PRO&CONTRA

Central European Studies in Humanities

Volume 4
Issue 2

Authors:

Anna Klára Andor

(Eötvös Loránd University)

László Bóna

(Eszterházy University)

Tünde Julianna Ládiné Szabó

(Eszterházy University)

Tünde Lengyelné Molnár

(Eszterházy University)

Sándor Rózsa

(Eszterházy University)

Réka Kormos

(University of Debrecen)

PRO&CONTRA

Central European Studies in Humanities

Table of Contents

Anna Klára Andor

"Gyöngyösbokréta" (1931–1948)
An Interwar Folk-Cultural Movement
That Influenced Identity Construction and Heritage Preservation

Abstract

The post-World War I period was characterized by a search for identity and a turning towards the past, which, in Hungary's case led to the (re)discovery of folk culture. The idea to represent the popular traditions of the Hungarian peasantry was realized as part of the Saint Stephen's Day celebration in 1931 in Budapest, and in just a few years, these annual performances of the popular dances and customs became a movement: the support of the ministries allowed the movement's leader to form an association which was joined by a hundred groups from Greater Hungary.

Whereas the government saw the potential in this movement, these peasant groups were soon given a representative role in the identity construction. At the same time, these performances also served to preserve the endangered folk heritage. In a decade and a half, the movement had an impact on fashion and tourism, as well as strengthening the idea of revision.

In this article I aim to present the history of the Gyöngyösbokréta-movement and highlight the mentality of the era regarding popular culture, the relationship between rural Hungary and Budapest, the notion of heritage preservation and identity construction.

Keywords: identity construction, heritage protection, popular culture, traditions, representation

The Gyöngyösbokréta (Pearly Bouquet) movement – peasant culture to support the national idea

"Gyöngyösbokréta is the name of a regularly recurring theatrical spectacle consisting of dance, song and play performances by peasant groups in Budapest from 1931 to 1944, around the 20th of August each year."[1] But the movement that grew out of these performances had a much wider range of activities, as well as varied institutional and support networks. After the success of the first folk tradition performances, which initially proved contentious, a national organization was soon established for the preservation of folk traditions. The peasant groups presenting their living or vanishing folk traditions appeared both at home and abroad as ambassadors of Hungarian culture. The first Gyöngyösbokréta performance – at that time

---

[1] Sándor Gönyey, "A Gyöngyös-bokréta története," in *A Gyöngyösbokréta. Írások és dokumentumok a mozgalom történetéből*, ed. Krisztina Dóka – Péter Molnár (https://folkradio.hu/folkszemle/cikk/28/a-gyongyosbokreta – accessed: June 6, 2021) 1.

still advertised as the "Földmíves Játékszín" (Farmers' Play Scene) was held on – the day of the celebration of Saint Stephen, the founder of the Hungarian state – August 20, 1931, and from this point on, they can be referred to as Gyöngyösbokréta performances, bokréta villages and groups.

The idea of the Gyöngyösbokréta did not appear in a vacuum, rather its ideas were in line with the cultural and nation-building aspirations of the time: the traumas of the post-war period had triggered the phenomena of "hungarocentrism" and "cultural introversion"[2], so the country's (cultural) leadership saw potential in building on and representing folk culture. While Kuno Klebelsberg[3] emphasised Hungarian cultural supremacy, Bálint Hóman[4] focused on national education, and their ideas influenced cultural policy between the two world wars. In secondary school education, "education on a par with European education, but with the strongest national orientation" was the guiding principle, and popular education also played a significant role.[5] As the movement emphasised national characteristics, it fitted into this cultural policy, which, as Klebelsberg put it, was fighting against "the infusion of international culture into the broad strata of the Hungarian people. Because then it would be twisted out of its national character [...]."[6] By bringing Hungarian culture to the surface and by presenting it to the public, the movement soon won the support of the state: the National Hungarian Bokréta Association, which brought together the village groups who presented their living or disappearing traditions, was founded with the support of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education and the Ministry of the Interior.[7] After the first performance in Budapest, it became clear that there was much more potential for these village groups to contribute to the creation of traditions and the strengthening of Hungarian identity than just the performances around August 20. While before 1920 Hungarian folk culture was national only in its elements[8], the Gyöngyösbokréta appeared as an initiative for the spectacular representation of same values, alongside the political orientation of the interwar period, which was grounded in national values, and the series of performances intended to present

---

[2] Gábor Ujváry, "Pozitív válaszok Trianonra – Klebelsberg Kuno és Hóman Bálint kulturális politikája," *Korunk* 23, no. 11 (2012): 70–72.

[3] Minister of the Interior (3 December 1921 – 6 June 1922) and Minister of Religion and Public Education (16 June 1922 – 24 August 1931)

[4] Minister of Religion and Public Education (2 October 1932 – 3 July 1942)

[5] Ujváry, "Pozitív válaszok Trianonra," 70–72.

[6] Kuno Klebelsberg, "Az Országos Magyar Gyűjteményegyetem. I. Törvényjavaslat nemzeti nagy közgyűjteményeink önkormányzatáról és személyzetük minősítéséről. Benyújtatott a nemzetgyűlés 1922. augusztus 17-iki ülésén," in: *Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno beszédei, cikkei és törvényjavaslatai 1916–1926.* (Budapest, Athenaeum Irodalmi És Nyomdai R.-T, 1927), 75.

[7] Csaba Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," *Tánctudományi Tanulmányok* 7 (1970): 126–127.

[8] László Tőkéczki, "Konzervatív reform a legkorszerűbb eszközökkel," *Valóság* 33, no 2. (1990): 50.

folk traditions soon grew into a tourist attraction. The movement, which was supported by the state, was active in many fields: the bokréta groups took part in important cultural events, became a key element in the development of Hungarian fashion, strengthened Hungarian identity, demonstrated to foreigners the richness of the folk life and represented Hungary at international events. The movement born out of the Gyöngyösbokréta presentations had a huge impact on the preservation of folklore and the elements of popular culture as it was the first attempt to preserve and stage this "beautiful, ancient heritage".[9]

The idea and background of the folk tradition performances

The return to and cultivation of folk traditions was not only a feature of Hungary, but also of the rest of Europe, such as the Finnish movement against the Tsarist oppression, which sought to make costumes and customs part of everyday life, the Swedish folk dance performances at the Skanzen, or the folk costume dance performances of Austria.[10] In Hungary, there was a similar initiative as early as the Millennium Exhibition of 1896, where peasants presented their daily lives and their customs and dances. From 1920s, folk costume shows and small dance events were organised throughout the country.[11]   Even before the war, the Ethnographic Museum and the Ethnographic Society had organised folk tradition shows to collect and record traditions, but these were aimed at professionals, not tourists.[12] However, from the early 1920s, the Metropolitan Tourist Office of Budapest (Székesfővárosi Idegenforgalmi Hivatal) had been trying to develop attractions for the summer period, especially for the period around 20 August[13] – mainly because of the currency crisis – and decided to hold folk art shows for this purpose. City councillor Vilmos Kovácsházy wanted to brighten up the St Stephen's Day celebrations with a relatively inexpensive event, so he and Béla Paulini, known for being the director of the musical *Háry János*, decided to stage a folk-dance performance by original peasant groups.[14]

Originally a journalist, Béla Paulini (1881–1945) became the leader of this folk-art movement as in 1929, he had remarkable success with the above-mentioned folk opera *Háry János*, set to music by Zoltán Kodály, and performed by the peasants of Csákvár at

---

[9] Béla Paulini: "Hajrá népművészet!," *Bokrétások Lapja* 3, no. 9–10 (1936): 6.

[10] Gönyey, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 1.

[11] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 120.

[12] István Györffy, *A néphagyomány és a nemzeti művelődés* (Budapest, A Magyar Táj- és Népismeret Könyvtára 1, 1939.) 82.

[13] István Volly, "A Gyöngyös Bokréta indulása (Adalékok)," *Tánctudományi Tanulmányok* 9. (1977) 350.

[14] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 120.

the Opera House. Even then, ethnographers suggested that he should not stage a folk play but one showcasing the original traditions of the peasants.[15] Even though Béla Paulini was born and raised on the Esterházy estate in Csákvár, where he was introduced to the "deep layers of Hungarian peasant life"[16] as a child and he was active in cultural life, he was an "enthusiastic but ethnographically unversed"[17] initiator of the Gyöngyösbokréta's activities of preserving traditions. Nevertheless, he alone governed the movement that emerged from the Gyöngyösbokréta performances. For this reason, many people considered the movement and Paulini's ideology to be flawed, because his early successes led him to "take the reins" of the movement, and he considered it unnecessary to seek further professional advice on the management of folk art. Yet he organised the formation and performances of peasant groups nationwide and edited a journal of the movement. One of the local group leaders, Imre Töreki wrote that Paulini could not win the personal sympathy of Miklós Horthy because he forgot to invite the latter to the first Gyöngyösbokréta event in 1931[18], but according to other sources, in 1943 the Governor himself conferred on Paulini the title of Royal Hungarian Chief Government Councillor (magyar királyi kormányfőtanácsosi cím) in recognition of his outstanding achievements in the field of Hungarian tourism.[19] His achievements were thus appreciated by many, but his role and perception were controversial both in the eyes of the time and of later commentators.

How folk traditions became Budapest's main attractions – The beginnings of the movement

A review of the background makes it clear that the Gyöngyösbokréta was not the first time that folk traditions were presented, as there were similar efforts abroad and there was already a history of events presenting folk traditions and dances in Hungary, but what made this movement unique was the speed at which gained success: The daily newspaper, *Az Est* reported that twelve thousand foreigners attended the 1934 performances,[20] and it was visited by many Hungarians, too.

Paulini's original idea was to have peasants on the stage and after the successful presentation of the Háry János folk opera, he was encouraged to stage the peasants' own

---

[15] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 114.

[16] Volly, "A Gyöngyös Bokréta indulása," 14.

[17] Zsigmond Bátky, "Gyöngyösbokréta," *Magyarság*, September 7, 1933. 4.

[18] Imre Töreki, *A szanyi Bokréta Néptáncegyüttes 70 éve.* (2001) http://www.muharay.hu/img/file/szanyi_bokreta.pdf

[19] Paulini Béla kormányfőtanácsos. *Függetlenség* December 25, 1943. 4.

[20] Az Est riportjai Szent István napjáról. *Az Est* August 22, 1934. 12.

traditions. Therefore, he went to the Ethnographic Museum to research villages where the traditional costumes and customs were still flourishing or where there was hope of reviving them. In June 1931, barely two months before the national holiday of St Stephen's Day, he began to visit the villages suggested by ethnographers István Györffy and Sándor Gönyey at the Ethnographic Museum in the hope of finding living folk costumes and customs. According to Gönyey's personal recollection, he recommended the groups of Boldog, Mezőkövesd, Buják, Bocsárlapujtő (Karancslapujtő), Nagykálló, Zsámbok to Paulini, for the first presentation[21]. Zsámbok was not initially included, as the group did not have a competent leader at the time.[22] In addition to the villages recommended by Gönyey, groups from Kapuvár, Koppányszántó, Mikófalva, Őcsény, Püspökbogád, Szany, Szentistván and Tiszapolgár took part in the first Gyöngyösbokréta in Budapest. Already in this first show, a wide variety of customs and dances from various parts of the country were brought together. The show included a bride dance, a spinning scene, a czardas, a bottle dance, a verbunk, a harvest festival, and many others. By the end of the movement, the number of groups had grown to around a hundred, and the association had some 4,000 members during its lifetime.[23] These included the bokréta groups of villages in the reannexed territories, from Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Vojvodina.

The Gyöngyösbokréta was not started by a group of ethnographers, tourism organisers or peasant organisations, so there was no institutional background behind the first bokréta groups. However, the Metropolitan Tourist Office of Budapest (Székesfővárosi Idegenforgalmi Hivatal) played a significant role in this effort, financing the costs of the rural groups' performances in Budapest and launching multilingual marketing campaigns to promote the Gyöngyösbokréta performances. In this respect, the role of the capital can be seen as that of a patron, since Budapest's interest was in the success of tourism, not in the development of the movement, the preservation of folk traditions or the strengthening of Hungarian identity. In those years, therefore, apart from the Gyöngyösbokréta performances in Budapest, no other events were held in the rest of the country, and at that time the bokréta groups were not yet performing abroad or important events.

However, the growing interest of tourists, the increasing number of bokréta groups and the varying quality of folk shows, which were in competition with the Gyöngyösbokréta, soon made it essential that an association be set up to organise the events.

---

[21] Gönyey, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 5.
[22] Katalin Hajdú, "A zsámboki Gyöngyösbokréta," *Honismeret* 19. no. 1. (1991) 81.
[23] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 145.

To unify the peasant culture – The (National) Hungarian Bokréta Association

The sudden expansion of the groups, the complexity of the organisational work and the increased expenditure made it clear after the first few years that a properly coordinated organisation was needed. With the help of the Ministries of Religion and Public Education, the Interior and Trade, the Hungarian Bokréta Association was set up on the initiative by Béla Paulini. However, the support from the ministries was not entirely altruistic, as they quickly realised that "through the movement, it is possible to send a message within the country and abroad that social, popular and Hungarian politics are being pursued here."[24] As a prelude to this, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education had already issued a decree on April 17, 1934 addressed to the Extracurricular Education Committees (Iskolánkívüli Népművelési Bizottságok), to support the activities and further organisational work of the Association as far as possible and to call upon the local education committees.[25] On November 15, 1934, another decree was sent to the teachers, calling upon them to ensure that anyone wishing to take part in the work of cultivating and reviving folk arts should do so only in accordance with the "principles and work plan" of the Hungarian Bokréta Association.[26] From these decrees it is clear that the ministries gave both intellectual and financial support to the work of the Bokréta Association. As a result, more municipalities began to re-evaluate their traditions in order to join the movement, and intellectuals began to support the movement as it gained in popularity.

Financial support for the Budapest events of the Gyöngyösbokréta was thus provided by the capital city, the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, and Paulini himself set up a system of patronage: in return for the full amount of their membership fees, the patron members received folk art objects[27], and patrons did not have to pay an entrance fee and were given reserved seating at local bokréta shows. Not only individuals, but also towns and counties could become supporters of the movement. In 1934, already 14 major cities had become full members.[28]

In addition to financial support, the aforementioned moral support was also important in the history of the association, and after the 1934 decrees, a decree was issued in 1935 clarifying the tasks of the association.

---

[24] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 122.

[25] László Debreczeni, "A »Gyöngyösbokréta« aktáiból," in *Táncművészeti Értesítő* (Budapest, Magyar Táncművészeti Szövetség, 1956), 100.

[26] Imre Molnár, "Főtitkári jelentés a Magyar Bokréta Szövetség 1934. évi működéséről," *Bokrétások Lapja* 2, no. 4 (1935): 3.

[27] "A Magyar Bokréta Szövetség közgyűlése," *Függetlenség,* March 28, 1940. 5.

[28] Molnár, "Főtitkári jelentés," 3.

The decree dated June 27, 1935 in Budapest, first described the aims and activities of the association: "The aim of the national movement started under the well-known name of Gy. B. is to preserve the originality of the special characteristics, distinctive features and traditions of Hungarian folk performing arts and to make them known both at home and abroad." This decree also stressed that the Hungarian Bokréta Association, under the supervision of the Minister of Religion and Public Education, "carries out its activities in the public interest, excluding all commercial aspects, purely in the spirit of serving Hungarian national culture." The cottage industry activities, which belonged to the performances, also required the approval of the Minister of Commerce.[29] The collection, display and sale of "folk articles" also called for organisational cooperation, and the decree stipulated that only the Hungarian Bokréta Association, in addition to the IBUSZ, could sell such articles in an organised manner.[30] This was important because the Hungarian Bokréta Association organised exhibitions of folk art and sold folk art products during the performances.

The decree was amended several times. In 1935 the organisation was renamed the National Hungarian Bokréta Association, defining the scope of the association's activities.[31] The statutes of the National Hungarian Bokréta Association were also amended in 1942, in which the aims were extended to include the unification of the Hungarian people (countryside – Budapest), tourism, foreign presentation and the revival of folk industry.[32]

As at the time of the first Gyöngyösbokréta, the success of the production was far from clear, so as another kind of support, the performances were advertised in as many forums as possible, and the Hungarian press and radio published reports on the Gyöngyösbokréta-movement from its first performance. In 1934, with the support of the government and in the frame of the Hungarian Bokréta Association, there were two significant developments in the promotion of the movement. Firstly, for Hungarian readers, the Association launched a monthly journal called Bokrétások Lapja (The Journal of Bokréta members), which was renamed Hagyomány Szava (The Word of Tradition) in 1940. In these periodicals, the names of the newly established local bokréta groups were published highlighting their costumes and folk art, and the performances of the bokréta groups were detailed. Béla Paulini edited the journal and wrote most of the articles and news alone, but he also published articles by ethnographers and local bokréta leaders. Secondly, from 1934 the events were increasingly promoted as five-language booklets were published.[33]

---

[29] A M. Kir. belügyminiszter 178437/1935. B. M. számú rendelete. „Gyöngyös Bokréta" elnevezésű népművészeti előadások rendezésének és rendőrhatósági engedélyezésének szabályozása. *Budapesti Közlöny,* June 29, 1935, 10.
[30] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 124.
[31] Molnár, „Főtitkári jelentés," 3.
[32] MNL OL K 150–1943–VII–5–184455–6194.Ob_Szü 541.
[33] Ujváry, "Bokréták a Galga völgyében," 19.

