarily in the old centres of the crafts. But this was balanced by the increasing number of craftsmen in the newly emerging towns. Because of the scarcity and the varying reliability and accuracy of the sources, these data cannot be considered valid in general. The overall structure of urban society did not yet go through basic transformations. Slight changes, of which those concerned were hardly aware, took place in the rank, social status and wealth of the diverse urban strata and professions.

Thus our task is to describe and analyze a society in transition where changes are still hidden and the tendency to transformation is indicated only by slight modifications. It is always a difficult task to depict urban society because of the relatively large population, and the diversity of origins, professions, social standing and wealth. It is even more difficult to describe a society in an initial phase of change and try to take into account the dynamics of development. With a rich data base allowing a multifarious approach and an appropriate amount of comparative data, one may risk describing the changes. But we have none of these for early nineteenth-century urban society in Hungary.

In order to define the place of the different social strata in the urban functions, in the hierarchy of society and wealth, we would need a whole series of specific sources. An investigation of that kind would constitute too great a task for a single researcher even for the society of one single town; in the case of fifty-seven towns, with a very uneven data base and with many of the sources now abroad, this was an insoluble task. Therefore the aim of our investigation could be no more than—relying on the data base of the census of the year 1828—to attempt to characterize the whole of urban society at that time by defining the differences in the professional and social structure of towns of different types. We shall also try to place the individual groups in the social hierarchy, and establish their roles in the town's fulfilling urban functions.

1. The value of the 1828 tax census for social research

Taking into account the available sources, the census of the year 1828 seems to be the most suitable data base for a study of the socio-professional structure in the towns of different legal statuses. Its deficiencies and limitations are typical of every tax census of the age; still, the censuses covered the widest strata of society.

The type of data assessed in the 1828 tax survey was similar to those contained in the contemporary local censuses, but its value is outstanding because it covers the whole country on a uniform basis. Its value is enhanced by the fact that the central directives were strictly enforced: data found missing during controls were requested from the local authorities and usually submitted subsequently. Also, in contrast to local tax assessments, it contains not only figures, but for certain questions verbal commentaries as well. Local tax assessments usually include only the size and classification of the land, but the 1828 record also contains data on the yield, the type and cost of cultivation, the market price and transportation costs of the produce, i.e. on the profitability of landed property. Similarly, craftsmen and merchants are not merely classified in tax-groups based on often unknown criteria, but there are data about the permanent or temporary character of the various industries, the number of apprentices and journeymen, the specialization of the traders, their capital and revenues, and their marketing opportunities. The questions concerning the entire settlement also explore the favourable or unfavourable circumstances of production, the population's way of life, and frequently generate indirect data about social strata not included in the tax census, such as the number of noblemen living in the town or village. Information of this type allows conjectures about the possible occupation of those not classified in our source.

Naturally, like all surveys made for taxation purposes, the 1828 census also has its severe limitations for the study of society. It did not include the entire population, but only those people who were liable to pay taxes on their properties or on their professional income. The taxable subjects were considered not as individuals, but as families belonging to the same household. Among the strata exempt from taxation, noblemen were usually included in the census only in the royal free towns, and only if they held property there. The professionals of non-noble birth, the *honoratiores*, on the one hand, and the paupers on the other were

left out of the tax census altogether.[23] The use of the 1828 record is further limited by the lack of information about the total wealth, fortune and income of the taxpayers, for it contained only those landed properties which lay within the settlements. In the villages and *oppida*, only the lands held in plots were recorded; the clearings, leases, etc. were not. Professional income can only be guessed at in most cases, for although the directions to the census takers called for the classification of craftmen and merchants by their income, very few authorities did so, and even those gave the figures not according to households, but in a separate summary. The classification used differed from county to county and from town to town, and it is often impossible to establish its basis. Finally, the usefulness of this source is greatly reduced by the fact that occupations outside agriculture are indicated with varying degrees of accuracy.

Craftsmen and merchants had to be recorded in a separate column, but other occupations, if indicated at all, were included under "Notes", provided that the profession enjoyed personal exemption from taxation, as did, e.g., the *honoratiores*. Day labourers, employees, and wage earners were recorded only in a few royal free towns, since there they payed income tax. In all other settlements, especially in those where taxes were payed by tenancy, and the distribution of taxes depended on legal status (villein, cottar, houseless serf), usually only craftsmen and merchants were listed. In both types of settlements, non-agrarian occupations were not precisely surveyed, for the instructions prescribed only the listing of those who earned their principal income from a craft or trade. Some authorities recorded every craftsman and trader, and indicated under "Notes" whether he pursued his profession only temporarily; others made separate records of these people, and there were yet other authorities which did not record anyone pursuing a craft only occasionally, or retailers with low incomes.

The accuracy of the census is not uniform. Generally speaking, the royal free towns were most accurate: they included not only the occupation of the heads of households, but that of the people living in the same household as well, giving details about their status. Noblemen and *honoratiores* without landed property who lived permanently in the city were often listed, noting their tax exemption. The quality of the tax census in the other settlements depended on the practice of the individual county. The varying details about the non-agrarian occupations also expressed the significance attributed to them by the authorities of the town or the

[23] The proportion of taxpayers compared to the population as a whole differed by types of towns and within the individual towns as well. On the average, urban taxpayers accounted for one third of the population; taking into consideration that adults generally made up half of the population, taxpayers comprised about two thirds of the adults. In the different groups, the average proportion of taxpayers to the population was the following:

Group 1	38.6%	Group 5	38.0%
Group 2	39.9%	Group 7	20.6%
Group 3	26.9%	Group 8	29.8%
Group 4	36.0%	Group 9	29.4%

county. We may assume that the quality of each tax survey, the number of details recorded about its trade and commerce, also reflected the socio-economic rank of these occupations, and this to a certain extent characterizes the settlement itself.

The census recorded the taxpayers and their taxable value in a definite topographic order, proceeding from house to house and from household to household. Usually only the head of the household's name was listed, but in some places, the name of his son or son-in-law was also included; then, the number of taxable persons in the household was given. In column 3, the legal standing and the profession of most—but not all—of the taxpayers tallied in column 2 were indicated. The classification used here was undoubtedly of basic importance for taxation purposes, but cannot be easily used for a sociological investigation. The categories for this column were the following: *honoratiores*, citizens *(cives)*, villeins *(coloni)*, cottars *(inquilini)*, houseless serfs *(subinquilini)*, siblings, boys, girls, servants, maids, craftsmen, merchants *(mercatores)* and retailers *(quaestores)*. Thus, the taxpayers were classified by their legal status in the feudal order, by their family or employment relationship to the head of the household, and by the occupation of the head of the household.

These categories may have been more or less unequivocal for the rural communities, but were absolutely unsuitable for recording the urban taxpayers. They were reinterpreted by the royal free towns to suit their circumstances, and given a different content. For example, the town of Pest pointed out that since they did not find any difference between the categories *inquilinus* and *subinquilinus*, they classified everyone not owning a house as *inquilinus*. They stuck to this principle consistently, and included burghers and *honoratiores* who owned no house among the *inquilini*. In Buda, houseowners without citizenship were classed as *inquilini*, and those not owning a house as *subinquilini*. This practice was followed by the majority of the royal free towns. Some, however, differentiated only among those with citizenship and those without with the labels *cives* and *inquilini* (e.g. Győr, Komárom, Besztercebánya). Nagyszombat classed as *subinquilinus* only the labourers and shephards living on the *allodia*—altogether seven taxpayers—and classed all other persons without citizenship among the *inquilini*, whether they owned a house or not. Késmárk included the *allodiatores* and *lavatores* in the *subinquilini* column, while Rimaszombat differentiated only among *cives* and *subinquilini*, placing those who owned a house jointly with their *cives* relatives into the latter group. In Esztergom, Temesvár and Újvidék tenants could be included in either the *inquilini* or *subinquilini* column.

The towns, thus, had problems classifying the inhabitants without citizenship in the feudal categories appropriate for villages in seigniorial dependence. Reinterpreting the concepts of "cottar" and "houseless serf", they used these for house owners without citizenship and tenants. But they had difficulties in applying the given categorization to the privileged strata living in town: the *honoratiores* and the noblemen who were taxable on their properties in town. Eger, Esztergom, Kassa and Szeged assumed that it was enough to group both in the *honoratior* category, for it indicated sufficiently the limited liability of the taxpayer; whether they

possessed properties or whether they held citizenship was irrevelant. In contrast, Debrecen, Győr, Fehérvár, Pozsony, Sopron, Szatmár and Zombor recorded the noblemen and *honoratiores* with citizenship also in the *cives* column, and included the noblemen holding public offices or pursuing free professions also in the *honoratiores* column. Some towns—for example Eperjes—included the noblemen without citizenship also in the *inquilini* column if they were houseowners, and among the *subinquilini* if they were not. In this way, one person figured more than once in the third column, classified in different legal categories.

The same head of a family could be included not only in two different classes, but in two diametrically opposed legal categories. For example, if a house owner leased his whole house while he lived in rented quarters or pursued a trade on rented premises, he might be included in the column representing the owner of his house, while in the place of his actual residence he was counted as a tenant.

Thus, in the royal free towns, the meaning of *inquilini* and *subinquilini* was completely different from the usual one. In some other towns, these labels can be considered as merely legal, rather than economic concepts expressing the classification of the taxpayers according to property. Where there were no urbarial (seigniorial) tenancies, or no feudal dues were to be borne under a contract with the landowner, the label "cottar" expressed a freer status than that of the peasant tenants living in seigniorial villages. Villeins *(coloni)* were included in the tax census in nineteen settlements, i.e. in one third of the towns, but accounted for only 2.6% of the total taxpaying households, and merely 11% of the households in these nineteen settlements.

From all this follows that the reference of the categories describing the legal status of the taxpayers differed from town to town. Due to the differences in interpreting the instructions, there were frequent overlappings as well. What is even more important is that these categories were, as we have seen, totally inadequate for defining the strata of urban society. Therefore in our analysis we included only the legal categories of noblemen, *honoratiores* and citizens, for these say something of their role and rank in urban society.

The basic unit of our investigation was the household. Along with the heads of families, we took into account only those members who had an earned income; otherwise, the relatives featured only in characterizing the household.

The number of servants and maids we considered as an indication of the economic or social status of their employer. There was no real opportunity to examine this stratum more closely, since the number of the servants included in the census covered probably only a fraction of their actual number. This is suggested by the great difference between the number of servants recorded in the survey of 1828, and the tax records of other years. Thus, for example, out of the 2,646 servants and 5,019 maids included in the population census of Pest for 1827-1828, only 861 servants and 2,135 maids were accounted for in the tax census of 1828.

Fehérvár's population census is undated, but roughly contemporary; from its recorded 607 servants and 1,698 maids, only 121 and 274, respectively, can be found

in our source.[24] These differences can not be due merely to the fact that the employees of noblemen were not included in the tax census.

We were aware that the data in the columns listing the landed properties and livestock of the individual households was insufficient and unsuitable for estimating the financial stratification of the urban population. As already mentioned, landed properties were included in the tax census only if they lay within the settlement, and even then, not all of them. Our source does not provide any information on the value of movables, cash, stocks of merchandise and raw materials, or of receivables; of the householder's non-agricultural income, only revenues from rents can be established with more or less accuracy. Hence the data from our source is sufficient only to outline the occupational structure of the urban population, to indicate roughly the hierarchy of the professional and social strata, and for us to estimate the prestige of the different social groups based on their landed properties, on the number of their employees, and on other miscellaneous infomation contained in the "Notes".

The source was analyzed through the following procedure. If the head of a family was included in several categories of the privileged, we considered the highest legal standing only. Thus, for example, noblemen and *honoratiores* with *cives* status were not counted among the citizens. If the source indicated different occupations for brothers, or for the head of the family and his son or son-in-law living in the same household, the landed property was ascribed to the head of the family, and members were considered as not owning a house and land.

The registration proceeded from house to house; they put down the name of the owner of the property, regardless of whether he lived there or not. If he lived somewhere else, this was usually indicated in the "Notes", which specified his residence as being in the same settlement, or elsewhere. In certain cases, the place of residence was precisely given, even the number of the house where he lived. In such cases, it was easy to identify those owning several houses, and we could consider all of a person's properties at least within that town. Frequently, the only remark was that the given person was recorded at another address; but sometimes simply the "number of taxpayers" column was left empty. We tried to identify multiple house owners, but our attempt was not always successful, especially in larger towns and in the case of common family names.

Considering the size of the material—close to 126,000 taxpaying households in the fifty-seven towns—we investigated only some householders individually: those whose status of nobleman, *honoratior* or citizen was indicated, and those who had leased the whole or a part of their house, and possessed more land and livestock, or kept many more servants than the average of the settlement. The household heads of unknown profession, without citizenship or otherwise not meeting the above criteria were classed as non-noble or of unknown profession, and they were investigated only as a group.

[24] Budapest Főváros Levéltára (The Archives of the Capital, Budapest; hereafter BFL) IV. 1202/c. The archives of the town of Pest. Intimata a. m. 7796. The Archives of Fejér County. The Archives of Székesfehérvár. Urban tax censuses.

2. The occupational distribution of taxpaying households

Only slightly more than one-third of the heads of households are identified by their occupation or their source of income (see Table 8). More than half of those with a known source of income were artisans, 11.5% were traders, and 11.5% were labourers. The number of people in other occupations was extremely low; the proportion of each individual group remained below 10%. Among these the highest proportion (6.5%) was that of office-clerks and professionals.

This low proportion of those earning their living does not reflect reality. We shall investigate this matter when dealing with the composition of the "occupation unknown" category. But as a starting point, we have to take the occupational data in the tax records. The analysis that follows is, clearly, of the "known" 36%.

a. Artisans

Artisans were the largest group among the various occupations; they represented one-fifth of the households and more than half of the people who lived on their earnings. If we add the 16,000 journeymen employed by them (only 12% of whom payed taxes themselves), the number of those engaged in the trades becomes obviously higher.

Among all the households, the proportion of artisans was the highest in the towns classified in Groups 7 and 8; considered in relation to the people living on their income, their proportion was the highest in Group 3, and then in Groups 5 and 7, where the tax census only occasionally specified those living on wages. Their proportion in the capital in the towns of Group 2 was much lower than in the others, proving that at this time the high proportion of artisans among the inhabitants or taxpayers can in no way be considered the indicator of developed urban life.

Urban crafts were characterized by the overwhelming preponderance of the clothing trades. Their structure, i.e. the overall number of the masters and their journeymen, was quite similar in the different types of towns.

The industrial structure of the capital differed from the average most conspicuously. Here the proportion of people engaged in the food, construction and service trades was much higher than elsewhere, and the proportion of artisans in leather, clothing and textiles was lower. A significant difference in the craft

Table 8. Occupational distribution of the taxpaying households

Group	Professionals	Officers	Artisans	Artisan and merchant journeymen	Merchants	People of two occupations	Shippers
1	392	27	2,589	494	1,038	34	230
2	1,137	109	6,236	906	1,864	126	413
3	512	9	6,845	10	720	21	3
4	495	11	4,666	189	914	40	123
5	96	—	1,358	—	247	—	5
7	125	2	1,966	15	258	—	3
8	158	3	1,322	251	121	9	24
9	38	—	281	—	71	—	5
Total	2,953	161	25,263	1865	5,233	230	806
							Distribution in
1	2.4	0.2	15.8	3.0	6.3	0.2	1.4
2	3.1	0.3	16.8	2.4	5.0	0.3	1.1
3	1.5	0.03	20.3	0.03	2.1	0.06	0.0
4	2.2	0.04	20.86	0.8	4.1	0.2	0.5
5	1.8	—	26.2	—	4.8	—	0.1
7	2.0	0.03	31.0	0.2	4.1	—	0.05
8	4.2	0.08	35.2	6.7	3.2	0.2	0.6
9	3.6	—	26.4	—	6.7	—	0.5
Average	2.3	0.1	20.1	1.5	4.1	0.2	0.6

structure of the diverse types of towns appeared in the ratio of the construction to the service industries. The number of workers in the building trades was highest in the towns of Groups 1, 2 and 8; that of the masters engaged in services was highest in Groups 1 and 2. In the other groups—especially in the towns of Groups 3 and 7—it was the number of workers in the leather industry which exceeded the average, and the overwhelming majority of these were shoemakers. Their high number in these towns was probably connected to the low number of such craftsmen in their areas of attraction.

The relatively high proportion of artisans in the food industry—especially outside the towns—is attributable to the great number of millers. Artisans catering to the direct feeding of the population (bakers, butchers, confectioners, gingerbread bakers, etc.) were generally scarce.

The overwhelming majority of the craftsmen manufactured finished products: the proportion of artisans processing raw materials or producing semi-finished articles (millers, canvas, cloth, and silk weavers and dyers, leather tanners and dyers, certain metal trades) in the towns accounted for 14% of the artisans, as opposed to the 64% of those making finished products, working to order, or doing repair work. Almost half (47.5%) of those engaged in processing raw materials and producing semi-finished products were in the textile industry (weavers, fullers, some cloth weavers and croppers as well as silk weavers); 30.1% of them were tanners of diverse specialization, and 22.4 % were millers and their journeymen. In terms of

Caterers	Em-ployees	Farmers	Labour-ers	Industrial workers	Agricultural labourers	Profession unknown	Total
158	59	322	943	—	844	9,269	16,399
551	485	758	1,641	5	1,400	21,384	37,015
57	170	—	5	—	—	25,350	33,702
346	347	2	109	—	—	15,211	22,453
47	84	—	—	—	—	3,351	5,188
54	139	20	—	21	12	3,723	6,338
10	63	23	282	53	—	1,437	3,756
5	19	—	—	—	—	646	1,065
1,228	1,366	1,125	2,980	79	2,256	80,371	125,916
percentage							
1.0	0.3	2.0	5.7	—	5.1	56.6	100.0
1.5	1.3	2.0	4.5	0.01	3.8	57.89	100.0
0.2	0.5	—	0.01	—	—	75.3	100.0
1.5	1.5	0.0	0.5	—	—	67.8	100.0
0.9	1.6	—	—	—	—	64.6	100.0
0.9	2.2	0.3	—	0.3	0.2	58.72	100.0
0.3	1.7	0.6	7.5	1.4	—	38.3	100.0
0.5	1.8	—	—	—	—	60.5	100.0
1.0	1.1	0.9	2.4	0.06	1.8	63.84	100.0

quantity of production, the urban textile and leather industries seem to have been insignificant: in the textile industry, 1,981 masters employed only 870 journeymen; in the leather industry, 1,193 masters employed 599 journeymen, i.e. on the average every other workshop had one. The number of workshops employing three or more journeymen was twenty-four in each of these trades, and the number of journeymen employed in these larger workshops was eighty-six. Thus 2% of the masters engaged in the leather manufacturing crafts, and 1% of the cloth and canvas weavers had workshops employing three to six journeymen. Our source does not contain data on whether the richer masters extended their influence to the lesser artisans in their area.

The proportion of the artisans processing raw materials or making semi-finished goods was much higher in the country, in the towns' pure areas of attraction. Here, one third of the craftsmen and the journeymen employed by them were in this line, and the proportion of the manufacturers of finished products barely exceeded half of all the artisans in the area. While of all the artisans active in the towns and their pure areas of attraction 70% were recorded in the towns and only 30% in the country, half of the craftsmen processing raw materials worked in the towns, and half in their areas. However, the composition of the craftsmen working in the countryside was quite different from that of those in the towns, for half of them were millers. The majority of millers lived in the country, while 60% of the leather and textile craftsmen dwelt in towns.

All in all, the trades which had served as the starting point of manufacturing, mass production and capitalist development in Western Europe were rather insignificant in town and country alike. The products of Hungary's craftsmen were no competition, either in terms of quality or of quantity, for the textile and leather manufactures imported from abroad.

Among the finished products, articles of clothing had the best market both in the towns and in their areas of attraction. The masters satisfied the local requirements mostly by working to order; they also provided their customers in the countryside with finished products at the fairs. In these crafts, the proportion of workshops employing several journeymen was comparatively higher. Master bootmakers, shoemakers, taylors, *szűr*-makers, furriers, and hatters employed altogether 6,101 journeymen, i.e. 38% of all the journeymen, and 42% of these journeymen worked in workshops with more than two employees. It must have been in these workshops where larger quantities of articles were made for the fairs, while the masters working alone or employing one journeyman seasonally made clothing to order and mended used ones.

In towns with extensive and specialized commercial networks, the merchants tended to win over more discriminating customers from the artisans by goods imported from abroad, or brought in from other towns. As is well known, the handicrafts flourish if they are supported by local, urban consumers of discriminating taste. Supplying the surrounding area with manufactured goods contributes to the development of the crafts only if the articles can be sold locally at markets and fairs without transportation costs.

Selling at fairs was a time-consuming and expensive activity which kept the artisan—or his man sent there—from production. References to attending fairs were generally meant to illustrate the sorry situation of the artisans. Judging from these complaints, fair-going was considered by the contemporaries as degrading, and the artisans selling their goods at fairs seem to have belonged to the poorer stratum commanding little respect.

Whether we talk about activities of a service character or the production of new merchandise, we must realize that the efficiency of the workshops was very low. The great majority of the masters recorded in the towns worked by themselves or with the help of an apprentice; only somewhat more than one-third of them (38%) employed journeymen constantly or seasonally. Approximately one-third employed one journeyman, 20% of them employed three to five journeymen. The number of artisans employing more than five workers was as low as 173, i.e. 1.7% of all masters. They were usually (60%) bricklayers or carpenters, or of other trades in the building industry.

The proportion of the masters employing journeymen varied in the towns of different types. In the capital, more than half of the masters (56%) employed journeymen; in the towns of Groups 4 and 5, their proportion (over 40%) also exceeded the average; while in the towns of Groups 3 and 8, less than one-third of the masters worked with skilled help, and only one-fourth and one-third of them did so in Groups 7 and 9. In Group 5, including relatively insignificant towns, the

high proportion of the masters employing journeymen suggests that their trades played an important role in the formation of the urban functions of these towns.

As already mentioned, the highest number of journeymen was recorded in the construction trades: the average number of journeymen per master was 2.7. Most of the labour force was employed by the carpenters and bricklayers; in these two crafts, seventy-one masters each employed more than ten journeymen. Carpenters and bricklayers with twenty to thirty journeymen were not an exception, and in the largest enterprises the number of skilled employees exceeded 50. In addition to journeymen, unskilled labourers were also employed in large numbers in the building trades; however, the number of these was not recorded, and reference to their employment was made only in a few cases. Only in brick manufacturing do we know of enterprises with ten to forty labourers, seasonally employed.

In the other crafts, mostly two to five journeymen worked in the workshop. Several, ten or more, journeymen were recorded only in the households of five taylors, three carpenters, one glover, one tiler and one paver.

Besides the building industry, several journeymen were generally employed by bakers, butchers, carpenters, locksmiths and smiths. In these crafts, the number of journeymen per master, unlike the average of 0.5 in all other crafts, was as follows:

Trade	Average number of journeymen per master
Baker	1.1
Carpenter	0.98
Butcher	0.97
Locksmith	0.94
Blacksmith	0.90

The masters in these crafts also employed several unskilled workers. The employment of, mostly male, servants was also typical of their households—especially of the bakers' and butchers'. These masters had to employ servants not only for farming or looking after the animals; a great number of them were employed in households without land—at least land in town. Some masters may have had the work of the journeyman done by the servants, as there were several servants registered in the households of butchers who had no journeyman, or only one.

The number of journeymen employed was not constant: they were often employed for the season, especially on building sites from spring to autumn, and then again in other trades producing goods in seasonal demand, such as wine barrels. Our source contains several references to journeymen employed only during a part of the year.[25] This may have been due to the seasonal supply of the

[25] It appears from the textual part of the tax census for Pest that it was the average number of journeymen employed during the whole year that was recorded. In Buda 14%, in Pest 21%, in Sopron 28%, in Zombor 35%, and in Pápa 42% of the masters employed journeyman only part of the year; in the latter three towns, 41% of the masters employed fewer journeymen than recorded during part of the year.

labour force, for migrating journeymen who wanted to stay with the same master only for a limited period of time, or were employed only at times of greater demand connected to the important fairs. Otherwise the masters worked without help, and satisfied only local demand.

Significant numbers of taxpaying journeymen were recorded only in twenty towns. Their absence in the records of the larger towns can only be attributed to the inaccuracy of the tax census. In other studies we may read of the complaints of the guilds about the many unlicensed craftsmen living in these towns. We also know of great numbers of journeymen employed in the construction trades.[26] This is suggested by the references to the number of journeymen employed by masons and carpenters not living in the household of their masters. However, in most towns, for example in Pest,[27] the authorities did not indicate the journeyman's occupation individually.

The journeymen having their own households accounted for only about 12% of all the employed journeymen recorded by the tax census, 55% of those recorded in the towns of Group 8, 38.2% of those in Buda, 22% of those in the towns of Group 2, and only 7.2% of those living in the towns of Group 4. The proportion of married journeymen with independent households was comparatively very high in the towns of Groups 1, 2 and 8. This must have been in close connection with the fact that the proportion of journeymen employed in the building industries was the highest in these groups, for two thirds of the taxpaying journeymen worked as bricklayers, carpenters, tilers and stonemasons. Only 11% of them made clothing articles, and the remaining were distributed among a number of trades. The number of bricklayers exceeded six hundred, that of the carpenters five hundred, while the number of all the others remained below one hundred. The number of taylor, miller, bootmaker and carpenter journeymen having a household of their own was above fifty.

Thus it was in the building industry where the master—journeyman relationship was to the greatest extent and most openly replaced by the employer—labourer relationship. In this branch of industry, independence was hindered not only by the restrictions of the guilds, and the high costs of becoming a master, but also by the fact that employing the significant labour force demanded by urban construction projects required substantial capital. To go to live in the country meant an even lesser degree of independence for the bricklayer, carpenter, tiler and stone carver journeymen. For while bootmakers, taylors, blacksmiths, etc. were needed in almost every village, the majority of rural construction was done by the villagers

[26] For example, in Fehérvár 206, in Eger 107, in Nyitra 63, and in Arad 51 journeymen were recorded as employed by masters in the construction industry, but the records indicate that not one had a household of his own.

[27] In Pest, they pointed out in the remarks that married journeymen were registered in their own households, and this was obviously done, but there no reference was made to their occupations. Dorffinger's "Guide" recorded more than 1,600 journeymen paying taxes independently (Dorffinger 1827).

themselves, and only carpenters were called in to raise the roofs. In larger towns, however, even if they could not become independent, at least part of the year they were sure to make a living, and these urbanized settlements offered other chances of work as well. Their permanent settling in the towns is indicated by the number of bricklayers and carpenters over sixty, and also by the fact that while only 17% of the married journeymen in all the other crafts had a house, and less than 10% of them had some land, half of the bricklayer and carpenter journeymen owned houses, and 30% of them held some land and small vineyards as well.

