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# The Survival of the Traditional Elite: The Transylvanian Lord Lieutenant Corps in 1910\* \*\*

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Judit PÁL

The present article, which is part of a broader study analyzes the Lord Lieutenant corps from the Transylvanian counties in 1910. The research deals with the political elite, especially the officials engaged in Transylvanian administration during the time of Dualism (1867-1918) by using the prosopographical method. The author focuses on the recruitment base for the Lord Lieutenant corps, the extent to which the aristocracy preserved its dominance within it, the stages of a typical Lord Lieutenant career, the role of the family background, and the extent to which Lord Lieutenants were locals and had links to the county. The Hungarian political elite managed to preserve its prominent positions in the counties throughout the period of Dualism. Although in this period there were individuals who were appointed to this position after lengthy service in the public administration, the proportion of those who were predestined to it "by right of birth" continued to be high, and in 1910, the number of aristocrats in the Lord Lieutenant corps increased. Although the demands of professionalisation acted against this, the process proved slow.

**T**he research of the political elite extends over a relatively long period. The literature on this topic is so extensive that this article can process only a fraction of it. Concerning Hungary from the period of Dualism, several fundamental works have been written concerning certain elite groups (the economic, academic, urban elite, etc.) and research has been conducted on the parliamentary elite.<sup>1</sup> However, there has been only little research on the administrative elite. The registers of the *virilists* (great-

\* Article translated by Leonard Ciocan.

\*\* The present article is part of a vaster research study, which was prepared with the support of the János Bolyai Research Grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

est taxpayers) have been processed, and research has been started on the Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lord Lieutenants from a few counties, which resulted in only few articles thus far.<sup>2</sup> In my previous research I have analyzed, among others, the elite positions of the public administration (Lord Lieutenant and deputy Lord Lieutenant) from Transylvania in the period of Dualism (1867-1918). More precisely, I focused on the recruitment base for the Lord Lieutenant corps, the extent to which the aristocracy preserved its dominance within it, the stages of a typical Lord Lieutenant career, the role of the family background, and the extent to which Lord Lieutenants were locals and had links to the county (*vármegye*). Below, I will discuss the abovementioned issues in reference to the Lord Lieutenant corps from 1910.

Our data was partly collected from the archives of the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Interior in the Hungarian National Archives. Other data comes from the functionary directories, family history works, lexicons, the almanacs of the Parliament, and other similar sources.<sup>3</sup>

Lord Lieutenants represented a very important branch of the political elite during the Dualist period, given that they were the main agents of government control over the counties. The centralization of the public administration generated less autonomy for the counties and more power to Lord Lieutenants. Furthermore, Law XLII/1870 also contributed to the enhancement of their power,<sup>4</sup> and later, this tendency continued despite opposition from certain elements within the government party itself. Counties were the agents of state administration; they exercised autonomy, and could express their opinion on state affairs. The goal was the remodeling of counties so that they could fulfill their tasks and implement government decrees more efficiently. Albeit the elements of autonomy were still valid formally, the Government's right to sanction laws strongly curtailed the decision autonomy of the counties.

One of my earlier articles discussed the Lord Lieutenant corps from Transylvania at the time of the Compromise.<sup>5</sup> It concluded that, despite the structural changes from the mid-nineteenth century, the pre-1848 elite managed to survive. However, in 1861, there was a change insofar as the often foreign-origin functionary corps from the time of neo-absolutism, who were considered compromised, was marginalized, and a new corps – the former liberal opposition – came to power in parallel with the reinstatement of the old administrative divisions. This new corps, however, had a similar family background as the pre-1848 political elite, to whom they often had personal or family ties. As for Transylvania, Lord Lieutenants were appointed from the ranks of the aristocracy in a larger number, although this was not something characteristic only of this province. In 1861, as a result of the political changes as well as of the expectations and intentions of the Viennese Court, the three nations of Transylvania reached a temporary (and relative) compromise,<sup>6</sup> which was reflected by the newly appointed high-functionary corps as well. Although all the Saxon

Seats and regions, except for one, were headed by Saxon high functionaries and most of the counties and Szekler Seats by Hungarian ones, a few Romanian high officials were appointed as well. In 1862, all the Hungarian high functionaries, with few exceptions, resigned in protest, only to return to power after the Compromise.