Structure of the association – How the organization worked

Each bokréta groups comprised approximately 8 couples, i.e. 16 persons from one village, who were trained by the local teacher, cantor, priest or notary, and the local organisations included officials in addition to the members. One of their duties was to hold a general assembly in the first month of the year to elect a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and auditor, who would make up the leadership of the local bokréta group.[34]

The management structure of the association was like that of the branch organisations: it had a president, a general assembly, an annual report and a set budget.[35] The association and its branches thus had a well-organised system, but it was Béla Paulini who ran things at the central level and the group leader intellectuals (teachers, notaries, priests) at local level. The bokréta leaders were financially supported by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education in the organisation of bokréta affairs, but they received little professional help. Not all the leaders had an adequate knowledge of ethnography and folklore. Although the leaders of the bokréta groups were intellectuals, they often caused problems by imposing their own will and ignorance on the safeguarding of the traditions. It depended on the attitude and ability of the leaders whether their groups presented the authentic traditions they had found or 'hungarianised' traditions that had never existed. In this way, their activities also had a major influence on the customs and dances that would be considered original in later times, since the upcoming folk dance movement was based on the dances and customs that had been discovered and presented by the Gyöngyösbokréta movement.[36] Ethnographer Imre Romsics's research has shown that

> "In Kalocsa, the leaders of the Gyöngyösbokréta movement, especially canon Ferenc Kujányi and painter-teacher Lajos Gábor, intervened in the development of folk art in a significant way. Elsewhere, intellectuals, especially village teachers, played an important role in organizing the independent artistic life of the peasantry, creating and organizing folk theatre, patriotic celebrations, harvest balls, and Gyöngyösbokréta groups, and introducing new songs, customs and costumes."[37]

In many cases, however, local leaders took a stand and their awareness helped to preserve the original folk costumes and traditions. In the case of Tiszapolgár, it was the

---

[34] MNL OL K 150–1943–VII–5–184455–6194.Ob_Szü 532.
[35] MNL OL K 150–1943–VII–5–184455–6194.Ob_Szü 532.
[36] Tibor Vadasi, "A hagyományőrzés mai kérdései és problémái," in *A néptáncmozgalom néhány alapvető kérdéséről.* (Budapest, Népművelési Intézet, 1979), 49.
[37] Zoltán Fehér, "Két ujja van a ködmönnek, kerek alja a pöndölnek (A bátyai népviselet változásai)," *Forrás* 2003. 5. http://epa.oszk.hu/02900/02931/00053/pdf/EPA02931_forras_2003_03_11.pdf

priest who preserved the decaying traditional costumes in the parish church for posterity.[38] The above-mentioned ethnographer-museologist, Sándor Gönyey, for example, was one of the first to propose the village of Zsámbok for the Gyöngyösbokréta, but there was no suitable local leader at first. It took four years – of studying other bokréta groups – until the local teacher became a suitable leader, and eventually organised two groups, a small (for youngsters) and a large (for adults).[39] These examples, both positive and negative, demonstrate the great role and responsibility of the leaders of the local bokréta groups, since it was essentially they who determined whether traditions and costumes were preserved, and if so, in authentic form or modified.

It can be seen, therefore, that Béla Paulini quickly reached the highest level of support, both financial and intellectual, making the Gyöngyösbokréta one of the most supported social movements of the interwar period. However, as the Gyöngyösbokréta-movement was the first attempt to preserve and stage popular traditions, it had many difficulties and the leaders had a great impact on what we call popular traditions today.

From local performances to national political events and performances abroad

The events at which the bokréta groups performed reflect the place and importance of the movement in society and in cultural politics. The main attraction was the Gyöngyösbokréta performances in the capital around Saint Stephen's Day which was later extended to Saint Stephen's Week, where tens of thousands of people from Hungary and abroad attended.

After the foundation of the Bokréta Association, in addition to the shows in Budapest, the villages also organised bokréta performances at local fairs, often inviting the bokréta groups of nearby villages to participate, and the larger towns also invited the bokréta groups to their events. Paulini's credo was that all festivities should be hungarianised, from Christmas to the pig slaughter[40], which he imagined with the participation of the bokréta groups. For this reason, the Bokréta Association (re)organized some traditional Hungarian festivals with the contribution of the bokréta groups.

Firstly, on February 3, 1935, the Association organized the event entitled Hungarian Carnival in Gyöngyös, in which the villages around Gyöngyös took part. The dances and customs of the repertoire of the bokréta groups were presented here, and while spinning

---

[38] Sándor Gönyey, “Az 1938-iki Gyöngyösbokrétáról,” *Ethnographia* 49 (1938): 427–429.
[39] Ujváry, “Bokréták a Galga völgyében,” 25.
[40] Béla Paulini, *“A jubileumi esztendőre ez szóm és mondásom,”* *Bokrétások Lapja* 6, no. 10 (1939): 1–2.

and harvest festivities were presented, there were no carnival elements on the programme.[41] In an article published after the event, Paulini described the success of the performances, and said that "with this Hungarian carnival we are now beginning to build up a national folk art festive series, which we will have to complete with the Hungarian Christmas."[42] In 1938, the town of Győr organised the Hungarian Carnival with seven bokréta groups, and that year, the Hungarian Christmas was also organised with six bokréta groups.[43] But following the popular calendar, there were also programmes in between to celebrate the different festivals of the year.

The next of these renovated traditions was the Hungarian Pentecost with eight bokréta groups, held in Vác on May 16, 1937, as a national bokréta event. The Hungarian Pentecost programme included the "Pentecost king election" and "Pentecost run" based on folk tradition, and the bokréta groups also performed May or Pentecost traditions.[44] It was the first time that the group from Szada had performed,[45] and for this occasion, they learned the folk song "Ma vagyon, ma vagyon piros Pünkösd napja" (Today is the day of red Pentecost), which was not otherwise known in Szada.[46] Thus, in the case of Hungarian Pentecost, the groups' performances were already adapting to the occasion with each group presenting Pentecost customs, but this also meant that in some cases, they did not perform their own traditions. In this case, too, the aspect of invented traditions is confirmed in this form, where local leaders use the data available to them to create an ideal type of folk tradition which then becomes a representative tradition at national level. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of bread festivals, which are a combination of several previous customs.

The New Bread Festival was held in Szeged on June 29, 1937. This event is not without precedent and origin. In Szeged, however, no harvest festivals had been held before, but Szeged was a desirable choice because it is located in the Great Plain, where there are many agricultural workers, and because it was also the new border of the country. "The significance of this celebration is especially great here, on the Trianon border, where thousands of families lost their bread as a result of the terrible disaster."[47] The quote illustrates a case where invented tradition plays a role in building national consciousness

---

[41] Gönyey, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 9.

[42] „Lábujjspiccel Ruganyozz!" Magyar Farsang Gyöngyösön. *Az Est* February 6, 1935. 4.

[43] Gönyey, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 9.

[44] Ünnepek-érdekességek 1937. március 1-től 1938. március 1-ig *Bokrétások Lapja* 4. no. 3–4–5. (1937) 5.

[45] Zoltán Kecskés (ed.), *Gönyey Sándor szadai képei és a szadai Gyöngyösbokréta története.* (Szada, Tájházi Füzetek. Közhasznú Kult. Alapítvány Szadáért, 2002) 7.

[46] Kecskés (ed.), *Gönyey Sándor,* 7.

[47] Népi Bokréták mesés felvonulása a Magyar Kenyér szegedi ünnepén. *Délmagyarország* July 1, 1937. 5.

and supports the idea of territorial expansion. Paulini adopted many details from the previous bread festivals, but he also added his own ideas to make it more Hungarian. The next bread festival had to wait four years: On July 27, 1941, the National Political Service and the National Hungarian Bokréta Association organised the Hungarian Bread Festival in the reannexed city of Subotica,[48] which gave the movement not only a cultural but a national political significance with the success of the territorial reclamation policy.

But it was not the only example when bokréta groups participated in events of political significance. During the second world war the Bokréta Association was asked several times to accompany or perform for soldiers or foreign politicians. The events of the war had an impact on the bokréta groups as some of them were disbanded because several bokréta participants were conscripted. This made it increasingly difficult for the Bokréta Association to put together a full programme for the St Stephen's Week celebrations,[49] but they had new performances. In 1942 in Cluj Napoca and other towns of Transylvania, bokréta presentations were organised for the Hungarian Defence Forces, where one hundred and twenty bokréta members performed their traditions for Hungarian soldiers.[50] On June 4, 1942, at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, some bokréta groups travelled to Vienna for an international event in honour of wounded soldiers.[51] There were several bokréta tours in Vojvodina[52] and in Transylvania[53] organized by the Ministry of Defence where the participating bokréta members accompanied the soldiers on their way and held some folk-art performances for them. The most important military event where the Bokréta Association participated was the entry of Regent Miklós Horthy in Kosice, where they had a representational role.[54]

When the government recognized the representational role of the bokréta groups, the Bokréta Association was often asked to participate at the receptions of foreign statesmen. On May 4, 1937, Austrian Federal President Wilhelm Miklas was given a reception befitting a head of state on his visit to Budapest. In St George's Square he was cheered by a splendid group of a few hundred members of the Pearly Bouquet.[55] Some weeks later, 32 bokréta groups attended the reception of King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy and

---

[48] A Magyar Kenyér Ünnepén a kormányzó szegte meg az új magyar kenyeret. *Zala Megyei Ujság* July 28, 1941. 1.
[49] Ujváry, "Bokréták a Galga völgyében," 48.
[50] Lajos Turán, "Százhúsz „bokrétás" játszik ma este Kolozsváron," *Keleti Ujság* November 14, 1942. 3.
[51] Ujváry, "Bokréták a Galga völgyében," 48.
[52] "Az O. M. B. SZ. délvidéki útja," *Hagyomány Szava* 4, no. 1 (1943): 1.
[53] "Búcsúszavak a Bokrétásokhoz. Elmondotta Kolozsvárott 1943. március 9-én Vitéz Kún Iván őrnagy-espe-res," *Hagyomány Szava* 4, no. 4 (1943): 1.
[54] "A Bokréta Szövetség a Kassai Bevonuláson," *Bokrétások Lapja* 1938. (5.) 11. 4.
[55] "A magyar főváros üdvözlete," *Prágai Magyar Hírlap* May 4, 1937. 1.

his wife. In honour of the delegation, a reception in the castle gardens of Gödöllő was attended by residents of the surrounding villages dressed in costume. As a favour to the Italian royal couple, "reversing the order of the shawls worn on Pentecost, the girls from Szada now displayed the Italian tricolour."[56] On the occasion of the reception, the King of Italy awarded Béla Paulini the Knight's Cross of the Order of the Italian Crown (Olasz Koronarend lovagkeresztje).[57] During his visit to Hungary in March 1941, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister Cincar Markovic announced that he would like to see living Hungarian folk art, so the Bokréta Association was commissioned to convene a few bokréta groups.[58] After the ceremony, the Foreign Minister had a discussion with Paulini, during which they discussed plans for a joint Yugoslav-Hungarian folk art festival.[59] In the same year, Franz Schlegelberger, the German Reich State Secretary, came to Hungary with his wife, and the couple visited the National Hungarian Bokréta Association, and also watched a local bokréta presentation.[60]

To represent Hungary, the Bokréta Association also performed abroad. In 1934, seventy members of four bokréta groups were sent to Vienna by the Ministry of Culture to perform Hungarian folk dances at a dance competition.[61] A year later, the Bokréta Association was invited to another famous dance competition, the Folk's Dance Festival of London.[62] In 1936 and 1938 the bokrétas were invited to Hamburg[63], while in 1937, a group of bokréta members travelled to Cannes[64], in 1939 the bokréta groups performed their traditions in Brussels.[65] The last appearance of the Association abroad was the aforementioned second trip to Vienna in 1942.[66] There were other plans – e.g. to perform in America – also, but the war prevented them from doing so.[67]

Besides, thanks to the propaganda on the radio, groups were formed in the annexed territories, so in Highland, Vojvodina and Transylvania and the Hungarian minorities similar performances of traditional dances and customs were organized under the name

---

[56] Napi Hírek. *Magyar Távirati Iroda* March 1, 1941.

[57] Paulini Béla olasz kitüntetése. *Nemzeti Ujság* June 5, 1937. 9.

[58] Napi Hírek. *Magyar Távirati Iroda* March 1, 1941.

[59] Napi Hírek. *Magyar Távirati Iroda* March 1, 1941.

[60] Lajos Zehery, "Dr. Schlegelberger Ferenc államtitkár magyarországi látogatása," *Magyar jogi szemle* 22. no. 17 (1941): 355.

[61] Négy bokrétát Bécsbe küld a kultuszminisztérium. *Magyar Hírlap* June 10, 1934. 15.

[62] A Bokréta Szövetség londoni útja, *Bokrétások Lapja* 1935. 2. no. 7. 5.

[63] Ujváry, "Bokréták a Galga völgyében," 31.

[64] Teljes beszámoló a cannes-i útról, *Bokrétások Lapja* 4. no. 3–4–5. (1937) 1.

[65] Bokrétások Hamburgban – másodszor, *Bokrétások Lapja* 5. no. 4–5–6. (1938) 3.

[66] Bécsben sebesült katonák között – bokrétásokkal, *Hagyomány Szava* 3. no. 6. (1942) 1–2.

[67] József Lele Jr., „Gyöngyösbokréta Tápén," in *Múzeumi Kutatások Csongrád Megyében* (1983): 40.

of Gyöngyösbokréta. However, they could only join the movement officially after the re-annexation[68], they were active and for those Hungarian communities this movement symbolized that they still belonged to the Hungarian nation[69], and when they were official members, they had a special role in the bokréta events to symbolize the togetherness of all Hungarians.[70]

The list so far shows the variety and significance of the events in which the bokréta groups participated. On the tenth anniversary of the first Gyöngyösbokréta presentation, the Hungarian Bokréta Association itself held a celebration which was a major event.

The celebration took place on August 19, 1940, in the Pesti Vigadó. On this occasion, members of 22 bokréta villages marched. The ceremony was attended by Archduke Ferenc József, Archduchess Anna, Minister of Industry József Varga, State Secretary for Culture István Váy, Mayors Jenő Karafiáth and Károly Szendy, State Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office Ferenc Zsindely, painter Oszkár Glatz, etc. The jubilee assembly was also attended by representatives of the people of the returning Highlands and Transcarpathia. After the hymn, Mayor Károly Szendy welcomed the bokréta members, which was followed by a speech from the Prime Minister Count Pál Teleki:

> "I have come here as allies, because the most important thing for all of us is to preserve the Hungarian soul in this nation. […] I came here because one's heart is glad when one sees something truly Hungarian, something Hungarian from the soul. And I also came here to thank the people of the village for coming up here to Budapest to teach people Hungarian things. I hope that no one sees this as just a spectacle, but on the contrary, as what is important. They see in it what it really is: Hungarian things. And maybe the people of Budapest will take something home with them, that we are Hungarians and that we should think Hungarian at home too. I came here to thank you not only for your visit this year, but also for the ones you have made so far, and the ones to come, with a true Hungarian heart and true Hungarian joy."[71]

The quote above demonstrates that they were looking for an empirical counterpart to the whole Hungarian idea, which they found in this movement. One might ask why these important occasions were not performed by professional actors and dancers. The reason was that the emphasis was on a culture based on folk roots, which also represented the rapprochement between Budapest and the village and the appreciation of the peasants.

---

[68] Béla Paulini, A Gyöngyösbokréta karácsonya – erdélyiekkel. *Hagyomány Szava* 1940. (1.) 4. 3–4.
[69] Kende, "A Gyöngyösbokrétánk mérlege," 380–387.
[70] Az idei kéthetes országos népművészeti seregszemle. *Hagyomány Szava* 2. no. 7. 1941. 2.
[71] A falu népét köszöntötte a miniszterelnök a Gyöngyös Bokréta ünnepén. *Nemzeti Újság* August 20, 1940. 7.

Fake pearls on the Bouquet – Critics of the movement

Despite the movement's rapid growth, there were many critics of the movement and how it treated the peasantry.

On the one hand, for the peasants, the participation in the Gyöngyösbokréta was a viable way to gain cultural advancement and esteem, however only a small part of the peasant community was made up of the 8 couples per village who were given the opportunity to perform and travel. Yet it was the whole peasantry that the movement's leader wanted to bring to the fore, he stressed the aim of making the peasants understand the value of their folk tradition and of making the upper classes aware of it. As the Gyöngyösbokréta became a huge attraction it provided an opportunity to the peasants to travel, a lot of villages wanted to join the movement, and they tried to make their performances more attractive and more Hungarian, so the authenticity of the traditions became questionable. Thus, the ethnographers needed to check the authenticity as Paulini and the local bokréta leaders had no ethnographic competence, and pseudo-traditions would have reflected badly on to the tourism sector. Furthermore, as it was the first time peasant traditions were on stage, critical voices were raised against showcasing the peasants' culture as a tourist attraction.