In the other crafts, the illusion of a patriarchal relationship between master and journeyman was preserved to a greater extent by their living in the same household, eating together and dwelling under the same roof. While in the building industry almost half of the journeymen had households of their own, this proportion was very low in the other crafts: one or two percent. Their proportion is very low even in the trades where most of the journeymen with independent households were employed: 15% of the miller journeymen, 7% of the carpenter journeymen, and 5% of all taylor and bootmaker journeymen lived on their own.

The small output of the craft industries is often explained in the literature by the fact that artisans spent only part of their time in their shops because they invested money in land and farming, and this drew them away from their trade. The tax census does not strongly support this assumption. Only 12% of the artisans worked merely part of the year in their trade. The real proportion must have been higher than that, for in several places the tax census does not contain information on part-time artisans. If we only consider the towns where references were made to the continuous or seasonal character of industrial work, we shall find the proportion of part-time artisans to have been only 20%. The proportions differed in the various types of towns. The proportion was highest (92%) in the towns of Group 9, but was also high (40%) in the towns of Group 2, where their number was significant, especially in the large agricultural towns of the Great Hungarian Plain. In the towns of Group 4, one fourth of the artisans did not work in their trade all year round; in Groups 3 and 7 this proportion was in the vicinity of 10%; while in Groups 5 and 8, the proportion was quite insignificant (6.8% and 2%).

If the contested argument about part-time craftsmen farming were correct, we should find a high proportion of landowners among them with sizeable land per household. However, the data in our source prove the opposite: the proportion of landowners was even somewhat higher (32% vs. 30%) among those engaged in their trade continuously, than those working only part of the year. The size of the land in use per household was unequivocally larger in the former group (see Table 9). Some artisans were not engaged in their trade all year around not because they farmed their own land, but because they could not make a living from it, and were forced to do agricultural work, frequently not even on their own land but for wages, or as sharecroppers.

Our data prove once again the well-known low productivity of the crafts in Hungary, their service character and the restrictions placed on them by the feudal guild system—in a word: the backwardness of Hungary's industrial development.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the urban craftsmen primarily served the local population. Their raw material needs were only partially met by produce from the surrounding area. The countryside's dependence on urban crafts, especially in the vicinity of the important commercial routes and in areas of intensive agricultural production was countervailed by the volume of manufactures in commercial circulation, and by the ever-widening network of local rural crafts. Urban artisans played a primary role in the economic relations of town and country only in the market areas of less significant towns in economically backward regions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, handicraft in the towns of greater significance fulfilled rather "local functions".[28] It became an "omnipresent" branch of the economy, satisfying the everyday needs of wide strata of the population, perhaps with the exception of a few specialized trades not represented outside of towns of major significance. However, these special trades were pursued only by a small proportion of the artisans, those working mostly by themselves or employing one journeyman at the most; their productivity was low, and in some cases their products could also be purchased from traders; hence, their activity did not change the essentially local character of handicrafts. Consequently, the artisans played a less and less important role in the basic urban functions, in the city-forming functions, and in the economic relations of town and country.

Table 9. Size of land per household in the use of those engaged in the craft industry either full time or part time

Continuity of pursuing one's trade	Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]
	per household in the whole group			per household among just the landowners		
Full time	1.6	1.0	0.5	5.2	3.3	1.7
Part time	1.2	0.1	0.3	3.8	0.5	1.1

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

The change in the function of urban handicrafts touched artisans in different trades in different ways. Obviously, it brought about fewer changes in the situation of the artisans supplying primarily the local population than in that of those who used to satisfy the needs of the rural population in their areas, and thus increased the financial and social stratification of the artisans as a class.

The artisans' economic role in the towns was gradually replaced by that of the merchants, primarily wholesalers and specialized traders. While they were not aware of the long-term process, they sensed the deterioration of their own personal situation, and blamed the merchants, their most dangerous competitors. However,

[28] For the local functions, see Beluszky 1965, pp. 544, 545. Production and servicing activities, called "local functions" in the Hungarian literature, are referred to in the foreign literature by a variety of different terms; the essence is best expressed by "city serving" functions as opposed to "city forming" functions (Alexandersson 1969, pp. 311–312).

the economic and social prestige of craftsmen was still high in the eyes of their contemporaries. They believed that their precarious financial situation was only transitional, and balance could be regained by regulating competition. That was one of the reasons why they stuck so stubbornly to the old restrictions of the guilds.

Our source offers us only indirect data on the profitability of the different artisan occupations: the number of employees, landed property, housing conditions, or the size of the houses. Few towns specified the tax bracket of "artisans", and even they give but a global distribution of the masters in the different classes. Only Szeged, Várad, Pécs, Vác and Kecskemét indicated in the census the tax brackets of those recorded. To estimate the profitability of the various trades, we have to consult a few contemporary or near-contemporary local assessments of artisans' income taxes, such as those of Pest (1837), Debrecen (1828–1839) and Esztergom (1845).[29]

The occupational structure of the artisans paying the highest taxes, thus supposedly with the highest income, was different in the three towns, and there was a significant difference both in the lower and upper limits of the taxes payed, as well as in the distribution of the artisans according to the amount of their taxes. While in Pest and Debrecen there were a few who paid 25–30 florins, in Esztergom the highest tax was 16 florins; the lowest sum payed by a master was 40 krajcár (0.66 fl), in Pest and Debrecen, it was above one florin. In Pest the journeymen also payed a tax of 2 florins. While in Pest and Debrecen the proportion of artisans paying taxes higher than 10 florins was 5.7% and 8.8% respectively, those paying such high taxes in Esztergom accounted only for 2.2% of the craftsmen (see Table 10).

Table 10. Percentage distribution of the artisans according to the taxes paid

Tax	Pest 1837	Debrecen 1839	Esztergom 1845
40 *krajcár*–5 florins	74.1	44.5	87.2
5–10 florins	20.2	46.7	10.6
above 10 florins	5.7	8.8	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Compared to the other two towns, in Debrecen a much smaller proportion of artisans belonged to the taxpayers in the lowest category (below 5 florins). The town was characterized by a high proportion of artisans paying average taxes (5–10 florins), and in general by a much higher taxation of the crafts than in the other two towns. During the boom of the Napoleonic wars, the proportion of artisans paying the lowest taxes decreased also in Pest, but only temporarily. If one compares the tax lists from the late eighteenth with those of the mid-nineteenth century, there appears a trend, though not linear, towards the growth of the proportion of artisans

[29] For the tax categories used, see: *Pest:* 1837. I. 28. BFL. The archives of the town of Pest IV. 1202/c. Intimata a. m. 3011; *Debrecen:* The archives of Hajdú-Bihar County. The archives of the town of Debrecen, 1013/o: The tax categories for craftsmen; *Esztergom:* The archives of Komárom County. The archives of the town of Esztergom. 1845. sz. n.

paying the lowest taxes. In 1784 they accounted only for 26.3% of all craftsmen; by 1840, their proportion had reached 82.5%, while the proportion of artisans paying the highest taxes gradually decreased from 15.7% in 1784 to 5.7% in 1840.[30] The shift in the distribution of the artisans in the different tax brackets also reflects the decreasing significance and weight of the handicrafts in the economic life of the capital. In Debrecen, the proportion of artisans paying an average amount of taxes increased, and this, together with the relative stagnation of the proportion of those paying the highest taxes, leads us to the conjecture that here the artisans fulfilled a more important role in the economic and social life of the town (see Table 11).

Table 11. Percentage distribution of the artisans of Pest and Debrecen according to the taxes paid between 1797 and 1839

Tax	Pest			Debrecen		
	1797	1806	1837	1797	1805	1839
Up to 5 florins	77.9	59.8	74.1	56.9	45.4	44.5
5–10 florins	10.5	29.9	20.2	34.2	42.4	46.7
above 10 florins	11.6	10.3	5.7	8.9	12.2	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Comparing the average tax levied on artisans of different trades (in Pest and Debrecen 7 florins or higher, in Esztergom over 5 florins) as indicators of prosperity, we found that the most profitable crafts in the three towns were the following: in Pest, primarily the food industry and the building trades, some metal crafts and a few specialized trades; in Esztergom, metal crafts and the rare trades; and in Debrecen, mainly the clothing trades, whose practitioners were also present in the other two towns in high numbers, but paid very low taxes there.

For seven more towns—Eger, Szeged, Nagyvárad, Pécs, Kecskemét, Vác and Zombor—we do not have the amounts of the taxes paid by the individual artisans, but only their classification into various tax brackets, with the highest tax payers falling into bracket 1, the next highest, into bracket 2, and so on. The number of brackets differed from town to town, and it is frequently not clear on what basis a particular artisan fell into the bracket he did.

In towns giving only the distribution of the artisans in the various brackets, we considered the most profitable those trades which had a significantly higher ratio of masters falling into the first few brackets than the town average. Keeping in mind the different methods of classification, we took as comparable groups those classified in brackets 1 to 3 in Nagyvárad and Szeged, in brackets 1 and 2 in Eger, in bracket 1 in Pécs, and in bracket 2 in Vác and Kecskemét.

The crafts falling in the first few brackets, i. e. those paying higher taxes on the average, are given in the sequence of the frequency of their occurrence.

Craft	Number of occurrences	Craft	Number of occurrences
Bricklayer	6	Hatter	4
Butcher	6	Button maker	4
Glazier	6	Carpenter	3
Blacksmith	5	Tanner	3
Chimneysweep	5	Saddler	3
Locksmith	4	Cabinetmaker	3
Brewer	4	Watchmaker	3
Coppersmith	4	Dyer	3

Besides these sixteen crafts, the practitioners of another thirty-three crafts paid high taxes in one or two towns.

The estimates of the profitability of the different trades were by no means constant. For example in Pest, brewers, dyers, coppersmiths, bakers, glaziers, and saddlers emerge as being in the most profitable trades from the 1828 census, while the economic role of blacksmiths, tanners, locksmiths, butchers, and cabinetmarkers must have been weakening, for in the earlier classifications the average taxes levied on them had been higher. In contrast, in Debrecen, the blacksmiths and tanners had found their way into the bracket of the highest taxpayers by the time of our survey, and so had the bricklayers, who in Pest were in the first tax bracket in all known tax surveys.

We considered those crafts most profitable which appeared among the highest average taxpayers at least in one third of the towns for which we have data on the artisans' distribution in tax brackets, and on the taxes they paid. This ratio is, of course, very relative, not only because of the low number of these towns but also because not all of them returned data about all artisans. However, the higher profitability of these crafts is also supported by other, indirect data. These were also the crafts with the most journeymen, and those in which the masters—with the exception of the brewers, coppersmiths, and carpenters—had an average rental income that exceed that of other craftsmen. This indicates that artisans in these trades owned more houses. Also their houses were large, well-built ones, it some cases tenements with several flats.

The craftsmen in the 16 most profitable trades comprised 22.8% of all artisans, but employed 37.8% of the journeymen, 43.5% of the servants, and 40.3% of the domestic servants kept by all artisans. They were the owners of 28.4% of the houses, and 34.7% of the arable land owned by artisans, and they received 44.8% of the rental income. More than 66% of them owned a house, in contrast to 54% among the rest of the artisans. The proportion of the landowners was not higher, but the size of the arable land per household was almost double of that owned by artisans in the other crafts; the size of the meadows and vineyards was roughly equal in both categories. While in the case of the less profitable crafts the average rental income per house-owner was 55 florins, the better-off craftsmen collected 136 florins on the average.

The wealthiest representatives of the profitable crafts were those in the food and construction industries. The latter included the highest proportion of house owners, with the highest rental income, as well as those employing the highest number of journeymen. The food trades were characterized by larger-than-average-size land per household, and, in addition to having a significant number of journeymen, these masters employed the greatest number of servants and maids.

Apparently the best-off craftsmen invested not only in land but, as far as record allows us to judge, in other lucrative ventures as well, mostly in commerce. This was primarily true of bakers and butchers, of whom many were engaged in livestock and grain (or flour) trading. While the most profitable crafts comprised one fifth of all the trades, their ratio in the number of artisans engaged in two crafts was much higher: 40%. However, the majority of the tax censuses did not and could not record accurately this combination of several trades; therefore, these figures can only be interpreted as indicators of a trend.

The higher profitability and social prestige of the sixteen trades listed above are also reflected in the fact that the overwhelming majority of their representatives held burgher status. While only one third of craftsmen in other trades were citizens, the proportion of *cives* among these tradesmen was 70%. Their social prestige is also attested by their presence in the leading bodies of the towns. The 1828 census indicated the makeup of the elected town bodies in Buda and Szeged. In Buda, thirteen out of twenty-seven artisan *cives*, i.e. 48% were representatives of these crafts; in Szeged, five out of sixteen (33%). In Pest, 40% of the elected civic officials between 1821 and 1831 came from the most profitable trades. Their proportion in the body of elected citizens—in accordance with their increasing social and economic role—shows a gradual increase compared to the eighteenth century.[31]

As we have seen, the great majority of the most profitable crafts were in the service trades. Only the tanners and dyers produced semi-finished products; hatters, saddlers and cabinetmakers produced commodities, while they depended to a great extent on repair work. Even if the best-off trades employed a relatively large labour force, their production—with the exception of the construction industry—did not trespass on the boundaries of the guild system. In terms of employment and production, they were typically large workshops at the most, and fell short of becoming manufactures with mass production, let alone factory industries. Neither the capital, nor the economic horizon, of the majority of those engaged in the most profitable trades reached the level of even inchoate bourgeois capitalist enterprise.

In terms of landed property, most artisans belonged to the middle layer of the urban population. The proportion of property owners among them—58.4% had a house, and one third had land—barely exceeded the share of property owners to the whole urban population (50%, and 30%, respectively). A higher proportion of artisans owned property than wage earners or merchants, but a lower percentage than of the professionals, shippers or teamsters, and, of course, of agriculturalists. Most of the landowning craftsmen had just enough land to satisfy the essential

[31] Thirty-three percent between 1781 and 1790, 38% between 1801 and 1810, and 46% in the 1840s.

demands of their household, mainly as far as wine production was concerned. The average figures, however, do not disclose any significant differentation in the financial situation of the artisans. The dispersion of landed wealth was very different not only among the various trades or groups of trades, but among towns, types of towns, as well as among the groups of different legal status (see Table 12).

The mere proportion of the landed artisans—taking into account the rental income and the high proportion of those enjoying it—might lead us to conclude that the artisans living in towns in Groups 1, 2 and 4 were the ones to have drifted away from farming. As for Pest (Group 1), it seems that their main source of income was, in fact, their craft, and they invested not so much in farm land, but bought building plots and houses to receive extra income from rents.

In the towns of Groups 2 and 4, including a number of larger ones engaged not only in agriculture but in handicrafts as well, towns with areas of attraction where they actively produced goods, too, the attitude of artisans to farming took a different form. The low proportion of landowners and the relatively high rental incomes lead us to the conjecture that in these towns, just as in Pest, the masters were less involved with farming than with the typically urban way of income supplementation, i.e. renting properties. But some of the artisans, especially in the large agricultural towns of Group 2, judging from the average size of their landed property, were engaged in large-scale agricultural production. While such farming was mostly aimed at satisfying the needs of the producers, a small group of artisans may have derived sizeable incomes from agrarian commodities, such as wine, grain and livestock. As the proportion of part-time artisans was the highest in these two towns (18.2% and 16%), it would be logical to conclude that in towns known for their marketing of fine agricultural produce, some of the artisans considered farming more profitable than the pursuit of their own crafts. However, a comparison of the property ownership of the full-time and part-time craftsmen shows that the larger farms did not belong to the latter group. The overwhelming majority of this type of landowning artisans worked in their respective trades, while their land was cultivated by domestic servants and hired hands. Using the data of those six towns in each group for which we have indications as to the number of months per year the artisans practiced their craft,[32] we see that in the towns of Group 2 only 20% of the artisans engaged in their craft seasonally—representing 40% of all the artisans—owned land; however, 28% of the "full-time" craftsmen did. The size of the land of the former group was smaller than that of the latter (see Table 13). The proportion of house owners renting to tenants was approximately the same in the two groups, but there was a significant difference in the quality of the houses, for the rental income of artisans working continuously was three times higher than that of the other craftsmen.

In the six towns of Group 4, the proportion of artisans engaged in their craft only part of the year was lower (28%), and more of them owned land than those in the

[32] Group 2: Baja, Kanizsa, Pécs, Újvidék, Veszprém and Zombor; Group 4: Dunaföldvár, Esztergom, Győr, Nagyszentmiklós, Nagyszombat and Vác.

Table 12. Property and employees per artisan household in the various groups of towns

Group	Proportion of house owners	Proportion of landowners	Number per household of		
			journeymen	servants	maids
1	35.2	14.9	1.5	0.1	0.4
2	55.4	29.0	0.6	0.05	0.2
3	67.4	37.6	0.4	0.05	0.1
4	55.5	28.8	0.8	0.05	0.2
5	63.5	33.7	0.6	0.09	0.1
7	72.5	44.6	0.3	0.09	0.1
8	59.5	42.4	0.3	0.05	0.3
9	63.0	19.6	0.2	0.01	0.02
Total	58.4	32.0	0.6	0.06	0.2

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

towns of Group 2. On the other hand, the land per household owned by the full-time craftsmen was considerably larger. (The difference between the two groups is much greater than in the towns examined in Group 2.) A much lower proportion of the part-time artisans owning a house were landlords and their rental income did not amount to even half of that received by the full-time artisans.

In these towns, then, some of the artisans, availing themselves of the favourable market possibilities, combined work in their trade with agricultural production through hired labour. Since agricultural products were more in demand than the goods manufactured by the handicraft industry, these pursuits cannot be considered conservative, hindering industrial development or strengthening feudal relations, but rather as manifestations of an enterprising spirit similar to that of craftsmen combining a trade with commerce.

From all this, we may conclude that the high proportion of artisans engaged in their craft only seasonally was due in some measure to the seasonal nature of the demand for such products, e. g. during fairs, especially in the towns of the Great Plain, where the scattered settlement pattern precluded their making up for the low local demand by peddling their wares. At the same time, in these towns and in their vicinity ample employment opportunities were offered in agriculture; this enabled them to supplement their modest income from their trade, and to obtain foodstuffs without spending money on it.

Hence it seems that the part-time craftsmen represented not a stratum of artisans "still" connected to agriculture, but primarily people who were unable to make a living from their trades. It is not surprising that their proportion was much lower among the *cives*, who generally owned larger pieces of land: they accounted for only 5% of the *cives*, but for 16% of those not having citizenship (13.3% in the case of those living in the royal free towns).

In the towns of Groups 3 and 5, where approximately two-thirds of the artisans had a house and one-third of them owned land, agricultural property was a way

Size, per owner household, of				Percentage of landlords among the owners	Landlord's average rental income (in florins)
arable[a]	meadow[b]	vineyard[a]	orchard[b]		
0.8	1.4	4.6	—	65.0	244
6.3	10.3	1.1	0.2	41.2	75
4.0	0.8	1.0	0.5	17.0	22
4.3	0.8	17.6	—	32.6	42
4.0	1.1	0.4	0.1	36.7	25
2.9	0.5	0.1	0.0	9.9	28
14.0	1.2	0.3	0.0	21.7	22
3.4	1.9	—	—	7.9	19
5.0	3.0	1.4	0.2	29.0	75

partly to invest money, and partly to produce the household's own food. In these towns, the majority of the houses had a rural character, and the owners let one room at the most. Leasing rooms, judged from the average rent, did not constitute an important source of income. In these towns, agriculture was the basic source of living for the population, and the prevailing way of life exerted an influence on the artisans, too: their connection to farming, catering mostly for the needs of the family, was a continuation of the conservative tradition of medieval Hungarian towns.

Our basic source tells us very little about the poorest stratum of artisans. The fact in itself that an artisan had no taxable property, though it meant that he was not wealthy, did not mean that he was unable to make a decent living from his craft for himself and his family. But there are occasional references in the tax censuses to some artisans going to work for their fellow-masters for lack of demand; and in the notes to the surveys, we read about poor craftsmen who earned a living by agricultural labour often in distant areas.

These data are not sufficient to estimate the proportion of artisans who could not, or could only barely make a living from their trade, and had no income from rents or farming. Disregarding the circumstances that might result in the impoverishment of individuals, e.g. aging, illness, the untimely death of the head of the family, or strong competition, which could bankrupt a family in any occupation, there were a few crafts with very low profitability, judging from the taxes they paid. In the 1837 tax categories set by Pest, we find that the tax paid by journeymen living on their own was 2 florins, that by day labourers 1 florin 30 *krajcárs;* in Esztergom, the latter paid 1 florin 40 *krajcárs* in 1845.The proportion of masters paying 2 florins or less of tax was 5% in Pest, 16% in Esztergom. The ratio of those paying a tax equal to the day labourers' or less was around 9% in Esztergom, but here the proportion of artisans owning land was much higher than in Pest.

The few data available on the houses and housing conditions of artisans mostly highlight the situation of the wealthier and middling strata, for they offer

Table 13. Property per household of full-time and part-time artisans

Full-time artisans						
Proportion of house owners	Proportion of land-owners	Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Proportion of landlords among the house owners	Rental income per landlord (in florins)
		per household				
Group 2						
66.0	27.8	9.6	3.0	2.9	21.7	47
Group 4						
48.7	18.5	9.4	0.5	2.5	44.0	58

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

information primarily about the conditions of the houses and apartments leased and, to a more limited extent, about the housing conditions of those who let out a part of their house. That is to say, about those who had a more spacious, well-built house, or houses.

The modesty of the artisans' housing conditions is suggested by the average annual rental income of 75 florins, less than the average rental income of the whole urban population (105 florins), and lagging far behind that of the *honoratiores*, innkeepers, and those having two occupations.

We have data on the size of 220 rented houses owned by artisans, collected from only seven towns, the overwhelming majority of which belonged to Group 3.[33] Six percent of these houses had one room, 40% two rooms, 30% three rooms, 13% four rooms, and only 10% had more, but these, judging from the number of kitchens, seem to have had several apartments, just like the majority of the four-room houses. In most of the cases, only a part of the house was rented, from which it may be concluded that the overwhelming majority of the artisans owning a house lived in apartments of one or two rooms, occasionally with a small storeroom added.

In a hundred and fifteen cases, the number of the rooms let out or that of the rooms occupied by the house owner was recorded. Sixty-four percent of the artisans lived in one-room flats, 26% of them in two-room ones. Most of the houses in the towns whence our data comes were little more than farmhouses (references to this were often made in the text of the census); in fact, two-level houses with several apartments were at the time characteristic of the dowtown areas of a few large towns only (Pest, Buda, Pozsony, Sopron, Kassa). According to the inventories of contemporary wills of artisans in Pest, the majority of them also lived in two-room apartment.[34]

[33] Arad, Csakova, Gyöngyös, Nagyvárad, Pápa, Szeged and Versec.

[34] Dóka 1970, p. 111. In Krisztinaváros (Buda) 61% of the houses had 1–4 rooms according to the house census of 1849. Sixty-five percent of them had 1 or 2 apartments. Eighty-six percent of the single-unit houses had 1–3 rooms. Gál 1972, p. 211.

Part-time artisans						
Proportion of house owners	Proportion of land-owners	Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Proportion of landlords among the house owners	Rental income per landlord (in florins)
		per household				
63.7	19.6	6.8	1.2	2.5	18.0	15
56.6	29.0	3.0	0.09	1.7	29.0	23

Of the apartments let by artisans (we have data altogether of five hundred and thirty-one) 61% had one room, and 26% had two rooms. Within this, in the royal free towns which had buildings of a more urban character, in 62% of the houses let out there was one household, and in 18% there were two households, from which it may be concluded that apartments of one and two rooms were characteristic of the housing conditions of artisans there as well.

The impression of generally modest housing conditions among artisans is supported by the data concerning the rents of apartments. In Sopron and Zombor, the rents were indicated per tenant. In Sopron, artisans payed 34 florins annually on the average, as opposed to the average rent of 37 florins paid by all tenants. The average rent of the *civis* tenants was 42 florins, but that of the *civis* artisans only 34 florins, i.e. barely higher than average 31 florins paid by non-citizens. This suggests that their housing conditions must have been quite similar. For tenants as a whole in Zombor, the average annual rent was 18 florins; the average paid by artisans was only 9 florins, as opposed to the 148 florins paid by merchants and the 57 florins paid by those engaged in catering. Here, however, the housing conditions of the citizen and non-citizen artisans were greatly different, insofar as the former paid a rent of 39 florins on the average, while the latter 7 florins. The average rent of the *civis* was 61 florins, and of non-citizens 14 florins. These data square with the generally assumed greater wealth of the *civis* class.

However, the conspicuous similarity in the housing conditions and, consequently, in the living circumstances and financial situation of the citizen and non-citizen artisans of Sopron must give us food for thought. It indicates that the *civis* status no longer necessarily had the economic implications that historians still at times attribute to it.

We need, thus, to take a closer look at the financial situation of the artisan groups according to their legal status. Thirty-nine percent of all the masters in the towns examined held citizenship, but in the majority of the towns there was no special *civis* status. Besides the royal free towns, citizenship was recorded in tax censuses only in Eger, Rimaszombat, Rozsnyó and Zsolna. In these twenty-six towns, the proportion of the *civis* artisans was 60%, i.e. the majority of the artisans were

Table 14. Property and employees of artisans with different legal statuses

Legal status	Proportion of house owners	Proportion of land-owners	Number of		
			journeymen	servants	maids
			per household		
Noblemen, *honoratiores*	68.8	57.0	0.6	0.06	0.07
Citizens	62.8	39.3	0.9	0.08	0.3
Non-citizens	55.5	26.7	0.4	0.05	0.1

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

citizens. The proportion of artisan-citizens was the highest in the towns of Groups 7 and 8: here, more than three quarters of the masters had *civis* status. It was in these towns, mostly ones declining and losing in significance, that feudal restrictions and guild regulations had seccessfully hindered the moving in of artisans without sufficient property to acquire citizenship. On the other hand, in the towns of Group 3, a much lower proportion of the artisans, altogether 42%, were citizens, which meant that these towns were more open to artisans from the outside to settle.

The noble and *honoratior* masters, making up 1.3% of the artisans, owned 25% of the meadows and 35% of the vineyards, while the citizens, accounting for 35% of the artisans, were in possession of 50–60% of the agricultural properties of different kinds. The type of artisan possessing land was the widest-spread among the noblemen: 57% of them had some kind of landed property, while only 39% of the citizen-masters, and only slightly more than one fourth of the rest were landowners.