**L**aw XXXIII/1876, regulating the administrative division of the territory, brought greater changes especially in the case of the Transylvanian counties. The regions and Seats were dissolved, and the territory of historic Transylvania was divided into fifteen counties. Despite these changes, the Lord Lieutenant corps exhibits strong continuity until the turn-of-the-century. The political storms from the beginning of the twentieth century, however, left an indelible mark on the administrative elite as well. The Fejérváry government, which came to power in 1905, did not replace the Lord Lieutenants, but some of them resigned, especially after the initiation of the movement against the government in the summer of the same year. The so-called "national opposition" also spread over the counties, where "committees for the defence of the Constitution" were formed. In January 1906, the grand committee of the opposition coalition expressed its wish to coordinate the united opposition of the counties. The situation became increasingly tense, as illustrated by the brutal beating of the newly appointed Lord Lieutenant in Debrecen at the beginning of January.<sup>7</sup> Finally, in April, the coalition came to power, and the Liberal Party (*Szabadelvű Párt*), which had been in power for decades, disbanded. At the time of the Wekerle government, there were radical changes at the top level of the counties. At first, the new corps included greater numbers of non-Transylvanians. However, the coalition was short-lived, and its dissolution and downfall soon followed. In the meantime, István Tisza created the National Party of Work (*Nemzeti Munkapárt*) from former members of the Liberal Party and won the 1910 elections. This also meant the return of the old elite, although traces of the former coalition regime did not disappear entirely. The magnitude of the changes is revealed by the fact that Lord Lieutenants were replaced in twelve out of the fifteen counties of Transylvania in 1905-06, the same as in 1910, when they were also replaced in twelve counties, and there were two counties altogether (Fogaras and Kis-Küküllő), where they remained in office.

The great reorganization of the Lord Lieutenant corps, which occurred in the first decade of the twentieth century, becomes evident even at first glance over the name list from 1910 as the latter does not include a single name from the previous decade. The political storm from the beginning of the twentieth century completely transformed the corps. However, permanence is represented by the unchangingly high percentage of aristocrats among Lord Lieutenants: out of fifteen, five belong to this social class. Although historiography underlines the significant role played by the *aristocracy* and the *gentry* in the politics from the time of Dualism, there

are differences of opinion concerning which one of them played a more important role.<sup>8</sup> In Transylvania, the percentage of aristocratic Lord Lieutenants had always been higher than in other provinces. As a reaction to the reorganization that had taken place during the coalition regime, Tisza's National Party of Work relied mostly on the traditional elite.

The list of the newly appointed Lord Lieutenants includes familiar names from the past. The best known is Count Kálmán Eszterházy, who had been Lord Lieutenant of Kolozs (Cluj) County as early as 1867-86. László Mara, the Lord Lieutenant of Hunyad (Hunedoara) County, had already held this position in 1905-06, and in 1910 he was appointed to the helm of the same county. Some, such as Ákos Kemény, Zsigmond Mikes, and József Széll, survived the regime change and remained in office. However, most of them (eight individuals) were newcomers.

The situation is balanced from a confessional point of view. Generally, the ratio between Catholics and Reformed Protestants is almost equal, and the only Evangelical Protestant is the Saxon Friedrich Walbaum. Besides, he is the only non-Hungarian Lord-Lieutenant, and the only one who allegedly did not have a noble title.

As I indicated above, the majority of the Lord Lieutenants were aristocrats. However, what families did the others come from? There is no information on the profession of the fathers of several individuals, who without exception started at the bottom and climbed all the steps of the career ladder to the top position of Lord Lieutenant. The fathers of three individuals, the grandfather of one, and the uncle of another one were also Lord Lieutenants. The father of one was the president of a court of justice and the father of another was a member of Parliament. József Széll had the most prominent relatives. His father was a Deputy Lord Lieutenant and state secretary at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, while his uncle, Kálmán Széll held the positions of finance minister and later that of Prime Minister. The fathers of the others did not hold any function or their profession is unknown.