Paulini's movement could also be interpreted as an effort to integrate the peasants into society in the pursuit of national unity and, as the guardians of folk traditions. Even so, Paulini stressed the importance of village-town cohesion and the building of national unity. "The real attraction of St. Stephen's Week is the Gyöngyösbokréta. The capital of Budapest is proud of it. ... The English, French, Italians, Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians applaud together. Budapest celebrates the countryside, and the countryside bows happily to the Hungarian capital."[72]

However, the image the Gyöngyösbokréta performances created of the villages for the tourists was considered false, and the populist writers spoke out against it. Other intellectuals[73] also emphasised that the Gyöngyösbokréta displayed only the positive side of popular culture with its stunning costumes and cheerful festivities, all the while concealing the problems. From the 1930s, the village research movements flourished, and they drew attention not only to folk art, but also to the poverty in which the villagers lived.[74] Furthermore, sociologist Ferenc Erdei highlighted the fact that the peasantry no longer

---

[72] Az Est riportjai Szent István hetéről. Teljes a Gyöngyösbokréta diadala. *Az Est* August 19, 1934. 4.

[73] E.g. ethnomusicologist Zoltán Kodály, writer Sándor Eckhardt, ethnographer Sándor Bálint, writer Zsigmond Móricz

[74] Lele, "Gyöngyösbokréta Tápén," 40.

considered their customs and costumes important, but wanted to become bourgeois, that is, to leave their miserable lives and become more like the upper classes.[75] So the authenticity of the image constructed about the villages were questioned by many.

Other critical voices were raised against Paulini's insistence that only the peasants should perform their traditions, because it was only the dances and customs performed by the peasants were authentic, while the task of the intelligentsia in the defence of folk art is only to adore and encourage it.[76] To this end, he planned a series of programmes on the model of the bokréta, entitled "Hungarian Daisies" (Magyar Százszorszép), to form groups of intellectual youths to "cultivate traditions appropriate to the intellectuals"[77]. However, "in the eyes of some writers and those who, as intellectuals or industrial workers, felt inclined to cultivate folk dance, this could also be interpreted as meaning that the Gyöngyösbokréta, intentionally or not, serves to reinforce social differences and to represent them, since it draws a strict line between the peasantry and the intelligentsia."[78] This separation was one of the reasons why this movement came to an end in the new regime.

The end of an era, the end of the Bokréta-movement

In 1944, the *Hagyomány Szava (Word of Tradition)* reported that "This year's Gyöngyösbokréta is cancelled."[79] Béla Paulini and his wife retreated from the war to the village of Baj, where they ended their lives at their own hands on January 1, 1945 after the wife was dishonoured by Soviet soldiers.[80] The movement, which had lost its leader, only made a few more appearances.

Attempts were made to revive the movement and to appoint a new leader to take Paulini's place: among others the celebrated composer and ethnomusicologist, Zoltán Kodály was asked, but no one accepted the leader role.[81] Finally jurist Béla Zsedényi was chosen, who was the President of the Provisional National Assembly (Ideiglenes Nemzetgyűlés), which was formed in 1944, and from May 1945 he was also President of the National

---

[75] Ferenc Erdei, *Futóhomok*. (Budapest, Athenaeum, 1937), 146.
[76] Béla Paulini, "Esti parasztok," *Bokrétások Lapja* 3. no. 1–2 (1936): 2.
[77] Kassáról indul el a „Magyar Százszorszép", *Bokrétások Lapja* 6, no. 11 (1939): 4.
[78] Tamás Barta, "Magyar néptáncmozgalom a korai időkben – társadalmi ideológia vagy nemzeti művészet?" *Eszmélet* 26, no. 101 (2014): 147.
[79] Az idei Gyöngyösbokréta – elmarad. *Hagyomány Szava* 5, no. 8 (1944): 1.
[80] Paulini és felesége öngyilkos lett. *Pápai Ujság* January 13, 1945. 4.
[81] Ujváry, "Bokréták a Galga völgyében," 50.

High Council (Nemzeti Főtanács).[82] In the summer of 1946, the Bokréta Association was formally re-established on the occasion of the Bokréta-day in Zsámbok. The fact that the movement still had an impact on public consciousness and that the desire for its continuation was still alive in the villages is suggested by the fact that even in 1946 there were villages who wanted to become members of the Association. In that year, a folk-art exhibition was held in Aszód,[83] the bokréta groups took part in the bread festival in Szeged[84] and the Women's League in Salgótarján[85] and in the framework of the National Peasant Days (Országos Parasztnapok), it was again possible for the bokréta groups to perform, but a few days later the Bokréta leaders announced that there would be no more bokréta: they were accused of demonstrating for the Smallholders' Party (Kisgazda Párt).[86]

One of the last appearances of the bokréta was the "Fölszállott a páva" organised by István Volly on March 20, 1948, and the centenary cultural competition in Gyula in the same year.[87] Like all associations, the National Hungarian Bokréta Association was dissolved in 1948. The Dance Association (Táncszövetség), which was formed at the time, took the reorganising folk dance movement under a unified hand, therefore *folk ensembles* replaced the Gyöngyösbokréta. "The most important aspect of folk ensemble work is that it seeks to create a creative interaction between this folk tradition and higher culture."[88]

In the following decades, the movement was hardly ever talked of or, if it was, it was spoken of in a derogatory way. From 1969, folk art shows were held again yearly in Vojvodina under the name of Gyöngyösbokréta[89], which are still considered the largest gathering of the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina.

In 1970, Csaba Pálfi's article on the history of Gyöngyösbokréta was published, and after that, more local historians and old bokréta leaders wrote their memoirs. Thanks to the movement, more than 200 variations of about 75–80 types of dances, 35–40 games and customs were preserved, which could have been lost without the Gyöngyösbokréta,[90] and most of the subsequent initiatives relied on these traditions.

---

[82] S.v. "Zsedényi Béla" in *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 1000–1990*. (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.)
[83] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 129.
[84] Filmhíradók Online. https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=6180
[85] Filmhíradók Online. https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=6204
[86] Ujváry, "Bokréták a Galga völgyében," 51.
[87] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 129.
[88] Elemér Muharay, "Feltámadt a Gyöngyösbokréta?" *Szabad Szó* September 15, 1946. 4.
[89] Anasztázia Hajdú, "Régi gyöngyök új foglalatban," *Magyar Szó* June 2, 1986. 7.
[90] Pálfi, "A Gyöngyösbokréta története," 146.

Conclusion

The analysis of the history of the movement showed how the popular culture gained ground after the lost war and the Trianon Treaty: the peasants' yearly presentations on St Stephen's Day initially served as a tourist attraction but soon the folk culture performances were given a representational role by the country's political leadership asserting Hungarian cultural supremacy and representing the fact that the peasantry was also a respected member of Hungarian society. Thus, only after a few years, the Hungarian Bokréta Association was established with the help of the ministries and the bokréta groups represented the country at gatherings abroad and at important events such as the reception of foreign statesmen or military events, but the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the formation of the Hungarian Bokréta Association itself became a significant event, where Prime Minister Count Pál Teleki welcomed the bokréta groups. In addition, several folk traditions were renewed to create new festivities as part of the identity construction programme. Hence, the movement's activities can also be interpreted as a nation-building effort, in the context of which a national heritage image was constructed. There has been much criticism of the romanticised image of the village, and critics have raised several problems with the authenticity of the customs presented by the bokréta groups. Despite this, the Gyöngyösbokréta was a pioneer in the protection of folk heritage, it helped to identify and present many folk customs by making the peasants conscious of the importance of their traditions. Even though the movement could no longer function under the new regime, its impact is still felt today.

From the history of the movement, it is obvious that there are several aspects to further analyse: the aspects of national identity construction, the representative role of the movement, the movement's impact on Hungarian fashion, the use of invented traditions and the movement's effect on the Hungarian minorities of the reannexed territories who – after the Vienna Awards – also participated in the performances. Also, an analysis of the changes in the life of the peasants and the relations between the capital and the villages built by the Gyöngyösbokréta could provide information about the social situation and the interactions of the different social groups. Here I have not detailed the Gyöngyösbokréta's impact on tourism and the press's role, but the examination of both could help us understand the role of the movement in the interwar period's politics.

References
Primary sources:

National Archives of Hungary:

K 150–1943–VII–5–184455–6194.Ob_Szü. 531–545. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Polgári kori egyesületek, Országos Magyar Bokréta Szövetség módosítása, Budapest.

Filmhíradó/Newsreel:

https://filmarchiv.hu/hu/alapfilmek/film/tavaszi-zapor-1 (accessed: June 6, 2021)

https://filmhiradokonline.hu/search.php?q=gy%C3%B6ngy%C3%B6sbokr%C3%A9ta (accessed: June 6, 2021)

https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=6180 (accessed: June 6, 2021)

https://filmhiradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=6204 (accessed: June 6, 2021)

Newspapers and other sources:

"Lábujjspiccel Ruganyozz!" Magyar Farsang Gyöngyösön. *Az Est* February 6, 1935.

"Népek tánca", *Bokrétások Lapja* 3. no. 9–10. (1936)

A Bokréta Szövetség a Kassai Bevonuláson. *Bokrétások Lapja* 5. no. 11. (1938)

A Bokréta Szövetség londoni útja, *Bokrétások Lapja* 2. no. 7. (1935)

A falu népét köszöntötte a miniszterelnök a Gyöngyös Bokréta ünnepén. *Nemzeti Újság* August 20, 1940.

A M. Kir. belügyminiszter 178437/1935. B. M. számú rendelete. „Gyöngyös Bokréta" elnevezésű népművészeti előadások rendezésének és rendőrhatósági engedélyezésének szabályozása. *Budapesti Közlöny,* June 29, 1935.

A Magyar Bokréta Szövetség közgyűlése. *Függetlenség,* March 28, 1940.

A magyar főváros üdvözlete. *Prágai Magyar Hírlap* May 4, 1937.

A Magyar Kenyér Ünnepén a kormányzó szegte meg az új magyar kenyeret. *Zala Megyei Ujság* July 28, 1941.

A szanyi parasztkórus a rádióban. *Pápai Kis Ujság,* May 9, 1948.

Az Est riportjai Szent István hetéről. Teljes a Gyöngyösbokréta diadala. *Az Est* August 19, 1934. 4.

Az Est riportjai Szent István napjáról. Tizenkétezer idegen a legnagyobb siker. *Az Est* August 22, 1934. 12.

Az idei Gyöngyösbokréta – elmarad. *Hagyomány Szava* 5. no. 8. (1944)

Az idei kéthetes országos népművészeti seregszemle. *Hagyomány Szava* 2. no. 7. (1941)

Az O. M. B. SZ. délvidéki útja *Hagyomány Szava* 4. no. 1. (1943)

Bátky, Zsigmond. Gyöngyösbokréta *Magyarság*, September 7, 1933.

Bécsben sebesült katonák között – bokrétásokkal. *Hagyomány Szava* 3. no. 6. (1942)

Bokrétás filmek. *Bokrétások Lapja* 3. no. 1–2. (1936)

Bokrétás Hírek. *Bokrétások Lapja* 3. no. 4–5. (1936)

Bokrétások Hamburgban – másodszor, *Bokrétások Lapja* 5. no. 4–5–6. (1938)

Búcsúszavak a Bokrétásokhoz. Elmondotta Kolozsvárott 1943. március 9-én Vitéz Kún Iván őrnagy-esperes. *Hagyomány Szava* 4. no. 4. (1943) 1–2.

Erdei, Ferenc. *Futóhomok.* (Budapest, Athenaeum, 1937) 146.

Györffy, István. *A néphagyomány és a nemzeti művelődés* (Budapest, A Magyar Táj- és Népismeret Könyvtára 1, 1939.)

Hajdú, Anasztázia. Régi gyöngyök új foglalatban. *Magyar Szó* June 2, 1986.

Hétköznap nyugat – ünnepnap kelet. *Bokrétások Lapja* 2. no. 2–3. (1935)

Kassáról indul el a „Magyar Százszorszép", *Bokrétások Lapja* 6. no. 11. (1939) 4.

Kende, Ferenc. A Gyöngyösbokrétánk mérlege. *Kalangya* no. 6–7. (1936.)

Kenyeres, Ágnes (ed.). *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon 1000-1990.* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.)

Klebelsberg, Kuno. *Az Országos Magyar Gyűjteményegyetem. I. Törvényjavaslat nemzeti nagy közgyűjteményeink önkormányzatáról és személyzetük minősítéséről. Benyújtatott a nemzetgyűlés 1922. augusztus 17-iki ülésén*, in: Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno beszédei, cikkei és törvényjavaslatai 1916–1926. (Budapest, Athenaeum Irodalmi És Nyomdai R.-T, 1927.) 74–84.

Magyar Film. *Filmkamarai és Moziegyesületi szaklap,* November 18, 1939.

Molnár, Imre. Főtitkári jelentés a Magyar Bokréta Szövetség 1934. évi működéséről, *Bokrétások Lapja* 2. no. 4. (1935)

Muharay, Elemér. Feltámadt a Gyöngyösbokréta? *Szabad Szó* September 15, 1946.

Napi Hírek. *Magyar Távirati Iroda* March 1, 1941.

Négy bokrétát Bécsbe küld a kultuszminisztérium. *Magyar Hírlap* June 10, 1934.

Népi Bokréták mesés felvonulása a Magyar Kenyér szegedi ünnepén. *Délmagyarország* July 1, 1937.

Paulini Béla kormányfőtanácsos. *Függetlenség* December 25, 1943.

Paulini Béla olasz kitüntetése. *Nemzeti Ujság* June 5, 1937.

Paulini, Béla: A Gyöngyösbokréta karácsonya – erdélyiekkel. *Hagyomány Szava* 1. no. 4. (1940)

Paulini, Béla. A jubileumi esztendőre ez szóm és mondásom. *Bokrétások Lapja* 6. no. 10. (1939)

Paulini, Béla. Esti parasztok, *Bokrétások Lapja* 3. no. 1–2. (1936)

Paulini, Béla. Hajrá népművészet! *Bokrétások Lapja* 3. no. 9–10. (1936)

Gönyey, Sándor. Az 1938-iki Gyöngyösbokrétáról. *Ethnographia* 49. (1938) 427–429.

Teljes beszámoló a cannes-i útról, *Bokrétások Lapja* 4. no. 3–4–5. (1937)

Turán, Lajos. Százhúsz „bokrétás" játszik ma este Kolozsváron. *Keleti Ujság* November 14, 1942.

Ujváry, Ferenc. *Bokréták a Galga völgyében,* (Aszód, Petőfi Sándor Művelődési Központ, 1984)

Ünnepek-érdekességek 1937. március 1-től 1938. március 1-ig *Bokrétások Lapja* 4. no. 3–4–5. (1937)

Secondary sources:

Barta, Tamás. Magyar néptáncmozgalom a korai időkben – társadalmi ideológia vagy nemzeti művészet? *Eszmélet* 26. no. 101. (2014): 141–166.

Debreczeni, László. A »Gyöngyösbokréta« aktáiból, in: *Táncművészeti Értesítő.* (Budapest, Magyar Táncművészeti Szövetség, 1956) 99–104.

Fehér, Zoltán. Két ujja van a ködmönnek, kerek alja a pöndölnek (A bátyai népviselet változásai) *Forrás* 2003. http://epa.oszk.hu/02900/02931/00053/pdf/EPA02931_forras_2003_03_11.pdf (accessed: 6 June, 2021)

Gönyey, Sándor. *A Gyöngyös-Bokréta története* in A Gyöngyösbokréta. Írások és dokumentumok a mozgalom történetéből, ed. Krisztina Dóka – Péter Molnár https://folkradio.hu/folkszemle/cikk/28/a-gyongyosbokreta (accessed: June 6, 2021) 1.

Hajdú, Katalin. A zsámboki Gyöngyösbokréta. *Honismeret* 19. no. 1. (1991) 81–84.

Kecskés, Zoltán (ed.): *Gönyey Sándor szadai képei és a szadai Gyöngyösbokréta története.* (Szada, Tájházi Füzetek. Közhasznú Kult. Alapítvány Szadáért, 2002)

Lele Jr., József. Gyöngyösbokréta Tápén, in: *Múzeumi Kutatások Csongrád Megyében* 1983, 35–41.

Pálfi, Csaba. A Gyöngyösbokréta története. *Tánctudományi Tanulmányok* 7, (1970): 115–161.

Tőkéczki, László. Konzervatív reform a legkorszerűbb eszközökkel. *Valóság* 33. no 2. (1990): 48–63.

Töreki, Imre. *A szanyi Bokréta Néptáncegyüttes 70 éve.* (2001) http://www.muharay.hu/img/file/szanyi_bokreta.pdf (accessed: June 6, 2021)

Ujváry, Gábor: Pozitív válaszok Trianonra – Klebelsberg Kuno és Hóman Bálint kulturális politikája. *Korunk* 23, no. 11. (2012): 66–75.

Vadasi, Tibor. A hagyományőrzés mai kérdései és problémái, in: *A néptáncmozgalom néhány alapvető kérdéséről.* (Budapest, Népművelési Intézet, 1979.) 48–63.

Volly, István. A Gyöngyös Bokréta indulása (Adalékok). *Tánctudományi Tanulmányok* 9. (1977) 343–368.