Concerning the ratio of landowners, essentially the same difference existed between the noble or *honoratior* and the *cives* artisans, as between those with civic rights and those without. However, the difference was much greater in favour of the citizens as far as the average size of the land per household was concerned (see Table 14).

The difference among the three groups is least significant in respect to house ownership. However, while a good third of the noble and citizen artisans leased a house or part of one, with an average rental income per owner of 102 and 121 florins, respectively, only 16% of the non-citizen house owners let out apartments, mostly not even independent flats but only a few rooms, and this rental income averaged a mere 39 florins.

Of course, a comparison of artisans with and without civic rights makes sense only in towns where both groups existed. As to the proportion of property owners in these towns, a much greater difference was found to exist between those with citizenship and those without, expecially in the towns of Group 8. In the latter, almost three-quarters of the citizen-artisans were house owners, and half of them were landowners, while only 7% of those not possessing civic rights had a house and 12% held land. There was a great difference in Pest-Buda as well, especially in respect of house ownership: every second artisan with civic rights had a house, but only every seventh one without did. As for land ownership, especially in the towns

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of landlords among house owners	Rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
9.1	26.0	2.1	0.4	37.4	109
6.8	3.1	2.1	2.6	35.5	121
3.1	1.6	1.2	0.1	15.6	39

of Group 7, only 3% of the non-citizen artisans had land in the towns (see Table 15). Even though there was a fairly great difference in the incidence of land ownership by artisans with and without citizenship in the royal free towns, the divergence in the average size of their properties was much smaller. The average size of the vineyards owned by non-citizen artisans equalled in most types of towns—in Groups 4 and 8 it even exceeded—that of the citizens. The size of their arable lands was almost the same in the towns of Group 1 and 3, and in the Group 2 towns, twice as much meadow per household was held by artisans without civic rights as by citizen artisans. In the towns of Group 8, the citizen artisans had much larger areas of landed property than those without civic rights, of whom only few owned small pieces of land.

In the royal free towns, there was little difference between the two groups in respect of their letting out their houses, and the average annual rents received. Thirty-five percent of citizen artisans and 25% of those without civic rights were landlords. In the towns of Group 3 and 8, the rental income of the non-citizen artisans was higher than that of the citizens. However, in the capital and in the towns of Group 4, there was a great difference between the rental income of the two groups: 260 vs. 109 florins, and 64 vs. 23 florins, respectively. The high ratio of those renting out their houses in both groups indicates the high demand for rented flats in these towns, and the popularity of this way of earning an income. The difference in rents suggests great differences in the size and quality of the houses owned by the citizen and non-citizen artisans.

It is not surprising that a greater proportion of the citizen artisans owned property than the non-citizens, as property ownership was usually a precondition of receiving citizenship. Conversely, of course, only those with property were in the position to make the financial sacrifice necessary for obtaining *civis* status. Naturally, the possession of civic rights then facilitated further gains of property. It is, therefore, not surprising that we find a greater number of the masters in the more profitable trades, such as bakers, butchers and contractors, among the *cives*. Eight point nine percent of the citizen artisans were engaged in the food industry, and 10.4% of them worked in the building industry, while the ratio of these trades among the non-citizen artisans was only 7.8 and 5.6% respectively. At the same time, the latter made up a higher proportion of those in the less profitable crafts. Thus, for example, the proportion of processers of primary and semi-finished

Table 15. Property and employees of citizen and non-citizen artisans

Group	Proportion of citizens	Proportion of house owners	Proportion of land-owners	Number of		
				journeymen	servants	maids
				per household		
1	58.0	50.0	21.3	1.8	0.1	0.5
2	55.6	56.5	38.2	0.9	0.08	0.4
3	42.2	78.7	58.6	0.5	0.07	0.2
4	52.8	62.1	32.6	1.2	0.08	0.3
7	78.5	71.8	42.5	0.3	0.05	0.2
8	76.5	73.8	48.6	0.5	0.05	0.4
Citizens total	60.0	62.8	39.3	0.9	0.08	0.3
1	42.0	14.4	6.3	0.9	0.05	0.2
2	44.4	39.4	17.7	0.4	0.04	0.08
3	57.8	44.3	27.8	0.2	0.01	0.05
4	47.2	37.5	12.4	0.6	0.04	0.1
7	21.5	40.0	3.0	0.07	0.01	0.05
8	23.5	7.2	12.0	0.4	0.02	0.05
Non-citizens total	40.0	35.9	17.5	0.3	0.03	0.05

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

products is much higher among the non-citizen artisans. The generally very low taxes of non-citizen weavers and cloth-makers[35] as well as the middling taxes of millers point to the fact that the representatives of the low income trades were unable to obtain the rank of citizen.

There is no doubt that the economic status of these two legally distinct groups of artisans was in fact different; but this was not a deep dividing line. As we have seen, even if fewer representatives of the non-citizen artisans accumulated property similar to that of the citizen artisans, several of them did do so. The fact that the proportion of the property owners was smaller among them and their property, too, was smaller may have also been influenced by the different age-composition of the two groups. The tax census indicated the age of only those above sixty, and the proportion of people above sixty was generally higher among the citizens than among the other strata of the population. Obviously, obtaining civic status generally required professional knowhow collected over many years, and property accumulated over a longer period of time. This may account for the citizen artisans' employing more journeymen and domestic servants than those without civic rights. Thus the citizens probably included a much greater number of artisans in the middle or at the end of their career, owning a property collected through their whole life,

[35] In Pest in 1837, weavers paid 2 florins; clothmakers paid 1.3 florins, and journeymen paid 2 florins in taxes. In Esztergom, weavers paid 1–2 florins in taxes in 1845, and Debrecen, 4–5 florins on the average in 1839.

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of landlords among house owners	Rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household					
0.7	1.4	4.9	—	68.0	260
7.4	7.3	4.1	0.3	33.6	140
5.2	0.8	0.6	0.6	27.1	21
4.2	1.0	0.8	—	43.4	64
2.7	0.2	—	0.01	20.5	28
13.2	0.9	0.01	0.2	21.0	20
6.8	3.1	2.1	0.2	35.5	121
0.8	0.9	4.2	—	51.0	109
3.8	14.0	2.5	0.1	20.5	82
4.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	17.8	17
2.3	0.5	1.7	—	36.0	23
1.4	—	—	—	3.7	39
0.4	—	0.2	0.2	47.0	21
3.6	4.0	1.4	0.2	24.7	48

while the artisans without civic rights may have included a greater number of masters at the beginning of their career. This is, of course, no less valid for the other occupations. There may even have been some, perhaps quite a few, who, although they could have acquired *cives* status, did not bother to do so; the acquisition of citizenship by some others may have been hindered by their competitors.

It makes little sense to take all urban artisans, and to analyze the differences between the *cives* (a group which, strictly speaking, existed only in the royal free towns), and the non-citizens. Considering only the royal free towns, we find that even if the non-citizen artisans belonged to the poorer tradesmen, they still had a higher property status and social standing than the artisans without civic rights in the other towns. Though the proportion of the non-citizen artisans who owned property was much higher in the other towns than in the royal free towns, (in house ownership, the ratio exceeded that of the *cives* group; in respect of landed property, it approximated it), and though they generally employed more journeymen than the latter, the land they owned per capita was a much smaller area than that in the possession of the "poor" artisans of the royal free towns (see Table 16). The average sum of their rental income was almost half of the latter group's, indicating that their houses were smaller and of a poorer quality. This suggests that the great differences in rental income between citizen and non-citizen artisans were not due to their legal status or their financial situation, but to their living mostly in smaller towns where the demand for rented accommodation was lower than in the fast growing, larger towns.

Table 16. Property ownership and number of employees among artisans without *civis* status

Place of living	Proportion of		Number of		
	house owners	land-owners	journeymen	servants	maids
			per household		
Towns with *civis* status	34.9	17.5	0.3	0.03	0.1
Other towns	71.5	32.7	0.6	0.06	0.09

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

All this indicates that among the factors determining the income and property of artisans, and, consequently, their rank, their dwelling place and area of operation were more important than their legal standing. This fact may have moved quite a few small-town artisans to transfer their place of operation somewhere else, perhaps even at the cost of a less favourable legal status, and the loss of a higher social standing. Besides the individual motives, this consideration may also have played an important role in the significant migration of the artisans.[36] Flourishing towns with large populations must have held the promise of better living conditions.

In spite of the decrease of their role, the crafts offered a decent living to a significant proportion of the urban population, but allowed the accumulation of property only in a few traditional branches, those rather of a service than of a producing character. However, the accumulated capital was invested in founding larger industrial enterprises only exceptionally, and only in later decades. In our period, those of enterprising spirit invested their capital rather in trade, and, under favourable conditions, in agricultural commodity production. The majority of the artisans bought land: mainly vineyards, and mainly for the needs of their household. Only a fraction availed themselves of the possibility of increasing their capital through renting. All in all, their production, their sources of income and their way of life were characterized by conservatism.

b. Merchants

Although the number of traders was much lower than that of craftsmen, their weight and role in the life of the towns, primarily in the central places of greatest wealth (in Groups 1, 2 and 4) where almost three quarters of all merchants lived, were much more significant. This is supported by the sporadic data concerning their taxes. The taxes levied on merchants are known from three towns of different types belonging to different groups: Pest, Debrecen, and Esztergom. In all three towns,

[36] In Pest, only one fourth of the craftsmen possessing a house or property in the downtown area had a member of his family living in the capital (Bácskai 1965–66, p. 167). Only 30.6% of the craftsmen who married in Pest in the 1830s had been born in Pest; 9.2% had come to the capital from other Hungarian towns, 23.5% from the country or from agricultural towns, and the rest from abroad.

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of landlords among house owners	Rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
3.6	4.0	1.4	0.3	24.7	48
2.8	0.7	1.1	0.1	14.3	26

the average taxes paid by the merchants were higher than the artisans' (cf. Tables 10 and 17). A much smaller group of the traders belonged in the category paying the lowest taxes, while a much greater part of them—in Pest almost one-third, in Debrecen more than one-third, and in Esztergom 14%—paid taxes higher than 10 florins.

The highest average tax payers, i.e. the merchants with the highest revenues, included the wholesalers, and among the retailers primarily the shop owners trading in imports such as spices, paints, textiles, fancy goods, metal- and leather-wares. Among the merchants of domestic products, grain traders—mostly Jews—appeared only in the records of Pest; however, they paid very high taxes. Comparatively high taxes were also paid by traders dealing in wood, tobacco and pigs. In the survey of Újvidék (Novi Sad) submitted subsequently to the rectifying committee and indicating the annual revenue of the merchants individually, the traders in these same branches were mentioned among the highest taxpayers.

Taxes paid by retailers, grocers, marketers and peddlers, as well as those marketing their goods at fairs, were low. For many of them, trading was not their basic occupation but rather a supplementary source of revenue. A great part of the "stallmen" selling fruit and vegetables were women whose husbands had money-earning occupations themselves. Several journeymen also dealt with selling in small quantities; thus, for example, in Kassa fifty-two carpenter and bricklayer journeymen paid taxes after selling flour and bread. In Eperjes, the wives of ten journeymen ran stalls at the market. Our data shows that a good many artisans coupled their trade with dealing in groceries and flour. The number of artisans engaged in trading as a supplementary occupation must have been much higher than registered, for many towns omitted recording those engaged in occasional trading, particularly if they paid taxes on another occupation.

The financial stratification of the merchants was defined not only by their specialization or the lack of it, but primarily by whether they were wholesalers or retailers. It also appears from the records of Újvidék that the wholesalers had a comparatively high income, and in Versec there were wholesalers with capitals of 4–10,000 florins. The wealth of retailers depended on whether they sold their goods in shops catering primarily to the needs of the urban and nearby rural population, or toured the countryside, combining selling with buying up produce from the peasants. Finally, the wealth and status of merchants, just as that of artisans, were

Table 17. Distribution of merchants according to the taxes paid in Pest, Debrecen and Esztergom

Tax	Merchants paying average tax in					
	Pest 1840*		Debrecen 1839		Esztergom 1845	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
40 *krajcár*–5 florins	998	56.0	24	12.7	95	70.4
5.01–10 florins	242	13.6	93	49.2	21	15.5
10.01–15 florins	497	27.9	21	11.1	7	5.2
15.01–20 florins	13	0.7	30	15.9	10	7.4
over 20 florins	32	1.8	21	11.1	2	1.5
Total	1782	100.0	189	100.0	135	100.0

* For Pest we used the tax census of 1840, since the one for 1839 did not indicate the taxes paid by Jewish merchants. In that year, the distribution of the craftsmen in the various tax categories was the following: up to 5 florins: 82.5%; 5–10 florins: 11.7%; over 10 florins: 5.7%. (Source: BFL 1202/c. Intimata a. n. 5259. *Classification des sämtlichen Gewerbe und Judenschaft*. October 27, 1840.)

determined by their location.[37] In order to satisfy the everyday demands of his local customers or to make proper use of the fairs, a Pest or Pozsony merchant had to keep a larger store and selection of goods. Hence, he had to own greater capital than the traders in, say, the towns of Nyitra county, whose local and countryside clientele was much smaller and less discriminating, the significant majority of them being self-sufficient.

The considerable differences in capital and income among traders is reflected in their varying classifications in the different towns and counties. Thus, among the towns classifying merchants according to their capital, in Zombor those with 20,000 florins were classified in the top category, in Máramarossziget those with 10–20,000 florins, in Eger, those with 15,000 florins while in Fehérvár and Szatmárnémeti 6,000 florins sufficed, and in Sátoraljaújhely 3,000 florins were regarded sufficient for inclusion in the top category. Similar differences can be observed in the case of the towns classifying merchants by their annual income: in Szeged 3,000 florins placed one in the top category, while in the towns of Nyitra county, it took 1,500–2,000 florins and in Baja 400 florins; in Nagyszombat, 250 florins was high enough an income for inclusion in the top category. The number of categories differed as well: in towns classifying by capital, we find 6–8 categories, in those by income, 3–10 categories. This divergence was also due to the fact that in several towns, retailers with a small capital, or with annual incomes lower than 100, 50 or 20 florins were not classed into any group, nor even included among the merchants. Nor were the occasional or part-time traders.

[37] OL. N. 27. Miscellanea Conscriptionalia. Fasc. 14. It is characteristic of the difference in the capital requirements of the different branches of trade that in Pest at the beginning of the nineteenth century, wholesalers had to have 30,000 florins, traders in spices and paints 15,000 florins, ironmongers 12,000 florins, fancy-goods merchants 10,000 florins, wine merchants 8,000 florins, paper merchants 5,000, and chandlers 2,000 florins of capital (Nagy and Bónis 1975, p. 311).

However, the different principles of classification reflect not only the great diversity of the financial situation of the traders, and the differences in the profitability of their occupations, but also the fact that the assessing authorities had less information on the income of merchants (above all, if they had no shop), than on that of other occupations. The value of the raw material used by the artisans, the price and quantity of their products were more or less known, and the number of their journeymen precisely recorded; hence, their income could be assessed more exactly. The value of the stock kept by the merchants and their turnover were not so easy to estimate, and it was even more difficult to assess the income of merchants whose goods frequently did not even appear physically in the towns: grain and livestock merchants, peddlers, and traders at fairs. These not only toured the countryide with urban goods, but on their way also purchased products which they sold at other places.

Naturally, the merchants also did their best to avoid informing the urban authorities about their real income. Several towns, such as Fehérvár, excused their failure to classify the merchants by reporting that the latter were reluctant to declare their income and business capital, and did not allow anyone to examine their books for fear of losing their credit. The capital of the merchants was known primarily in towns where they formed corporations, and where they had to declare the size of their capital in order to be accepted into one. But even if the city council had a fairly accurate knowledge of the merchants' income, it may not have reported it to the national tax authorities in order to fend off possible increases in the tax burden of the town.

All these factors contributed to the fact that most towns considered it sufficient to class traders either as *mercatores* or *quaestores*, and only occasionally mention their specializations or their tax brackets.

Thus our data are not sufficient to precisely separate wholesalers from retailers in all towns, and even less for establishing their ranking order by capital or income. We have to restrict ourselves to venturing a few conclusions about the economic role and social standing of the different groups of merchants based on their property, number of employees, specialization and legal status.

The distribution of traders by specialization shows a very diverse picture in the towns of different types. Approximately one-fifth of those registered traded in clothing, haberdashery, leather, iron, spices, paints and other manufactures, and 13% in grain, livestock or wine; 10% sold foodstuffs, 13% were chandlers or grocers, and 8% peddlers or traders at fairs. One-quarter of those recorded were classified merely as *mercatores* or *quaestores*, and were probably traders without any specialization.

The capital had the most advanced commercial network: unspecialized traders were rare here. The ratio of the specialized traders in manufactures and of the chandlers was roughly equal (30%); the proportion of grain, livestock and wine merchants was more or less the national average (13%). The ratio of Jewish traders, although there were a great many of them in Pest, was comparatively low.

The proportion of non-specialized traders in the towns of Groups 2 and 4 is more

significant than in the capital, but still below the average; the proportion of merchants selling manufactures—especially in Group 2—exceeded the average. The proportion of grain merchants was very high in Group 4, where about one-third of the merchants were Jews; the proportion of chandlers and grocers lagged far behind the capital and was somewhat even below average. In the towns of Group 2 there were many more ironmongers than in other towns, and the proportion of traders at fairs was somewhat higher than average, suggesting that "mobile traders" played a very important role in the commercial relations of these towns and their areas of attraction. In these three groups of towns (1, 2, and 4) the number of merchants per thousand inhabitants and also the ratio of traders with significant capital were the highest. The latter was particularly high in the towns of Group 4 (26%), probably because of the high number of well-to-do grain merchants. The trading network of the towns in all three groups seems to have been appropriate for meeting the demands of the diverse strata of both urban and country consumers on a regular basis, and also for supplying the rural traders. There were many merchants in their pure areas of attraction as well. While in all the urban areas of attraction the ratio of merchants was 0.4%, for Group 1 this ratio was 1.2%, for Group 2 towns 1.3%, and for Group 4 towns 0.7%

The composition of the merchants in the towns of Group 5 was quite particular. Two-thirds of them were Jews. The proporition of traders in manufactures, grain and livestock was equal to the national average, but that of the grocers was very low, and that of the non-specialized traders was above average, 33%. Obviously as a consequence of the overwhelming majority of the population being engaged in farming in these towns, the tax census does not mention food merchants. Few merchants (15%) had significant capital, but the number of wealthy traders per 1,000 inhabitants was the highest of all the less commercialized towns. The commercial network of their areas of attraction was insignificant: the country population purchased their everyday necessities from itinerant traders and peddlers; the proportion of these merchants (28%) was the highest for this group, bar none. The trade connections between town and country were fairly rudimentary and backward.

In the towns of Group 3, more than half of the traders were not specialized, or at least their specialization was not recorded. Even so, the proportion of specialized merchants was equal to the average, hence lower than that of the towns discussed so far. Although the areas of attraction of these towns included fertile lands and had a flourishing agriculture and animal husbandry, the number of the grain and livestock merchants was insignificant. Few chandlers and grocers were active in these towns, and the proportion of itinerant traders and peddlers as well as of Jewish merchants was very low. Apparently, the merchants profiting from the significant grain trade of these areas did not come from the local towns, even though there were quite a few with significant capital living there. Trade flourished at the time of the fairs, the time when the majority of all the commodities sold and purchased by both the urban and the rural population exchanged hands.

The towns in Groups 7, 8 and 9 are characterized by a very low proportion of specialized traders; there were also few grain and livestock merchants. These towns were distributing rather than collecting centres of grain and foodstuffs in general, and the low number of local merchants in these branches indicates that they were controlled by outside traders. Only the number of wine merchants was significant in the towns of Group 7 situated in rich wine producing areas.

In the towns of Group 7, the local urban demands were primarily met by a great number of chandlers and grocers, in addition to a few specialized traders. In the towns of Group 9, the local population probably bought most of its merchandise from chandlers and grocers, but the commercial connections of town and country were different from these for Group 7. Although no specialized firms were recorded in the towns of Group 9, in Máramarossziget almost a quarter of the merchants were wholesalers and had significant capital. It was probably these merchants who supplied the many retailers in the area, as well as the Jewish peddlers attending fairs. These, in turn, may have sold the products they bought up to these wholesalers. Thus, here the connection between town and country—as distinct from the towns of Group 7—took the form of a division of labour between the urban merchants and those of the areas of attraction.

The composition of the merchants active in the towns of Group 8 was different from those of the other towns. The proportion of specialized traders and grain and livestock merchants was just as low as in the towns of Groups 7 and 9, but that of the non-specialized merchants was much lower. It is, however, possible that the latter were merchants who belonged to merchant guilds, hence their branch of trade was not indicated separately. There were surprisingly few chandlers in these towns, but many grocers; they accounted for more than one-third of all traders. Only few merchants had significant capital. All these facts justify the complaint of these towns about their once flourishing home and foreign trade having dwindled to local commerce, and that they were unable to meet the growing competition of Jewish traders in their areas. Due to the medieval guild spirit and to feudal restrictions, most of these towns refused to accept the Jewish merchants. (Only in Eperjes were there Jewish merchants recorded, five of them.) Thus, they settled in the surrounding villages, and the threads of rural trade came to be concentrated in their hands.

In spite of their higher revenue, the proportion of urban property owners was much lower among merchants than among artisans (cf. Tables 12 and 18). One reason for this was that almost a third (29%) of them were Jews, and in many settlements, above all in the royal towns, Jews were prohibited from or restricted in buying land.

Discounting the Jewish merchants, the difference between artisans and merchants in relation to property is less, but still obvious. The proportion of house owners among non-Jewish merchants was 54.5%, among artisans 58.4%; the ratio of landowners 29% and 32%, respectively. However, the number and size of the properties per household were much higher among merchants than among artisans.

Table 18. Property ownership and employees among merchants in the various groups of towns

Group	Proportion of		Number of			Number of houses per owner
	house owners	land-owners	journey-men	servants	maids	
			per household			
1	30.3	15.5	0.4	0.1	0.6	1.3
2	47.1	20.1	0.09	0.1	0.4	1.1
3	61.4	42.5	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.8
4	51.9	19.7	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.2
5	41.3	13.8	0.1	0.2	0.3	1.1
7	41.1	32.6	0.05	0.2	0.4	1.1
8	51.2	18.2	0.1	0.1	0.6	1.1
9	56.3	5.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.1
Total	46.2	22.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.1

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás* : see footnote 44

Land, especially arable, per merchant household was larger than that per craftsman, but this does not imply a qualitative difference. Only in a few towns did these lands bring high income to some merchants. In the majority of the cases, they covered the needs of the household, often only partially and mostly in grain, like in the artisan households. Merchant households tended to be larger, due to the higher number of employees and domestic servants; hence, more grain was needed to provide for them. There was one journeyman and one domestic servant per every five households, and one maid in every other household. Besides the male servants, many day labourers were employed, because the servants were also performing tasks connected with trading. This is suggested by the number of servants employed by traders who kept no journeymen, particularly those dealing in livestock and leather.

A much more widespread way of investing capital among merchants was to purchase houses or building plots, where rapid urban development promised good returns. While the overwhelming majority of house-owner artisans had only one house, every tenth merchant—in the towns of Group 4 every fifth, and in the capital every third—owned several houses. Their average rental income, 178 florins per year, was higher than that of the other occupational groups, save the *honoratiores*. This suggests that their houses were mostly well-built, larger buildings in the centres of towns with several shops, warehouses and independent rented apartments in addition to the premises used by the owner.

All this can be deduced primarily from the rental income, for the tax census contains very few direct data on the size of the apartments. The number of rooms in the houses are known merely in the case of fifty-eight merchants. Among these, 3.4% had one room, 27.6% two, 22.4% three, 17.2% four rooms; the proportion of five to twelve-room houses was 17.2%. (The houses of more than four rooms accounted for only 10% of those owned by the artisans, and those with four rooms

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of landlords among house owners	Average rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
1.0	2.4	5.1	—	70.7	370
17.5	10.5	2.2	0.4	40.1	167
5.4	2.5	1.9	0.7	26.0	78
12.9	2.3	1.3	—	42.2	90
13.2	3.2	0.9	2.8	34.3	51
4.6	0.7	0.2	0.01	29.2	115
35.1	3.3	—	0.5	38.7	104
5.5	3.7	—	—	15.0	31
10.6	5.0	2.1	0.4	40.7	178

for only 13%.) Judging from the number of kitchens, 39.6% of the merchants' houses had one apartment, 26.2% had two, 15.5% had three, and 8.6% had more than three apartments.

We can derive some information on the size of the merchants' houses from the number of households per house where the tax census contains such data. Such do exist for three hundred and thirty-one houses in several towns. While in 62% of the rented houses owned by artisans only one household was recorded, two households lived in 18% of such houses, and more than two in 20% of them; of the houses owned by merchants, 44.7% housed one family, 22% two families, and 33.1% three or more families. Data on the size of the houses owned by merchants in terms of the size of the rented apartments or rooms are also fragmentary: we know the number of rooms in the case of one hundred and five apartments. Of these, 24% had one room, 39% two rooms, 18% three, 8.6% four and 10% five or more rooms, in contrast to those owned by artisans. where 61% had one room, 26% two rooms, and only 13% were bigger than that. In 82% of the merchants' houses one in 11% two, and in 7% three to five apartments were rented out.

The tax census does not provide sufficient data about the dwellings of the merchants themselves to allow general conclusions. The sporadic figures suggest that they were probably more spacious than the housing of the artisans. In Baja, for example, we know the size of the lodgings rented by nine merchants: two had one room, two had two rooms, three had three rooms and two had four rooms. In Szeged and Zombor, where the rent paid was recorded per tenant, the annual rent paid by merchants was much higher than the average rent in town or the average rent paid by artisans. In Zombor, the average rent paid by merchants for rented dwellings was 148 florins: the citizen merchants paid 169 florins, and the non-citizens 72 florins on the average. In contrast, the average rent of all tenants in town was 18 florins: that of the artisans 9 florins, and of the *cives* 61 florins. In Sopron, the

average tenant paid 37, the average artisan 34, and the average merchant renting an apartment 83 florins per anum. The average rent paid by citizen merchants was 85 florins, that by non-citizen merchants 53 florins, and that by Jewish merchants 210 florins.

It is also characteristic of the quality of the houses owned by merchants that in several small towns, almost all the two-storey buildings, including the inns and cafés, were owned by them.