There is little information concerning the education of the Lord Lieutenants. Unlike in the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was enough for one to study law at one of the confessional gymnasiums in order to be eligible for the Lord Lieutenant position, in 1910, one had to have a university degree, especially in the legal domain. The individual with the most prominent education is Count Ákos Kemény. He pursued his secondary education at the Theresianum elite institute, and studied law in Budapest and Vienna, ultimately receiving the state doctoral degree. Although, most of the elite from the Monarchy was educated at the Theresianum,<sup>9</sup> Kemény is a notable exception among the Transylvanian Lord Lieutenants. The Saxon Walbaum graduated the Evangelical Gymnasium from his native town of Braşov, and then studied law at the Viennese University and the Law Academy in Sibiu. The only exception is Count Balázs Bethlen, who received a university degree in engineering



at the Technical Faculty in Budapest in 1887. While acting as an engineer at the Ministry of Transport, the minister of religions and public education gave him permission to pursue legal studies, which he later graduated and completed by taking the state exam. This indicates that those who wished to pursue a career in the public administration had limited possibilities. It was almost compulsory for them to have legal training and advisable to have a state doctoral degree.

In 1910, the *average age* of Lord Lieutenants was forty-eight, and at the time of their first appointment, they were on average forty-one and a half years old. Due to the outbreak of the First World War, their time in office is irrelevant, as it generally was eight and a half years. However, it is very relevant that the activity of half of them extends over the period 1910-17 and that they all left office after the collapse of the Tisza government in May 1917. The deep demarcation lines between parties remained visible also during the War, and it seems that party membership and "party discipline" played a chief role even shortly before its disastrous end.

The same as before, one can distinguish two *career types*. On the one hand, there were those who became Lord Lieutenants after a longer career in public administration, and on the other, those who were "predestined" for this position by birth. The members of the latter category were appointed without having previous experience either in public administration or Parliament. We are able to find two non-Transylvanians among the high functionaries. However, there is significant difference between the two. It seems that Sándor Gyalókay came to Transylvania without having previous experience, while József Széll started his administrative career in this province. The circumstances of the appointment of Gyalókay are unknown; therefore, one can not surmise why exactly he was appointed to the remote Csík (Ciuc) County, where he acted as a Lord Lieutenant between 1910 and 1917. Gyalókay, born in Oradea, had previously acted as a prosecutor and tribunal president in Kecskemét. Apparently, he returned to Kecskemét after his resignation, since it is likely that he is the same person as the prosecutor who was killed during the Autumn Rose Revolution in October 1918.

József Széll, born in the Transdanubian region, was the other non-Transylvanian Lord Lieutenant. However, his previous administrative career linked him to this province. The nephew of the Prime Minister Kálmán Széll, he started his administrative career as a functionary at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and continued it as secretary of the Lord Lieutenant in the Maros-Torda (Mureş-Turda) County. In 1906, he became chief notary public in Fogaras (Făgăraş) County, and in 1907, at the age of twenty-seven, he became Lord Lieutenant there. His young age (he was appointed fifteen years earlier than the average) is evidence to how important family background and ministerial connections were in someone's rise on the career ladder. In 1910, Széll retained his position and remained in office until 1918. Additionally, in the summer of 1917, he was appointed

governmental commissar in Transylvania and leader of the provincial branch of the Ministry of Agriculture. After the War, he returned to Hungary, where he continued his administrative career by holding the positions of Lord Lieutenant for several mandates and Minister of internal affairs between 1937 and 1938, which represents the peak of his long career.

The others were all born in Transylvania. Most of them could "expect" their appointment as Lord Lieutenant based on family background and rank. Some of them had been members of Parliament earlier, for instance Count Balázs Bethlen, who had held four mandates beginning with 1892. Last time, he was elected in 1905 with a liberal platform, but in 1906, he was also forced to go into retirement due to the disbandment of the Liberal Party. His withdrawal from public office lasted until 1910, when he was appointed to the helm of Szolnok-Doboka (Solnoc-Dăbâca) County. In November 1914, he was additionally appointed as interim governor of Beszterce-Naszód (Bistrița-Năsăud) County. After the War, he remained in Transylvania, but did not accept any role in politics.

The veteran Kálmán Esterházy had already been Lord Lieutenant of Kolozs County in the period 1867-86. After leaving this office, he was elected as a member of Parliament on a liberal platform in 1887. He represented the constituency of Gilău, where he also had a castle and most of his landed property, during five consecutive mandates. In 1906, he also retired, but in 1910, at the age of eighty, he returned as Lord Lieutenant of Kolozs County. He retired for good in 1913, and died in 1916 during the War.