Zehery, Lajos. Dr. Schlegelberger Ferenc államtitkár magyarországi látogatása. *Magyar jogi szemle* 22. no. 17. (1941) 353–355.

LÁSZLÓ BÓNA

Contributions to the Ethnic Changes of Késmárk in the 19th Century II.

Pro&Contra 4

No. 2 (2020) 29–49.

Abstract

The study examines the ethnic changes of Késmárk in the age of dualism. In the course of my research, I attempted to map the operation and contemporary situation of the city in a complex way. The extremely voluminous source material did not allow us to present Kežmarok in an arc of studies, so this study is only with the nationalization of the Dualism era, the local historical society, local schools, local newspapers and the state of community norms. The study also includes research on religious differences, as well as local Hungarian and Slovak national building efforts.

Keywords: Késmárk, Kežmarok, Dualism, National struggles, Ethnicity in Austria-Hungary

Hungarianization efforts with modest results[1]

As the main county offices were in Lőcse, Hungarian immigration was much more moderate in Késmárk. At the local level, the starting point of the Hungarian identity was definitely represented by the school system as the Hungarian students sent to Késmárk to learn German and later their teachers represented the Hungarian language base in the city, with which the citizens could come into contact on a daily basis. The Hungarian-minded elite of the cities of the Szepesség, led by Lord-lieutenant Gyula Csáky and the staff of the *Szepesi Lapok* fought for a long time to keep a high-quality Hungarian theatre company in the Szepesség.

The Szepesség undoubtedly had a German-dominated culture until the end of the 19th century. The cultural consumption of the Slavic majority of the county, mainly its Eastern Slovakian (Slovjak) and Ruthenian inhabitants, as we have seen above, was extremely modest.[2] Several German-language newspapers appeared in Késmárk, and the local weekly newspaper called the *Karpaten Post*, which was a determining factor until the

---

[1] The first part of this paper was published in *Pro&Contra* Vol. 4. No. 1. (2020): 5–29.

[2] For the Slavic population of the Upper Hungarian region, primarily the narrower region was considered to be the homeland, the main identity-forming factor. The eastern region had its own dialect, which is still different in the everyday language. For more information, see: Ábrahám, *Szlovákok és Szlovjákok: a nemzet határai.* [Slovaks and Slovjaks: the borders of the nation]. in: Limes 16 (2003). 3. 55-66, Or: Gábor Stancs: *Dialektus, kontaktusjelenség vagy magyar propaganda? Adatok és értelmezések a keleti szlovák (szlovják) etnikai régióról.* [Dialect, contact phenomenon or Hungarian propaganda? Data and interpretations about the Eastern Slovak (Slovjak) ethnic region]. (Somorja, Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle. 2016/3.)

end of Dualism, was published in German with the exception of a few advertisements or smaller articles until the end of the era. After the Compromise, the Hungarian national life in the county became more intense. It was primarily Lord-lieutenant Albin Csáky (in 1888 he was also Minister of Religion and Public Education for six years) and his family that were very active in this field. Although there was a local, occasional theatre company in Késmárk, it performed in German.[3] However, it tried in vain to meet the "needs" of the age by sometimes donating all of its income, in 1883, for example, half of it went towards the travel expenses of the Csángó Hungarians and the other half towards the local industrial school, which was in the course of being established, and the language in which it performed soon became "outdated". In 1884, the FMKE's request came to the city of Késmárk to help recruit members. "Acknowledging it", the city council placed it in the archives without discussion. The German elite took the matter more seriously only when it came to the reinforcement of the office, the notice of Szepes County – although the subject was the same as in the previous one – the signature of vice Lord-Lieutenant had the desired effect. It was made public by being posted, "if a member were to be admitted to one of these associations, it would be included in the signature form […] and sent to the vice Lord-Lieutenant's office."[4] Despite this, although the notice was sent by post to all major cities in the Szepesség, the local FMKE board in Szepes County did not start its activities until the summer of 1891.[5] The statutory general assembly was also held only in June 1892. Moreover, even the 1894 board meeting turned into a fiasco as only 9 of the 55 board members were present at the meeting in Lőcse. The correspondent of the *Szepesi Lapok* tried to spin a positive view of the question, according to which "those present were very zealous", but despite the fact that Lord-Lieutenant Gyula Csáky was presiding, the number of board members present speaks for itself. According to Csáky, the local board "has members who will be able to get the society's cart stuck in the mud back on the road."[6] In addition, many did not pay the annual fee, either. At that time it had already 276 members, of whom only 226 had paid their membership fees, there were no new members, and four people indicated their intention to leave.[7] The local board held its

---

[3] Szepesszombat Archives –unprocessed material. 1883 III. 4 April 1883. Captain Alexander V's letter to the vice lord-lieutenant.

[4] MGA. 1884.

[5] The local elite probably believed, "Szepesség is not disturbed by ethnic excitement, here everyone calls themselves Hungarian of their own accord and is happy to consider themselves Hungarian […] here there is no need for Hungarianizing associations […] because all the different inhabitants are equally good Hungarian…" *Szepesi Lapok* 13 September 1885.

[6] *Szepesi Lapok* 18 March 1894.

[7] *Szepesi Lapok* 25 March 1894.

annual general assembly a few months later, which was scheduled for the county general assembly "because they hoped that a greater number of members would appear," yet only slightly more than twenty people turned up.[8] They, too, were mostly mayors, but the Lord-Lieutenant and a parliamentary representative were also there.[9] It was then acknowledged that until then, the branch association had not been able to start actual work as the local FMKE was always concerned with other organizational problems. Namely, "complaints arose against the administration of the Centre of the Highland (Felvidék) Hungarian Cultural Association and several members of the general assembly emphasized that if the situation did not improve, it would be most appropriate to establish an independent Hungarian cultural association in the Szepesség."[10] In addition, it was also pointed out that multilateral support and interest would be needed. The problems within the organization were finally smoothed out at the General Assembly held in the autumn of 1894.[11] The difficulty involved in starting the association is also shown by the fact that Arnold Miskolczy, one of the regular writers of the *Szepes Lapok* became the notary of the local board, "whereas the former resigned along with the treasurer, instead of whom Frigyes Sváby took up the post as "no one wanted to accept the position".[12]

"Every start is difficult," said Gyula Csáky, president of the local board in 1895 in Késmárk, where the first FMKE roving conference was held. According to the newspaper article, the city supported the meeting, at which 30 new members joined the association. After the meeting, a joint dinner was organized, followed by a dance party.[13] In the same year, the Késmárk city committee of the local board was formed, followed by the establishment of the Igló and Lőcse committees a year later. In fact, this is when the real activity of the association started. By the end of 1895, the Szepesremete (Késmárk) nursery school was

---

[8] *Szepesi Lapok* 29 July 1894. The annual general meeting of FMKE was held on 25 July.

[9] The Szepes County Board had held its meetings with the Szepes Junior School Teachers' Association several times since 1898 as "a large number of people are more impressive". *Szepesi Lapok* 20 July 1902.

[10] *Szepesi Lapok* 29 July 1894.

[11] *Szepesi Lapok* 28 October 1894. Géza Koszenszky, the secretary of the central presidency in Nitra also attended the general meeting. In fact, the case was dragging on as during 1895, the treasurer of the Szepes County FMKE complained that the membership fees had been sent to the center of Nitra on July 17, 1894, still some members were pestered to pay the arrears even though they had done so a long time ago. These people asked the treasurer for redress in embarrassing letters. The treasurer says he will resign his post as an official of the FMKE if the county board does not compensate him for the damage to his reputation. In Nitra, things are handled carelessly, accounting is inaccurate, etc. *Szepesi Lapok* 7 July 7 1895.

[12] *Szepesi Lapok* 21 July 1895. Miskolczy soon wrote his name as Miskolczi.

[13] *Szepesi Lapok* 21 July 1895. It was written in the same place that according to the resolution passed at the last general meeting and the original statutes, entry is for 10 years, so if someone wants to resign, it will not be accepted. They soon decided that membership be for three years because many did not join due to the ten-year membership, which they find too long. *Szepesi Lapok* 31 January 1897.

also opened.[14] It was then that the usual activities of the cultural associations, such as the distribution of teacher applications, prayer books and other books to "appropriate" (mainly educational) places, also began. By 1896, about four dozen people had already attended the general assemblies, but paying the membership fees did not go smoothly, either as, for example, the membership fee for 1895 was paid by 43 of the 186 regular members and 13 of the 87 supporters until August 1896.[15]

However, the activities of the Szepes County Board are mostly about the efforts made for the benefit of the local theatre company and the support of the Hungarian-language press. Throughout the era, the local board was struggling with low membership numbers and the delayed payment of membership fees: "our members pay the membership fee scarcely ever without warning …." wrote a report.[16] It can be said that the FMKE of Szepes County enjoyed support mainly from the members employed in the state administration, and only with great difficulty.[17] Nevertheless, it was in the mid-1880s that the issue of Hungarianization came to the fore in a small part of the local elite.

In the 1880s, the *Szepesi Lapok* complained in several small articles that the performances in German in Késmárk delighted a full house while people hardly attend those in Hungarian.[18] In a short time, three Hungarian theatre companies visited Késmárk – the *Karpaten Post* says – Sághy's Hungarian theatre company, for example, "although it does not yet have high attendance levels, it still receives satisfactory support from the art-loving audience."[19] According to the articles, the reason for the failure could be the quality of the performances of the rural Hungarian theatre companies, which did not yet represent a sufficient standard.[20]

---

[14] As early as 1894, the idea was raised that a nursery school be established in Lublo and Béla, and a third nursery school in Márkusföld was to be financed by the centre in Nitra. *Szepesi Lapok*, 18 March 18 1894.

[15] *Szepesi Lapok* 1896. August issues, 31 January 1897. In 1896, 400 crowns 50 pennies should have come in for FMKE, but only 137 crowns 50 pennies came in, which was also difficult. *Szepesi Lapok* 24 July 1898. At that time FMKE already had 302 members, but due to the fragmentation of the payment I quote "this register is also a mere formality."

[16] The treasurer therefore applied for recovery by post in 1886, by which some of the members immediately announced their resignation, and some of them refused to pay. The article complains that it is mainly the supporting poor folk teachers who pay; the so-called middle-class "patriotic" intelligentsia sent harsh letters to the treasurer, who argued that the entry into the association was for 10 years, he had the original signature of the members and they could not resign. *Szepesi Lapok* 20 September 1886.

[17] We know of 35 members of Késmárk. Most of them were civil servants, lawyers, manufacturers or teacher-pastors, as well as the city or a savings cooperative. *Szepesi Lapok* (8 December – 22 December 1895 – a list of FMKE.

[18] *Szepesi Lapok* 19 September 1886.

[19] *Szepesi Lapok* 21 August 1887.

[20] Lajos Bogyó, the director of the theatre company, picked up the rental fees in Késmárk and walked away, the complaint is that such behavior did not really increase the credibility of Hungarian actors, and that the national theatre company could pay attention to such things, and the lack of quality is worrying. *Szepesi*

There was a lack of protagonists with a characteristic feature, singers with a beautiful voice, or excellent drama actors although, according to the articles, it was not yet possible to attract an audience with roaring cannon, clomping and Greek fire.

Although the *Szepesi Papers* worked very actively to support Hungarian acting, it did not manage to "recruit" the teachers at the Késmár Lyceum. The newspaper stated that "the teaching staff there took care of the matter; the slogan is to sell all the tickets, Long live the teachers! they do the Hungarians service." The headmaster of the Lyceum, Ernő Grózs, refuted this saying that although they support all similar initiatives, "the teaching staff did not take the lead and did not guarantee that the tickets would be sold."[21]

Nevertheless, supportive articles were continuously published to establish a permanent Hungarian theatre company, but until this was possible, the articles suggested that Lőcse, Igló and Késmárk should come together as the audience would welcome a good theatre company for six weeks as well. Some also suggested that there be a Hungarian – German performance alternately, after all, this was also the case in other cities (Zombor, Pozsony and Temesvár were mentioned as examples).[22] The paper called for the formation of local associations that could provide financial assistance to their invited theatre company in exchange for season tickets of various durations. The first such association was founded in Lőcse in 1891. The article written by Arnold Miskolci, the secretary of the local FMKE in 1894 illustrates well the layer of the local German elite supporting the idea of a nation as a political community. "The altar of the Hungarian theatre should therefore be the first where we will present our patriotic sacrifice; secondly, we should also give performances in German […] Let us not allow representatives of foreign cultures join our circle."[23] According to Miskolci, it is nonsense that only those who know Hungarian well should go to the Hungarian theatre because the language and feeling of the homeland are reflected in the theatre.[24] However, this effort was in vain, the Boody theatre company operating in Lőcse and Késmárk in 1893–94 closed the season with a deficit of more than 1,500 Forints.[25]

A few months after the case was made public, with the support of the cities of Késmárk, Igló and Szepesbéla, the Hungarian Society for the Patronage of Dramatic Art

---

Lapok 13 November 1887.

[21] An article titled Színészek Késmárkon [Actors in Késmárk] in *Szepesi Lapok* 2 October 1887 and the next issue 9 October.

[22] *Szepesi Lapok* September-October 1887

[23] *Szepesi Lapok* 11 March 1894.

[24] *Szepesi Lapok* 11 March 1894. In the same issue, the paper reported on the launch of a Hungarian-language course by the Artisan Self-Help Society of Késmárk.

[25] *Szepesi Lapok* 25 November 1894. One of the articles blamed the intellectuals of Szepes County for what happened.

of Szepes County was finally established with the centre of Lőcse, the members had to pay a membership fee of two Forints.[26] However, the higher support was obvious as the ministry gave the three cities 800 Forints for this purpose. The president of the society was the secretary of FMKE, Arnold Miskolczy. The inauguration of the Hungarian society of amateur and patronage of dramatic art of Késmárk in 1897 was of a similar character as Tivadar Genersich, the mayor asked that the city council elect three members into it.[27] The society of the patronage of dramatic art itself operated by pre-determining the number of weeks in which the supported company would be in that city, and members received a 15-20-25% discount (individual event tickets, partial season tickets, full-season tickets).[28]

The first permanent theatre building in Szepesség opened in Igloo in 1902. This year, Selmecbánya, Liptószentmiklós, Rózsahegy, Alsó–Kubin, Trencsén, Turócszentmárton, Léva, Aranyosmarót, Szliács, Breznóbánya, Zólyom and Körmöcbánya also joined the Szepes theatre district. The theatre district also changed its name, thus establishing the "*Hungarian Highland (Felvidék) Theatre District*" that met the increased art requirements. "Seeing the encouraging signal of the development of Hungarian dramatic art and culture, the members of the Késmárk city council welcome it with message of patriotism […] and they joined it for three years."[29]

After achieving this goal, FMKE made increased efforts to organize local public libraries. However, the city of Késmárk rejected this on the grounds that the city already had a public library established by private donations, and "the national culture in our city is not endangered at all, and it gains more and more ground every year."[30] Késmárk suggested that FMKE invested this patriotic support for cultural activities where it was needed more, but if it still wanted to do it here, the people of the city wouldn't mind supporting this patriotic cause.[31] Due to this kind of polite rejection, FMKE no longer tried to approach a public library with a request in Késmárk.