The significant concentration of house ownership in the hands of merchants, which Károly Vörös has called a highly characteristic trait of Budapest urban society at the end of the nineteenth century,[38] was a feature of merchant capital investment already at the beginning of the century (and not only in the capital). Naturally, it was most conspicuous there, due to the high demand for housing and the rapid growth of the city. Hence, almost every third merchant owning houses rented out apartments, rooms, shops or warehouses. Their rental income was, of course, the highest in Buda and Pest: 545 florins, a sum exceeded only by the average annual rental income of 1,000 florins derived from the houses of noblemen and *honoratiores*. A quarter of the buildings let out by merchants in the capital housed four or more households.

Purchasing real estate of considerable value was not only safe investment, but at the same time increased the credit standing of a merchant. In our period, urban housing seems to have earned higher interest than land. Investing in houses was preferred to land mostly by the wealthiest merchants. The tax census lists five hundred and twenty merchants with significant businesses, who had more than 1,000 florins capital invested and had an annual revenue over 100 florins.[39] These prosperous merchants recorded in twenty-seven towns accounted for 40%of all the merchants with significant capital active in those towns. Their financial relations may be considered a representative sample.

A much greater part of these five hundred and twenty merchants with significant capital owned houses and land than their peers, and in the case of most of them, there was a greater concentration of houses and vineyards than in the case of other merchants (see Table 19). Estimated from the very large size of arable and meadow per landowning household, significant farming was pursued by the wealthy merchants only in Szeged and, to a smaller extent, in Zombor. Smaller plots of agricultural property were owned by the rest of this wealthy group rather than by

[38] Vörös 1971, pp. 261—264.

[39] In our previous analysis, when defining the minimum necessary capital, we considered the number of merchants classified in the individual tax brackets, the concentration of the merchants in the lower tax brackets, and we also took into account that in Pest, the biggest trade centre of the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the minimum capital necessary for the acquisition of the trade right of a chandler was 2,000 florins. Considering that consumers' expectations were higher, and available trade capital was abundant in Pest, we assumed that in other areas a 1,000 florin invested capital allowed significant trade activity. A 100 florin annual income as the measure of affluence is borne out also by the fact that in 1848, two decades after the census was taken, the franchise bill attached the granting of voting rights to either the ownership of property, workshops, factories or shops, or to an annual income of 100 florins.

the less wealthy merchants. But every third one of these wealthy merchants owned several houses, while of the less wealthy ones, only every tenth merchant owned several houses.

Naturally, the proportion of property owners was higher than average in the more profitable branches, such as the spice, paint, wine, wood, textile and iron trades. Ironmongers were particularly prone to own many houses: almost every second one of them had at least two. Hardly by coincidence, the proportion of *cives*, noblemen and *honoratiores* was much higher in these branches of trade than among merchants at large. While 35% of all merchants (48% of those living in the royal free towns) were noblemen or citizens, 72% of the livestock merchants, 71% of the wine merchants, 52% of the ironmongers, 50% of the spice merchants and 46% of the wood merchants belonged to these legal categories.

Approximately half of the merchants without civic rights were engaged in lower-income trades requiring lower capital investment. They were usually food merchants, grocers and marketers. In these branches, the proportion of the noble and *honoratior* merchants was 12%, and of the *cives* 23%; among the Jewish merchants, these trades represented less than 40%.

Thus, the financial difference between the citizen and non-citizen merchants was primarily due to the former being mainly specialized merchants making good profits, while the greater part of the latter were general traders or retailers. It is noteworthy that in terms of real estate, there was a much greater difference between the merchants in the most and in the less profitable branches, than between the citizens and non-citizens among them.

The data on merchant capital and income in general indicates considerable financial stratification in this profession, and also that the number of the wealthier members among them was much larger than among the artisans. However, property relations do not reflect this difference between the two professional groups. The lower proportion of property owners among the merchants may partly be attributed to the high number of Jews in the profession who were restricted in acquiring real estate. Also, merchants needed a much larger active capital than the majority of the artisans or other occupational groups, even if they purchased a good part of their merchandise on short-term credit. Hence a significant portion of their capital was not free to be invested in properties but was tied down in merchandise. Only half of the spice and iron merchants with high incomes were house owners and only 16% and 32% of them, respectively, held land.

Among the Jewish merchants, the grain traders (47% of them were Jewish) and traders in hides and leather (67% were Jews) owned capital and made profits equal to the citizen merchants. They could invest their money by renting land, but the tax census contains no data about these, only a few hints at income from rented seigniorial *banalités*. They also drew interest from credit transactions. If legally possible, they bought property, mainly houses, often outside their place of operation.

Extending their enterprises usually meant that they moved the headquarters of their activities to bigger towns and busier trade centres, or at least opened

Table 19. Property ownership and number of employees among merchants with significant capital as compared to other merchants

Financial category	Proportion of		Number of			Number of houses per owner
	house owners	land-owners	journey-men	ser-vants	maids	
			per household			
Merchants with significant capital	68.3	44.0	0.4	0.4	0.8	1.3
Merchants with significant capital in Szeged and Zombor	78.0	41.0	0.4	0.7	0.8	1.3
Merchants with significant capital in the rest of the towns	67.0	43.2	0.4	0.4	0.8	1.3
Other merchants	43.8	21.0	0.1	0.1	0.4	1.1

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

additional retail outlets there. Thus, for example, eight Jewish house owners in Pozsony (Várallya) pursued trade in Vienna or in Pest. Five Jewish merchants in Buda, two in Újvidék, one in Baja and one in Pápa are known to have traded at the time of the tax census exclusively or additionally in Pest. There are examples in which Jewish merchants operating in the countryside purchased houses in the bigger towns, preparing, as it were, to relocate their business, in addition to receiving extra income from the rent in the meanwhile. In this way a certain migration of Jewish merchant capital can be observed already in this period. Actually, not only Jewish but other commercial capital in general was beginning to move to the bigger centres, primarily to Pest. This capital came to be invested in industrial and financial ventures only a few decades later.

It is a well-known fact that merchant capital played an important role in the formation of the capitalist economy in Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century. This has been demonstrated particularly by the example of Budapest. Among the leading taxpayers in 1873,[40] one may find a great number of descendants of the merchant citizens already recorded as house owners in the Pest tax census of 1828, and an even greater number of descendants of merchant families from other towns who moved to Pest in the decades following the 1830s. The latter came to play important roles not only in commerce but also in financial life and in the manufacturing industry.

However, in the first half of the nineteenth century, higher rank and social prestige was still the monopoly of the less wealthy merchants continuing the older traditions of specialized commerce rather than of the new type of merchant enterpreneurs with larger capital. Yet, their economic weight was already being

[40] Vörös 1971.

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of landlords among house owners	Average rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
9.9	15.0	3.7	0.7	36.6	254
36.1	93.0	6.4	0.3	36.9	147
5.6	2.7	3.3	0.8	36.5	270
10.7	3.2	2.5	0.3	41.4	166

seriously challenged by the traders working in the non-traditional branches, who were still considered strangers in the towns and accepted only with reservations. The newcomers were most anxious to eliminate guild restrictions on commerce so as to be able to widen their activities, to improve their social status or, in the case of the Jewish merchants, to win equality.

As we have seen, the social rank and prestige of merchants did not depend as unequivocally on their wealth as that of the artisans. Naturally, there was considerable differentiation among merchants as well: a non-citizen wholesaler with large capital did have greater prestige than a citizen grocer, to say nothing of the marketers of foodstuff, who in some towns were not even considered real merchants. Yet in the rigid social structure of the royal free towns, the specialized citizen merchant with a shop on the market square displaying a sign that had not changed for generations still stood in higher regard than a much wealthier *nouveau riche* grain or hide merchant not eligible for citizen status, or not even aspiring to it. What counted in the eyes of the old burgher families was that the latter had not learned their trade over long years, and had not been certified by respected guilds. They did not rely on family fortune acquired by decades of work considered "honest", but had accumulated capital through suspicious credit operations and attending fairs. Worst of all, they were unknown to the old established burgher families, for they had arrived in town mostly after having grown rich in commerce elsewhere.

The mistrust and reservations that this type of trader had to contend with was only increased by the prejudice against Jews (as there had previously been against Greek merchants) because of their different religion and customs. These animosities were to a great extent rooted in the envy inspired by these successful competitors, or in fear of them.

Conflicts between artisans and merchants were no novelty, especially if the latter were chandlers. The relatively few specialized merchants did not bother the craftsmen too much, particularly because they also supplied the masters with raw materials. Craft interests and the trade of some retailers were all the more touched by the increasing number of chandlers selling factory goods, and the traders at fairs and peddlers, the great majority of whom were Jews. They won over a significant part of the countryside buyers, as it was more comfortable for the peasants to purchase everyday necessities from the traders coming to their house. Frequently they did not even need money for the transaction, because the traders also bought agricultural products. The fair-going merchants purchased most of their goods from factories or wholesalers, cutting out both the artisans and the urban retailers.

The aversion to merchants can be seen by their proportion in the urban elected bodies: quite low in comparison to their economic role. In Buda, 15% of the members of the wider council were specified in the tax census as merchants, in Szeged 35%, and in Pest 24%. The majority of the elected artisans consisted of representatives of the most profitable trades, but they included quite a few wealthy members of the less respected crafts as well. Among the merchants, however, only the traditional branches were represented: ironmongers, spice merchants, haberdashers, wine merchants and, in Szeged, a few livestock traders. In Pest, the majority of the merchants among the elected citizens were natives of the city. One or two immigrant grain traders appeared among the elected citizens, but only in the 1830s and 1840s. Similarly, the few *honoratiores* whose money earning occupations were recorded in the tax census in addition to their urban office were also active in the traditional branches of trade.

The lack of enterpreneurs in elected bodies was the consequence not only of their unpopularity with the burghers. They themselves considered traditional credit relations, feudal restrictions and corporate limitations as the main obstacles to their extending activities. Hence they did not expect to have their problems solved by a town leadership insisting on age-old privileges and wishing to maintain guild restrictions. Logically, they did not think it expedient to take part in the administration of the town by acquiring civic rights. While in the cities with formalized civic rights 60% of the artisans held citizenship, only 41% of the merchants did so. This percentage was no more than 51% even if we discount the Jewish merchants, who were explicitly excluded from receiving citizenship.

The changes within the merchant class, and the emergence of new enterprising traders more or less challenging the closed, feudal urban relations was also reflected in the changing patterns of marriage among the commercial class. For example, while in the eighteenth century the marriage connections of Pest merchants was characterized by a high proportion of endogamic marriages (young Pest merchants marrying girls born in Pest), in the period examined by us, the number of exogamic marriages kept growing. Endogamic marriage began to be characteristic of the middle and lower strata rather than of the well-off merchants.[41]

[41] Bácskai 1979, pp. 75–76.

Last but not least it should be added that by 1830 there were some merchants—at least in the capital—whose political horizon exceeded the urban boundaries, and who wished to achieve their economic and political objectives by joining the liberal nobility. A group of Pest merchants was active in founding political circles and parties during the *Vormärz*, kept close personal contacts with the progressive nobility, and eventually became disinterested in urban politics.[42]

c. People with two occupations

Although relatively few taxpayers were classified as having two occupations, we wished to examine them separately, hoping to find among them those people who, moved by an enterprising spirit, invested commercial or agrarian capital in industrial ventures, or whose financing of primary producers resulted in their dependence on his capital. We were looking for cases where industrial and commercial activities came together, breaking through the guild boundaries of the feudal-corporative division of labour. Sporadic data suggest that this enterprising type of burgher was not unknown in our towns, although they were still very few in number. Industrial ventures and credit transactions of this type increased only in the years following the tax census of 1828. Hence it is not surprising that our source does not contain data about venturers of this type.

Taxpayers for whom more than one source of revenue was recorded were usually engaged in several branches of commerce, or coupled trade with innkeeping. As these were merely engaged in traditional combinations of different trades, we classified them among the merchants and caterers. Similarly, we disregarded those who sold their own wine or even that of other growers, because this right of selling wine, a part of the civic privilege, was a traditional supplementary source of revenue to citizens.

The record is obviously incomplete, for two or more occupations seem to have been recorded only in the case of those paying taxes after both occupations, i.e. probably only a small part of those having several sources of revenue.[43]

The greatest part (76%) of people with two occupations were artisans who, in addition to practicing their craft, sold grain or other foodstuff, or traded in wine, livestock or—rarely—in textiles. In most cases, their craft had nothing to do with the goods they were dealing in. Among the two hundred and thirty people with several occupations, only for forty-two (18%) is there a connection between their craft and their trading activities: there were twenty butchers engaged in trading livestock; seven bakers dealing in flour or being millers; twelve millers trading in flour; one carpenter operating a brick kiln, one bookbinder also selling books, and one cordovan maker who also paid taxes on income from trading in leather.

[42] Bácskai 1972, pp. 299–300.

[43] Altogether in 16 towns (especially in Groups 1–2) did we find households where the head of household had several earning occupations (58 instances in Szeged, 44 in Kassa, 29 instances in Buda, and 28 in Nagyszombat). Their numbers were insignificant in the majority of the other towns.

These figures also suggest that the census, even in towns where it included several double incomes, must have been incomplete. It is unlikely that there were merely a few livestock-trader butchers or flour selling millers. It is, for example, well known that bookbinders usually sold books as well. The tax census recorded only fifteen taxpayers in the haulage business active in commerce, although it is obvious that teamsters or shippers rarely returned home with an empty cart or boat after completing a haul. The "spirit of enterprise" is indicated in the census only by the frequent purchases of mills, the leases of inns and butcher's shops, i.e. traditional ways of increasing wealth. And not even these were precisely recorded in each case.

In general, combining money earning occupations, even if it meant some loosening of the precisely regulated division of labour, was not in antagonistic contrast to the traditional order. While it was a successful means of acquiring and increasing wealth, the people engaged in more than one occupation can hardly be considered the forerunners of modern capitalist entrepreneurs. This is also indicated by the fact that people engaged in several occupations, especially those who paid taxes after both of them, fitted well into the feudal structure of the town: the majority, 70%, held citizenship.

In terms of landed property, they belonged to the top strata of the population. Almost 75% of them had a house, 51% held land; the size of arable per household was 15.5, of vineyard 7.3 *pozsonyi mérő*, of meadow 43.4 *kaszás*, and of orchard 0.5 *kaszás*.[44] Among all the occupational groups, their farms had the largest meadows, vineyards and orchards, while the arable per household was only somewhat smaller than that owned by the *honoratiores*.

Besides land, buying houses was seen as a profitable investment. Every fifth of the double-taxed householders had more than one house; the number of houses per owner was the highest in this group (1.4). One-third of the house owners leased their house or a part of it, and the average rent collected was 175 florins, close to that collected by the merchants.

Their versatile money-earning activites, and the significant dimensions of their farms made it equally necessary to employ workers and servants. In every third household of people engaged in more than one occupation, there was a journeyman, and in every second household a male and a female domestic servant were recorded. The average number of employees per household exceeded that of all the other occupational groups except for those engaged in catering.

All this demonstrates the greater enterprising spirit of the people engaged in more than one occupation: that they availed themselves more freely of the different traditional ways of acquiring income that fitted into the given social framework, and was accepted in this age. In investing their money, they followed in the footsteps of burghers grown rich in the traditional way: they purchased property. It was only their frequent ownership of mills and houses, indicative of their recognition of the significance of rent revenues, that constitutes what is, perhaps, a modern element.

[44] *pozsonyi mérő*—equivalent to approximately 0.5 acre; *kaszás*—the approximate area one scytheman is capable of cutting in one day.

d. The haulage trades: carriers, teamsters, shippers and cabmen

Forwarders of passengers and goods: shippers, carriers, and cabmen played an important role in fulfilling the commercial functions of the towns. The number of households recorded in the tax census (1,128) is too low to reflect their importance. For in the majority of towns, sources of revenue of this kind were indicated individually only in the case of those people who dealt with transport regularly and as their main source of living. This conclusion is to be drawn not only from their low proportion (0.6% of all households, 1.8% of all heads of households engaged in money-earning occupations), but also from the fact that the records of several towns refer to other inhabitants who owned horses and carts doing haulage. From among the eight towns laying special emphasis on this group of trades, only in five were teamsters and shippers recorded, altogether eighteen households. The transport needs of the towns were so great that they provided a living for the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages as well; thus it can hardly be likely that those burghers who owned horses did not engage in this field of earning money. It is quite probable that the majority of the teamsters worked in this occupation only part-time. Characteristically, 95% of the people in the hauling business were recorded in the towns of Groups 1, 2 and 4, where 73% of the urban merchants, and 77% of the merchants with significant capital, were active.

Judging from the taxes paid in Pest, Debrecen and Esztergom, shipowners must have been the wealthiest among the shippers. According to the 1837 tax brackets set by Pest, the tax paid by them was 12 florins, equal to the average levied on the most profitable crafts and more than was paid by the corporate merchants. Their high rank and the profitability of their occupation had already been shaken by steam shipping: they had paid 20 florins in 1802, and more than 19 in 1806. The 12 florins of 1837 had dwindled down to eight by 1840. This sum was only slightly more than the tax levied on the carriers and cabmen: 6 florins in both 1837 and 1840.

In 1845 in Esztergom, the tax paid by the only shipowner was 7 florins; the teamsters paid 2 florins, while the only cabman of the town paid the very high sum of 14 florins. Analogous to the situation of the teamsters must have been that of those carriers in Pest who did not belong to a guild, and who were called *Fuhrleute* in the classifications to distinguish them from the *Landkutscher*. Their average tax in 1837 was just above 4 florins (in 1803 and 1840, it was between 2–2.5 florins). In the tax censuses of Debrecen, this occupational differentiation can not be found: here one can see only carters and carriers. The taxes paid by them varied between 4.2 florins and 5.5 florins—depending on the number of their horses. Their distribution in the different brackets is not known.

We may gather an idea about the revenue of shipowners from the 1828 tax census for the town of Szeged: their annual revenue was between 50 and 600 florins, depending on the capacity of their ships. The highest income was drawn by an owner of four large ships. The annual revenue of 74% of the shipowners reached or exceeded 100 florins, and five of them not only transported the goods of others but

were merchants themselves. Supposing that the revenue drawn from ships of the same shipping capacity was similar in every town, five of the six shipowners in Vác must have had revenues above 100 florins, while the annual income of the two shippers in Földvár may have been 40 and 60 florins, respectively. A Vác shipper ran a passanger service to the fairs in Pest.

From the data of the towns differentiating between the hauling trades, we find that besides the shipowners, the majority of those described as *aurigae provinciales* were citizens, while the ones referred to as *vector, auriga vecturisans* or simply *auriga* were generally not. It is characteristic of the rank of carriers in the towns that only 18% of them were citizens (as opposed to the proportion of 54% for artisans, 35% for merchants and 33% for caterers). The low proportion of citizens among them can primarily be attributed to the fact that the majority of them had no guild to belong to, hence the hope of being accepted into a corporation did not spur them to strive for citizenship. Most of them fulfilled its material condition: the possession of an urban house. Two-thirds were house owners, even if their houses were generally modest and mostly served as dwelling places for the owner only. Only one third of them let out rooms. Judging from the low average rental income they received, not many of them leased a whole house or an independent apartment. Few of them had land, and those who did hold large meadows, did so to provide for their draft animals. The majority, however, had to rely on the market not only for food but for fodder as well.

As compared to the other occupational groups, they employed a conspicuously high number of male servants: every fifth household had a hired hand or coachman and a servant, while female domestic servants were employed in every twelfth to thirteenth household only. Men were employed to look after the animals, and occasionally, to drive the carts.

The wealthiest of the shippers, the shipowners, accounted for 9.4% of those in the hauling trades; the carriers accounted for 7.6%, but the members of these two groups made up 34% of the house owners and 27% of the landowners, and they possessed 40% of the houses owned by haulers. The proportion of property owners was the highest in these two groups. In general, the shipowners had small lands, and the carriers had arable and vineyards of significant size. Judging from the rent they received, their houses must have been larger than average, but while only a quarter of the shipowners received a rental income, half of the carriers did. The number of hired hands was equally high in both groups: every second household employed one. The carriers generally needed more domestic servants to look after the animals; here, almost every household had a servant and every fifth one had a maid, while among the shippers, only every tenth household had a male or a female domestic servant.

According to the taxes levied in Esztergom and Pest, the cabmen had a higher revenue than the carriers. In spite of this, fewer of them owned land, but the proportion of landlords among them and their average rental income was higher than for the other groups in the hauling trade. Cabmen were active only in a few big towns, where the demand for apartments made housing investments profitable.

Cabmen employed primarily men: almost every third one of them had help, and every fifth household had two male domestic servants.

The proportion of house owners was significant among the carriers as well, but only a quarter of them owned land, usually meadows of enormous size. Approximately one-fourth of them let out one room of their modest houses.

e. Caterers

Similarly to the taxpayers in transportation, the composition of the caterers was also very heterogeneous. To begin with, a significant number of them sold wine merely as a source of supplementary revenue available to them by virtue of their *civis* status. These burghers have not been included in our category of caterers; only those are considered here whose sole source of revenue was specified as *educillator* or *epocillator*. Some of these may have done some farming as well. In some towns, we were able to distinguish those selling wine merely as part of their civic rights from those engaged in catering as an occupation: innkeepers and their staff. In most towns, this separation was impossible because of the undifferentiated character of the records.

It is quite probable that the administrators of the tax census did not consider it necessary to record more precisely the innkeepers and those selling wine because significant groups of them did not make their living in this occupation, and because a great many of the innkeepers were employees of the seigniorial inns and paid in kind, and as such were exempt from taxes. Such employees were sometimes included in the census with their exemption noted, but not regularly.

Innkeepers and coffeehouse owners were regularly recorded due to the profitability of their occupations and, consequently, to their higher social rank. Their taxes were significant: in Pest, the tax census of 1806 records that at that time they paid 7–10 florins; in Esztergom, in 1845, they paid 7–8 florins; while in Debrecen, their average tax in 1828 exceeded seven florins.

The taxes on wine sellers were separately recorded only in the Pest tax census of 1806.[45] Wine sellers and those who leased their licences to sell wine paid a sum somewhat above five florins, while the taxes paid by the innkeepers were a rather low 2 florins, probably because most of them were employees. Since among the people in catering the latter were in the majority, the members of this occupational group tended to belong to the relatively low-income, urban middle stratum.

The social rank of this occupational group, discounting, of course, the *civis* licensees, is indicated by the fact that only one-third of them had citizenship, primarily the owners of coffeehouses, and innkeepers. Just like the other groups, there was a much higher number of property—especially house—owners among the citizens. However, the land owned by the much lower number of non-citizen

caterers—especially arable and meadows—exceeded in size the land area owned by the citizens.

Rental income must have been an important source of revenue for both groups: in both groups, almost half of the house owners let rooms, and the average sum of their annual rental income was almost the same—exceeding 100 florins. The concentration of property was more significant in the case of the non-citizens: among the citizens, every tenth, among the non-citizens, every second household owned several houses.

Only a small fraction of the Jews, making up 10% of the people engaged in catering, owned property, usually of low value. They, too, seemed to be more interested in buying houses, and every tenth house owner had several houses, but only one-third of the house owners let rooms. Their annual rents—in spite of being high in comparison with the urban average—lagged behind the sums received by the other groups of caterers.

Due to the nature of their trade, the caterers had many employees: every second household had a servant and a maid. The number of emloyees was the highest among coffeehouse owners: there was a waiter and three to four male and female servants working for almost every one of them. Among the innkeepers, only every third had a waiter working for him, but usually two or three servants were employed.

Most of the coffeehouses were on rented premises. The percentage of house owners among their operators was low (24%), and the number of landowners was insignificant. These people were not bound to a given place and at the expiry of their rental contract they often moved their trade to another town. However, half of the house owners let out their houses, and the high average rental income (809 florins per year) indicates that these were large buildings in central locations, and including an inn or shops as well.

It seems that the innkeepers were more bound to their place of residence. Half of them owned a house, and 29% owned land as well. The percentage of landowners among them was the highest of all the catering trades. The size of their land was small, but, not surprisingly, their vineyards exceeded the average for the total urban population. More than half of the house owners rented out their houses or parts of it. Their average rental income (270 florins a year), even though lower than that of the coffeehouse operators, still exceeded the average urban rents.

A significant number of innkeepers and tapsters owned houses, generally a building consisting of two rooms, one of which was used as a tavern or wine shop, as testified by the tax census of Szeged. Only few of them—every tenth household on the average—lived in a house separate from the one in which the wine was sold. In these cases, a tapster ran the shop, in a house consisting of one or two rooms and perhaps a kitchen and a cellar. The modest size of their houses is suggested by the relatively low annual average rent: 88 florins. Few (18%) of the wine sellers and innkeepers had land, but they owned quite large tracts of arable, with a production probably exceeding their own needs. On the other hand, their vineyard property was surprisingly small: 2.2 *Pozsonyi mérő* on the average, smaller than that of the

other caterers. One must assume that they owned vineyards of significant size outside the town.

While the clientele of the wine shops, pubs and coffeehouses came primarily from the local urban population, the number of coffeehouses and of inns was significant in the towns attracting larger traffic. The running of these catering businesses may be counted among the services strengthening the central function of the town. Characteristically, the people engaged in these branches were bound to the urban way of life, displayed quite some mobility and sought rarely to invest their wealth in the traditional ways.

f. Professionals and clerks

The stratum of professionals and clerks active in fulfilling the non-economic central roles of the towns, i.e. the administrative, cultural and health care functions, accounted for a small fraction of the households recorded in the tax census. Their proportion in the different types of towns was fairly similar. It is, however, surprising that relatively higher figures can be found not for those towns where this could be expected as a consequence of the riches of their central function, but for Groups 8 and 9. Only for the Group 2 towns does their somewhat higher-than-average proportion tally with the kinds of central functions fulfilled by these towns.

There was no significant difference between the various groups of towns in the composition of the professionals (see Table 20). Approximately half of them had clerical positions, 17% worked in health care, while one-third were clergymen, lawyers, teachers, and freelance artists.

The proportion of clerks was much lower than average in the towns of Group 5, and much higher than average in those of Group 9. In the latter, their number was greatly enhanced by the many treasury officials living in Máramarossziget. In the towns of Groups 3 and 8, the majority of the clerks were municipal employees, while in the capital, the proportion of civil servants was the highest. The proportion of county administrators was higher than average in the towns of Groups 4 and 5; in the latter, quite a few seigniorial administrators were recorded. Strangely enough, the proportion of lawyers was the highest in the towns of Group 3, while in the capital, where a great many of them are known to have lived, only a dozen were recorded in the tax census. A higher-than-average proportion of people in health care lived in the towns classified in Groups 1, 4 and 5, while the number of teachers and other cultural workers was outstanding in Groups 2 and 5.