Esterházy was not the only one who returned to office. Count János Haller Sr. grew up in Cristuru Secuiesc, but after the death of his parents, he took over the administration of the family property in Nagy-Küküllő (Târnava-Mare) County, where he actively participated in public life. Haller was first appointed Lord Lieutenant during the Bánffy government: in the period 1896-1899, he was at the helm of Udvarhely (Odorhei) County. In the winter of 1898, he resigned after the parliamentary obstruction and followed his "leader and friend" Dezső Bánffy, whom he greatly admired.<sup>10</sup> A few years later, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant, this time in Háromszék (Trei Scaune) County (1904-06). After the coalition came to power, he resigned again, but between 1910 and 1912, he was again at the helm of Udvarhely County. In December 1910, in the Council of Ministers, the Minister of internal affairs suggested the additional appointment of Haller to the helm of Maros-Torda County. It is very likely that Haller Sr. suggested his son in his place, since the latter was ultimately appointed in this function.

80 | **A**t the beginning of the twentieth century, the "nephew" generation entered the scene. The grandfather of Ákos Kemény had also been a Lord Lieutenant, being at the helm of Torda (Turda) County after the Compro-

mise. It is likely that the family already prepared Kemény for a career in the public sphere as early as his childhood, because they sent him to study at the Theresianum elite institute. After studying law, he was a public administration trainee in Maros-Torda County, where his family had landed property and where his uncle, Kálmán Kemény was Lord Lieutenant. Soon, however, his future father-in-law, the Lord Lieutenant Géza Bethlen, appointed him secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Torda-Aranyos (Turda-Arieş) County. In 1892, after only brief service in the public administration, he became the youngest elected member of Parliament at the age of only twenty-six. In the next two elections, in 1897 and 1901, he managed to win two more mandates as a candidate of the Liberal Party. In September 1902, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Kis-Küküllő (Târnava-Mică) County. He was one of the few Lord Lieutenants who remained in office in the tumultuous period of 1905-06. He retired fifteen years later, in 1917 and died in Hungary shortly after the end of the First World War.

After finishing his studies, Jenő Fejérváry was a public administration trainee in Beszterce-Naszód County for two years, and then he managed his landed property. There is no additional information on his administrative activity in the county. In 1905, he was a member of Parliament for a short time. Thus, in 1910, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Beszterce-Naszód County, practically without prior experience. He does not really fit into any career pattern, since he was neither a member of a prominent family, from where most Lord Lieutenants came, nor an experienced member of the public administration. Additionally, he had a very short mandate as a member of Parliament. It is likely that in the case of the sensitive Beszterce-Naszód County, the government looked for such a "trustworthy" Lord Lieutenant, who was not a local (this is unprecedented for the period of the Dualism), but had some knowledge of the county, and in the case of Fejérváry, his administrative traineeship proved sufficient.

Zsigmond Mikes also managed to survive the government change in 1910. Before his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Brassó (Braşov) County in 1906, he had not held any administrative office and had not been a member of Parliament. The coalition government replaced the entire old Lord Lieutenant corps, and several new individuals appeared in this position, many of them from outside Transylvania. Mikes was one of the supporters of the earlier opposition and this is how they rewarded him. As a landlord from Háromszék, he was appointed to the helm of the neighbouring Brassó County. In 1910, he remained in office due to a political turnaround, and became one of the longest serving Lord Lieutenants in Transylvania. Practically, he stayed in office until the collapse of the public administration in 1918.

The others rose to the "top" from the public administration apparatus, their appointment to the position of Lord Lieutenant representing the

height of their career. As one can see, they still represented the minority; therefore, this career path was still the exception and not the rule.

László Mara started to work in the service of Hunyad County at an early age. At first, he was a deputy public notary, but beginning with 1890, he worked as chief district administrator (*főszolgabíró*). In 1895, he retired and managed his landed property, and later, following the example of his father, he became a member of Parliament representing the constituency of Hațeg. In 1899, he gave up his mandate and returned to the public administration as Deputy Lord Lieutenant in Hunyad County. In 1905, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant there, but in the following year, he resigned after the coalition had come to power. In 1910, the new government recalled the retired Lord Lieutenant to the helm of the County, where he remained in office until 1917.

In 1891, after graduating university, Miklós Betegh was appointed secretary of the Lord Lieutenant in Torda-Aranyos County. In 1892, he was appointed as chief district administrator, and then he was elected Deputy Lord Lieutenant, which he remained until 1906. Apparently, he was also part of the "national opposition", because after this year his name vanished from the registers of functionaries until 1910, when he was appointed Lord Lieutenant in Torda-Aranyos County at the age of forty-two. After the War, he played an active political role in the Romanian "People's Party" for a while, acting as its deputy. That is why the Hungarians considered him a renegade. Later, however, he became close to the National Transylvanian Hungarian Party. He was also the president of the Roman Catholic Association from Transylvania until 1945.