Religious differences

It can be said that despite the proportion of the population and the Slavic predominance of the area, the imported Slovak nationalism fell on barren ground, and even the Hungarian nationalism with powerful state support – based on the Hungarian consciousness, which

---

[26] *Szepesi Lapok* 24 March 1895. It was established on 3 February.
[27] MGA. 1897. No. 176. Kéler Pál, Dr Alexander Béla, Wien Károly.
[28] Cities often provide wood and classrooms free of charge.
[29] MGA. 1902. No. 12. 8 January.
[30] MGA. 1902. No. 205.
[31] MGA. 1902. No. 205 sz.

survived in the region in the 19th century – achieved only more modest results mainly due to its excellent adaptability of the local elite. In addition to local patriotism, it was rather the denominational issue that especially mattered in the Szepesség and Késmárk. This is indicated by several factors, such as religious frictions at school, local rhetoric, or legacy – scholarship funds, most of which did not deal with the language spoken but with religion.[32] This is partly confirmed by the memoir of Imre Fest, according to which in the first half of the 19th century the county was under the leadership of the lower nobility and the clergy, and then a gradual increase in the weight of the petty bourgeoisie element was observed.[33]

The town of Késmárk was ruled by a Lutheran community with a stable majority from the middle of the 19th century until the end of World War II. The Jewish citizens who moved into the region in the middle of the 19th century enriched Hungarian cities, including Késmárk, with a new denominational palette. After the Polish uprising of 1830, many Polish emigrants settled permanently in the Szepesség, but their influence was insignificant in comparison to the Jewish families who first appeared in 1841. The first Jewish person to manage to buy the house number 123 in the city was David Lux.[34] Two years later, the first Jewish wedding was held in Késmárk.[35] At that time their synagogue was already being built, which was completed in 1853. The documents of the local community were originally written in Hebrew, but they were already translated into German by Baruch Glücksmann, president of the Second Jewish Community.[36] The ministerial decree of 1889, according to which only a Jewish mother who had completed a civic school and spoke the state language could keep the civil status register, found everything in order in Késmárk.[37] The local Jewish community was also active as an association. The Késmárk Jewish Women's Association had more than 100 members. The women's association was founded in 1897 and was mainly engaged in the care of the poor and sick, fundraising, and giving lectures for the workers of Késmárk. By the period of Dualism, they had formed the most active and dynamically developing social group in the city. According to Győző Bruckner, "the Gorals, Ruthenians, and Jews […] live in

---

[32] It is not about the study area, but about a similar trend in Transylvania, see Judit Pál, *Felekezet és politika Erdélyben a 19. század közepén [Denomination and Politics in Transylvania in the Mid-19th Century]*. (eds. Gyulai Éva, *Úr és szolga a történettudomány egységében* (Miskolc, Miskolci Egyetem BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2014)
[33] See: Fest Imre, *Emlékirataim.* [My memoirs]. (Budapest. 1999)
[34] Baráthová kol., *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí,* 234.
[35] See previous note.
[36] The first rabbi of the Jewish community of *Adat-yesurún Késmárk-Leibitz* was Noach (Jonass-Jonatan) Kircz (1800-1883), then the second was Abraham Grünburg (1839-1918) and then his son, Nathan Grünburg (1884-1944), who was born in Késmárk in 1884).
[37] The Szepesszombat Archives, unprocessed material. III. May 12, 1883 Report of Major Hercogh.

greatest numbers in Késmárk, in the Késmárk district.[38] […] According to Bruckner, of
the ones listed above, the urban Jews were best adapted to their environment.[39]

In Késmárk in the era of Dualism, the most severe fighting took place between the
Hungarianizing German elite who protected their positions and the Jewish population that
settled in in the middle of the century. These struggles took place mainly in the economic
and power sphere. For two decades, the old elite of the town of Késmárk fought against
Jewish door-to-door sellers from Galicia. As early as 1882, the city general assembly discussed
this issue and made a motion to the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce
against the peddling merchants who traded in scrap and obsolete products — damaging the
ones who sold goods of consistently fair quality and the people of the city – to ban these
practices.[40] However, the motion was rejected by the Szepes County General Assembly on
the grounds that the ministry had recently rejected Gölnicbánya's request with a similar
content and justification. However, the city of Késmárk remained adamant referring to the
"Polish Jews engaged in smuggling, coming from the neighbouring country of Gács", who
avoid paying taxes and harm local producers.[41] The city also turned to the Kassa Chamber
of Commerce and Industry, which did not support the draft, either. The Chamber of
Industry proposed that the city adopt a regulation on door-to-door selling and draft it in
agreement with the local board of merchants. [42] However, the city continued to insist on
a categorical ban and did not do so. Meanwhile, local craftsmen and traders constantly
complained to the city in letters and oral submissions. The *Szepesi Lapok* also published a
number of articles supporting the local industry and reports rejecting door-to-door selling.[43]
Finally, by the end of the 1880s, a committee had been appointed to draft the regulatory
ordinance, but the ministry had not adopted it, either. Késmárk continued to remain faithful
to its old citizens and interests until in 1899 the ministry gave way and allowed the city to
ban door-to-door sales. In 1900, Szepes County also banned such activities on its territory,
which the city council was pleased to note."[44]

However, the local native-born Saxon German-speaking merchant and artisan layer,
which was gradually becoming Hungarianized, was also confronted with the fact that more
and more merchants of Jewish descent settled in and around the city. I do not have exact
data on how many people actually settled in Késmárk in the period under study, I could

---

[38] Bruckner Győző, *A Szepesség múltja és mai lakói.* 22.
[39] Bruckner Győző, *A Szepesség múltja és mai lakói.* 22.
[40] MGA. 1882. No. 16.
[41] MGA. 1882. No. 110.
[42] MGA. 1882. No. 166.
[43] *Szepesi Lapok* 16 August 1885.
[44] MGA. 1899 No. 87. and 1900 No. 69.

only count the number and origin of the persons claiming citizenship locally. According to this, between 1880 and 1914, the city general assembly discussed the naturalization of 17 residents of Gács, 10 unknown ones, 3 Austrians, 2 Czechs, and 1-1 residents of Silesia, Prussia, and the United States.[45] In most cases, the General Assembly envisaged their granting fully-fledged citizenship after fulfilling the requirements determined by law, which meant the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship and the payment of the local taxes. In the case of native-born citizens, the city council assessed positively only the applications of persons who had been demonstrably active in Késmárk for several years and contributed to burden-sharing. Of course, the number of people who settled in the city ignoring paperwork could be exponentially higher than this.

Frigyes Sváby pointed out that in terms of numbers and significance the most important were immigrants, mainly Jewish ones who came from Galicia to the towns of the region.[46] "They dominate the retail and wholesale trade so much that the older local […] more demanding traders will all be pushed out."[47] But they were also extremely successful in other areas.[48] Sváby defended the old, ancient generation of Jews. Following the path of the German elite, according to the social contract of assimilation, "many of our excellent people came from them […] but also out of a well-conceived interest, and at the same time they are always enthusiastic patriots.[49] Moreover, "the Galician rigid orthodox newcomer cannot be said to be a welcome guest even by his fellow believers, either."[50] The majority of Jews settled in the area –, according to Sváby, – usually started with brandy selling, and the associated small store serves only as an excuse, as noted by Sváby. However, there were plenty of "customers with the American craze" looking for their consolation in brandy in Késmárk.[51] Nevertheless, according to Sváby, there is no trace of anti-Semitism in the

---

[45] The large number of unknown individuals is, on the one hand, the result of negligence as while the origin and details of the person were conscientiously and accurately recorded at the beginning of the era, they were not after the 1900s.

[46] Sváby Frigyes, *A Szepesség lakosságának sociologiai viszonyai a XVIII. és XIX. Században,* 69.

[47] Sváby Frigyes, *A Szepesség lakosságának sociologiai viszonyai a XVIII. és XIX. Században,* 69.

[48] Mlinárik 29: According to Mlinárik, the government reduced the settlement of the "Wasserpoláks" from Gács (Wasserpolák – the Polish water border across the Dunajec and Poprad rivers) Mlinarik argues in the same way as Sváby: "Skillful, hardworking and successful in their business."2005.

[49] Sváby 69. 1901. The positive effect of Viktor Karády's social contract on the Jewish individual can be felt. Although Sváby does not mention it, a part of the local German elite took a similar path. However, the theoretical background that can still be applied to the national German elite does not clarify the fact that a part of the German elite of Késmárk (of Szepesség) escaped into religion, or the attempt to avoid this, the support of Hungarianization. See: Karády Viktor, *Zsidóság, modernizáció, asszimiláció Tanulmányok* [Judaism, Modernization, Assimilation Studies]. (Budapest, Cserélfalvi, 1997)

[50] Sváby Frigyes, *A Szepesség lakosságának sociologiai viszonyai a XVIII. és XIX. században,* 69.

[51] Many associations dealt with anti-alcoholism as it was the greatest social problem of the era, along with emigration.

Szepesség – in my opinion, his own utterances can already be considered as such – "but we could say that the majority of Jews considers Anti-Semitism as a Growing Apprehension." [52] The local Jewish elite also established a freemason's lodge in 1894, which by the end of the era had more than half a hundred active, influential members. [53]

However, the border region did not only have a "less beneficial" role in store for the people of Késmárk. According to Sándor Belóczy, the headmaster of the civic school, it is visited by 7,000 Galicians a year for business purposes", thus helping the local shops with good reputation and traders of the town and the neighbourhood selling goods at the weekly fair. [54]

The difference between the religious communities of Késmárk is also reflected in a number of other sources. While, for example, the funding for the Lutheran and Catholic elementary schools were unanimously approved in one round by the city, the applications of the Jewish school were approved several times, after much wrangling, usually after a Commission review (reducing the size of the grant, rejecting it, or accepting the full grant). In 1888, a quota system was introduced in the local denominational elementary schools to replace the initial opaque, irregular application-based financial support system. Quotas were set for a period of ten years based on the number of students required to attend school. [55] The quota system adopted by the denominations was challenged by the Jewish community after barely three years, the proportions had shifted significantly in their favour. [56] This resulted in a serious legal complication, an appeal to a Level II authority and tension. [57] Finally, the motion of the Jewish community was defeated; their application for school allowance for a further 28 schoolable children was rejected on the grounds that they had agreed to the duration of the quota system when it was adopted. The other denominational schools generally asked for firewood to heat the school premises, but none of them bought into the quota system because of the shift in proportions to their detriment. In 1900, Samu Kotler et al. proposed that the re-establishment of quotas be determined not by the number of schoolable children but by the number of students who actually attend schools. [58] Two years later, the education committee of the city suggested that the amount of support should

---

[52] Sváby Frigyes, *A Szepesség lakosságának sociologiai viszonyai a XVIII. és XIX. Században,* 70.

[53] Zmátlo, Peter, *Kultúrny a spoločenský život na Spiši v medzivojnovom období,* 127. The Freemason's lodge of Késmárk had 20 regular members in 1899, and by 1917 it had already 58 members, mainly manufacturers and craftsmen.

[54] Bruckner Győző – Bruckner Károly, *Késmárki Kalauz* 4.

[55] MGA, 1888. No. 122. (decision No. 103) 861 children, 443 Rom. Cath. 306 Augustan 112 of Moses' religion.

[56] MGA, 1891. No. 96.

[57] MGA, 1892. No. 3.

[58] MGA, 1900. No. 148. After the examination it turned out that the difference between schoolable students and those who attended school was close to 30%. MGA, 1900. No. 192.

be determined on the basis of the number of members of local denominations. The latter proposal was adopted by the city council.[59] After all, by sweeping away the proposal of the Jewish representatives, the rate of distribution of grants was determined on the basis of the number of believers. Apparently, the local Roman Catholic school came off best by that, and the Jewish one benefited least from it as they would have been better off in terms of their demographic vitality and higher school attendance as well.[60]

The local Jewish community also tried to have the cattle fair rescheduled because a Jewish holiday fell on its original date. The German-majority city council immediately rejected this as "the Jewish holidays do not have much influence on the cattle fair" …[61] The city council also gave spectacular support to the local Lutheran elementary school. When the school's teachers asked for firewood to heat their own homes in 1911 — although this practice was discontinued several years before – the city council complied with the request for fairness.[62] Of course, news ran around the city, so a Jewish religious teacher also applied to be provided with firewood. However, this request was rejected on the grounds that "a number of other civil servants could apply for a provision of firewood on a similar basis, though the city does not have redundant wood, what is more, it does not give such payment to its own officials, either." A year later, the provision of wood to teachers as salary was again a burning issue. Still, the city's Committee on Legal Affairs and Finance provided the teachers of the Lutheran folk school with firewood for heating on the grounds that the Augustan elementary folk school and the civic girls' school have such an important cultural mission in our city that they rightly deserve the support of the people of the city."[63] Just a few weeks later, the Roman Catholic school also submitted a request on a similar subject, and this was created space for only after a "longer exchange of views" and against the proposal of the Committee on Legal Affairs and Finance. According to this, they provided as much firewood to heat the school as the teachers of the Lutheran school were given.[64] However, at that time the local Roman Catholic school already served a community nearly twice the size of the Lutheran school of the native-born German population. The Roman Catholic school board could experience the favour granted to the local Lutheran church by the city at other times. In 1898, the civic girls' school of the Lutheran church was made permanent, which had operated only on a

---

[59] MGA, 1902. No. 122. It is about 5,400 crowns a year.

[60] For example, in the 1906/07 school year, 65 schoolable children were not enrolled in the Roman Catholic elementary school in Késmárk. The magistrate of Késmárk. Unprocessed material, September 22, 1906, statement by Ferenc Szufík, president headmaster of the school board.

[61] MGA, 1893. No. 88.

[62] MGA, 1911. No. 242.

[63] MGA, 1912. No. 196.

[64] MGA, 1912. No. 221.

temporary basis until then. The school, funded by the city, received an additional 600 Forints and 10 cords of firewood from the city in addition to the support for elementary schools.[65] The school was open to all denominations "without denomination and class distinction," yet it was the local Roman Catholic elementary school that applied for regular 965 Forints in addition to the regular support per year, which the city made available to the Lutheran civic girls' school. It was pointless for the city to offer such arguments as the city's plight and the denominational openness of the school, as well as the fact that the school was not on equal footing with the elementary one, the Roman Catholic school board brought the question before the Hungarian Royal Administrative Committee.[66] The committee ordered that extra funds be paid to the Catholic elementary school, to which the city general assembly reacted in a pragmatic way; it also stopped funding the Lutheran girls' school lest the extra funds be made available to the Catholic elementary school, either.[67] Today it is impossible to detect, but it is likely that during the very sensitive vandalism event that happened in 1888, 38 8-year-old lime trees of the Lutheran church were damaged by unknown perpetrators for religious reasons.[68] However, the Jewish community, which played an especially important role in the economic life, could not be stopped gaining ground; in 1921 51.8% of the inns and 78.4% of the shops in Késmárk were owned by Jews.

However, the city' elite made sure to show themselves "outwardly" in a favourable light trying to emphasize the equality of the denominations. The custom remained from the old days that the city councillors elected their own Lutheran parish priest from the three candidates of the Bishop of the Szepesség at the city general assembly: … "We, the people of the free royal city of Késmárk let everyone know […] we choose a man who, especially between the different religious denominations, maintains peace and mutual understanding…" of course, in addition to religious zeal, hard work and virtue.[69] They took care to enforce the principle of parity in scholarships, measures, or donations, that is, to prevent such conflicts. For example, the local poor funds meant to help a Roman or Greek Catholic urban poor person in the first year, a Helvetian or Lutheran one in the second, and a Jewish one in the third year. While one part of the local German elite fought for the location of the new church and produced analyses of the specifications of the church locations in the *Karpaten Post*, the other part tried to put an end to the division of the new Catholic cemetery. Denominational orientation may have been a problem even in the care and admission of patients. At the very least, this is

---

[65] MGA, 1898. No. 86.
[66] MGA, 1900. No. 184.
[67] MGA, 1900. No. 203.
[68] *Szepesi Lapok* 9 December 1888.
[69] MGA, 1884. No. 87.

indicated by the donation of Tivadar Generich and his wife Ilona Szontágh by will, amounting to 40,000 crowns intended for the local hospital to be built, provided that "denominational orientation cannot be the guiding principle and an influential factor in either the admission of patients or the employment of staff in any way."[70] After all, it was a national movement that helped to solve the quota complexity around elementary schools, namely the nationalization of elementary schools, which was discussed by the General Assembly in 1908. According to a written note from Szepes County school supervisor, the Roman Catholic and Jewish parishes adopted a position in favour of nationalization, but the Augustan Lutheran school board, i.e. the local German bourgeoisie opposed it[71]. The General Assembly warmly welcomed the establishment of state schools, especially if it was implemented without differences in titles and wealth. It did this in the hope that it would finally not have to struggle with the requests and petitions of certain schools. Nationalization was necessary because even then the schools of Késmárk were not able to admit about 200 students required to attend school. Késmárk continued to support the schools with 5,400 crowns, for which it collected an additional 5% tax from Roman Catholic and Jewish parents.[72] After a long financial and organizational wrangling – the city became virtually insolvent by 1913 – teaching could begin in the new building in the fall of 1913, this time for all the classes at the same location.[73] However, the events of favouritism cited as examples above point to the fact that the local German elite was divided in terms of religious equality.

As for the language – minority data of the schools, the secondary schools of Késmárk are not suitable for examining the ethnic relations at first glance as on average only half or a third of the students, and in the case of the lyceum only a fifth or less were from Késmárk. In the case of simple ethnic studies, the local elementary schools are the most relevant. However, of the data of the three denominational schools, usable resources remained only in the case of one.[74] The table below lists the data of all available schools:

---

[70] MGA, 1913. No. 40. However, they themselves helped the Lutheran Church better as well; they supported the endowment foundation with 3,000 crowns and the poor foundation with 5,000 crowns, the Bread Fund of the Augustan Evangelical Lutheran Church with 5,000 crowns.

[71] The Lutheran folk school dates back to the 16th century. Dávid Szakmári, i.e. Daniel Cornides, admitted children regardless of gender, age and religion at the age of 6, but vaccination certificates and certificates of baptism were required. The difference was measured materially in the 6 class elementary school, 4 gold in grades 1-4, 6 gold in grades 5-6, 8 gold for believers of a different religious conviction and 10 gold for strangers. The school had religiously mixed classes in 1907, German was the primary language of instruction, and of course, Hungarian was also taught to about 200 children.

[72] MGA. 1908. No. 120. With the exception of two representatives, the decision was adopted.

[73] MGA. 1913. No. 176.

[74] From the second half of the 1900s, the city councilors sought to merge the local Jewish and Roman Catholic schools. The two churches nodded approval, the local Lutheran school board rejected it. Eventually, they were unified by 1910, and in 1913 a new, common school building was built.