Several inconsistencies in the territorial and occupational distribution of the professionals as recorded in the tax census lead us to believe that the data regarding them are much more uncertain and inaccurate than those on the strata fulfilling economic functions. According to the regulations, professionals were exempt from personal taxes and were recorded only if they held taxable property. In spite of this, some towns did record some professional who held no property, indicating their exemption from taxation. As a result, the tax census does not contain reliable

Table 20. The number of professionals and their occupational distribution in the various groups of towns

Occupation	Groups								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	
	Numerical distribution								
Municipal clerks	54	317	144	131	19	33	54	2	754
Civil servants	141	111	44	45	1	18	6	18	384
County clerks	4	37	6	30	8	6	3	2	96
Domanial employees	4	83	33	40	5	8	3	2	178
Other white-collar workers	5	24	8	3	1	2	—	6	49
Total	208	572	235	249	34	67	66	30	1461
Clergy	11	57	43	14	4	2	11	2	144
Lawyers	13	67	64	26	5	5	6	—	186
Teachers	23	168	40	22	14	11	12	2	292
Physicians	17	42	10	18	2	2	5	—	96
Surgeons	43	60	29	36	15	11	3	3	200
Midwives	16	24	19	18	2	—	1	—	80
Pharmacists	16	28	28	21	8	11	8	1	121
Veterinarians	1	6	2	2	—	1	—	—	12
Artists, musicians, freelance artists and writers	17	73	14	11	6	3	1	—	125
Other and unknown	27	40	28	78	6	12	45	—	236
Total	392	1137	512	495	96	125	158	38	2953

information of the professionals. Conjectures about this group's composition, their financial situation and stratification can be made only with utmost care. Due to the exemption from personal taxes, professionals with property are obviously over-represented.

For lack of a reliable basis of comparison, we can not say what ratio of the professionals active in the different fields have been included in the tax census. A comparable number for approximately the same period is available to us only for Pest. Dorffinger's "Guide"[46] published in 1827 enumerated 1,036 people in professional occupations, while the tax census of 1828 contains only 101. Thus, in Pest, fewer than 10% of the professionals were recorded by their occupations. Actually, 30% even of these had no property. A somewhat larger proportion of clerical and medical professionals were included in the tax census than of teachers or freelance intellectuals.

The proportion of those recorded in the tax census, however, cannot be generalized from the example of Pest. On the one hand, in the headquarters of the highest government offices and courts, the number of clerks and lawyers was much higher than in the other towns; on the other, the tax census in Pest was one of the most incomplete in respect of indicating occupations.

There is no doubt, however, that only a part of the professionals were recorded in all the towns. Nor is the picture we get of the professionals' occupational

[46] Dorffinger 1827.

Groups								Total
1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	
Percentage distribution								
13.8	27.9	28.1	26.5	19.8	26.4	34.2	5.3	25.5
36.0	9.8	8.6	9.1	1.0	14.4	3.8	47.3	13.0
1.0	3.2	1.2	6.1	8.3	4.8	1.9	5.3	3.2
1.0	7.3	6.4	8.1	5.2	6.4	1.9	5.3	6.0
1.3	2.1	1.6	0.6	1.0	1.6	—	15.7	1.7
53.1	50.3	45.9	50.4	35.3	53.6	41.8	78.9	49.4
2.8	5.0	8.4	2.8	4.2	1.6	7.0	5.3	4.9
3.3	5.9	12.5	5.2	5.2	4.0	3.8	—	6.3
5.9	14.8	7.8	4.4	14.6	8.8	7.6	5.3	9.9
4.3	3.7	1.9	3.6	2.1	1.6	3.2	—	3.2
11.0	5.3	5.7	7.4	15.6	8.8	1.9	7.9	6.8
4.1	2.1	3.7	3.6	2.1	—	0.6	—	2.7
4.1	2.5	5.5	4.3	8.3	8.8	5.1	2.6	4.1
0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	—	0.8	—	—	0.4
4.3	6.4	2.7	2.2	6.3	2.4	0.6	—	4.3
6.9	3.5	5.5	15.7	6.3	9.6	28.4	—	8.0
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

distribution a realistic one. The closest comparable data, are estimates for the 1840s.[47] We can safely assume that the distribution of professionals in 1828 may have been similar to the 1840s, at least in its proportions, even if the percentage of lawyers, of engineers and freelance intellectuals may have been somewhat lower.

The distribution of the professionals recorded in the towns in 1828 and that in the national statistics of the 1840s (see Table 21) should be compared with caution. The occupational composition of urban professionals was necessarily different from the national one, for the overwhelming majority of civil servants of all types, lawyers and medical professionals lived in the towns, while in the countryside the clergy and the teaching professions dominated. Bearing this in mind, we still believe that the proportion of clerks reflected in the tax census far exceeded their real numbers. At the same time we feel that the proportion of lawyers and teachers has been underestimated.

One can only speculate whether this dominance of the clerks is due to the fact of there having been a greater proportion (over 60%) of property owners among them than in the other professional groups, or whether the high proportion of property owners shown by the tax census is the consequence of the fact that only property owners were recorded. The latter assumption seems the more likely: the proportion of property owners was high (over 50%) among the recorded lawyers and surgeons as well, while of those in the other occupational groups, only about one-third had a

[47] *Magyarország története* 1980, p. 493.

Table 21. Occupational distribution of professionals among those recorded in 1828 and in the 1840s*

Area of activity	1828		1840s	
	No.	%	No.	%
Clergy	144	4.9	20,000	41.8
Clerks	1461	49.4	10,000	20.9
Lawyers	186	6.3	4,100	8.6
Health workers	509	17.2	2,540	5.3
Teachers	292	9.9	10,180	21.3
Artists, writers, etc.	125	4.3	1,000	2.1
Other and unknown	236	8.0	—	—
Total	2953	100.0	47,820	100.0

* Based on estimates by Károly Vörös in *Magyarország története* 1980, p. 593.

house or land. Among the doctors without property, those employed by the town and the county authority were recorded. The majority of the lawyers without property recorded in the census were either those retained by the nobility, or the sons of burghers of high social status.

Surgeons, who paid taxes on their trade income as members of the barbers' guild, and pharmacists, who paid after their trade as merchants, were recorded with greater accuracy. Teachers in the urban schools were included in the tax census usually only if they owned property; in a few towns, those without property were also recorded when employed as private tutors teaching languages, dancing or music. All in all, the tax census fails to give a complete picture of the number and occupational distribution of the professionals, and of their financial situation, due to the frequent omission of people without property.

About 60% of the professionals included in the tax census were house owners; 40% were landowners, with the area of land per household in the highest category (see Table 22). On the average, every tenth house owner had several houses, and

Table 22. Property ownership and number of employees among professionals of different legal status

Legal status	Proportion comprised of all professional groups	Proportion comprised of		Number of		Number of houses per house owner
		house owners	land-owners	servants	maids	
				per household		
Noblemen	7.8	79.0	55.4	—	—	1.1
Honoratiores	62.9	59.0	42.0	0.2	0.5	1.1
Citizens	1.3	73.7	47.4	0.08	0.4	1.0
Non-citizens	23.6	68.5	37.2	0.04	0.07	1.0
Jews	4.4	9.2	1.5	0.2	0.1	1.2
Total	100.0	60.2	40.3	0.2	0.4	1.1

[a] in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b]— in *kaszás;* see footnote 44

45% rented out their house. The average rent, 275 florins, and the sporadic data about the houses suggest that they were originally built or bought with the purpose of acquiring significant rental income.

In the tax census, we have found data on the dimensions of the houses owned by fourteen professionals. Among these, three houses had one apartment, four had two apartments and one had three. The rest, i.e. 43% of the houses with known dimensions, were buildings with four to thirteen rooms, with two to four apartments. The data about the size of a further fifty-five rented apartments and houses also prove the spaciousness of their buildings: one room was rented out only by 16% of them, two rooms by 40% and three rooms by 27%. Eleven percent received rental income from 2 two-room apartments, 6% from buildings with two to four apartments of five to twelve rooms each. The number of households besides that of the owner could be precisely determined for a hundred and sixty-nine buildings in the possession of professionals. In 37.3% of them one extra household was recorded, in 27.2% two, and in one third of them three to fifteen households; i.e. some were tenements of significant size.

The apartments of professionals were more spacious than the majority of urban homes, and were probably more richly furnished. Consequently, the employment of female servants was fairly frequent. Similar to the households of merchants, every fifth household had one male domestic servant and two maids.

As to the proportion of house owners, there was hardly any difference between the noble, the *honoratior*, the citizen, and the non-citizen professionals. The proportion of house owners was the lowest among the *honoratiores*. The number of landlords was very low only among the Jews, accounting for 4.4% of the professionals recorded in the tax census; however, every fifth one of them owned several houses.

As for the proportion of landowners, there was a more significant difference in favour of those with higher status. Among these, especially in the noble and *honoratior* households, the size of land per household was quite large, suggesting the regular production of a marketable surplus. However, not even half of the

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	The proportion of landlords among house owners	Average rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household					
15.8	35.4	4.7	0.2	57.4	560
31.6	21.7	7.1	0.8	40.5	272
32.8	2.4	3.4	0.6	39.3	91
7.6	1.9	2.2	0.3	48.8	163
0.7	—	—	—	16.7	358
16.6	12.8	3.8	0.3	44.7	275

Table 23. The property status of professionals in the different groups of towns

Group	The proportion of		The number of		The number of houses per house owner
	house owners	land-owners	servants	maids	
			per household		
1	63.0	38.9	0.1	0.4	1.2
2	49.8	31.7	0.1	0.3	1.0
3	72.6	45.8	0.3	0.3	1.1
4	63.4	39.5	0.2	0.4	1.2
5	56.4	33.0	0.3	0.5	1.0
7	76.0	63.2	0.2	0.4	1.1
8	76.1	69.7	0.1	0.7	1.3
9	92.1	10.5	—	0.03	1.2

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

people of higher status possessed land, which indicates a sharp differentiation of wealth within the group of professionals.

The property typical of the group was concentrated in the hands of a thin layer. Since less than half of them owned land and rental property, a significant group of the professionals does not seem to have had supplementary income. They might, of course, have had income from land outside the town, something quite typical of the noblemen among them.

We find great differences among the professionals in respect of property in the towns of the various types (see Table 23). The proportion of landowners was very high in the small towns of Groups 7 and 8—here, three quarters of them had a house, and about two thirds of them had land, but mostly of the size meeting the demands of the household only. Since the proportion of those letting out their houses was very low and so was the rental income, owning a house saved them the rent rather than supplying any significant revenue. Landed property, however, secured them a higher rank in the closed society of these small towns. At the same time, it indicates their stronger bonds to urban society, and their deeper roots in it. Living in their own houses and producing part of their food on their own land placed them in the middle strata of urban society.

The proportion of property owning professionals was the lowest in Groups 2 and 5, which represent very diverse types of towns and show very different occupational distributions for the stratum of professionals. Here there must have been an especially great difference between the situations of those with and without property, for the low number of landowners—especially in the towns of Group 2—held very large tracts of land. In this group, rental income was also a very significant source of revenue for 40% of the house owners.

The proportion of house and landowners was approximately equal in the capital and in the towns of Group 4; but while in the capital the lands were very small, in the towns of Group 4 the arable properties were sizeable. It seems that in these two groups of towns, the professionals preferred to invest in houses. In both groups,

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of landlords among house owners	Average rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
1.6	3.0	5.8	—	78.4	561
27.1	36.3	3.4	0.3	39.4	160
11.6	3.4	2.7	1.0	23.0	75
16.0	2.8	1.6	—	50.2	119
21.6	3.4	1.5	—	41.5	70
6.1	1.2	0.2	0.09	31.6	60
21.3	2.3	0.00	1.1	48.3	61
2.8	3.2	—	—	8.6	53

every fifth landlord owned several houses. These buildings were very profitable, especially in the capital, where 78% of them rented out their houses, and the average rent per tenant amounted to the considerable sum of 561 florins, in contrast to the 114 florins received by the professionals recorded in Group 4.

The proportion of property owners was highest among the clerks, who also owned the largest areas of land per household. Although for the other professional groups, too, the size of their rental income indicates the significance of this source of revenue, it seems that the incidence of house ownership and the size of the rental revenue was even greater among clerks. They frequently owned several houses, and 47% of them were landlords, as compared to the 33% ratio that we found for the other professions. The average rents received by the clerical employees also exceeded the sums received by the other professionals. Among the clerks, the municipal employees, constituting one-fourth of all professionals and more than half of all the clerks, were the wealthiest.

Among the other professionals, the proportion of house owners was the highest among physicians; the incidence of land ownership was highest among lawyers. The number of property owners was the lowest among artists; those that did own property had small plots and small houses. However, house ownership was important for almost every group of professionals; they were more likely to own several houses than any other occupational group except the merchants. The average rental income, though highly differentiated within the group of professionals, far exceeded the average of the other urban landlords.

The great differences in wealth that the census shows to exist between clerks and other professionals does not reflect the real stratification of this group, due to the unequal representation of the various occupational groups of professionals, and to the over-representation of the property owners. It is this over-representation which makes the whole professional stratum appear wealthier than it was in real life. In fact, a great many professionals, such as teachers, freelance intellectuals and junior clerks essentially depended on their salaries and earnings for a living.

The tax census contains mostly that segment of professionals which performed essentially internal urban functions, and was not directly connected to the town's central place functions. Municipal clerks, clergymen, physicians, surgeons, teachers and private tutors did not exert any direct influence beyond the boundaries of the town. Only a small fraction of those who may have played a regional role—civil servants, teachers in higher schools and colleges, and a very few artists, writers and scientists, most of whom lived in Pest—were included in the tax census. Our source, thus, offers very little information about the people who fulfilled the central urban cultural and administrative functions.

The concentration of professionals in certain towns, of course, gave serious impetus to its urbanization. The well-to-do professionals constituted, along with the nobility, the most discriminating clientele of the specialized artisans, and the customers of those dealing in finer products and luxury items. Their houses increased the number of truly urban constructions, and their higher housing requirements gave an impetus to better architecture. Even professionals with less money, such as teachers and writers, had requirements which promoted the establishment of printing houses, bookstores and art shops, and enhanced the publication of local papers and the organization of theatrical performances and concerts. Such enterprises would hardly have been profitable had they depended on the needs and wealth of the burghers in general.

Thus the relatively small number of professionals had an important influence on the life-style, way of thinking and requirements of at least the upper strata of the urban population through their wider horizons, higher education, and greater interest in the affairs of the nation and the world. A few years later, they acquired a more direct influence on the fate of the country by exerting an impact on political thinking, as well as by creating, together with the nobility, the organizational framework of public life such as clubs, theatres and cultural associations.

g. Wage earners: employees, day labourers and agricultural labourers

So far, we have dealt with those occupational groups of the urban population which contributed in a direct way to the urban central functions. In the following, we shall look at the situation of those whose activities were connected only to the internal life of the town, or not even to that, if they worked outside it. They did not contribute to the central functions of the town, or did so only to a very limited degree and indirectly.

We are going to deal only briefly with this group, partly because of their limited role in urbanization, and partly because the tax census contains very scanty information on them.

The proportion of property owners among the employees recorded in this class was quite high, clearly because it was only they who were of interest from the point of view of taxation. Only in a few towns were the occupations of those without

property also indicated, primarily in the case of municipal employees. Their modest wealth is indicated by the insignificant size of land per household, and the very low rental incomes from their let out houses.

The overwhelming majority of the employees served private people, mostly estates; a high percentage of them did not even live in town even if their family did. Twenty percent were municipal guardsmen, gatekeepers and servants; 11% were lower officeholders (haiduks or hussars) of the counties, and 5% worked as servants, doormen and heaters in state offices.

Naturally, we cannot know whether they bought their properties from their saved up wages, or already owned them when they entered these services. There must have been examples of both. The modest houses and small plots owned by some of them could not have been sufficient to make a living, and they were probably forced to take up some extra employment. However, the diverse property relations of those performing different services lead us to the conjecture that the majority of them must have acquired their properties while in service in order to have a roof above their heads in their old age, and to produce a part of their food or to own at least a small vineyard. Although we have no data on the wages of the people engaged in the different services and thus no grounds for comparison, it seems that state service must have been the most advantageous. The low-level civil servants were the people among whom the proportion of the properties exceeding the average was the highest. They had the largest meadows and vineyards: the size of the latter exceeded the average size of vineyards owned not only by all the other wage earners, but by the urban population at large as well. Their houses must also have been rather large, for 40% of the house owners rented out apartments, and the rent per tenant, 65 florins, greatly exceeded that received by other employees.

The proportion of property owners and the size of the properties were the smallest among the municipal employees, presumably because these occupations were recorded with the greatest care, and even those without property were included.

In respect of the possession of properties, we found great similarities between the people working for the counties and those in private employ: two-thirds of them had houses, and a quarter of both groups had small pieces of land. Their houses were modest in dimensions, mostly one room. Their quality seems to have been quite poor: a great part of those serving on estates did not live in town and leased their whole house, yet their average annual rental income was very low, merely 24 florins.

On the basis of the property relations recorded—especially when taking into account that primarily the property owners were included—it may be concluded that the employees belonged to the poorest stratum of the town. As far as property ownership was concerned, their situation was virtually equal to that of the day labourers and agricultural labourers.

Only a small fraction of the labourers and agricultural workers were included in the tax census by their occupations. Day labourers were recorded only in the tax census of ten towns, agricultural workers in five. The number of the former was

altogether 2,980 and of the latter 2,256, and accounted for only 4.2% of all the taxpaying households in these towns.

The proportion of property owners among them and the size of their properties indicate that they belonged to the poorest stratum of the urban population. The day labourers were the very poorest: only a very small fraction of them had land, and only one-third owned a house. Approximately 40% of the agricultural labourers owned a house and some land. Trained in viticulture, they usually had vineyards; the few day labourers owning land had only small pieces of arable.

The difference in wealth between the agricultural and the day labourers resulted from the diversity of their earning opportunities. In Pest, for example, the taxes paid by the two groups were still equal at the end of the eighteenth century; in 1806, however, the agriculturists paid 6 *krajcárs* more, and by 1840, 12 *krajcárs* more than the day labourers did.

Even if wage earners belonged to the poorest stratum, their economic situation was not the same in every type of town. Their earning opportunities depended on labour supply and demand. In Pest, for example, the multitude of immigrants looking for jobs led to the gradual undermining of the local labour force by the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century and even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, their income may have been about equal to that of the independent journeymen or even of the masters in the less profitable crafts such as repair tailors or cobblers. By the 1840s, their taxes differed decidedly: day labourers paid 48 *krajcárs*, agricultural workers one florin, and journeymen two florins. Although the 1845 tax census of Esztergom does not mention day labourers separately, it is probably they who are referred to as the inhabitants paying taxes on their "earnings". The taxes levied on them were low, 1.40 florins, but still higher than the 40 *krajcárs* levied on peddlers and stallmen, and equal to, or even higher than, the tax paid by quite a few craftsmen.

The number of the towns recording day and agricultural labourers, and their total numbers, are too low to permit more detailed conclusions. Additionally, as suggested by the textual parts of the tax censuses as well, wage labour was an important primary, as well as supplementary, source of revenue for many of those households which were recorded without indicating occupation. Hence it may be more useful to combine the analysis of these groups.

h. People of unknown occupation and farmers

The most surprising fact of the occupational distribution of the taxpaying households is the extremely high proportion of those with no known occupation: for almost two-thirds of the households, no source of income or occupation is indicated. This fact has often been noted but not further analyzed, since investigations were generally concentrated on the different trades and crafts. Moreover, many of those not engaged in earning occupations could be categorized

by their legal status (noblemen, citizens) or as property owners, winegrowers or farmers. Thus frequently only those without property were included in the category "unknown", the percentage of which thus appeared much smaller than in our investigation. It seemed reasonable to assume that these were the labourers, other wage earners and the urban poor.

If our objective had been to classify the taxpaying households on the basis of the usual categories, then the proportion of households with heads of unknown occupation would not exceed the usual 15–20%. But since our aim was to detect to what extent livelihoods were connected to urban functions or urban ways of life, we could not be satisfied with an eclectic classification. True, in certain cases, legal status (e.g. *honoratior,* nobleman) may hint at the manner of sustenance, it is not equal to the indication of an occupation. Similarly, house ownership does indicate a certain wealth, but it defines the source of revenue only if the house was rented out, and this was the case only for a small part of those of unknown occupation. Land afforded sufficient income only beyond a certain size; thus, not only those without land, but also those owning small farms may have been forced to earn their living elsewhere. And it must also be taken into account that lack of agricultural land among townsmen did not indicate poverty.

The low number of the recorded day labourers and agricultural workers, and the fact that these occupations were recorded only in a fraction of the towns indicate that the tax census neglected to record the occupation and source of revenue of those living from wages, taking jobs regularly, occasionally or seasonally. The same holds true for farmers living in town. In the eight towns where all these occupations were registered, the proportion of those of "unknown" occupation is only 31%, in contrast to the almost 70% average for all towns (see Table 24).

Our detailed data show that in a considerable part of the taxpaying households, the head of the household did not in fact have a constant money-earning

Table 24. The proportion of people with unknown occupations in the towns registering day labourers, agricultural labourers and farmers

Town	No. of day labourers, agricultural and other wage labourers	% of all house-holds	No. of farmers	% of all house-holds	No. of people with unknown occupations	% of all house-holds
Buda	1787	27.8	284	4.4	1710	26.6
Sopron	805	20.7	300	7.7	1507	38.8
Kassa	495	18.0	55	2.0	673	24.4
Pécs	549	18.7	143	4.9	1155	39.3
Újvidék	1118	24.2	215	4.6	1460	31.6
Nagyszombat	109	7.7	—	—	465	32.9
Eperjes	154	9.7	23	1.4	572	36.0
Késmárk	181	19.5	—	—	219	23.6
Total	5198	21.2	1020	4.1	7761	31.6

occupation. Some owned a small parcel of land, and one fourth of the house owners had some rental income. The tax censuses of Eperjes, Késmárk and Kassa, where almost all the households were classified, demonstrates that a significant part of those without occupation were old people (mostly widows) who were supported by their families or by alms, or lived on renting rooms to students. There were also beggars, dismissed soldiers and—in fact only very few—true rentiers living off their property or capital.

This stratum with no earning occupation made up one-third of the taxpaying households of the eight towns; about one-fifth of the households lived from day labour, and 4% of them were specified in the tax census as farmers. It may be assumed that in the other towns, those not indicating all these occupations, a part of the households recorded with no occupation specified also lived from farming or from selling their labour constantly or seasonally.

The number of the towns indicating the day labourers and farmers is too low and their distribution in the different groups is too uneven for us to draw more general conclusions about the households with heads of unknown occupation. All the more so, as the proportion of the individual occupational groups was very diverse even in these eight towns. An especially great dispersion can be noted in the day and agricultural labourers and of others living on wages, which was between 7.7% and 27.8%. In Pest, where the tax census did not record a single labourer, the population census of the same year recorded 4,875 male and 1,099 female, altogether 5,974 day labourers.[48] This, of course, does not mean as many households, for we know from censuses of greater accuracy, e.g. the one for Buda, that there were households where several members of the family worked as day labourers. Also, sons of farmers living in the same household were at times referred to as labourers. As far as women were concerned, the tax census generally recorded only the widows as heads of families. Taking all this into account, in Pest at least half of the households of "unknown" occupation must have been day or agricultural labourers. At the same time, in Fehérvár the population census of nearly the same year[49] recorded 164 male and 147 female day labourers. Even if all of them were independent heads of households, which is improbable, they would constitute approximately only 10% of the households recorded in 1828. In fact, the tax census of 1828 did not record any taxpayers of this occupation in Fehérvár.

Obviously, the numbers given in the more accurate censuses can not be generalized, and the best we can do is to conjecture the sources of livelihood of those of "unknown" occupations from the hints in the commentaries of the tax censuses. We can separately examine the stratum for which agricultural production—judged by the size of their landed property—might not only have provided food for subsistence, but served as a main source of income, and also the one for which rental income may have been a central, if not the sole, source of revenue.

[48] BFL. 1202/c. Intimata a.m. 7796.

[49] The archives of Fejér County. The archives of the town of Székesfehérvár. Urban censuses.

Most towns answering the question about the population's livelihood mentioned farming or agricultural production as one of the main sources of income. In fourteen towns,[50] it was mentioned in the first place, which suggests its having been the main source of revenue; in the rest, it came after trade and commerce. Pest gave the following answer to this question: The population consists—in addition to citizens, councilmen, craftsmen and merchants—mainly of labourers, teamsters, shippers and married journeymen, as well as of people who are not citizens but own houses and land and are engaged in farming, and those employed in agriculture. Thus, agricultural production served, to different degrees, as a source of living for a fair part of the urban population, yet only in four towns, i.e. Buda, Sopron, Újvidék and Pécs does the tax census list the occupation of farmer *(oeconomus,* sometimes *ruricola)* as such. As we have seen, all kinds of urban inhabitants owned farmland, but it also appears from the few available data that agriculture was the main source of living for the greater part of the group of "unknown" occupation.

Of the 68,773 households examined individually, 20,801 (i.e. somewhat less than one-third) had land, mainly vineyards, within the territory of the town. Among them, 27% of those engaged in earning occupations and 57.5% of those of unknown occupation owned land. The proportion of landowners was generally higher among the noblemen and the citizens: 40.3% of the nobles engaged in defined occupations, 61% of the nobles of unknown occupation, 40% of the citizens of defined occupation and 69% of the citizens of unknown occupation had land. Among the rest of the townspeople, 30% of those in specified occupations, and 44% of those of unknown occupation were landowners.

In the few towns where the total number of landowners could be established, we saw that their proportion among the households of unknown occupation not examined individually was about equal to that of the ones that were.

All in all, one may estimate that about 40% of all urban households possessed land, and approximately 40–45% of those of unknown occupation must have had farmland (about 40% of them were also house owners).

The overwhelming majority of the households of unknown occupation held only very small plots. The data of Table 25 representing the distribution of land among the different groups of people of unknown occupation reveal that the noblemen and citizens of unknown occupation (constituting 9% of this layer) and those possessing much more land than the average (3% of this layer) had possession of more than half of the arable lands and meadows, somewhat less than half of the orchards, and one-third of the vineyards owned by the entire class. Only in this top 12% was the size of the land per household such as to allow the assumption of agricultural commodity production.