In the case of István Somogyi, his appointment to the Lord Lieutenant position was not a "gift" either, but the pinnacle of a lengthy career in the public administration. His activity was also linked to one county. In 1879, he came to Nagy-Küküllő County as deputy notary public. In the period 1884-93, he acted as chief notary public and, between 1894 and 1910, as Deputy Lord Lieutenant. In 1910, after three decades of loyal service in the public administration, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, a position that he kept until 1917. József Szász had a similar career track, stepping up the ladder in the public administration in Alsó-Fehér (Alba de Jos) County. It is very likely that his administrative experience played an important role in his additional appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Maros-Torda County, beginning with 1914. In 1917, he resigned from both offices.

Friedrich Walbaum also had a lengthy career in the public administration. However, his case is special, given that he was the only mayor to become Lord Lieutenant in Transylvania in the entire period. After studying law, he started his administrative career in Szeben (Sibiu) County. He successively held the positions of public administration trainee, district administrator, and beginning with 1891, chief district administrator. In 1895, he was elected chief notary public in the other, mostly Saxon-in-

habited County of Nagy-Küküllő. Two years later, he became mayor of Sighișoara, the administrative capital of the county. In 1910, the Khuen-Héderváry government appointed him to the helm of Szeben County, a position that he retained until the end of 1918. From 1912, he acted as lay president of the Saxon Evangelical Church in his capacity as Comes Saxorum. After the collapse of the Empire, he remained in Transylvania, and the Romanian Governing Council entrusted him with the leadership of the Universitas Saxorum, which he held until his death.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, *family networks* played almost the same important role in the shaping of one's career as before. These networks extended not only vertically, but also horizontally, Lord Lieutenants and members of Parliament being related as cousins and brothers-in-law. The family background was less visible in the case of those who steadily stepped up the career ladder of the public administration. However, some of them belonged to the old landed nobility from the counties, which had held the high functions there for centuries. László Mara is a good example in this regard. The Mara family was one of the oldest in Hunyad County, and for centuries on end, its members had held many high functions there, including that of chief district administrator, which was one of the most important functions after that of Lord Lieutenant. Mara's grandfather was an assessor at the Tabula Regia (*Királyi Tábla*). His father graduated from the Academy of Military Engineering in Vienna and was a sub-lieutenant in the First Szekler Border Guard Regiment. During the 1848-49 Revolution, he was a captain in a Hungarian National Guard regiment, for which after the Revolution he was initially sentenced to death, but was released after two years of detention in a fortress prison. In 1867, he was elected Deputy Lord Lieutenant in Hunyad County, and beginning with 1875, he acted as a member of Parliament. Lujza, the wife of László Mara, was the niece of the former Lord Lieutenant László Barcsay. Kálmán Barcsay, his wife's uncle, had been Lord Lieutenant of Hunyad County as well, while Domokos, her other uncle, had been a member of Parliament. Since both wives of his brother-in-law Tamás Barcsay were aristocrats, he became related to two other Lord Lieutenants as well as several members of Parliament.

Despite the complex family connections, in the previous period, there is no example of father and son holding the position of Lord Lieutenant simultaneously. Now, however, it happened in the cases of Counts János Haller Sr. and János Haller Jr. Ferenc Haller, the uncle of Haller Sr., was the infamous Lord Lieutenant of Felső-Fehér (Alba de Sus) County after the Compromise. He was replaced after only one year in office, due to his involvement in several scandals, but was elected to the Parliament later. Haller Sr.'s uncle and father were illegitimate children, but their father recognized them when they were adults, after his two sons from the first marriage had died. All this caused much distress to Haller Sr., because his political opponents did not hesitate to use this episode against him.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps this was also the reason why he chose a wife from outside Transylvania. His wife Anna was the daughter of Baron Béla Vay, the Lord Lieutenant of Borsod County. Their youngest son was János Haller Jr., the future Lord Lieutenant.