Augustan Evangelical Folk School of Késmárk		Civic Girls' School	State Upper Commercial School	Augustan Evangelical Lyceum	Village Civic Boys' School
Time of sample collection		1895-1916	1892-1916	1866-1917	1911-1917
	1895-1916				
Number of sample collection		5+1	1+1	6+1	1+1
	5+1				
Total number of students in the sample	1233	721	579	2132	281
Native language					
	Hungarian	24,10%	26,80%	49,57%	40,62%	12,10%
	German	73,70%	70,87%	32,12%	46,81%	77,94%
	Slovak	1,10%	1,60%	18,13%	9,94%	3,91%
	Hungarians after 1914	19,80%	32,29%	56,02%	50,00%	8,81%
	1914 után				
Religion					
	Roman Catholic	14,44%	19,42%	28,84%	18,71%	26,33%
	Greek Catholic	0,81%	0,30%	1,38%	1.26%/2	0,36%
	Augustan Evangelical	68,61%	40,92%	26,08%	49,20%	31,67%
	Evangelical Reformed	1,30%	2,22%	9,84%	15,07%	2,49%
	Jewish	14,52%	37,31%	33,33%	14,44%	33,45%
	Greek Orthodox	0,00%	0,01%	0,35%	1.26%/2	0,00%
Students from Késmárk		85,64%	57,59%	9,28%	20,97%	44,26%
Students from Szepesség		na	na	22,16%	36,76%	33,61%
Students from Foreign		5,92%	39,94%	68,56%	39,85%	13,93%

Table 4 The ethnic and religious data of the schools in Késmárk in the era of Dualism

That religious affiliation was indeed relevant is a good indication that even in the 1890s only denominational affiliation was indicated in some schools in Késmárk. Thus, the data of the Lutheran folk school are the most relevant in the table, in which the proportion of urban students was on average 86%. According to this, about a quarter of the local German and Jewish elites already had Hungarian as their mother tongue.

Summary

What was the coexistence of the ethnicities of the city of Késmárk at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries like? Analysing the literature and the sources of the Szepesszombat and Lőcse Archives of the Eperjes Archives for Késmárk, we can state that religion was still a more important factor in the formation of the old urban elite than the nationality that can be ascertained through mother tongue and culture. In Késmárk, there were disagreements not only between the Jewish, but also between the Roman Catholic and Lutheran believers. In terms of ethnicity, a part of the Jewish population, along with the growing number of officials and businesses settled in the city, gradually became both a consumer and creator of Hungarian culture. The Hungarianizing German Lutheran elite were confronted with the Neolog Jews, who were increasingly endangering their economic interests and only agreed mostly on the issue of Hungarianization. By the end of the era, Hungarianization had slowly affected about a third of the population of the city of Késmárk. In addition to the religious division, this section of the Késmárk elite could see a new unifying force in the spread of Hungarian nationalism as the definition of a political nation here did not exclude the element of another language and ethnicity. In other words, its interpretation as a unified political nation in Késmárk does not mean a complete break with the multiculturalism and multilingualism of the multi-ethnic local urban community in the period under study. It is a fact that the Hungarian language gained ground relatively quickly in all areas, but German and partly Slovak were also present at the scenes of the city's public language use. The local, nationally self-conscious Slovak stratum was weak and small in number, and the Slovak minority in the Szepesség could not be said to be nationally self-conscious even at the end of the era.[75] The industrialization of the town attracted hundreds of Slovak workers and artisan families from the surrounding villages, thus the proportion of Slovaks was also able to increase. Besides, the German elite was also divided. The more active half showed a high degree of cooperation in fulfilling the aspirations for the Hungarian nation-state, and the other, the smaller half turned into passivity, mostly dealing with scientific publications in German. Thus, the Slovaks settling in the city could not choose between two adaptation strategies, their own and those similar to the Hungarian ones, but from three. Thus, most of the individuals of Slovak ethnicity origin chose – more precisely, it was not a conscious choice for most of them – to adhere to their Slovak roots.

---

[75] *Szepesi Lapok*, September 11, 1887 an article by József Vidonyi, about the Slovaks. "They are loyal, unassuming and they do not listen to the ringleaders as they can learn in their own language in their churches and elementary schools," although in our cities […] they could take more care to learn the language of the bread-giving citizens, they could adapt a little better to the circumstances."

References
Sources

Iskolai Értesítők, Késmárk. (1866-1919)

http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/kozponti_statisztikai_hivatal_nepszamlalasi_digitalis_adattar/

http://sodb.infostat.sk/SODB_19212001/slovak/1930/format.htm, Accessed on 2 May 2016.

http://telepulesek.adatbank.sk/

Štátny Archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Poprad. (ŠAPAP – A továbbiakban Szepesszombati Levéltár) Magistrát Mesta Kežmarok (Késmárk Magistrate) Ig-111, Ig 112, Popularis Ignobilum 1810-1918.

Publications from the Past of Szepes County. Journal. Ed: Dr. Jenő Fröster County archivist, Vol. IV., 1912, Lőcse. 66.

KSH Library, Hungarian statistical yearbooks

http://konyvtar.ksh.hu/index.php?s=kb_statisztika

Digital census repository, (http://konyvtar.ksh.hu/neda

http://konyvtar.ksh.hu/neda/a111126.htm?v=pdf&q=SZO%3D%28beszterczeb%C3%A1nya%29&s=SORT&m=294&a=rec#pg=397&zoom=f&l=s

http://konyvtar.ksh.hu/neda/a111126.htm?v=pdf&q=SZO%3D%28%22BESZTERCzEB%C3%81NYA%22%29&s=SORT&m=1&a=rec#pg=94&zoom=f&l=s

Szepesszombat Archives. Fonds of the Lutheran Lyceum of Késmárk, Memorabilia Lycei Kesmarkiensis magistrom discipulorumque dicta et facta, edit Carolus Bruckner rector emeritus Kesmarkini, Pauli Satuer, MCMXXXIII. prof. Miloš Ruppeldt.

Štátný archív v Prešove špecializované pracovisko Spišský archív v Levoči – Eperjes State Archives, Szepes Archives Lőcse (ŠAP šp SA-LE hereinafter Lőcse Archives) fonds A-BA 2 karton inv. 20. Manuscript „Életrajzomat" [My Memoir].

Štátny Archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Poprad. (ŠAPAP – A továbbiakban Szepesszombati Levéltár) Magistrát Mesta Kežmarok (hereinafter Késmárk Magistrate) Ig-111, Ig 112, Popularis Ignobilum 1810-1918.

Ezer év törvényei. [Laws of a thousand years]. http://www.1000ev.hu/

Newspapers

National Széchenyi Library, Microfilm Library FM3/969 1, *Szepesi Lapok* 1885-1919.

Bibliography

Baráthová, Nora a kol. *Život v Kežmarku v 13. až 20. storočí.* Kežmarok: Jadro, 2014.

Belóczy Sándor (ed). *A késmárki állami felső kereskedelmi iskola értesítője (1916/17-iki tanévéről.* Késmárk: Sauter Pál's printing house, 1917.

Dr. Bruckner Győző. *A Szepesség múltja és mai lakói.* Budapest: Királyi magyar egyetemi nyomda, 1926.

Dr. Bruckner Győző. *A késmárki céhek jog- és művelődéstörténeti jelentősége.* Miskolc, 1941.

Dr. Bruckner Győző – Bruckner Károly. *Késmárki Kalauz.* Késmárk, 1912.

Chalupecký, Ivan. *Pramene k dejinám slovenského národného hnutia v r. 1860-1918 v archíve Spišskej župy.* Slovenská archivistika, 3. c. 2. 1968.

Ctibor, Tahy (zodpovedný redaktor a kol.). *Národnobuditeľské tradície Kežmarku /Pavol Jozef Šafárik/.* Bratislava: Osvetový ústav, 1971.

Demkő Kálmán (szerk.). *A Szepesmegyei történelmi társulat évkönyve.* Volume V. Lőcse, 1889.

Demkő Kálmán. *Bevezetés A Szepesmegyei történelmi társulat 12 évi működésének ismertetése.* Lőcse, 1895.

Franková, Libuša. *Národný vývin na Spiši v 19. storoč. (K niektorým osobnostiam)* 117-125. In Peter Štvorc: *Spiš v kontinuite času - Zips in der kontinuitat der zeit.* Presov-Bratislava-Wien: Universum, 1995.

Gerhard Péter. *Asszimiláció és disszimiláció az önéletírásban (Fest Imre és Edmund Steinacker esete).* AETAS 23. Vol. Issue 3, 2008.

Halmos Andor. *Dr. Hajnóci R. József kir. tanácsosnak: Szepes-vármegyében huszonöt évig: kir. tanfelügyelőként müködése ünnepére.* Lőcse, 1913.

Mlinárik, Ján. *Ďejiny Židů na Slovensku.* Praha: Academia Praha, 2005.

Jankovič, Vendelín. *Spišská Historiografia.* Poprad, Spišská Nová Ves a Stará Ľubovňa: Vydalo Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, N. P. Košice pre odbory kultúry ONV, 1974.

Jurčišinová, Nadežda. *Slovenská ústredná tlač o živote a dianí v šarišskej a spišskej župe začiatkom 20. storoča.* 84-92. Ročenka katerdry dejín FHPV PU 2004, *Regionálné   Dejiny a Dejiny regiónov.* Prešov: Universum, 2004.

Kaľavský, Michal. *Národnostné pomery na Spiši v 18. storoč a v polovici 19. storoča.* Bratislava, 1993.

Kalmár Elek (szerk.). *Emlékkönyv. A szepesmegyei történelmi társulat fennállásának huszonötödik évéről. 1883-1908.* Lőcse, 1909.

Karády Viktor. *Zsidóság, moderenizáció, polgárosodás.* Budapest: Publication by Cserépfalvy, 1997.

Karátsony Zsigmond. *A késmárki ág. Hitv. evang. kerületi Liceum 1907-08-ik tanévi értesítője.* Késmárk, 1908.

Kirsch Jenő. *Késmárki Diáktalálkozó Emlékkönyve.* Budapest, 1928.

Kovács Imre – Hlaváts Andor. *Ifjak Zsengéi: A Késmárki Evang. Lyceum Önképzőkörének Emlékkönyve.* Késmárk, 1896.

Korabinszky János Mátyás. *Geographisch-Historisches und Produkteⁿ Lexikon von Ungarn,* 1786.

Otčenáš, Michal: František Víťazoslav Sasinek. (Príspevok k jeho životu a dielu.) Košice: Slovo, 1995.

Oszvald György. *Késmárki Diákok.* Budapest, 1944.

Palcsó István. *Értesítvény a Késmárki Ág. Hitv. Evang. Egyházkerületi Lyceumról az 1866/7// iki tanévben.* Kassa, 1867.

Palcsó István. *A Késmárki Ág. Hitv. Ev. kerületi Lyceum története.* Késmárk, 1893.

Pukánszky Béla. *Német polgárság magyar földön.* Publication by the Franklin-Társulat, 1940.

Sváby Frigyes. *Szepes megye.* Felolvastatott a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia statisztikai és nemzetgazdasági bizottságában 1889. Április 29-én. Budapest, 1891.

Sváby Frigyes. *A lengyelországnak elzálogosított XIII szepesi város története.* Lőcse, 1895.

Sváby Frigyes. *A Szepesség lakosságának sociologiai viszonyai a XVIII. és XIX. században.* Lőcse, 1901.

Varga Bálint. *Vármegyék és történettudományi reprezentáció a dualizmus kori Magyarországon,* in: Történelmi Szemle LVI 2:179-202, 2014.

Zvarínyi Sándor. A Késmárki Ág. Hitv. Evang. Kerületi Lyceum Tanévi Értesitője. 1894.

Zmátlo, Peter. *Kultúrny a spoločenský život na Spiši v medzivojnovom obdoí.* Bratislava: Chronos, 2005.

Tünde Julianna Ládiné Szabó
Tünde Lengyelné Molnár

ICT-supported methodological opportunities among children in need of special attention

Abstract

Varied and light-hearted methods or tools play an important role in the education of children requiring special attention. It is important for disabled children that the acquisition of the curriculum should not take place in the standard, tedious methods: on the other hand, the transfer of knowledge should not be one-sided. In the 2019/20 academic year, two methodological innovations were introduced in lower-grade classes at the Practice School of Eszterházy Károly University where students in need of special attention also experienced these innovations. As our students prefer to use ICT tools and various applications, it is not by chance that the use of digital devices and ICT technology was an important element in the selection of innovative methods. Getting acquainted with the task editing applications, one of the main aspects of our selection was the personalisation of applications and their suitability for differentiation. Our choice is the LearningApps application. With this tool, interactive educational aids, the so-called learning cubes can be created. In the curriculum, it is important for disabled children to work together, to share a common goal, to experience a sense of achievement, to use different artistic techniques and to enjoy the given work. These were created by Storyline-framework method. This study outlines the practical application of the LearningApps task editing software and the Storyline framework method. These methods greatly contributed to a motivating learning environment where disabled students had the opportunity to experience everyday life and to create a friendly atmosphere with their peers.

Key words: *Learning Apps, learning cubes, kockalapok.hu, online educational aid, Storyline*

In the 21st century, methodological solutions in education shall not exist without the use of information and communication technologies.[1] We cannot ignore the changes in society and those new needs of the labor market which came to existence by the 4th industrial revolution. Teachers shall prepare students for the work environment in which they will need to perform in the future.

Teachers often ask themselves how they can make a school effective. What tools, methods and forms of work can be used to make curriculum processing more efficient? How can they motivate students?

Children in the 21st century are characterized by excessive use of digital devices and they are living in a world of gadgets. It is difficult to achieve significant results with well-known, conventional methods. Our priority is to encourage them to learn and to make their lessons more interesting and more colorful. What can be the solution to this problem? Our choice is the **LearningApps learning cubes** and the **Storyline framework method** that have a lot in common: games, activities and learning.

"In terms of the function of learning, it is a psychic activity resulting a permanent change in the psyche."[2] József Nagy›s definition of learning focuses on activity while István Nahalka (2003) concentrates on adapting to changes in the educational research environment: "Learning is part of our everyday life, a defining element in the development of our life path. In addition to conscious, school-learning situations, we face with a number of situations every day in which we learn something subconsciously. Learning shapes our personality and we adapt to the constant changes in the environment around us."[3] Both definitions give motivation for the development of methodological solutions that make student classroom activities more active and varied.

According to Benő Csapó (2008): "The flow of the learning process is two-way. Pre-school and post-school lifelong learning span our entire lives. In addition, it covers all aspects of life (life-wide learning), from everyday life to the acquisition of specialised knowledge required in the workplace",[4] This definition provides further reinforcement for finding solutions that can be applicable beyond school. LearningApps cubes can also be used in the extra-curricular learning process.

Educational use of ICT tools

Éva Gyarmathy (2012) asserts that: "21st century children are currently studying in a 21st century school. Thanks to the rapid development of technology, children encounter digital devices already in their infancy: it influences their thinking therefore, by the time they get to school, the teacher needs to be aware of that. Consequently, in addition to the traditional practices, (s)he must find new tools and procedures to meet the challenges: schools shall not be boring!"[5]

---

[2] József Nagy, *21st Century and Education* (Budapest: Osiris Press, 2000).
[3] István Nahalka, "Learning",in *Didactics*, ed. Iván Falus (Budapest: Nemzeti Kiadó, 2003), 103-136.
[4] Benő Csapó, "The Scientific Basis of Learning and Teaching" in: *Green Book for the Renewal of Hungarian Public Education* Károly Fazekas, János Köllő and Júlia Varga (Budapest: Ecostat, 2008), 217-233.
[5] Éva Gyarmathy, *Dyslexia in the digital age* (Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2012).

Introducing new tools and new procedures is crucial in the field of special education and in the education of those children and students who need special attention. In case of students with special educational needs, Internet access and the use of appropriate technologies can increase the effectiveness of learning. A variety of online activities can help to develop their collaboration skills.[6]

When educating children requiring special attention, it is paramount to consider the development of the skills necessary for their learning and their specific pace of development. We must provide them with differentiated development tailored to their individual characteristics and also with the use of special educational procedures and pedagogical methods for therapeutic purposes. The educational use of ICT tools can excellently support this process by using such solutions that also increase student motivation. As for educational technology, it is also important to note that an ideally equipped 21st century classroom[7] facilitates the achievement of pedagogical goals. The contribution of ICT-supported methodological educational elements to digital competence development should also be mentioned. Already in 2006, European Schoolnet showed in a survey of OECD countries that "there is a positive correlation between the amount of ICT use and PISA results in mathematics."[8]

The 2012 National Core Curriculum[9] already paid special attention to ensuring their effective development although this law was repealed by the new National Core Curriculum published in 2020.[10] However, it confirmed the importance of the task anyway:

> "Developmental activities of the teacher play an important role in the development of all children and students. This is notably true for outstandingly creative students or those who are talented in one or more specific areas. Multiply disadvantaged children, children with special needs and children with an integration, learning and behavioural disorder also belong to this category: the latter one is undiscovered in terms of causality, but it is also challenging from a learning-teaching point of view. In order to be able to complete this task, the role of assistant specialties (school psychology, special education, developmental pedagogy) and

---

[6] *Top 6 benefits of using technology in the classroom.* School Jotter. (2016, February 18). https://www.schooljotter.com/blog/2016/02/top-6-benefits-technology-classroom/.

[7] György Molnár, "Contributing to the Present and Future of Digital Pedagogy (Results and Perspecti-ves)" MTA-BME *Research Group Open Curriculum Development Publications* IV 2018.

[8] Tünde Lengyelné, Molnár, "ICT as an Education Support System Quantitative Content Analysis Based on Articles Published In Emi" in 2013 *IEEE 63rd Annual Conference International Council for Educational Media* (ICEM), ed. Daniel, TH Tan; Linda, ML Fang (Singapore: Nanyang Technological University, 2013), p. 4.