Thus, agricultural production represented a worthwhile source of revenue for a narrow layer owning much more land than the average. Estimating separately the average size of land per household in the individual towns, we defined in each town

[50] Érsekújvár, Földvár, Galgóc, Gyula, Huszt, Kanizsa, Kecskemét, Lugos, Máramarossziget, Nyitra, Pécs, Sátoraljaújhely and Vágújhely.

Table 25. Landed property among people with unknown occupations

Social group	Number of households	Households possessing land		Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]
		No.	%	in their possession			
Nobles	2,977	1,819	61.1	64,339.1	10,448.2	3,097.75	1,224.4
Citizens	4,319	2,983	69.0	27,063.3	27,213.5	6,235.05	647.8
Jews	2,214	51	2.3	311.8	28.7	22.4	—
Major landowners	2,354	2,354	100.0	42,266.7	69,420.9	3,272.3	299.5
Landlords	8,436	3,325	39.4	23,024.6	12,157.3	7,121.6	507.5
Others	60,083	?	?	78,217.1	52,987.5	46,044.4	2,059.6
Total	80,383			235,222.6	172,256.1	65,793.5	4,738.8
				Percentage distribution			
Nobles	3.7	—	—	27.3	6.1	4.7	25.8
Citizens	5.4	—	—	11.5	15.8	9.5	13.7
Jews	2.7	—	—	0.1	0.02	0.03	—
Major landowners	2.9	—	—	18.0	40.3	4.97	6.3
Landlords	10.5	—	—	9.8	7.0	10.8	10.7
Others	74.8	—	—	33.3	30.78	70.0	43.5
Total	100.0	—	—	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] —in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

the limit above which we can speak of the possession of significant land. Those owning much larger areas than the average accounted for 3.4% of the inhabitants of unknown occupation without privileges; a much higher proportion than that—10.2%—was found only in the towns of Group 5. The agricultural land in their possession, however, made up 27.2% of the arable land, 52.4% of the meadows, and 7.7% of the vineyards owned by the whole of this class, and 23% of all the servants, and 11.8% of the maids employed by them were employed by these few. While among the rest of the people of unknown occupation without privileges every twenty-fifth household had a male and every twentieth a female servant, among those possessing significant land every fifth and every tenth household did.

These households were primarily engaged in arable agriculture, and owned significant livestock. The size of the arable land per household was rather large only for the households of noblemen of unknown occupation (see Table 26).

Thus, agricultural production beyond self-sufficiency was characteristic only of a very small proportion of the population without privileges. The majority of the people of unknown occupation owned such small farms that they could not have been sufficient even for meeting the needs of the family. In all likelihood, not only those without land but also many with small parcels had to supplement farming either with working as labourers seasonally or regularly, or with doing some hauling.

Table 26. Average area of land per household among people of unknown occupation and farmers

Social group	Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]
	per household			
Nobles	21.6	3.5	1.0	0.4
Citizens	6.2	6.3	4.0	0.1
Major landowners	17.9	29.5	1.4	0.1
Others with unknown occupations*	1.5	0.9	0.8	0.04
Farmers	9.5	1.7	2.7	1.0
Average area owned per household by those actually possessing land				
Nobles	35.3	5.7	1.7	0.7
Citizens	9.0	9.1	5.8	0.2
Major landowners	17.9	29.5	1.4	0.1
Others with unknown occupations**	3.7	2.4	1.9	0.09
Farmers	12.6	2.2	3.6	1.4

[a] —in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

* without Jews

** on the estimate that 40% of them were landowners

Most of them found jobs locally. The towns usually state that there was plenty of work opportunity for the poorer inhabitants without land, who earned their living "by working for wages, manual work and field work." Nevertheless, only 11 towns recorded day labour as an occupation in the tax census. Agricultural workers were specified in five towns only, although twenty-eight towns reported that work in vineyards and in the fields, or wood cutting, secured the livelihood of the poorer population, in Nagykároly even for a good part of the craftsmen as well. Besides the local opportunities to work, the tax census of several towns referred to opportunities to work on the close-by estates. In the majority of the towns, the demand for labour was so high that the local population was not always able to satisfy it.

The comments in the tax censuses concern primarily agricultural work, although labourers could be employed in many other manual tasks, such as loading and unloading goods, in the building industry, in mines, in burning charcoal and lime, in cutting wood. Several towns (Veszprém, Miskolc, Balassagyarmat, Csakova, Kecskemét, Gyula, Földvár, Máramarossziget and Huszt) noted explicitly the opportunities for the inhabitants to earn money by hauling, but only in five of them were teamsters as such recorded, altogether eighteen households. Clearly, it was not considered necessary to indicate such occupations for those who were engaged in them only occasionally. There may have been quite a few of them among those of unknown occupation, as there was ample demand for hauling. Inhabitants of villages near towns often claimed transporting of goods as an important source of income.

Our sources do not allow to estimate the differences in the opportunities for the various kinds of wage labour, such as industrial-commercial, service and agricultural; no doubt, the latter must have been predominant. If we also take into account that people worked in near-by villages as well, wage earning in agriculture features as a significant occupation of the urban population.

Thus, our data, in spite of registering only certain kinds of urban land ownership, prove that at this time a considerable stratum of the urban population was still connected to agriculture either by holding property or by working in the fields.

The proportion of landowners was the lowest in the capital (25%); for Groups 3 and 7, however, it exceeded 40%. The arable land owned by the townsfolk was generally small, and did not satisfy the grain demand of the local population.

In the towns with large fields, agricultural production played a much greater role in the economic life of the town. A much higher proportion (60/70%) of the population owned land and, of course, the size of land per owner was several times as large as in other towns. The occupational structure of the population and the distribution of the land among the different strata also differed from the rest of the towns. The proportion of those in earning occupations was only 27%, as opposed to 42% elsewhere; a much smaller part (14,6%) of the people with earning occupations had land. In towns self-sufficient in grain or producing an agricultural surplus, the different productive activities were sharply separated from each other, and the proportion of people living only from agriculture was much higher. The landowners engaged also in earning occupations were probably producing agricultural commodities as well, since their arables and meadows per household were thrice the size of, and their vineyards eight times as large as, the properties of citizens with unknown occupations, noblemen, big landowners and farmers, i.e. those strata which presumably lived on agriculture.

The different sizes of land per household (see Table 27) suggest that in the towns self-sufficient in grain or producing a surplus, even landowners who had some other occupation produced for the market. In the other towns—where 80% of those pursuing some occupation lived—the farming done was inadequate for self-sufficiency, and the townsmen may, at most, have had wine to sell.

Table 27. Average area of land per household in towns of different grain supply

Social groups	Percentage of landowners	Towns with grain surplus				Percentage of landowners
		arable[a]	meadow[b]	vineyard[a]	orchard[b]	
Wage earners*	7	94.3	122	17.7	1.3	22
Those living off their land*	70	28.5	42.7	2.3	0.06	80
Others	?	3.5	3.4	0.5	—	?

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

* property owners only

In all three types of towns people of unknown occupation had a much lower proportion of the urban land than was warranted by their number. The size of their land per household afforded at best self-sufficiency in the towns with an agrarian surplus, and less in the other towns. Relatively speaking, it was in the self-sufficient towns that they owned the largest tracts of arable land, and their share of the vineyards was of special significance. However, they owned vineyards in the agriculturally dependent towns as well, large enough to sell wine on the market.

Thus, farming played a significant role primarily in the regional, smaller centres, where the people living primarily off farming were less separated from those combining other occupations with agriculture. Judging from the size of the land per household, surplus was produced by only a fraction of the farms; the majority of the landowners grew—at best—their own food. In the more significant towns of Group 3, agricultural production constituted an important branch of the urban economy, but here the farmers, the majority of the urban population, were fairly well separated from the industrial-commercial professions. In the more significant commercial centres, in the towns of Group 2, only a very small proportion of the earning population owned land. Although there was a significant amount of arable land in one-third of the towns, surplus of considerable quantity was produced only by 9% of the households: by farmers, by noblemen, and by citizens of unknown occupation.

Agricultural production in the towns in general was characterized by self-sufficiency, or by producing some marketable surplus of wine for their taverns. In this respect, Hungarian towns did not differ very much from other smaller European towns not yet transformed by the industrial revolution. Only a few Hungarian towns producing grain for the market differed qualitatively, but even in these, agricultural activity characterized only a small proportion of the population. The acquisition of land was induced only to a limited extent by economic interest, or by the attempt to provide the household's food, as the majority of those owning land could not produce the grain needed by the family; at best, they grew vegetables, fruit and wine. A much greater incentive was that social rank was acquired through the possession of land; in many places, it was even the precondition of winning *civis*

Towns self-sufficient in grain				Percentage of landowners	Towns buying grain			
arable[a]	meadow[b]	vineyard[a]	orchard[b]		arable[a]	meadow[b]	vineyard[a]	orchard[b]
17.7	6.7	1.9	1.7	27	3.1	1.0	1.5	0.1
35.8	8.7	0.9	1.4	70	8.2	2.2	3.8	0.2
4.6	1.8	0.7	0.4	?	0.8	0.3	1.0	0.0

status. It was usually easier to acquire a small vineyard than to buy an elegant house or have one built. It is no coincidence that in the social strata with higher prestige, the proportion of those possessing land was higher, even though the area of land possessed by citizens was not always larger than that of the non-citizens, or those in the lower-prestige occupations. (The average size of the craftsmen's vineyards was 1.7 *pozsonyi mérő*, that of the day labourers 1.9, and that of the agricultural workers 1.8%.)

Our data—although they refer only to the land held on town territory—underline the well-known fact that the urban population was strongly bound to agricultural production, especially to winegrowing. However, they refute the claim often made that the investments in land hindered the accumulation of capital, and that the cultivation of land and vineyards distracted the craftsmen from their basic occupations. As we have seen, only a small proportion of those engaged in earning occupations possessed land; furthermore, their land was so small that it could not have hindered the accumulation of capital, had it been significant. But what they refute most sharply is that farming distracted the craftsmen and the merchants from their productive activities. The very large number of people living from day labour, the number of servants and the remarks of the tax censuses suggest that most of the agricultural work was not performed by the landowner but by hired workers. This fact distinguished agricultural production in the towns from the forms of rural production aiming at self-sufficiency.

Only a small proportion, 18%, of the people of unknown occupation leased out houses or parts of houses. Since 60% of them had no land, it may be assumed that rental income was essential for them, and this forced them to let out their spare rooms or even to share their one and only room and kitchen with tenants. However, 40% of those possessing land belonged to the wealthier stratum of the town. For them, rent was a supplementary source of income, and since their houses were more spacious and better built, they collected almost double the rent received by those without land: 56 florins on the average, as opposed to 30 florins.

This difference is not characteristic of every type of town. In Group 4, the rents collected were low, and almost identical for both groups; while in the towns of Groups 8 and 9, the situation was just the opposite: those without land got higher rents, 20 and 28 florins respectively, compared to the average of 15 and 16 florins which the landowners received. This was presumably so because rent was a primary source of income for those without land, while the landowners enjoying a higher social prestige usually lived in their houses by themselves, and let out rooms only under compelling circumstances.

In the towns where agricultural production was the basic source of revenue for the majority of the population (e.g. in Szeged, Zombor, Baja, Pécs, Gyula, Versec, and Lugos) those without land received higher rents than the average. The reason for this might have been that in the households of the landowners, the number of rooms to let was lower, because the adult children lived with the family and there were more servants to accommodate.

The tax censuses of a few towns indicate not only the rental income *(census*

realis) but also the number or rooms leased, and occasionally even the size of the dwelling space of the owners themselves. There are data from ten towns about the size of rented houses (altogether 1,179 buildings), and from twenty-one towns about the size of apartments, a total of 2, 644 flats.[51] The distribution of these towns is very uneven in the different groups, and the information value of the data is limited by the fact that in some of the towns, for example, in Pozsony, Eger and Esztergom, only the size of houses and apartments in the suburbs was recorded.

For some of the houses, not only the living areas were indicated, but also the kitchens, pantries, cellars, shops, workshops, and even stables and sheds belonging to the house. These data are too divergent to quantify and compare, therefore we have ignored all but the rooms and kitchens. The latter were particularly useful for estimating the number of independent apartments.

I am aware of the fact that it would be wrong to draw far-reaching conclusions from data referring to only a fraction of the urban houses, merely 6% of the houses leased. Yet I believe that the information on the houses with a known number of rooms offers some orientation, and allows a more precise reconstruction of urban housing conditions than hitherto provided. We have to keep in mind above all that our data mostly refer to the houses leased, i.e. those larger than average. Considering this, the number of houses with more than three rooms and those having several apartments in them is surprisingly low. Taking the number of kitchens as the basis, we found that altogether 391 houses consisted of several apartments: 271 had two, 56 three, 13 four and 2 five apartments. For 57 houses, the number of kitchens was not recorded, but as all of them had more than six rooms, it may be supposed that the majority of them also contained several apartments (see Table 28).

These data suggest that the advantages of building larger apartments or houses with several rentable units, i.e. the significance of rent as a source of revenue, was

Table 28. The various sizes of apartments rented

No. of rooms rented	No. of houses	%	No. of houses with several apartments	%
1	104	8.8	—	—
2	584	49.6	49	8.4
3	245	20.8	170	69.4
4	110	9.3	75	68.2
5	47	3.9	40	85.1
6–10	73	6.3	48	65.7
11–	16	1.3	9	56.2
Total	1179	100.0	391	33.2

[51] Data concerning the size of the houses leased are contained in the tax censuses of Baja, Csakova, Eger, Fehérvár, Gyöngyös, Nagyvárad, Pápa, Pozsony, Szeged and Versec; data concerning the size of parts of apartments leased can be found in the tax censuses of Arad, Érsekújvár, Esztergom, Galgóc, Lugos, Máramarossziget, Miskolc, Nyitra, Sassin, Vágújhely and Veszprém.

recognized by only a small fraction of the early nineteenth-century urban population. The proportion of these people was much smaller among those of unknown occupation than among those engaged in earning occupations (see Table 29).

While 84% of the houses owned by those of unknown occupation had one to three rooms, the parallel figure was 65.5% for the group of people of known occupation. Only 28% of the houses in the possession of the former group had several apartments; 49% of the latter had one or more apartments for rent. The tax censuses of the few towns which recorded the tenants with their addresses, i.e. where the number of the tenants per house could be established, indicate that in the majority of the houses there was one household in addition to that of the landlord, rarely two. This was the case for 70% of the houses owned by owners of known occupation, and for 79% of the houses of those of unknown occupation.

Table 29. The various sizes of apartments rented out by people of known and unknown occupation

No. of rooms rented	Houses rented out by people of unknown occupation		Of these, the houses with several apartments		Houses rented out by people with known occupations		Of these, the houses with several apartments	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	87	10.0	—	—	17	5.6	—	—
2	464	53.1	30	6.0	120	39.3	19	15.8
3	182	20.8	133	73.1	63	20.6	37	58.7
4	71	8.1	45	63.4	39	12.8	30	76.9
5	20	2.3	17	85.0	27	8.8	23	85.2
6–10	42	4.8	23	55.0	31	10.2	25	80.6
11–	8	0.9	1	11.5	8	2.7	8	100.0
Total	874	100.2	249	28.5	305	100.0	142	46.5

The majority of the rented apartments had one to three rooms. We know the size of almost all of the 2,897 rented rooms and apartments about which we have data.

More than one-third of the apartments leased were not self-contained apartments but the spare second or third room of the owner's flat; the only kitchen was used jointly with the tenant. There are references to cases where the tenant shared with the owner not only the kitchen but the only room of the house as well. In Versec, for example, the owner, a widow, shared her room with three tenants. Such cases, however, were mostly ignored by the census takers. The tax census of Vác points out that those sharing the kitchen with their tenants were not registered as receiving rental income.

Nearly 90 percent of the apartments leased had one or two rooms, approximately half and half; the proportion of apartments larger than that reached about 10% if we take into account the apartments consisting of several rooms but of an unspecified number of independently used units. Among the houseowners of unknown occupation, the number of those renting out just rooms was much higher than for the group as a whole, and the number of those letting three-room or larger

Table 30. Size of apartments rented out by people of known and unknown occupation

Number of rooms	Apartments rented out by people with known occupation		Apartments rented out by people with unknown occupation		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 room	257	24.7	724	37.6	981	33.1
2 rooms	25	2.4	44	2.3	69	2.3
1 room + kitchen	317	30.5	500	26.0	817	27.6
2 rooms + kitchen	299	28.7	458	23.8	757	25.5
3 rooms + kitchen	90	8.6	105	5.6	195	6.7
4 rooms + kitchen	28	2.7	28	1.4	56	1.9
5 rooms + kitchen	7	0.7	6	0.3	13	0.4
6 rooms + kitchen	1	0.1	6	0.3	7	0.2
7 rooms + kitchen	—	—	3	0.2	3	0.1
Subtotal	1024	98.4	1874	97.5	2898	97.8
5 rooms + 2 kitchens	6		9		15	
5 rooms + 3 kitchens	3		3		6	
6 rooms + 2 kitchens	—		6		6	
7 rooms + 2 kitchens	1		2		3	
7 rooms + 5 kitchens	1		1		2	
8 rooms + 2 kitchens	—		3		3	
8 rooms + 3 kitchens	—		1		1	
8 rooms + ? kitchens	—		9		9	
9 rooms + 3 kitchens	—		2		2	
9 rooms + 4 kitchens	1		—		1	
9 rooms + ? kitchens	—		3		3	
10 rooms + 3 kitchens	1		1		2	
10 rooms + 4 kitchens	1		—		1	
10 rooms + 5 kitchens	1		—		1	
10 rooms + ? kitchens	—		2		2	
12 rooms + 4 kitchens	2		—		2	
12 rooms + 7 kitchens	—		1		1	
12 rooms + ? kitchens	—		1		1	
14 rooms + 4 kitchens	—		1		1	
14 rooms + 5 kitchens	—		1		1	
15 rooms + ? kitchens	—		1		1	
16 rooms + ? kitchens	—		1		1	
22 rooms + ? kitchens	—		1		1	
Subtotal	17	1.6	49	2.5	66	2.2
Total	1041	100.0	1923	100.0	2964	100.0

apartments was quite small. This indicates that they were forced to share their apartments with tenants in order to improve somewhat upon their meagre financial situation and not because they considered rental revenue a profitable investment (see Table 30).

Our very scattered data show little difference between the towns of the different types as far as the average size of houses is concerned: one to two room houses and apartments were characteristic of all of them. The largest rental houses—judging

from the high number of tenants recorded and the average number of households per house (two or three)—were in the capital. The proportion of three-room apartments and larger was the highest in the towns of Group 2 (mainly three to five rooms), and this is in keeping with the number of households per house being the second highest in these towns: 1.8. In the towns of Group 3, where the number of households per house was very low (1.3), the number of rental apartments with more than five rooms was higher than the average; i.e. in these towns, apartments were leased mainly in the bigger houses. In the towns of Groups 4 and 5, the house owners mostly rented out only one room.

From all this it appears that rental income and agricultural commodity production secured the living of only a small part of the households with unknown occupations. In the majority of towns, though, they could supplement these incomes by day labour or haulage. Their real property enabled them to obtain a place in urban society, for the other main form of participation, through professional corporations, was not open to them. By belonging to the community of house owners, which definitely implied a social rank, they could at least see the attainment of *civis* status as a distant possibility, even if one that was never realized by most of them. Their work and way of life, as well as their surroundings in the suburbs, hardly differed from those of the village people. Yet, the hustle and bustle of urban life, the rapidness of communication and the news it brought of the outside world, though it all had relatively little impact on this stratum, could not help but shape them, too.

But more than half of the people of unknown occupation, i.e. about one-third of the urban households, did not possess any property. They had to buy everything for their subsistence: food, housing, industrial articles. They could acquire money only by selling their labour. Their lifestyle hardly differed from that of the rural cottars: there was high demand for agricultural work and for work on building sites, in transportation, in mines and in other types of unskilled jobs often done by cottars as well. Their way of life differed from that of the rural labourers only by the higher degree of their dependence on the market, particularly in the larger towns of Groups 1, 2 and 3. Torn out of the rural community and their relations of kinship, they became uprooted especially in the bigger towns. Exposed to the fluctuations of the demand for labour, the mobility of this stratum was very great. Their habits, needs and their outlook were no longer formed by rural traditions but by the quite different world of the towns. True, due to the strong presence of agricultural production and to the feudal relations, this urban life was not as alien to them as the world of the big cities of Western Europe was to the peasants who migrated there from the villages.

3. The distribution of taxpaying households according to legal status

When investigating the households in terms of occupation and wealth, we considered the importance of their role in the urban central functions, the traditional or innovative features of their economic activities, and the stratification by wealth among and within the various social groups. In other words, we concentrated on their significance for socio-economic progress, primarily in economic terms. However, the contemporary system of values still reflected the categories of a semi-feudal social order, and though wealth was beginning to play an increasing role in the differentiation of the social groups, true social rank was still thought to be attached only to class privilege. It was this set of values that compelled the wealthier urban inhabitants to apply for *civis* status, however minimal its benefits may have been. In turn, the more enterprising of the well-to-do bourgeoisie tried to buy their way into the nobility.

Subjective and unrealistic as these value judgements were, we cannot afford to ignore them. For they are as telling of the society of the late 1820s as the most "concrete" of socio-economic parameters. It is only by keeping both in mind that we shall arrive at some understanding of the positions that their differing legal statuses in urban society assured the various social groups in early nineteenth-century Hungary.

Listening to certain historians, even today, we can find elements of that traditional parochialism which assessed every event and circumstance involving the town in terms of the threat it might pose to its autonomy and the prerogatives of its citizens. It is the attitudes of the *cives* of feudal times that we can recognize in their negative evaluation of the nobility's settling in the towns: they saw them as threats to the liberties—meaning the privileges—of the town corporation. The nobility was perceived as a stratum reluctant to share in the town's tax burdens, but persistent in vindicating prerogatives for itself, an element alien to the town. They ignored the fact that many of these nobles and their households were the very customers who triggered the upswing of industry and commerce, to say nothing of the influence their way of life, cultural requirements and forms of social intercourse had on the mores of the better-off townsfolk. Events and ideas of national import were conveyed to the burghers usually through the nobility. And, of course, those of the nobility who held some office were performing important urban functions.

The analysis of the composition of the *civis* class is more than warranted by the fact that its role has always been overrated, and still is. Specialists are becoming

Table 31. Taxpaying households by legal status

Group	Noblemen		*Honoratiores*		*Cives*		Non-citizens		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	464	2.8	198	1.2	2,880	17.5	12,857	78.5	16,399	100
2	905	2.4	703	1.9	6,239	16.8	29,168	78.9	37,015	100
3	829	2.4	343	1.0	2,596	7.7	29,934	88.9	33,702	100
4	731	3.3	356	1.6	3,323	14.8	18,043	80.3	22,453	100
5	55	1.1	58	1.1	—	—	5,075	97.8	5,188	100
7	255	4.0	86	1.4	893	14.1	5,104	80.5	6,338	100
8	202	5.3	121	3.2	1,176	31.3	2,257	60.2	3,756	100
9	—	—	3	0.5	—	—	1,062	99.5	1,065	100
Total	3,441	2.8	1,868	1.4	17,107	13.6	103,500	82.2	125,916	100

increasingly aware of the fact that the privileges entailed by the *civis* status were becoming illusory by the 1800s, that the *cives* comprised only a small fraction of the urban inhabitants, that their former monopoly of urban positions had been shaken, and that they were hindering bourgeois development, rather than promoting it, unlike the new type of non-*civis* enterpreneurs.[52]

Nevertheless, urban histories and textbooks continue to write much more about the *cives* than the new bourgeoisie, because there is much more data on them both in the sources and in the secondary literature than on the circumstances, role, and composition of the urban inhabitants of the new type. Although the unevenness of the data base makes this lopsided view understandable, it does not change the fact that it leads to an overemphasis on the role of the *cives*, and to the projection of the characteristics of this stratum onto the whole of the urban population.

Only a small fraction of the urban inhabitants were of privileged status: the households of the noblemen and *honoratiores* accounted for 4.2%, and those with *civis* status for only 13.6% of all urban households. Even if we consider the population only of the royal free towns, the ratio of the *civis* population was no more than 21% (see Tables 31 and 32). This privileged one-fifth owned almost 40%

Table 32. Percentage of the privileged households in the royal free towns

Group	Noblemen	*Honoratiores*	*Cives*	Total
1	2.8	1.2	17.5	21.5
2	2.7	1.9	19.3	23.9
3	5.9	1.1	18.5	25.5
4	3.5	2.4	25.8	31.7
7	4.2	2.7	52.0	58.9
8	5.3	3.2	31.2	39.8
Total	3.0	1.5	21.1	25.6

[52] For the most recent and strongest wording of this, see *Magyarország története* 1980, pp. 547–570.

of the arable land and meadows, almost half of the orchards, and collected two-thirds of the urban rents. Thus their social rank was based not only on their privileged status but also on their properties.

a. The nobility

The tax censuses of only a few towns provide more or less precise and complete data about the composition of the nobility and their properties. They were generally recorded in the royal free towns where they had to pay taxes on the properties held in the town. In the other settlements, references were made to the number of noble property owners and the size of their land only in the textual parts of the census or in separate records. There are settlements where only indirect data suggest the large number of noble owners. For example, in Vágújhely, three hundred and five households (one hundred and seventy-three of which were Jewish) were recorded to be living in houses belonging to noblemen. There were two hundred and forty-seven such households in Miskolc, eighty-eight in Máramarossziget, sixty-five in Losonc, fifty-five in Nagyvárad, forty-one in Huszt, twenty-six in Arad and eleven in Galgóc. In addition, a hundred and thirty-five houses in Máramarossziget, twenty-one in Huszt, eighty-nine in Galgóc and thirteen in Miskolc were built on lots owned by noblemen. In their complaints about military burdens, Várad and Nyitra made references to the many houses in town owned by noblemen. The Nyitra tax census notes that all the inhabitants of the Upper Town were noblemen and that in the part of town called *Parucza vicus nobilitaris* the lots of noblemen were inhabited by Jews. These remarks indicate a much more significant—although not necessarily physical—presence of the nobility than it appears from the records.