Baron Ákos Kemény is a good example regarding an extended family network. His grandfather György Kemény was Lord Lieutenant of Torda County after the Compromise. His father Ödön Kemény was a colonel in the Hungarian National Guard in 1848-49, but afterwards he did not hold any function. His mother was the daughter of Elek Nagy of Kál, who was councillor to the Gubernium and, later to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and who temporarily held the second most important position after the royal commissar Manó Péchy, during the transition period following the Compromise. His father's two brothers, Kálmán and Endre were members of Parliament, Kálmán also acting as Lord Lieutenant of Alsó-Fehér County. Kálmán's wife Polixéna was the sister of the former Lord Lieutenant Baron Zoltán Bánffy. Ákos Kemény's sister Mária, who was already dead at the time, was the wife of Dezső Bánffy, former Lord Lieutenant of Szolnok-Doboka and Beszterce-Naszód Counties, and Prime Minister. Their son Kázmér was appointed to the helm of Alsó-Fehér County in 1917.

Ákos Kemény married twice; his first wife (and cousin) Zsófia was the daughter of Count Géza Bethlen, the Lord Lieutenant of Torda-Aranyos County in the period 1887-1906. His brother-in-law Balázs Bethlen was Lord Lieutenant of Szolnok-Doboka County. In 1902, after divorcing his first wife, he married with Cecilia Zeyk, the niece of the Lord Lieutenant of Kraszna (Crasna) County and a member of Parliament, Baron Albert Bánffy, whose extended family included several high functionaries and members of Parliament.

Kemény's brother-in-law (and cousin) Balázs Bethlen was the son of Count Géza Bethlen, the former Lord Lieutenant of Torda-Aranyos County. His uncle Count Sándor Bethlen was a member of Parliament, and his son Sándor was Lord Lieutenant of Torda-Aranyos County.

As for the *wealth* of Lord Lieutenants, there is more information only concerning their landed properties.<sup>12</sup> If one compares the situation from 1910 with that from the period after 1867, one notices that in 1910 the situation was much more balanced, and the differences in the profitability of landed properties are not so great anymore, although one third of the Lord Lieutenants did not have landed property at all (at least they did not have lands bigger than one hundred acres). The income of the others deriving from their landed property was around four-five thousand forints. Only Count Balázs Bethlen and Miklós Betegh had greater income than the average. The former had 1448 acres of land in Szolnok-Doboka County and an income of 5600 crowns, but if one adds to this his wife's lands, then their income from the landed property rises to 10000 crowns. Betegh's 1461-acre landed property in Torda-Aranyos County generated a net 8800-crown income.

As for the *local ties*, there were only two non-Transylvanian Lord Lieutenants. The others were all Transylvanians, but one can divide them into several groups. One third of the Transylvanian Lord Lieutenants (Esterházy, Mara, Betegh, and Szentkereszty, as well as those who had long service in the public administration, such as József Szász and István Somogyi) had strong ties to their respective counties through their families, landed properties (those who possessed any), and functions that they held earlier. Another group consists of those who had partial ties to their county (also around one third of the high functionaries). One example is Friedrich Walbaum, who was born in Braşov and graduated from the Law Academy in Sibiu. Afterwards, he served as chief noble magistrate in Szeben County, chief notary public in Nagy-Küküllő County, and mayor of Sighişoara, from where he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Szeben County. Otherwise, it was also common in the previous period that a talented functionary from another Seat or region was appointed to the helm of the Universitas Saxorum. Balázs Bethlen also belongs to this group, because he started his career in the public administration in another administrative unit, and was elected to Parliament in another constituency, despite having most of his landed property in Szolnok-Doboka County and his main residence at the castle in Arcalia. He counted as a stranger in the neighbouring county of Beszterce-Naszód, although Arcalia lay right on the county border. To summarize, four Lord Lieutenants did not have landed property, five had domains in the neighbouring counties, and six held land in their own county.

One can notice that the local ties of high functionaries become looser the more one goes forward in time; nevertheless, most of them were still connected to their counties. In 1900, however, the number of high functionaries who were unconnected or loosely connected to the county rose. Generally, they were appointed to the helm of the mostly Saxon- and Romanian-inhabited counties, but in most cases, they came from the neighbouring counties, therefore having knowledge of the respective administrative unit. It was characteristic that, in case the government did not appoint individuals from the respective county, the central authorities still preferred Transylvanians, who were not complete strangers. This tendency continued at the beginning of the twentieth century and even became stronger in 1905-06. Among the high functionaries appointed at that time, the number of those with no ties to the administrative unit in which they worked or to Transylvania rose considerably. This appears to strengthen the findings of Magdolna Balázs.<sup>13</sup> She established the degree in which the holders of county offices were locally attached, based on several criteria: the earlier social-political career, location of the estate, birthplace, and family origin. In her opinion, the highest number of Lord-Lieutenants without local ties was in Transylvania. However, beginning with 1910, everything seemed to have fallen back on the old track, because the number of Lord Lieutenants with local ties increased. Nevertheless,

the practice of appointing non-locals to the helm of counties, which were considered sensitive from a national point of view as well as hard to handle, continued.