[9] National Core Curriculum [110/2012 (VI. 4.) Gov.decree. *Magyar Közlöny* 66., June 4, (2012), 10651.

[10] 5/2020. (I. 31.) Gov.decree

the professional activity of teachers are crucial where the different tasks of teachers shall be based on knowledge sharing and mutual help."[11]

In addition to the national core curriculum, special education professionals also draw attention to the need of ICT tools: "Thus, it can be clearly seen that the use of digital technologies and devices does not mean any privilege for people with disabilities (such as students), but it reduces the distance and the difference of accessibility which, due to the fact of disability, also restricts the person in other unaffected areas including autonomy."[12] The conceptual foundation of ICT tools in the field of CSN has also started. "The aim of the application of ICT technologies is to pedagogically help students with CSN, to make them acquire knowledge and also to organize modern learning. A key competence is to familiarize students with the system of tools (and use them adequately) supporting the education of the disabled."[13]

Aims, possible questions

With the introduction of these new methods, our primary goal was to create the necessary motivation for learning in case of students with special needs.

In his research on school motivation, Krisztián Józsa (2002) asserts that "learning-related successes and failures are already experienced by children in kindergarten and primary school, these years are of paramount importance in the development of learning-related motivation. Without their motivation of students, development is meaningless and ineffective. Children's motivation decrease with age which may be affected by their relationship with the school, and with teachers, subject orientation, family background, age characteristics, and so on."[14]

Józsa claims that their level of motivation is really high at the beginning of the 1st grade, but there is a significant decrease starting from the 3rd grade.[15] After having processed the

---

[11] National Core Curriculum, *Magyar Közlöny* 17., (2020) p. 294.

[12] Anita Virányi," Specific Aspects of the Learning Organisation and Learning Support for Students with Special Educational Needs in the Information Society," *Methods of Educational Informatics,* ed. János Ollé-Adrienn Papp-Danka-Dóra Lévai-Szilvia Tóth-Mózer-Anita Virányi (Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Press, 2013), p. 134

[13] Magdolna Estefánné Varga and Mária Dávid, *Supporting SEN Learners with ICT Tools* (Eger: Károly Eszterházy University, 2013) 123.

[14] Krisztián Józsa, "Learner Motivation and Human Literacy," *School literacy* ed. Benő Csapó
(Budapest: Osiris Press, 2002)

[15] Krisztián Józsa, *Acquisition Motivation: Teaching and Learning Series* (Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2007).

relevant literature, we used the LearningApps learning cubes and the Storyline framework method believing that learning in a playful, digital environment will also become attractive to our students who require special attention.

We examined whether the LearningApps learning cubes and the Storyline framework method meet these objectives or not. We hypothesized that the introduction of new methods would increase student motivation. We expected measurable progress from both the teaching aid and the Storyline framework method. We expected a positive result in the field of class work and we also wished to achieve this progress in terms of home assignments and study results.

I. Interactive teaching aid – LearningApps[16]

In the first section of our paper, we would like to introduce LearningApps, a task management software which is very popular among teachers and students. The programme can:

- consider the specific pace of development of learners,
- ensure differentiated development tailored to individual characteristics,
- arouse children's interest,
- provide useful information.

LearningApps covers these areas and as far as the Hungarian context is concerned, it is very popular among teachers and students. LearningApps is a web 2.0 interface aiming to create educational material. According to Zoltán Szűcs (2014) the definition of web 2.0 is the following: Web 2.0 is a generic term for community-based Internet services where users create content, share, comment, or supplement each other's information within the framework provided by the service provider.[17]

LearningApps.org was created under the leadership of President Michael Hielscher as a joint research and development project of the Bern Pedagogical College, the University of Mainz and the Zittau / Görlitz College. *(Figure 1)*

---

[16] *Interaktive und multimediale Lernbausteine*. LearningApps. (n.d.). https://learningapps.org/.
[17] Zoltán Szűts, *University 2.0* (Budapest: Kodolányi János College, 2014)

Figure 1. The home page of LearningApps (logged-in view)

With the help of the **online platform**, we can create and change interactive and online educational aids, so-called learning cubes. *(Figure 2)*

Figure 2. Preview and detailed view of a learning cube

Developmental activities of the Learning Cube Community

We have been in contact with the developers since 2016: within this collaboration, we forward the suggestions of Hungarian users to them to successfully improve the site. The platform's Hungarian translation and the name "Learning Cubes are created by the group of Hungarian master teachers, the Learning Cube Community. Our goal is to expand the methodological tools of teachers and to develop digital literacy. As a result of our coordinated work, the Hungarian promotion of the teaching tool is also possible. We are glad to see that more and more learning cubes are being created by Hungarian users of LearningApps. In order to have quality learning cubes in our catalogue, we also pay special

attention to quality assurance. Upon the request of the developers, we also help to evaluate the cubes. Our Hungarian partner site www.kockalapok.hu has been operating since 2015. Here we provide assistance and give useful ideas to those interested in learning cubes. On this site we present - samples, good practices, and we have frequently asked questions sectino as well. *(Figure 3)* Here we provide assistance and give useful ideas to those interested in learning cubes. On this site we present - samples, good practices, and we have frequently asked questions sectino as well. *(Figure 3)*

We are continuously striving to make LearningApps as popular and widely used as possible.

Figure 3. Our partner site – kockalapok.hu

Launched in November 2016, our Facebook group has a significant number of professional members and the number of users is constantly increasing year by year. *(Figure 4)* Facebook members help each other's work with ideas and suggestions. The Facebook group and the ideas of the teachers are important for feedback or feedback analysis. "For service providers, feedback is the crucial element on the basis of which they can continuously redesign the support system, modify and rebuild the theoretical structure of the content service."[18] In case of our Learning Cube Community, we are constantly trying to take advantage of this role of the feedbacks.

---

[18] László Czeglédi, "Library Support for Adaptive Learning Environments," *Digital transformation as a key to experience - based learning*, ed. András Nádasi Agria Media (Eger: EKE Líceum Kiadó, 2018) p. 12.

Figure 4. Facebook group – TankocKApocs – Users of learning cubes

Based on the feedbacks, special education and development teachers are very enthusiastic about creating new and diverse cubes. It clearly proves that the use of ICT tools is relevant in this area as well.

The use of ICT tools in special education is also supported by Dóra Aknai (2019): In our modern world, it is a welcome development that the frequent use of ICT tools and methods can be seen in special education today. As for special education courses, more and more higher education institutions integrate ICT tools into the teaching-learning process where the methodological foundations are also considered in these curriculums. Unfortunately, there are few Hungarian papers related to helping the development of disabled children with modern ICT tools and methods. At the same time, significant progress can be seen among special education teachers in the use of ICT tools. Several special education colleagues share their experiences in their professional blogs where they claim that their work has been recognized in recent years. This also proves that ICT tools are relevant in special education practice.[19]

According to Anita Virányi: "The tools of information and communication technology (ICT) are gaining ground in our everyday and professional lives. Nowadays students frequently use digital devices and ICT tools at school and for home assignments: they are able to use them even before school age. From this point of view, a significant proportion of children with disabilities are not different from their peers."[20]

---

[19] Dóra Orsolya Aknai, "Journey into the Unknown - ICT Tools in Special Needs Education," *The Place of ICT Tools, the Posibilities of Their Use in Special Education - Regional Professional Conference -* Programme and Pro-ceedings (Szeged University of Szeged JGYPK Special Education Training Institute,2019), 10.

[20] Anita Virányi, "Knowledge and Opinion of Special Educators about the Relationship between ICT Tools and Special Education," *Educating Children with Learning Difficulties* ed. Zsuzsa Mesterházi (Budapest: BGGYTF, 1998)

What does LearningApps offer?

The site offers **a total of 33 different areas of interest** - for each category, additional subcategories are available from the school preparatory level to vocational and further training. *(Figure 5)*
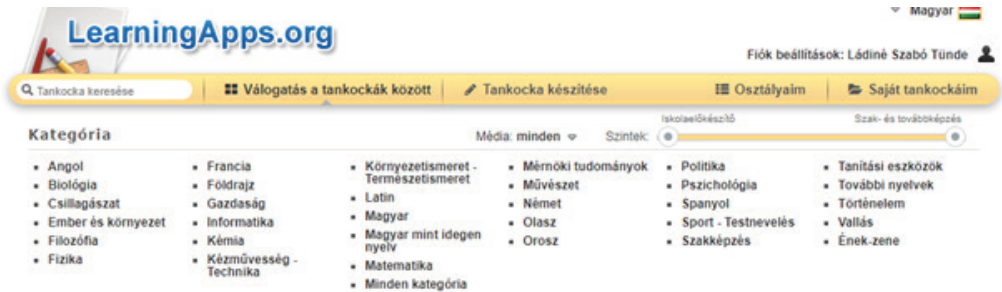

Figure 5. Range of Learning Cubes - Categories

In addition to the categories, the site contains 20 types of tasks where the most popular ones are: simple match, grouping, timeline, brief answer, find the pair, fill-in-the-gap, quiz, learning cube matrix, estimation, hangman. *(Figure 6)*
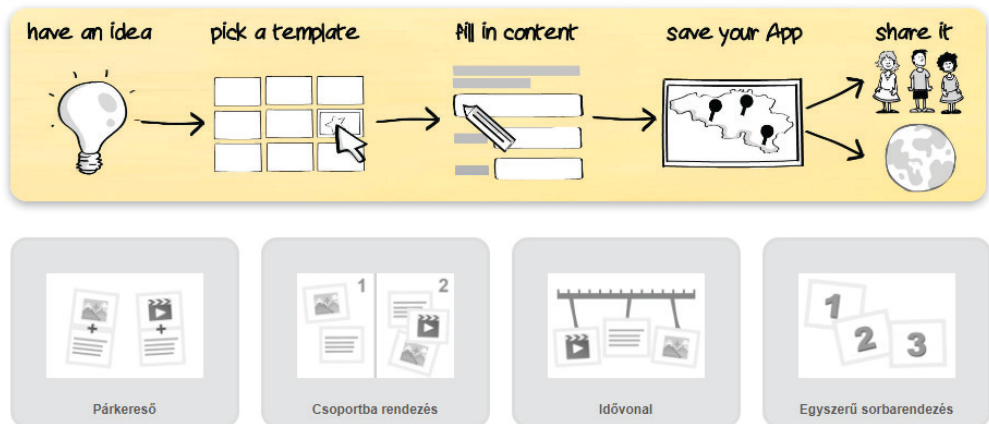

Figure 6. Create a Learning Cube – Task types

The site also includes the following **features**: poll, chat, calendar, notebook, bulletin board *(Figure 7)*.

Figure 7. Features

The software also supports the teacher's work with extensive statistical data.

The most important features of the use of Learning Cubes are also included in the study called "A useful companion in education: let's play learning cubes together!"[21]

According to Hülber: "From the task editing softwares available today, LearningApps. org offers the widest range of task types. Tasks include multiple choice, word finder, pair finder, grouping, matching, crosswords, hangman, etc. Samples are also available and we can create our own individual content. Students can solve the tasks online, in pairs and in groups by using an interactive whiteboard, laptop or smart devices. These tasks control or acquire knowledge in a playful way."[22]

Definition of children/students requiring special attention

According to the relevant law, the education of children and students requiring special attention is carried out within the framework of **differentiated and adaptive education** taking into account individual characteristics. During the differentiation process, the use of learning cubes can significantly develop key competencies which can also make a significant contribution to strengthening equal opportunities.[23]

According to Section 4§ of Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education:

---

[21] Tünde Julianna Ládiné Szabó, "A Useful Partner in Education: Let's Cube Together," *Digital Switch Makes Learning an Experience*, ed. András Nádasi, Tünde Lengyelné Molnár, Antal, Péter, László Czeglédi, Lajos Kis-Tóth, Katalin Göncziné Kapros, Csilla Kvaszingerné Prantner (Eger: Líceum Press, 2018), 119–127.

[22] László Hülber, "Inter-active Online Environments to Support Contact Classroom Activity," *Interactive educational informatics*, ed. Dóra Lévai- Adrienn Papp-Danka (Eger: ELTE Eötvös Press, 2015), 92-112.

[23] Tünde Julianna Ládiné Szabó, "Use of Learning cubes among children and students needing special attention," *Learning Cubes in Complex Basic Programme* ed. Tünde Julianna Ládiné Szabó, Marianna Vizes (Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2018), 57.

"13. children/students requiring special attention:

a) children/students in need of special treatment:

aa) children/students with special needs,

ab) children/students with an intergration, learning and behavioral disorder ,

ac) children/students with extraordinary talent,

b) children/students with disadvantages and multiple disadvantages according to Act on Child Protection and Guardianship Administration"[24]

During their education, it is important to pay attention to the development of their skills necessary for their school learning and also to their specific pace of development. It is crucial that teachers should become more and more aware of the benefits and effectiveness of learning-cube-assisted development and they should also make its use more widespread among children with special needs.

During development, the teacher must:
- use various teaching methods and (s)he shall alternate these frequently
- have a lesson based on the interests of the children
- integrate the curriculum into smaller parts, small-step progress, complexity
- provide frequent feedback and motivation.

In addition to the abovementioned aspects, they should:
- provide differentiated development tailored to individual characteristics,
- apply special educational procedures and pedagogical methods for therapeutic purposes.

Advantages of the use of Learning Cube

The use of digital tools on the LearningApps site and the fulfilment of interactive tasks contribute to the creation of an experiential, playful learning environment. This can be a strong motivating factor for **children and students who need special attention** and the tasks can arouse their interest as well.

By solving a learning cube, we can make our lessons more colourful and enjoyable. The LearningApps site allows you to create a variety of tasks that fit well into any stage of the lessons.

---

[24] Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education

The site offers various templates where useful content can be added by the special education and development teacher. By this, the tasks can be easily customized and are excellent for differentiating in the classroom.

The site has an easy-to-handle and easy-to-follow layout allowing you to create varied and interesting tasks.

Within a particular learning cube, you can move multiple sensory channels, display image, sound, text, or video excerpts: in this way, we can increase student activity and motivation. During the use of the learning cube, special emphasis is being placed on student activities rather than teacher activities. With the help of this, we can take into account the special needs and working load of our students.

The site's content provides a playful approach which greatly promotes autonomous learning: learners receive immediate, accurate and clear feedback about the solved tasks. While solving the tasks, it is advantageous that student performance is not evaluated on the spot: they can correct their mistakes later.

The site is user-friendly and its response and refresh rate is relatively fast.

Using Learning Cubes can make the teacher's job easier because:
- it is easy to learn, easy to use without technical training, easy to handle,
- by using it, the teacher can easily implement the principle of small steps and complexity
- by using "Creating Similar Learning Cubes" function, the time to prepare for the lesson can be significantly shortened
- content of Learning Cubes can be personalized and altered
- creating successive tasks can also be easily solved.
-

Opportunities of differentiation during developments

Differentiation in providing assistance: There are many ways to help children's work. We can give them examples, repeat the task, divide into small steps (*Figure 8*).

Figure 8. Differentiation in providing assistance – repetition, smaller steps division

Differentiation at the level of tasks: with the help of the application we also have the opportunity to provide more content to our faster students and less content to our slower students. *(Figures 9 and 10)*
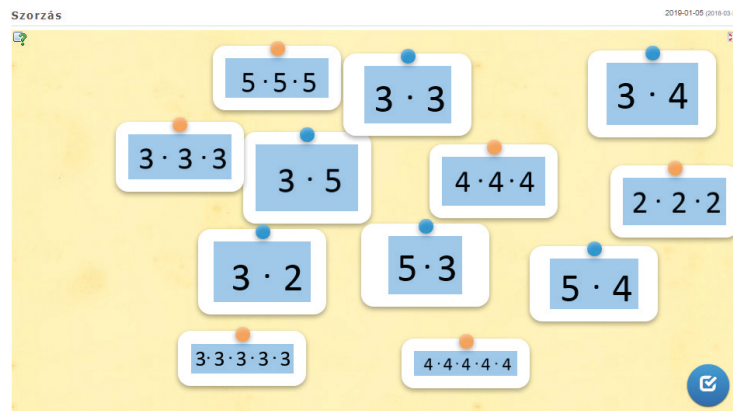

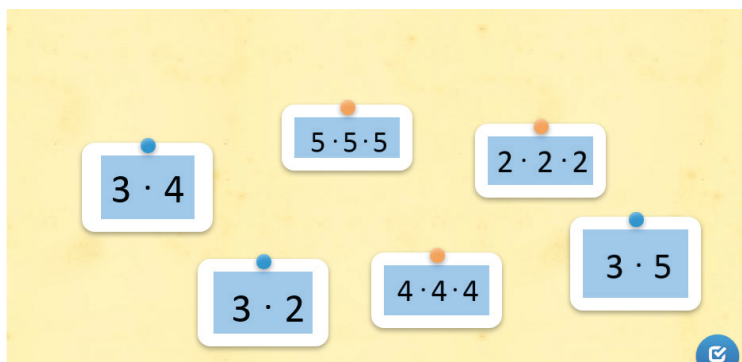**Figure 9. Differentiation at the level of tasks – faster students**

Figure 10. Differentiation at the level of tasks – slower students

We also have the opportunity to differentiate in terms of technical implementation: instead of writing, children with handwriting problems may make words, letters or pictures narrower, perform various movements, etc. (*Figure 11*)

Figure 11. Differentiation in terms of technical implementation. Word-image match; pairing written words with images that contain meaning

Differentiation at the level of activities:

According to their abilities, all children can choose the most suitable Learning Cube. Children quickly understand that there are no easy or difficult Learning Cubes, they can choose according to their taste, abilities and interests. Selection can be made from several

Cube types *(Figure 12)*. The successful solution can greatly increase our students' motivation and sense of responsibility. Tasks meeting the needs and abilities of children can provide a sense of success and help to protect our students from possible failures.