However, these sources could not be taken into account when we analyzed the composition and property ownership of the nobility living in the towns or possessing property there because they do not supply reliable evidence about the

Table 33. Distribution of the noble households according to the occupations of the head of the household

Group	Professionals, clerks, free lancers		Artisans		Merchants		Other		Unknown		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	53	11.4	17	3.7	30	6.5	3	0.6	361	77.8	464	100
2	91	10.0	57	6.3	34	3.7	7	0.8	716	79.2	905	100
3	51	6.1	144	17.4	26	3.1	2	0.2	606	73.2	829	100
4	52	10.5	38	7.7	11	2.2	10	2.0	384	77.6	495	100
7	9	12.0	26	34.7	2	2.7	—	—	35	50.6	72	100
8	11	5.4	43	21.3	11	5.4	—	—	137	67.9	202	100
Total	267	9.0	325	10.9	114	3.8	22	0.7	2239	75.6	2967	100

Table 34. The nobility's share of urban property and of urban rental income

Group	Proportion of house owners among the nobility	Proportion of houses in noble hands of those registered	Proportion of owners renting out of those recorded	Percentage they received of all rent collected
1	89.7	9.6	8.9	32.0
2	71.2	3.9	6.6	15.9
3	83.5	6.0	7.2	13.7
4	61.0	4.0	5.9	15.0
5	?	?	?	?
7	86.0	7.8	14.0	24.3
8	85.7	16.1	12.0	31.0
Total	81.4	3.8	6.6	24.6

number of the noblemen. Thus, the analysis of the nobility dwelling in the towns had to be limited to those settlements where the tax census listed at least the number of the noble households and the area of their lands. Their occupational composition could only be based on the data of those towns[53] which had recorded them household by household.

For about three quarters of the noblemen recorded, no occupation or salaried position was indicated. The majority of these must have been landowners maintaining houses or permanent residences in town. Some of them, especially the magnates of whom many lived in the towns of Groups 1 and 2, held government offices usually of high rank which were not recorded in the tax census. It was considered to be superfluous, for the nobility was exempt from personal taxes, and these positions were well known to the contemporaries. Thus it may well be that the proportion of professionals was somewhat higher than it appears from the tax census, exceeding that of the craftsmen (see Table 33).

The majority of the noblemen recorded were house owners and more than half of them held land as well. Their share of urban property far exceeded the proportion they comprised of all property owners in every group of towns, even in the capital, where only one-third of the recorded noblemen, approximately a hundred and fifty families, owned land. They generally owned a good proportion of the orchards and of the arables. Their vineyards tended to be much smaller in the majority of the towns, and it was only in a few towns that a high concentration of vineyards in noble hands was recorded (see Table 34).

As to the occupational composition and property of the nobility, there was a great difference between those in the towns of Groups 1, 2 and 4 and those in the Group 3,7 and 8 towns. In the latter, where the proportion of the noble households

[53] Bártfa, Besztercebánya, Debrecen, Eger, Eperjes, Esztergom, Fehérvár, Győr, Kassa, Kecskemét, Késmárk, Komárom, Nagyszombat, Pécs, Pest-Buda, Pozsony, Sopron, Szatmárnémeti, Szeged, Temesvár, Újvidék and Zombor.

Proportion of agricultural property owners among the nobility	The nobility's share of the various types of urban land, in %			
	arable	meadow	vineyard	orchard
32.4	23.0	30.6	7.4	—
44.0	12.4	9.0	2.2	23.4
74.6	14.0	18.6	20.9	24.2
35.8	15.7	11.5	1.6	—
?	20.0	11.0	23.0	89.0
89.0	17.3	18.9	44.0	—
73.4	30.8	51.8	—	43.0
59.3	12.0	9.1	4.4	19.4

was higher than in others,[54] more than 75% of the noblemen owned land, while in the former, only about one-third of them were landowners. In the towns of Groups 3, 7 and 8, quite a few noblemen were engaged in crafts; the majority of these worked by themselves or at best with one journeyman. In these towns, the noble craftsmen and merchants generally owned smaller lands than the rest of the noblemen, and their activities and way of life were similar to those of the urban middle strata. Their modest living circumstances are attested by the fact that several of the noble craftsmen living in the towns of Group 8 kept tenants; judging from the insignificant sum of rent they received, however, they seem to have let out merely one room, just as other craftsmen did.

In the towns of Groups 3, 7 and 8, the majority of the noble clerks were municipal employees, while in the towns of the other groups they were usually state and county officials.

This composition of the nobility leads us to conjecture that in the towns of Groups 3, 7 and 8 a significant part of the inhabitants were citizens who had acquired nobility. In these towns, the nobility did not live very differently from the other strata of the urban society, especially from the *cives*. Because of the similarities in their production activities, in their life-style and in their requirements, the nobility could not have constituted a significant market for the goods produced by the citizens. Their closer connections to the upper layers of the *civis* class and to the conservative urban leadership is also suggested by the fact that far more of them had civic status here than in the rest of the towns. Over-all, 4% of the noble households held citizenship; in Group 8, however, 26.6%, and in Group 3, 12.9% were citizens. A similar proportion was to be found only in Fehérvár from among the towns of Group 4, with 13.4% of the nobles having citizenship.

In the other three groups of towns, especially in Group 4, the majority of the noblemen were bound to the town by offices held, or by the attraction of county

[54] The extremely high proportion of noblemen in Group 3 is mainly the consequence of the great number of noblemen in Szatmárnémeti and Komárom.

politics and social life. Many of them lived in apartments, as their periodic stay in town was often short. Their consumer and cultural needs had a strong influence on the process of urbanization.

In the capital, the nobility comprised the smallest percentage of the landowners. However, as house owners, their ratio was the highest of all social groups. Many of the nobles who had bought houses or had them built did so for the purpose of acquiring rental revenue. The investment aspect is suggested by the high percentage (82%) of the noble house owners who let out houses or apartments, and collected high average rents (1,031 florins) per lessor. Some noble families owned several houses in the capital: nineteen of them had two or more houses rented out in Pest, altogether sixty-six houses with a total annual rent of 122, 645 florins, 13% of all the rental income recorded for Budapest. The relatively high number of house owners among the aristocracy and the high value of their houses was typical of Pest at the time, and continued to be so for the rest of the century. Most of the aristocratic families who held significant urban properties in 1873[55] owned many valuable buildings with high rental income already in 1828.

In the other towns there was no such concentration of house ownership in the hands of the nobility. But data from those towns where we have information on the houses let out by the nobility indicate that rental income was a fairly widespread source of revenue among them. This circumstance highlights one of the nobility's roles in urban development which has not been properly stressed so far. By supplying rented dwellings to those with not enough money to buy a house and to the Jews, who in many towns were not permitted to acquire property, they promoted the increase of the urban population and contributed to the spread of rented housing, a typical feature of urban life.

b. The honoratiores

Like the noblemen, the *honoratiores*, being personally exempt from taxes, were to be included in the tax census only if they possessed taxable property. However, one third of those recorded did not own any property. Apparently, in several towns, all *honoratior* households were recorded. As to their total number, the figures in the tax census are far from complete, as most of them did not own urban property at all. Like the professionals discussed above, the property-owning segment is heavily over-represented.

The different towns vary not only in recording *honoratiores* without property, but also in the criteria they used for this class as well. The instructions of the tax census listed council members and certain district and municipal officials, lawyers, surveyors, physicians, surgeons, midwives, university-trained pharmacists, privileged printers and licensed dance, art, language, fencing and music teachers. Some towns, however, did not include all these in the column of *honoratiores*, while they

[55] Vörös 1971, pp. 259–262.

did include royal officials, seigniorial officials, and the teachers in the urban schools, as well as noble professionals.

As a consequence, those engaged in the different intellectual occupations were classified as *honoratiores* in varying proportions. Altogether two-thirds of those with intellectual occupations were also included in the *honoratiores* column. Of the municipal clerks, medical doctors, lawyers, midwives and pharmacists more than 85% were *honoratiores*, but only 53% of the seigniorial (estate) clerks, 35% of the county clerks, only 19% of the civil servants, 37% of the artists (painters, sculptors, musicians, etc.), 19% of the teachers, and 5% of the clergy were listed among them. Of the 1,085 people with intellectual occupations not included among the *honoratiores*, only 216 were noblemen and 38 were *cives* (cf. Tables 35 and 20).

Since the diverse interpretations of the instruction originated to a great extent from the rather undefined concept of *honoratior*, the varying content of this class in the records of the different towns and counties tells us a great deal about the divergent assessments of the social rank of the members of the different intellectual occupations.

In the towns of Groups 3, 4 and 7, a more than average number of state and county civil servants were classified as *honoratiores*, while in those of Groups 2, 5, and 7 many of the seigniorial clerks were included in that class. Among the teachers, the proportion classed as *honoratior* was especially high in Group 1, probably because of the higher number of university and college professors. The proportion of *honoratiores* was high among the medical doctors in Groups 2 and 5, and among those engaged in the creative arts in Groups 1 and 3.

Among the *honoratiores* of the capital, the proportion of those working in the field of health and education was much higher than average, while that of clerks, primarily of the non-municipal employees, was much lower. The proportion of the medical professionals was also higher than average in the towns of Group 5, primarily at the expense of the municipal clerks. This may be due to the fact that the administrative professionals of these *oppida* of small population were considered to have been of a lower rank. In the absence of higher government posts, they worked for the estates, though some were county officials.

The concentration of the clerks was the highest in the towns classified in Group 2; here, the proportion of teachers exceeded the average, too. Although quite a few county or district institutions had headquarters in these towns, among the non-municipal officials the majority were not the royal civil servants but the seigniorial clerks. The proportion of royal civil servants was the highest in the towns of Groups 7 and 4. In the towns of Group 8, the composition of the *honoratiores* is characterized by the high number of municipal clerks and those with undefined occupations.

As for landed property, 59% of the *honoratiores* owned one or more houses and 42% had land; in general, their share of the urban lands exceeded their numerical proportion (see Table 36). The proportion of landowners was much higher among the *honoratiores* than among the professionals without privileges, while the

[56] Heckenast 1948, p. 53.

Table 35. The distribution of the *honoratiores* by profession

Occupation	Groups								Total
	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	
	Distribution by numbers								
Municipal clerks	47	283	123	111	17	28	45	1	655
Civil servants	3	23	15	20	—	7	2	—	70
County clerks	—	5	3	21	3	—	2	—	34
Domanial employees	—	52	16	15	5	6	1	—	95
Other clerical workers	—	12	5	2	—	1	—	1	21
Total	50	375	162	169	25	42	50	2	875
Clergy	—	2	2	3	—	2	3	—	12
Lawyers	12	56	52	22	3	5	6	—	156
Teachers	12	74	14	7	3	3	4	—	117
Physicians	12	34	6	13	2	1	3	—	71
Surgeons	42	56	27	27	10	11	2	—	175
Midwives	16	24	19	17	1	—	1	—	78
Pharmacists	16	26	26	20	8	8	6	1	111
Veterinarians	1	5	2	1	—	1	—	—	10
Freelance artists, musicians	11	21	9	3	—	1	1	—	46
Other and unknown	26	30	24	74	6	12	45	—	217
Total	198	703	343	356	58	86	121	3	1868

proportion of house owners was almost equal in these two groups (cf. Tables 37 and 38). The arable land owned by the latter was smaller, too.

Among the *honoratiores* of different occupations, the proportion of property owners was far above the average among the clerks and far below average among the medical and artistic professionals. The proportion of property owners and the size of their holdings was the most significant among municipal clerks; clerks employed by the counties also had significant property. Those employed by the state and on the estates would rather buy houses in the towns, even though, of the latter, few lived there permanently. Among those in health care, the number of house owners was generally high. Lawyers and teachers seem to have considered the acquisition of land quite important: the proportion of those owning only land (mostly vineyards, but no house) was the highest in this occupational group.

A part of the *honoratiores* derived regular income from their land, and rent was also a major source of supplementary income for a fairly large group of them. Of the house owner *honoratiores*, 41% rented out their houses or a part of them. Frequently, they leased their whole house while they themselves lived in rented apartments.

Rental income was a significant source of revenue in Group 1, especially in Pest: here, 79% of the house owner *honoratiores* let their houses out, and the average rent per tenant was 553 florins. In Buda, quite a few *honoratiores* had 2 to 3 houses on their land, but the total revenue from these was far short of the revenue that came from the partial renting of one house in Pest, where there were five *honoratiores* who

Groups								Total
1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	
Distribution by percentage								
23.7	40.2	35.8	31.2	29.4	32.5	37.2	33.33	35.1
1.5	3.3	4.4	5.6	—	8.1	1.6	—	3.7
—	0.7	0.9	5.9	5.2	—	1.6	—	1.8
—	7.4	4.7	4.2	8.6	7.0	0.8	—	5.1
—	1.7	1.5	0.6	—	1.2	—	33.33	1.1
25.2	53.3	47.3	47.5	43.2	48.8	41.2	66.66	46.8
—	0.3	0.6	0.8	—	2.3	2.5	—	0.6
6.1	8.0	15.1	6.2	5.2	5.8	5.0	—	8.3
6.1	10.5	4.1	2.0	5.2	3.5	3.4	—	6.3
6.1	4.8	1.7	3.6	3.4	1.2	2.5	—	3.8
21.2	8.0	7.9	7.6	17.2	12.8	1.6	—	9.4
8.1	3.4	5.5	4.8	1.7	—	0.8	—	4.2
8.1	3.7	7.6	5.6	13.8	9.3	5.0	33.33	5.9
0.5	0.7	0.6	0.3	—	1.2	—	—	0.5
5.5	3.0	2.6	0.8	—	1.2	0.8	—	2.5
13.1	4.3	7.0	20.8	10.3	13.9	37.2	—	11.7
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

received revenues exceeding 1,000 florins from letting out apartments. Most of the houses in the possession of *honoratiores* in Pest had originally been built for rental housing; the average rent per person was 814 florins, as opposed to the average rent of 226 florins received by the *honoratiores* in Buda.

The *honoratiores* living in the towns of Group 2 also received a significant rental income; here, however, only 39% of the house owners had tenants and the average rent per tenant was only 161 florins.

Table 36. The share of the *honoratiores* in urban properties

Group	Proportion of the recorded						
	houses	"renters out" of houses	rental income	arable	meadows	vineyards	orchards
1	1.4	1.6	3.2	1.6	1.7	2.9	—
2	2.0	2.8	11.2	6.4	5.2	4.2	3.7
3	1.1	1.1	4.2	2.2	1.7	3.9	3.4
4	1.7	2.6	7.2	3.6	4.5	2.2	—
5	1.5	1.6	5.0	3.7	2.2	4.5	—
7	1.3	3.6	5.6	1.7	2.1	2.6	15.1
8	5.9	9.1	15.3	8.6	7.9	2.9	11.9
9	0.4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1.6	2.3	5.9	4.5	4.5	3.6	4.2

Table 37. Property ownership and the number of employees among the *honoratiores*

Group	Proportion of		Number of		Number of houses per house owner
	house owners	land-owners	servants	maids	
			per household		
1	41.9	26.8	0.2	0.7	1.2
2	58.0	38.0	0.1	0.4	1.0
3	74.9	44.9	0.3	0.4	1.1
4	60.9	44.1	0.2	0.5	1.1
5	79.3	48.3	0.6	0.9	1.0
7	75.6	46.5	0.2	0.5	0.9
8	77.7	71.9	0.2	1.0	1.4
9	33.3	—	—	2.0	—
Total	62.7	42.0	0.2	0.5	1.1

[a] —in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

An average rental income above 100 florins was received by the *honoratiores* living in the towns of Groups 3 and 4 as well. In Group 3, however, only a much smaller proportion of the house owners (15%) rented out apartments. In the other towns, rental income was insignificant, remaining under 100 florins. In some places, however, renting their houses was a significant source of revenue for certain *honoratiores,* mainly for municipal clerks.

Generally speaking, however, rent was a source of income for a smaller part of the *honoratiores* than for the rest of the professionals. While among the *honoratiores* 41% of the house owners had tenants, among other professionals 52% had. With the exception of the towns belonging to Groups 1 and 2, the average rental income of professionals was much lower, because their houses or apartments were more modest than those of the *honoratiores.*

A few municipal employees earned additional revenue from other occupations besides their salaries and their properties. Altogether sixteen such craftsmen and thirty-one such merchants are recorded in the tax census, i.e. 2.4% of all *honoratiores* and 7% of the clerks. It is perhaps worth noting that the proportion of property owners and the size of land per household were larger among these *honoratiores* than the average. They owned several houses, and their rental income was almost double the sum received by the rest of the *honoratiores.* A few merchants were also engaged in large-scale farming. It may be assumed that these craftsmen and merchants may have risen to municipal clerk status on account of their wealth.

The sporadic data in the tax census about the living conditions of the *honoratiores* have but illustrative value. Some general conclusions may be drawn from the relatively high number of servants and maids employed by them: 5.5% of the servants and 7.6% of the maids recorded in the urban tax census were employed in their households. While on the average, every sixteenth urban household employed a servant and every tenth employed a maid, among the *honoratiores* every fifth had a

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of the house owners renting out	Average annual rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
1.3	2.2	6.8	—	79.5	553
29.5	33.0	1.9	0.3	39.0	161
6.4	1.9	2.1	0.7	15.0	103
15.3	3.4	1.8	—	46.0	126
23.6	3.9	1.5	—	34.8	95
7.9	2.1	0.2	0.1	26.0	47
21.9	1.9	0.0	1.0	47.0	65
—	—	—	—	—	—
18.9	13.0	2.8	0.5	41.2	271

servant and every second had a maid. The *honoratiores* employed 86% of the servants and 93% of the maids serving in all the professional households, which suggests that keeping more servants was characteristic not of the professional households in general, but of the *honoratiores* in particular. Manservants were kept by pharmacists, and in households with a significant area of land and a large stock of animals. Keeping several maids was typical of these, much more than of all other urban households, disregarding, of course, the nobility, whose staff of servants is not known because of their exemption from the tax census.

We have very few data about the housing conditions of the *honoratiores*. The size of their rental income indicates that their houses were, on the average, better built, and that not rooms but independent apartments and premises were let by them, that several houses were built expressly for acquiring rental revenue. We have some data on the sizes of thirty-four apartments leased in twenty-eight houses or parts of houses. There were 3 one-room, 14 two-room, 7 three-room, 3 four-room apartments and 7 apartments larger than that. Every one of them had a separate kitchen and some of them had other additional rooms (pantry, cellar, stables, or sheds). More than half of the apartments let out had three rooms or more. This leads to the assumption that the house owners themselves lived in at least similar size apartments. Also sporadic data indicate that the *honoratiores* owned the largest houses in some of the towns.

The occasional data about rent paid by *honoratiores* living in rented accommodations suggest that they were in a better situation financially than the majority of the urban population and even than the rest of the intellectuals. Although their lands per owner did not usually exceed the size of the farms owned by other professionals, the much higher proportion of landowners, the higher value of their houses, and the larger number of their servants all testify to the fact that their privileged situation, coupled with the concentration of significant wealth and a

Table 38. Property ownership and the number of employees among the non-*honoratior* professionals

Group	Proportion of		Number of		Number of houses per house owner
	house owners	land-owners	servants	maids	
			per household		
1	84.4	51.2	0.01	0.02	1.1
2	37.6	21.9	0.04	0.1	1.0
3	68.0	48.2	0.2	0.01	1.0
4	63.5	18.5	0.02	0.9	1.4
5	17.1	5.7	—	0.05	1.2
7	74.3	94.9	0.2	0.2	1.5
8	52.9	58.8	—	—	1.1
9	94.3	11.4	—	—	1.2
Total	57.1	33.6	0.06	0.07	1.1

[a] — in *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

more distinguished way of life, all contributed to their higher social rank in the towns. Not all *honoratiores* lived amidst such comfortable conditions. A significant part of those recorded in the tax census did not have a house of their own; only half of the house owners received rental income, and marketable surplus was produced on the farms of only a very few of them. A smaller, but still significant segment of the *honoratiores* (particularly if we consider that those without property were not included in the tax census) were less well-off than the rest of the professionals. The majority of these lived from their salaries and had little hope of securing a comfortable life-style for themselves and their families. Thus, their economic interest frequently oriented them toward the bourgeois transformation promising wider perspectives and more unequivocal social recognition.

c. Citizens: the *cives*

The privileged legal status and higher social rank of the nobility and the *honoratiores* living in the towns did not stop at the boundaries of the towns: their liberties were more general and of a wider scope than those of the citizens, and they had them wherever they lived. Only a small fraction of the nobility lived in the towns permanently, and urban development influenced their situation only indirectly, as one of the features of the socio-economic transformation of the country. For the *honoratiores*—and the professionals in general—on the other hand, this development meant the expansion of their activities and the promotion of their wealth and social standing.

The privileges of the citizens were limited and valid only within the boundaries of certain towns. Their situation was fundamentally shaken by the transformations occurring in the country, which led to the loss of their leading role in the hierarchic structure of the towns.

Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]	Proportion of house owners renting out	Average annual rental income per landlord (in florins)
per household of owners					
1.7	3.4	5.2	—	65.8	566
20.0	45.3	2.5	0.2	40.0	63
13.0	4.1	1.8	0.7	40.1	51
1.4	1.2	1.2	—	58.3	104
5.4	—	2.7	—	100.0	5
4.6	0.4	0.2	0.03	44.8	65
19.6	4.0	—	1.5	66.6	46
2.8	3.2	—	—	9.1	53
12.3	14.0	2.6	0.3	52.6	169

To the citizens, however, their importance and high rank in the towns seemed unbroken. Even though they felt the deterioration of their situation and the weakening of their position, they considered these transitory problems to be remedied by stricter adherence to the old privileges and rules. The gap between their actual role and their social pretensions became wider year by year.

It followed logically from the fact that the *civitates* were no longer the places actually fulfilling an urban role that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, *civis* status was no longer identifiable with the social stratum performing the main urban functions, or with the bourgeois elements promoting the unfolding capitalist system. Citizenship as such existed only in a part of the settlements fulfilling urban functions, and their inhabitants with civic rights accounted for only 13.6% of those recorded in the tax census of 1828. More significantly, the one meaningful concept of citizenship, had become a mere legal category. The citizens, the *cives*, who in the Middle Ages had fulfilled the most important role in the economic life of the towns, who participated in the administration of the towns and who alone enjoyed urban liberties, had become a small fraction of the population of the royal free towns without any significant privileges. Their influence on the administration of the town was minimal; the economic role and wealth of the traditional craftsmen and shop owner merchants lagged far behind those of many a newcomer without civic rights making good profit from trade, or even grain farmers engaged in intensive agricultural production. The *cives* formed an ever smaller island in the mass of non-citizen enterpreneurs, professionals, labourers, and wage earners.

Earlier, the number of citizens had been limited by the city councils protecting the interests of the guilds and other institutions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, no such regulations were needed any more, because *civis* status was no longer the precondition of pursuing industry and commerce; hence, its acquisition meant only expenses rather than benefits, Consequently, fewer and fewer people strove to acquire it. The example of Pest demonstrates that it was precisely the

Table 39. The occupational distribution of the *cives*

Group	Profes-sionals	Craftsmen	Journeymen	Merchants	Two occupations	Transport
						Distribution by
1	4	1,502	17	368	25	35
2	18	3,279	33	664	94	79
3	3	1,562	—	161	10	—
4	7	1,535	26	331	32	29
7	2	624	1	42	—	—
8	4	1,041	—	34	—	—
Total	38	9,543	77	1,600	161	143
						Distribution by
1	0.1	52.1	0.6	12.8	0.9	1.2
2	0.3	52.6	0.5	10.6	1.5	1.3
3	0.1	60.2	—	6.2	0.4	—
4	0.2	46.2	0.8	10.0	1.0	0.9
7	0.2	69.9	0.1	4.7	—	—
8	0.3	88.6	—	2.9	—	—
Total	0.2	55.9	0.4	9.3	0.9	0.8

wealthy inhabitants with an enterprising spirit who were least interested. By this time, the acquisition of civic status was important only for those who wished to take roots in the towns: primarily immigrants, lesser masters in the guilds, retailers, generally for people of modest wealth.

The majority of the citizens were in the craft industry serving the internal needs of the town. More than half (56%) of the *cives* recorded in 1828 were craftsmen, usually masters engaged in the service industries; 9% were merchants, and one-quarter had no paying occupation. Among the groups of other occupations accounting for only a small fraction of the citizens, the highest proportion (3.5%) was represented by the citizen farmers (see Table 39).

The occupational composition of the *cives* varied in the different groups of towns to a lesser extent than the overall occupational distribution of the households. The greatest difference can be seen in the towns belonging to Group 4, where the proportion of craftsmen was much lower than average, while that of caterers and those in undefined occupations was much higher. In the towns of Group 8, and to a lesser degree, in those of Group 7, the overwhelming majority of the citizens were craftsmen; their proportion in the towns of Group 3 was higher than average, but here, the proportion of citizens not engaged in paying occupation, living presumably from farming, was also higher than average. As opposed to the rest of the towns, those in Groups 1 and 2 were characterized by a somewhat more proportionate distribution of people of different occupations.

The high proportion of *civis* craftsmen and merchants recorded is not surprising. Actually, it is lower than might be expected on the basis of the literature, where the concept of citizens is usually identified with these groups. Unexpected was the large number of citizens not engaged in earning occupations. This points to a high

Catering	Wage labourers	Other	Farmers	Without earning occupations	Total
numbers					
28	11	21	267	602	2,880
234	46	72	336	1,384	6,239
1	—	1	—	858	2,596
142	—	3	—	1,218	3,323
1	—	1	—	222	893
2	—	3	—	92	1,176
408	57	101	603	4,376	17,107
percentage					
1.0	0.4	0.7	9.3	20.9	100
3.7	0.7	1.1	5.4	22.3	100
0.04	—	0.04	—	33.02	100
4.3	—	0.1	—	36.5	100
0.1	—	0.1	—	24.9	100
0.2	—	0.2	—	7.8	100
2.5	0.3	0.6	3.5	25.6	100

number of farmers having acquired civic status, and to many citizens living from their capital, rental income or revenue from landed property. Some of them had probably been engaged in paying occupations earlier, but had retired by the time of the census:[57] this is suggested by the fact that in general, we find more heads of households over sixty among those not engaged in paying occupations than in other groups. Hence, even if we assume that some of the old *cives* lived on what they had accumulated while they were productive of income, it seems that a significant part of the citizens pursued occupations not considered traditional for citizens. The proportion of farmers was clearly significant among them, and this sheds new light on their well-known attachment to land and agriculture.

That bond is reflected by the high proportion of *cives* owning land: almost half of them did. (In Group 3, two-thirds of them did, in the capital, only one-third.) Their share of urban lands was out of proportion to their number, but to a much smaller extent than that of the noblemen or the *honoratiores*.

A high proportion of urban land was concentrated in the possession of citizens only in the towns of Group 4 (see Table 40).