**I**n conclusion, the Hungarian political elite managed to preserve its prominent positions in the counties throughout the period of Dualism. Although in this period there were individuals who were appointed to this position after lengthy service in the public administration, the proportion of those who were predestined to it "by right of birth" continued to be high, and in 1910, the number of aristocrats in the Lord Lieutenant corps increased. Although the demands of professionalization acted against this, the process proved slow. This slow change was dramatically interrupted by the First World War, whose aftermath witnessed the replacement of the entire elite in Transylvania.

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Some examples for the study of the urban elite: Károly Vörös, *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1873-1917* [The Greatest Taxpayers of Budapest 1873-1917] (Budapest: 1979); Judit Tóvári, *Az elit Miskolc város társadalmában 1872-1917* [The Elite in the Urban Society of Miskolc 1872-1917] (Nyíregyháza: 1997). For the county elite: For the deputys: Adalbert Toth, *Parteien und Reichstagwahlen in Ungarn 1848-1892* [München: Oldenbourg, 1973] (*Südosteuropäische Arbeiten*, 70).
- <sup>2</sup> András Cieger, 'A Bereg megyei politikai elit a dualizmus időszakában' [The Political Elite of Bereg County in the Period of Dualism], *A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltárának Kiadványai. Levéltári Évkönyv* [The Publications of the County Archives of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg. The Annual of the Archive], vol. XII (Nyíregyháza: 1997), pp. 213-281; idem, 'A dualizmus kori helyi politikai elit kutatása regionális szinten' [The Research of the Local Political Elite of the Period of Dualism on Regional Level], *Mi végre a tudomány? Fiatal Kutatók Fóruma* [What's the Use of the Science? The Young Researchers' Forum], vol. 1 (Budapest: 2004), pp. 297-313; Magdolna Balázs, 'A középszintű közigazgatási apparátus személyi állományának vizsgálata a dualizmus időszakában' [The Analysis of the Middle Level Administration Apparatus' Personnel], Péter Hanák (ed.), *Hid a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára* [Bridge on the Centuries. Studies on Fiftieth Birthday of László Katus] (Pécs: 1997), pp. 247-254.
- <sup>3</sup> Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai. Címerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal* [The Families of Hungary. With Coat of Arms and Family Trees Illustrations], vol. I-XIII (Budapest: 1857-1865) CD-ROM; Béla Kempelen, *Magyar nemes családok* [Hungarian Noble Families], vol. I-X (Budapest: 1911-1931) CD-ROM; János József Gudenus, *A magyarországi főnemesség XX. századi genealógiája* [The Hungarian Aristocracy's Genealogy from the Twentieth Century], vol. I-V (Budapest: 1990-1999); *Magyar nemzetiségi zsebkönyv* [Hungarian Nationality Pocket-book], vol. I-II (Budapest: 1888); Albert Sturm (ed.), *Új országgyűlési almanach 1887-1892* [New Parliamentary Almanac 1887-1892] (Budapest: s. a.); József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The Lives and Works of the Hungarian Writers], vol. I-XIV (Budapest: 1891-1914); *A magyar korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája* [The Agrarian Statistics of the Hungarian Crown's Countries], vol. 2, *Gazdáczimtár* [The Directory of the Farmers] (Budapest: Magyar Kir.



- Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1897); László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a Habsburg Birodalom egyetemén* [Hungarian Students at the Universities of the Habsburg Empire], vol. I, 1790-1850 (Budapest-Szeged: 1994); Miklós Szabó, László Szögi, *Erdélyi peregrinusok. Erdélyi diákok európai egyetemeken 1701-1849* [Transylvanian Peregrines. Transylvanian Students at the European Universities 1701-1849] (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 1998); Walter Myß (ed.), *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen Lexikon* (Thaur bei Innsbruck: Kraft Verlag, 1993); Gábor Bona, *Tábornokok és törzstisztek az 1848/49. évi szabadságharcban* [Colonels and Field-officers in the Revolution from 1848/49] (Budapest: 2000).
- <sup>4</sup> Béla Sarlós, *Közigazgatás és hatalompolitika a dualizmus rendszerében* [Administration and Power Politics in the System of Dualism] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1976), p. 23; István Stipta, *Törekvések a vármegyék polgári átalakítására. Tervezetek, javaslatok, törvények* [Aspirations Concerning the Civic Transformation of the Counties. Plans, Proposals, Laws] (Budapest: 1995), pp. 147-148.
- <sup>5</sup> Judit Pál, 'The Transylvanian Lord-Lieutenants after the Compromise', Viktor Karády, Zsuzsanna Török (eds.), *Ethnic Dimensions of Elite Formation in Modern Transylvania (1850-1950)* (Cluj-Napoca: 2008).
- <sup>6</sup> Although at this point one cannot talk about the three pre-1848 "political nations" anymore, interestingly enough the pre-1848 constitutional-political nation and the concept of nation/nationality taken in its modern sense interweave and interplay especially in the case of the Saxons, but also that of the Hungarians.
- <sup>7</sup> Péter Hanák, 'Az 1905-1906. évi politikai válság' [The Political Crisis from 1905-1906], Péter Hanák (ed.), *Magyarország története 1890-1918* [The History of Hungary 1890-1918], vol. I, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1978), p. 600.
- <sup>8</sup> Ernő Lakatos, *A magyar politikai vezetőréteg 1848-1918* [The Hungarian Political Elite 1848-1918] (Budapest: 1942); László Péter, 'Az arisztokrácia, a dzsentri és a parlamentáris tradíció a XIX. századi Magyarországon' [The Aristocracy, the Gentry and the Parliamentary Tradition in Hungary during the Nineteenth Century], László Kontler (ed.), *Túlélők. Eliték és társadalmi változás az újkori Európában* [Survivors. Elites and Social Changes in the Modern Europe] (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1993), pp. 191-241.
- <sup>9</sup> Gernot Stimmer, *Eliten in Österreich. 1848-1970*, vol. I (Köln, Graz: Böhlau, 1997), pp. 96-110.
- <sup>10</sup> Zsigmond Somogyi, *Magyarország főispánjainak története 1000-1903* [The History of the Lord Lieutenants of Hungary 1000-1903] (Budapest: 1902), p. 218.
- <sup>11</sup> János Haller, *A hallerkeői Haller grófok fehéregyházi ágából származott Haller Ferencz és József grófok törvényes származása...* [The Legitimate Origin of Counts Ferenc and József Haller coming from the Fehéregyház Branch of the Counts Haller of Hallerkő] (Budapest: Atheneum, 1898).
- <sup>12</sup> Gyula Rubinek (ed.), *Magyarországi gazdacímár* [The Directory of the Hungarian Farmers] (Budapest: 1911).
- <sup>13</sup> Balázs, 'A középszintű közigazgatási', pp. 250-251.

## Elites all Over the Place: an Interview with Viktor Karády

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Borbála Zsuzsanna TÖRÖK

Borbála Zsuzsanna Török interviews Professor Viktor Karády of the Department of History at the Central European University, Budapest. The topic of the discussion is Professor Karády's career and life-long interest in the history of the elites in post feudal societies under modernization. A social historian, with a background in literary studies, Professor Karády has worked in close proximity to the most brilliant representatives of the field, Pierre Bourdieu, Raymond Aron, Jean-Claude Passeron, George Gurvitch and Jean Stoetzel. It is thus easy to understand his commitment to sociological methods and his interest in educational institutions. His professional trajectory has taken him from Hungary to Vienna and then to Paris and back to Budapest. The interview touches upon first hand experience of the major political upheavals of the twentieth century.

**H**ow would you describe yourself in your own terms?

To put it pompously, I would say: an obsessive researcher, dedicated to the exploration of his intellectual obsessions, which have to do with new topical areas of social history – intellectual clusters and educated elites in post-feudal societies under modernization – with the application of quantitative sociological methods. This may be linked to the fact that I started very differently – as a would-be literary critic and historian. All my younger years were spent in reading and studying literature, especially modern poetry. I still read poetry quite a lot, but what I do as a professional researcher is something of the contrary a literary essayist would do. I must have learned it from Pierre Bourdieu, who was also a big reader with a strong interest in literature. But social science is all the more “sci-