A great part of the agricultural land owned by citizens (47% of the arable, 57% of the meadows, 68% of the vineyards) was in the hands of citizen farmers and citizens not listed in any paying occupation, and accounting for 29% of the *civis*

[57] In Buda, the retired craftsmen and merchants were recorded: the numbers were 45 and 7, altogether 52, a little less than 9% of the citizens without an earning occupation. Occasionally, other tax censuses also referred to craftsmen and tradesmen who no longer pursued their occupations on account of old age; their numbers were very low as well. Presumably, retired craftsmen and traders were recorded only when they had discontinued their trade but recently.

Table 40. The *cives'* share of urban properties in the royal free towns

Group	Proportion of the *civis* households	The *cives'* percentage share of the recorded						
		houses	"renters out" of houses	rental incomes	arable	meadow	vineyard	orchard
1	17.5	29.8	32,7	31.8	25.3	24.7	26.3	—
2	19.3	27.3	30.5	38.0	30.0	25.0	19.6	38.3
3	18.5	21.4	19.4	18.7	29.2	19.5	21.9	27.7
4	25.8	32.2	37.4	46.0	49.6	51.7	44.2	—
7	52.0	57.2	59.2	52.1	41.9	19.1	—	100.0
8	31.3	39.6	40.0	36.4	35.9	22.1	50.5	11.6
Total	21.1	28.7	25.9	32.9	33.6	37.8	23.1	30.8

households. Among them (see Table 41), the proportion of property owners, especially landowners, was much higher than among the rest of the citizens. This distribution of property, however, was not characteristic of all towns: in the Group 3, and to a lesser degree, Group 8 towns, those engaged in paying occupations owned a much greater part of the *civis* properties than in the rest of the towns. In the Group 4 towns, too, the larger areas of arable land were in the hands of those in paying occupations.

This distribution of agricultural property and the diversity of the owners indicate that in the towns of Groups 1 and 2, the *cives* living from farming were quite separate from the *cives* in other occupations. In these towns, the spheres of agricultural and industrial-commercial activities were more clearly divided: the social division of labour was more definite. Here, also, fewer of those engaged in paying occupations owned farmland, although their lands were quite large, and the difference in the size of landholding was the greatest between the two groups of citizens. Judging from the size of land per household, the majority in both groups

Table 41. Proportion of property owners among the *cives* not engaged in earning occupations and among those in earning occupations

Group	Proportion of house owners among the *cives*		all *cives*	Proportion of agricultural property owners among the cives		all *cives*
	engaged in earning occupations	not engaged		engaged in earning occupations	not engaged	
1	81.0	52.0	63.6	50.4	24.3	33.0
2	86.2	59.8	67.1	72.8	33.4	47.9
3	92.3	78.9	83.3	80.7	59.2	66.3
4	92.1	64.8	74.8	82.5	34.0	51.8
7	97.3	70.5	77.5	61.3	43.9	48.2
8	88.1	73.0	74.2	61.0	48.2	49.2
Total	90.0	64.0	71.5	69.0	39.5	48.9

Table 42. *Civis* property owners in the different occupations

Occupation	Proportion of landowners	Arable[a]	Meadow[b]	Vineyard[a]	Orchard[b]
		per household			
Professionals	47.4	32.8	2.4	3.4	0.6
Craftsmen	39.3	6.8	3.1	2.1	0.2
Journeymen	54.6	1.5	0.3	1.3	—
Merchants	37.2	14.3	7.0	2.9	0.2
Two occupations	53.5	13.0	38.3	5.4	0.4
Transport	54.6	6.8	21.6	2.8	0.3
Catering	34.8	12.8	2.9	2.3	0.1
Wage earners	64.9	4.5	2.8	3.9	—
Other	33.7	5.8	1.3	2.8	0.2
Farmers and gardeners	91.1	15.9	3.3	8.6	0.05

[a] — *pozsonyi mérő;* [b] — in *kaszás:* see footnote 44

was engaged in subsistence farming. Significant amounts of marketable grain were produced only by a small number of the farming citizens in the towns of Group 2. Selling wine, however, was an important source of revenue for all citizens. However, the vineyards of those not engaged in trade and commerce were much larger. That the difference between the two was greater than in terms of arable shows that the farming citizens were primarily engaged in viticulture.

In the towns of Groups 3 and 8, and to a somewhat smaller extent in those of Group 7, where a significant part of those engaged in paying occupations dealt with farming as well, the average size of land owned by the two *civis* groups was almost the same. Judging from the average size of the land held and from its profitability, subsistence farming was characteristic of both groups.

Contrary to generally held assumptions, only a small part of the craftsmen, merchants and caterers owned land. It seems that for the craftsmen, farming served merely the procurement of household supplies, while for the caterers and merchants it may have produced some surplus as well (see Table 42). The largest landed properties were in the hands of the professionals and of people with two occupations: about half of these owned land. The lands of these two occupational groups were equally significant as investments and as sources of revenue. An equal percentage (54.6%) of the shippers and journeymen owned land. Arable in the hands of the former was hardly enough for self-sufficiency though they may have produced their own wine. Their farms only supplied their own households, and their huge meadows produced the fodder for their draught animals. The highest proportion of landowners was found among the low number of agricultural and day-labourers with civic status: their farming probably covered their own needs; their vineyards may have produced for the market as well.

The high proportion of landowners among the poorer strata and especially among wage earners suggests that farming by family members primarily for subsistence was characteristic of those citizens who could not earn a living merely from their occupations. Professionals and merchants acquired land primarily for prestige and for the purpose of improving their credit rating, and only secondarily

in order to draw income from producing for the market. Citizens with two occupations and with an enterprising spirit may have grasped all the possible opportunities to increase their income, including commodity farming. However, the households of these occupational groups probably had the agricultural labour performed by servants and day-labourers as suggested by the significant number of servants employed: 0.6 male servants, and 0.8 maids per household.

A very high proportion of the servant staff included in the tax census—50% of the male servants and 60% of the maids—were employed by the *cives*. Their concentration was the lowest in the towns of Groups 7 and 8, and the highest in those classified in Groups 3 and 2. Employing servants was almost as typical of the households of citizens as of those of the *honoratiores;* on the average every sixth *civis* household had a servant and every third had a maid.

Unlike the *honoratiores,* it was not the citizens with the largest holdings who were found to have had the most servants. The citizen farmers cultivated their land mostly themselves or sometimes with the help of day-labourers. It is not by accident that for these households, far more adult sons and daughters living with their parents were recorded than for other strata. Thus, 54.9% of the adult sons and 41.6% of the adult daughters recorded in all the *civis* households were listed in the households of farmers and those without occupation, i.e. in 29% of all citizen households. While in respect of the whole *civis* group children of age were to be found in every seventh or eighth household, in the group of citizens without occupation, there was a son or a daughter living in every fifth household. In the towns of Groups 7 and 8, where the conditions for agricultural production were less favourable, far fewer than the average number of grown-up children lived in the household of their parents. The most sons were recorded in the towns of Group 2 (where, by the way, there were few male servants). The much higher number of adult children living in the household of their parents was related also to the fact that the proportion of heads of households over sixty years of age was also the highest in this group.

The employment of maids was a characteristic feature of the households of citizens. While of all urban inhabitants on the average every tenth household employed a maid, among the *cives* it was every third. Most maids served in the towns of Groups 1 and 8: in Group 1, every second citizen household had a maid on the average, in Group 8 every 2.5th. The fewest maids were recorded in the households of the citizens living in Group 7 and 3 towns: here, only every fourth household employed one. Among the citizens of different occupations, the most maids were employed by those having two occupations, the merchants and caterers, while their number was lower than average in the households of those not engaged in earning occupations.

Another characteristic feature of the citizens' way of life was that they lived mostly in their own houses. A significant proportion of the house owners let out apartments. Among the citizens not engaged in paying occupations, there were far more house owners, and the greater part of these house owners leased apartments: 45.8% as opposed to the 38.1% of those with paying occupations. Judging from the

almost identical annual rents, there was not much qualitative difference between their houses.

In their houses citizens gave lodging mostly to one, maximum two tenants. We were able to establish exactly the number of households in 1,844 houses (these accounted for 14% of the houses in the possession of citizens). In 944 houses (51.2%), there was one household in addition to the house owner's; in 419 houses (22.7%) two, in 201 houses (10.9%) three, and in 280 houses (15.2%) four or more households were recorded. Accordingly, much less rent was collected by the *cives* than by noblemen and *honoratiores*.

All this indicates that the houses served primarily as a dwelling place worthy of the family's putative rank. Even if they made use of the opportunity to acquire revenue by leasing the extra rooms or parts of apartments, they rarely invested in building or buying larger houses to rent out. Thus, citizens were more conservative than the nobility or the *honoratiores* in respect of acquiring additional, more typically urban, sources of revenue. The *cives* insisted on the traditional, feudal forms of investing capital and acquiring revenue: the aim of acquiring land was not only and not primarily to invest their cash in safe assets, but mainly to produce the food they needed and to raise their social prestige.

Thus the widespread view in the relevant literature describing the insistence on farming as one of the signs of the *cives'* medieval mentality is justified. But the concomitant conclusion that one of the hindrances to their accumulating capital was that the citizen craftsmen and merchants invested their money in agricultural land is wrong. Our data prove that acquiring property did not characterize equally the different strata of citizens, and that it was not primarily characteristic of the craftsmen and merchants. Their accumulation of capital was hindered not by their conservative investment policies but by the fact that their basic occupations—the traditional branches and forms of craft industry and commerce—enabled them only to maintain their more or less comfortable existence, but did not supply sufficient surpluses for accumulating significant capital.

d. Jews

Besides the groups of privileged legal standing, we must deal separately with the Jews, a group separated from feudal society precisely by their underprivileged or expressly limited legal status, to say nothing of their religion, language, and customs. They were small in absolute numbers, but were acquiring significance and economic weight.

In fifty-seven towns, altogether 4,453 Jewish households were recorded, making up 3.5% of the urban households. Their proportion was highest in the towns of Groups 5 (15.5%), 7 (6.2%), and 9 (10%), obviously due also to the low number of royal free towns in these groups. In the towns of Groups 8 and 3, including several royal free towns which prohibited the settling of Jews, the percentages were 0.7% and 1.8% only. In consequence of the prohibitions on their acquiring property,

only very few (21.4%) Jewish households owned a house and merely 5% owned land.

About one-third of the heads of household were merchants and traders, somewhat less than 10% were craftsmen while the occupations of approximately half of the Jews were not indicated in the tax census (see Table 43). The proportion of traders was very high in the towns of Groups 2 and 4. Here they accounted for about one-third of the merchants, in spite of the restrictions on their residence in some royal free towns. In Groups 5, 7 and 9, to which few royal free towns belonged, more than half of the merchants (64%, 56% and 53%) were Jews. Their role is demonstrated not only by these figures, but to an even greater extent by the fact that a great many of the new type of enterpreneur merchants were Jews.

Only 3% of the Jewish heads of household were engaged in intellectual occupations; they were mostly rabbis and teachers, but there were also a few medical doctors, surgeons and clerks employed by some of the larger Jewish communities. The Jewish professionals represented 15% of the non-*honoratior* professionals. In the towns of Group 5—where the majority of the merchants were also Jewish—they constituted 73% of the people of intellectual occupations.

In the towns of Groups 7 and 9, the occupational distribution of the Jews was somewhat different from that in the rest. In these towns, far fewer households were recorded without indication of occupation, and the proportion of craftsmen was much higher than the average. Here the proportion of Jews among the craftsmen was 13%, while in the rest of the towns it remained below 2%.

It is impossible to estimate their wealth and stratification on the basis of the tax census, since only a fraction of them had property. The greater part of the land owned by Jews, 77% of the arable, 47.5% of the meadows and 51.4% of the vineyards, was in the hands of those with unknown occupations. Much of the vineyards belonged to the merchants, who also had larger arable lands than those engaged in other occupations. However, the number of Jewish owners and the size of their lands were so small that it is impossible to draw any conclusion about the distribution of wealth on the basis of these data.

A quarter of the Jewish house owners let out their houses or parts of them, and their rental income was considerable: 122 florins on the average. The highest rents were received by the professionals (358 florins), those with unknown occupation (138 florins), and the merchants (103 florins). In all three occupational groups, the rent collected by Jews was about twice the amount received by non-Jews in the same occupational groups. This may lead us to conclude that the majority of those who offered lodgings primarily to their co-religionists, owned spacious houses of several apartments.

The majority of the Jewish households rented their apartments, and a very high proportion of them lived in houses owned by the nobility.

The tax census provides few data about their living circumstances: it may be concluded from them, however, that keeping servants was characteristic of these households, too. Only every eleventh household employed a male servant, mainly those whose occupations made it necessary. However, maids were employed in

Table 43. Occupational distribution of Jewish households

Group	Profes-sionals	Craftsmen	Journeymen	Merchants	Trans-porters	Caterers	Employees	Day labourers	Unknown	Total
					Distribution by numbers					
1	6	21	12	146	—	2	—	3	293	483
2	67	108	4	564	5	16	11	23	450	1,248
3	9	61	—	137	—	8	—	—	408	623
4	10	69	—	313	1	19	2	—	367	781
5	27	65	—	159	—	34	2	—	520	807
7	8	54	1	140	3	44	2	—	140	392
8	1	—	—	5	—	3	—	—	19	28
9	2	36	—	38	—	—	2	—	30	108
Total	130	414	17	1,502	9	126	19	26	2,227	4,470
					Distribution by percentage					
1	1.2	4.3	2.5	30.2	—	0.4	—	0.6	60.8	100.0
2	5.4	8.6	0.3	45.2	0.4	1.3	0.9	1.8	36.1	100.0
3	1.4	9.8	—	22.0	—	1.3	—	—	65.5	100.0
4	1.3	8.8	—	40.2	0.1	2.4	0.2	—	47.0	100.0
5	3.3	8.1	—	19.7	—	4.2	0.2	—	64.5	100.0
7	2.0	13.8	0.2	35.7	0.8	11.2	0.5	—	35.8	100.0
8	3.6	—	—	17.8	—	10.7	—	—	67.9	100.0
9	1.9	33.3	—	35.2	—	—	1.8	—	27.8	100.0
Total	2.9	9.3	0.4	33.7	0.2	2.8	0.4	0.6	49.8	100.0

Table 44. Occupational distribution of the non-privileged urban population

Group	Profes-sionals and clerks	Officers	Craftsmen	Journey-men	Merchants	Two occupations
						Distribution by
1	137	27	1,070	477	640	9
2	325	101	2.900	873	1,166	32
3	115	9	5,139	10	533	11
4	80	10	3,093	163	572	8
5	38	—	1,358	—	247	—
7	28	2	1,316	14	214	—
8	22	—	238	251	76	9
9	35	—	281	—	71	—
Total	780	149	15,395	1,788	3,519	69
						Distribution by
1	1.1	0.2	8.3	3.7	5.0	0.07
2	1.1	0.3	10.0	3.0	4.0	0.1
3	0.4	0.03	17.2	0.03	1.8	0.04
4	0.4	0.05	17.1	0.9	3.2	0.04
5	0.7	—	26.8	—	4.9	—
7	0.5	0.04	25.8	0.3	4.2	—
8	1.0	—	10.5	11.1	3.4	0.4
9	3.3	—	26.4	—	6.7	—
Total	0.7	0.1	14.9	1.8	3.4	0.07

every third household: 9% of the maids recorded in the towns were employed by Jews.

We shall not deal here with the inhabitants enjoying no special status, even though they constituted the overwhelming majority of the urban population. Privilege—or discrimination—meant belonging to the same community even for members of different occupations. The lack of privilege, however, did not constitute any kind of uniting force. Similarity of occupation or economic status (wealth) created feelings of belonging within this population consisting of more than a hundred thousand households. It would be hard to add anything to what was said in the chapters on the occupational composition of the population: all that need be pointed out here is that although representatives of almost all occupations can be found among the non-privileged "commoners", the majority of them lived from wages or farming (see Table 44).

The fact that the privileged strata had a disproportionately larger share of urban property than the overwhelming majority of the population does not mean that the latter were all poor: two-thirds of them had a house and more than one-third of them had land. The proportion of house owners among the non-privileged was hardly lower than among the citizens: 63% as opposed to 71.5%. A conspicuous difference in this respect was only to be observed in the capital, where the ratio was 35% to 64%, in Group 8 (48% to 74%), and to a lesser extent in the towns belonging to Group 4 (59% to 75%).

Trans-porters	Caterers	Em-ployees	Farmers	Agricul-tural labourers	Labourers and industrial workers	Unknown	Total
number							
195	130	56	55	833	943	8,285	12,857
334	311	411	422	1,380	1,620	19,293	29,168
3	57	169	—	—	5	23,883	29,934
94	196	343	2	—	108	13,374	18,043
5	47	84	—	—	—	3,296	5,075
3	53	139	20	12	21	3,282	5,104
24	8	63	23	—	335	1,208	2,257
5	5	19	—	—	—	646	1,062
663	807	1,284	522	2,225	3,032	73,267	103,500
percentage							
1.5	1.0	0.4	0.4	6.6	7.3	64.43	100.0
1.1	1.1	1.4	1.5	4.8	5.5	66.1	100.0
0.01	0.2	0.6	—	—	0.02	79.67	100.0
0.5	1.1	1.9	0.01	—	0.6	74.2	100.0
0.1	0.9	1.6	—	—	—	65.0	100.0
0.06	1.0	2.7	0.4	0.2	0.4	64.4	100.0
1.1	0.4	2.8	1.0	—	14.8	53.5	100.0
0.5	0.5	1.8	—	—	—	60.8	100.0
0.6	0.8	1.2	0.5	2.1	3.0	70.83	100.0

Of agricultural properties, they had their greatest share of the vineyards. But only 18% of the house owners received rent, and the annual rent per tenant was very low, only 58 florins.

Generally speaking, the non-privileged population was the poorest among all the urban social groups. However, there was great variety in the financial standing of these hundred thousand taxpaying families. There were not only individual differences, but certain sub-groups, those engaged in certain occupations, owned considerable property of a size almost equal to that of the privileged strata. The stratification of wealth among the "commoners" was much greater than among the rest of the urban population.

All facts considered, the townsfolk without civic rights cannot be identified either with the urban poor, or with the wage earners and peasants. The majority of those in occupations traditionally regarded as the burghers' domain also came from among them: 61% of the craftsmen, 64% of the merchants, 66% of the caterers and 82% of the teamsters and shippers were not citizens.[58] By the late 1820s, the citizens can no longer be considered as the sole—or even the major—holders of the basic urban functions. They were merely one of a number of urban groups, probably wealthier than the rest, but also more conservative and less active in urban development.

[58] The proportion of the non-citizen craftsmen and merchants was very significant also in the 26 royal free towns, those with explicit *civis* status. In these, 40% of the craftsmen, 55.6% of the merchants, 61% of the caterers and 82% of the teamsters did not have civic rights.

Conclusion

It is very much of a sketch that I have been able to present of the structure of Hungarian towns at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One could bring it to life by a detailed investigation of the wealth, revenue, ways of life and mentality of the individual social strata and occupational groups, using a variety of sources. The sheer volume of the data we have tried to process has been prohibitive of our doing this; nor have we here dealt in greater detail with our basic source. And yet, the tax censuses of a number of the towns are detailed enough to suggest new insights into the social history of the period.

For all that, I could not examine, for instance, the ethnic composition of the urban population because the census did not give either ethnic or religious affiliation. (Only the Jews were registered because of the special "toleration tax" that they were obliged to pay.) Clearly, it would have been a most risky proposition to try to deduce ethnicity from the registered family names.

We could not discuss the topography of the various urban settlements, although some of the tax censuses contained sufficient detail on the individual parts of the towns. True, in the majority of the cases we could only have reiterated the well-known fact that the better-off craftsmen and merchants, and the nobility and the *honoratiores* lived in the centre of the town or in one particular suburb, while most of the farmers lived in the suburbs on the edge of the town. In certain towns, however, the distribution of the individual occupational groups was different: in Kecskemét, for example, the degree of concentration of the craftsmen and merchants was much less conspicuous.

The volume of the census data that we needed to examine is not the only reason why we did not investigate the features specific to the society of the individual towns. Our failure to do so was, rather, in keeping with our basic objectives and methods, for our aim had been to define the types of towns with central place functions, to outline the networks they formed, and to describe the main features of their social composition. For this enterprise, it seemed more important to discover what was common in the social structures of the towns in the same group and to find what distinguished the social structures of the towns of different types than to investigate individual, specific features within one or the other type.

What we have been able to offer is a sketch of the social structure of the various types of towns. From the social composition of a town, fairly accurate conclusion can be drawn as to its role and its place in the urban hierarchy, especially if we have

comparative data at our disposal. We found that it was the diverse demands of the different kinds of areas of attraction, and the range of the various towns' central functions that shaped the kinds of urban societies that towns of Groups 1 to 10 exemplified. These differences are manifest in the relative proportions of the various occupations and social groups, in the diverse types of stratification in respect of wealth and of acquiring an income, and in the dominant mores and life-styles of ways of the inhabitants.

There is great need to continue the computer analysis of whatever statistics are available in order to come to a better understanding of Hungarian society at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and of the Hungarian process of bourgeois transformation. In order to determine whether the features we have been discussing were indeed characteristic only of towns with central place functions we need a more thorough knowledge of the social conditions of the towns and settlements not fulfilling urban roles. Whether the features described are characteristic of Hungarian towns only, or of all towns with similar social structures in Western and East-Central Europe can be decided only after international comparisons. I hope that the methods and results of the present study will provide pointers for future comparative research of this kind.

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Gazetteer of settlements outside present-day Hungary

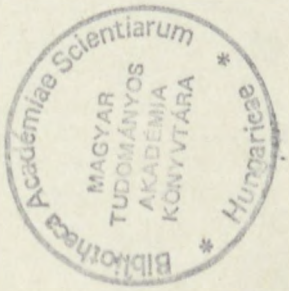
Abbreviations:

ČS — Czechoslovakia
A — Austria
R — Romania
Y — Yugoslavia
USSR — Soviet Union

Alsókubin	Dolný Kubín ČS
Alsómecenzéf	Nižný Medzev ČS
Arad	Arad R
Bán	Bánovce nad Bebravou ČS
Bártfa	Bardejov ČS
Bát	Bátovce ČS
Belényes	Beiuş R
Bellus	Beluša ČS
Beregszász	Beregovo USSR
Besztercebánya	Banská-Bystrica ČS
Bitcse	Bytča ČS
Breznóbánya	Brezno nad Hronom ČS
Csakova	Ciakova Y
Dézna	Dezna R
Eperjes	Prešov ČS
Érsekújvár	Nove Zámky ČS
Felsőbánya	Baia Sprie R
Galgóc	Hlohovec ČS
Gálszécs	Sečovce ČS
Garamszentbenedek	Hronský Beňadik ČS
Gölnicbánya	Gelnica ČS
Hatzfeld	Jimbolia R
Homonna	Humenné ČS
Huszt	Chust USSR
Igló	Spišská Nová Ves ČS
Ipolyság	Šahy ČS
Kassa	Košice ČS
Késmárk	Kežmarok ČS
Kismarton	Eisenstadt A
Kisszeben	Sabinov ČS
Kisucaújhely	Kisucké Nové Mesto ČS
Komárom	Komarno ČS
Korompa	Krompachy ČS

Korpona	Krupina ČS
Körmöcbánya	Kremnica ČS
Kula	Kula Y
Léva	Levice ČS
Libetbánya	L'ubietová ČS
Lippa	Lipova R
Liptószentmiklós	Liptovský Mikuláš ČS
Losonc	Lučenec ČS
Lőcse	Levoča ČS
Lugos	Lugoj R
Máramarossziget	Sighetul Marmaţiei R
Margita	Marghita R
Mosóc	Mošovce ČS
Munkács	Mukachevo USSR
Nagybánya	Baia Mare R
Nagybecskerek	Zrenjanin Y
Nagykároly	Carei R
Nagylévárd	Vel'ke Leváre ČS
Nagymihály	Michalovce ČS
Nagyszentmiklós	Sînnicolau Mare R
Nagyszombat	Trnava ČS
Nagyszőllős	Vinogradov USSR
Nagytapolcsány	Topol'cány ČS
Nagyvárad	Oradea Mare R
Nezsider	Neusiedl am See A
Nyitra	Nitra ČS
Ólubló	Stará L'ubovňa ČS
Oravica	Oraviţa R
Pankota	Pîncota R
Pozsony	Bratislava ČS
Privigye	Prievidza ČS
Pruszka	Pruské ČS
Puchó	Púchov ČS
Rajec	Rajec ČS
Resica	Reşiţa R
Rimaszombat	Rimavska Sobota ČS
Rozsnyó	Rožňava ČS
Sassin	Šaštínke Štráže ČS
Selmecbánya	Banská Štiavnica ČS
Somorja	Šamorin ČS
Sósújfalu	Ruská Nová Ves ČS
Szakolca	Skalica ČS
Szatmárnémeti	Satu Mare R
Szenic	Senica ČS
Szepesszombat	Spišká Sobota ČS
Szepesváralja	Spišké Podhradie ČS
Szerdahely (Duna-)	Dunajská Streda ČS
Szered	Sered ČS
Szinyérváralja	Seini R
Szomolnok	Smolník ČS
Sztropkó	Stropkov ČS
Temesvár	Timişoara R
Törökbecse (Újbecse)	Novi Bečej Y

Trencsén	Trenčín ČS
Trsztena	Trstená ČS
Újbánya	Nová Baňa ČS
Újpécs	Peciul Nou R
Újvidék	Novi Sad Y
Ungvár	Uzhgorod USSR
Vágbeszterce	Považská Bystrica ČS
Vágújhely	Nové Mesto nad Váhom ČS
Varannó	Vranov nad Topl'ou ČS
Varin	Varín ČS
Vąskóh	Vaşcău R
Verbó	Vrbové ČS
Versec	Vršac Y
Zenta	Senta Y
Zombor	Sombor Y
Zsolna	Žilina ČS



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The purpose in writing the present work was to classify, according to functional criteria, settlements in Hungary on the basis of the data of the 1828 census, and to simultaneously present the characteristic social strata of towns. Thus it becomes possible to examine urban development in 19th-century Hungary in greater depth, to make the investigation more factual and therefore suitable for comparison. At the same time, the work is a result of a hitherto unprecedentedly far-reaching and successfully employed mathematical-statistical procedure in Hungarian historical research directed at solving a truly historical problem.

Vera Bácskai's previous book, coauthored with Lajos Nagy, *Piackörzetek, piacközpontok és városok Magyarországon 1828-ban* (Market Districts, Market Centres and Towns in Hungary in 1828), published by Akadémiai Kiadó in 1984, earned the Award of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1985.

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