Figure 12. Differentiation at the level of activities

Differentiation at the level of social context:

Solving the Learning Cube provides an opportunity to use various forms of activities among children and students who need special attention. During the lessons, solving learning cubes can be done individually, in pairs or in groups *(Figure 13)*. During these tasks, children with special educational needs also enjoy the activities and experience cheerful learning as well. They participate these Learning Cubes sessions individually, in pairs or in groups. They perform their tasks in a wide range of forms and their communication inhibition may be eased. Working together can greatly help to develop a positive self-image and contribute to the strengthening of the teacher-student, student-student relationship.
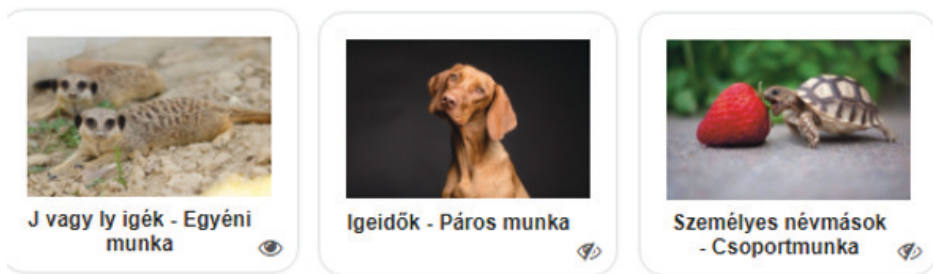

Figure 13. Differentiation at the level of social context

Difficulties in using ICT tools

According to Magdolna Estefánné Varga and Mária Dávid (2013), by using ICT tolls, the following difficulties may arise:
- Excessive use of ICT tools can lead to somatic symptoms.

- If ergonomic features are ignored during the use of our PC, eyes, hands, and back pain may occur.
- The computer is not a substitute for personal, direct experience.
- Its spreading is relatively slow in special pedagogical and school development work.

Reasons of this: the degree of computer and software access and the attitude and motivation of teachers.

The authors emphasize that the computer is not a substitute for the teacher: it functions as an aid in her/his work but it is not the only tool during the development process. [25]

According to the SWOT analysis made by the Learning Cubes community, the weaknesses of LearningApps are the following:

- can be used only online
- cannot be used for summative evaluation

II. Methodological Development in the Practice School of Eszterházy Károly University

Expanding the content of informal learning with Storyline Framework method

Andreas Schleicher, OECD Director of Education, presented the latest research findings: according to these, countries with the highest but a short-term use of computers have performed best in digital reading comprehension in PISA tests (8-12 minutes of use per lesson gives the best performance, more effective than teaching in a fully electronic learning environment).[26] Therefore, it is worth applying such methodological solutions to education that complement traditional education. Furthermore, if we want the acquisition of the curriculum to be more than just a one-sided transfer of knowledge, we should definitely try the Storyline framework method. Many teachers use this method during the implementation of a theme week or project, since the thread of the story provides an opportunity to develop imagination, maintain a continuous interest and understand the given theme. With this method, knowledge acquisition is an exciting process and students can become the main characters of the story. They can be in an instant decision-making position to achieve the main goal.

---

[25] Estefánné Varga Magdolna and Dávid Mária, Supporting SEN Learners with ICT Tools, (Eger, Eszterházy Károly Főiskola, 2013) 125.

[26] Tünde Lengyelné Molnár, "Library Aspects of the Digital Switchover," *Scientific And Technical Information*, 66, 11. No., (2019), p.66.

This way, they face with the consequences of their decisions: as a result, they have a better understanding of the importance of the task. It also strengthens their sense of responsibility. They find themselves in a medium in which they become relaxed. They don't even realize that their initial constraints that often hinder their creativity are slowly but surely disappearing.

After having understood the Storyline Framework method, we tried to focus on the practical application.

Origin of the method

The original idea of the Storyline method comes from Scotland: when they faced with several problems of textbook-centered primary school education, a new national curriculum was born in 1965 suggesting a holistic approach. The different rates of development and interest of children were also taken into consideration. Two main subject groups came into existence: one combined environmental, science subjects including history, geography, mathematics, and natural science; the other area integrated subjects related to aesthetic and art education. Drawing, science, music and physical education were included in this group. With the introduction of the new system and based on curriculum changes, the Storyline Framework Method was developed by the Jordanhill College of Education in Glasgow aiming to facilitate the planning tasks of primary school teachers and educators.[27]

A Brief History

If we go back a little bit in time, we may remember that Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670) had already emphasized the involvement of the senses and the importance of a positive learning environment in his famous work, Orbis Sensualium Pictus published in 1654. A little later, Rousseau (1712-1778) was already a pioneer in holistic education and individualistic pedagogy. Reform pedagogical trends emerged more than 100 years later, in the 1890s (New School, Montessori, Decroly: Ermitage, Ferrier, Steiner: Waldorf). Célestin Freinet encouraged to create a democratic atmosphere that promotes free self-expression, the conditions for cooperation between students and the development of a meaningful community life. (Freinet-pedagogy 1997: 540). The theory, originally appeared in the late 1920s, became known in Hungary only in the 1970s and then it became a movement in the 1980s.

---

[27] Bell, Steve, "Storyline as an Approach to Language Teaching." *Die Neueren Sprachen*, Band, 1995.

Principles of Storyline Framework Method

According to the original plan, the main goal was to develop a method to create a motivating learning environment for our students.[28]

When designing the topic and the curriculum, the following principles shall be considered:

The story: The story provides a linear structure for learning and creates a connection between episodes and modules.

The premonition: A good story fills you with anticipation. We try to figure out what's coming next and we look forward to the future with joy and excitement. Students are also excited to see if it meets their expectations, what the next event will be about. The children are also taken by the story and they are eagerly waiting for the next chapter.

The role of the teacher: A partnership is created between the student and the teacher. The teacher is always in charge since the given material shall be integrated into the lesson. However, (s)he should be flexible because it is always a bumpy road with many curves and crossroads. Yet the student follows the path the teacher has carefully planned and, of course, also acquires the curriculum by the end of the story.

The possession: This is the strongest motivation. Students are proud and enthusiastic that they can participate in a work in which they are the main characters. They create their own story, tasks, problems and the possible solutions as well. They share their own ideas and prior knowledge because together they know much more about a given topic than they do individually: this is the essence of Storyline.

The context: New knowledge is always based on prior knowledge. The context ensures that students learn what we want to teach them. Content is often familiar to them because it depicts reality: therefore, links with real life situations are visible and understandable.

The plan before actions: Students first need to consider what they already know. This is necessary for them to be able to formulate the questions to which they seek answers. Constant support is needed to uncover missing knowledge that they can present to their peers later.[29]

---

[28] Peter J. Mitchell and Marie Jeanne McNaughton, *Storyline: A Creative Approach to Learning and Tea- ching.* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2016.)

[29] Creswell, Jeff, Creating Worlds, *Constructing Meaning: The Scottish Storyline Method.* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997.)

Domestic considerations

OFI was the first institute in Hungary that created a Hungarian guide the application of the framework method. The Storyline method became an accredited training in Hungary in the spring of 2015. The three-year joint creative work involved 4 base schools and nearly 50 related non-governmental organizations: as a result, 288 modules are currently available and 144 of them have already been tried and tested. In addition to these, ELTE PPK already offers an optional role-playing course and professional forums are frequently held as well.[30]

The use of playful, varied methods and tools plays an important role in the education of children who requiring special attention. It is especially important for them that the acquisition of the designated curriculum should not take place with the usual, dull methods and the transfer of knowledge should not only be one-sided.

As for effectiveness, Mária M. Nádasi and Antal et al. assert the following: The variety of methods used in teaching can make our work even more effective. I believe that students 'motivation is greatly supported by the use of tablets in the classroom. Therefore, in addition to traditional methods such as drama play, project method, etc. (M. Nádasi, 2010) innovations (Antal, Babiczki, Borbás et al., 2016) and new techniques are also needed."[31]

Applying Storyline among children with special needs

The Storyline - framework method is can be very useful for the education of children with special educational needs and also in therapeutic sessions.

In line with individual interests, the method can be freely used by special educators and development teachers as well.

The main point of the process is to develop such useful skills which are necessary in everyday situations: communication, cooperation, democratic expression of opinion – basically the weaknesses of children with special educational needs. This positive effect is achieved by placing everyday events into a frame game that combines drama, crafts and speech.[32]

---

[30] Attiláné Mikó,"*Focus on Storyline*," (Eger: Sárospataki Pedagógiai Füzetek, 2018). pp. 258.

[31] Péter Antal, Tamás Babiczki, László Borbás, "Digital switchover in public education - Introduction and use of mobile communication tools in education," *Adaptive teaching and education* ed. Mária M. Nádasi (Budapest: Genius Books Hungarian Talent Helpers Association, 2010).

[32] Andrea Somogyiné Lakatos, Anikó Siteri, Judit Szakál, "EU Stars," *Introduction and Practice to the Storyline Method for Students with Special Educational Needs*, (Tempus Közalapítvány, 2008). 7.

When should we apply this method?

- Within the classroom
- During extracurricular activities – professional circles, projects, project days, catching up, talent management
- During free time activities - class trip, study trip, forest school, summer camps

Thanks to a maintenance project, we applied the Storyline Framework Method in our Practice School and the research was supplemented with Learning Cubes (LearningApps.org). The methodological development took place within the project called "Developing informal and non-formal learning opportunities in the Practice School of Eszterházy Károly University".

Methodological development at the Practice School of Eszterházy Károly University

Duration: Academic year of 2018-19.

Main goals of the project

- Creating informal learning opportunities through which we ensure our students' access to education.
- Developing extracurricular programmes to enable them to learn and develop their self-knowledge, motivation, and abilities.
- Increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of public education.

Main activities of the project

We mainly focused on methodological developments, the implementation of informal activities and the training of the teachers of our institution. In addition, professional work in the program was also introduced in the target group.

Impact area of the project: Practice School of Eszterházy Károly University and the Eger area

During the methodological development, we created teacher aids, manuals and student guides.

Methodological development in grades 1-4 of the Practice School of Eszterházy Károly University

In the lower grades, the methodological documents were developed according to the following topics:

English language, naturla science, Storyline – Learning Cubes, Crafts.

In these grades, we attempted to create an extracurricular program that complements school education: with these activities, the competence and skills of the students are developed in a complex way. More importantly, their self-knowledge, motivation and abilities were also developed in the programme.

Expanding the content of informal learning – Applying Storyline Framework method in professional circles

Created on LearningApps with Learning Cubes, the method has successfully been used for 2 years during extracurricular activities in professional circles. During the implementation of the project, the acquisition of (new) knowledge took place mainly with the help of manual activities and mathematically themed Learning Cubes.

Subject concentration during the activities: in addition to mathematics, drawing and technology, knowledge of geography, biology and physical education also appeared in activities.

Different teacher role

Enikő Gönczöl et al. assert: "The role of the teacher in the project is different from the traditional one. During the preparatory work, the main goal is to design the learning environment. During the learning process, the teacher shall moderate the whole process and provide communication and collaboration within the group. Basically, the teacher is not the source of knowledge. (S)he primarily helps students to link new knowledge elements to their pre-existing knowledge."[33]

Most crucial points the process:
- setting goals to be achieved

---

[33] Enikő Gönczöl, *Research and Development Kaleidoscope* (Budapest: OFI, 2015).

- event planning - creating a schedule
- review of the curriculum to be processed
- having sufficient knowledge about students in professional circles
- mapping and arousing their interest
- creating modules
- designing feedback
- providing references and resources to the students.

According to Brigitta Balogh (1999) and László Tóth (2000): If a task deals with an interesting, real problem, the students will definitely be interested. Accurate knowledge of the goals to be achieved and continuous feedback on the achieved results also have an incentive effect on student performance. Positive reinforcement helps to strengthen knowledge while success increases students' self-confidence and commitment to learning.[34]
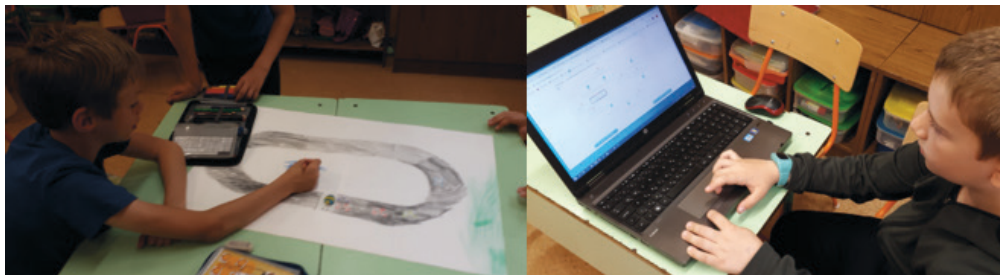

Figure 14. Activities (courtesy of the authors)

Third grade students of the Practice School participated in the activities. **Children requiring special attention** also took part in our research. We paid more attention to them during the project.

In the case of children requiring special attention, it is important to ensure equal rightsand opportunities. We placed special emphasis on their inclusion and acceptance.

---

[34] Brigitta Balogh, "School motivation," *A Guide to the Professional Psychology Practice of Students of Teaching Major* ed. Balogh., Tóth L. (Debrecen: Lajos Kossuth University, Department of Pedagogy and Psychology, 1999) and László Tóth, "Motivational Charac-teristics of Students and School Performance," Chapters from Pedagogical Psychology ed. László Balogh., László Tóth. (Debrecen: I. Kossuth University Publishing House, University of Debrecen, 2000a) 247–255.

The impact of common activities on students requiring special attention

They really enjoyed creating something independently and the relaxed atmosphere meant a lot to them. The activities carried out during the project provided an opportunity to relieve tension. Boredom and anxiety were replaced by interest. The feeling of success during the sessions made them feel the sense of a community.

Brigitta Balogh emphasised that the latest studies have shown that there is a correlation between interest and school performance.[35] Unfortunately, disabled children have little success in their everyday lives and they encounter failure in many areas of life. Brigitta Balogh (1999) and László Tóth (2000) assert that during school work, students encounter both success and failure. This influences his/her future performance and behaviour: to be able to cope with failure, they must understand the reason behind these events. According to high-performing learners, success is the result of the skills while failure is seen as a lack of effort. Low-performing students consider success as the result of some external cause while failure is caused by ability deficiencies or bad luck which can lead to high levels of anxiety. [36]

During the project, it was nice to see that they have strong ownership of the project. The more opportunities we give them to engage in everyday life, the less they feel disabled. A positive relationship with their healthy peers is important to them and they prefer to open towards their healthy mates.

The children were feeling relaxed during the sessions and they were having fun in the company of their peers and teachers. Each time they arrived with a smile and they were happy to attend the classes. During the group sessions, they were able to work effectively paying attention to each other.

Working together with a common goal, communication, the application of different artistic techniques, the experience of success, the feeling of creation – all had an impact on the personal development of our students.

Goals for children requiring special attention:
- to participate in the sessions voluntarily and happily
- to engage in activities for a long time without compulsion,

---

[35] Brigitta Balogh, "School Motivation," *A Guide to the Professional Psychology Practice of Students of Teaching Major* (Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Pedagógiai–Pszichológiai Tanszék, Debrecen, 1999)

[36] Brigitta Balogh, "School Motivation," *A Guide to the Professional Psychology Practice of Students of Teaching Major* (Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Pedagógiai–Pszichológiai Tanszék, Debrecen, 1999) and László Tóth, "Motivational characteristics of Students and School Performance." *Chapters from Pedagogical Psychology* (Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, Debreceni Egyetem, Debrecen, 2000) 247–255.

- to use the tools properly during a manual activity, to learn about different representation techniques, to have a variety of colour usage,
- to strive for cooperation with their mates, to have proper communication, to develop their vocabulary,
- to be able to work, evaluate each other's work and form an opinion using various techniques during manual activities,
- to develop their creativity, self-esteem and self-knowledge, their social, emotional and digital competence, their problem-solving ability, their fine motor skills.

Storyline as a method

The Storyline Framework is an effective teaching method that can be used outside and inside the classroom as well. The method focuses on a frame story.

It is an experiential, exploratory form of teaching, providing the acquisition of new knowledge, repetition, and series of feedback.

Features of Storyline method:
- Knowledge transfer takes place in an integrated way
- Brings together different subjects in one topic
- The student has autonomy during the process
- Learning organization is characterized by individual-pair and group work
- Active and productive task
- Affects key areas of competence (social, communication, etc.)
- Develops creativity
- Promotes the use listening comprehension and reading/writing
- The use of reference material.

Frame story

The frame story contained episodes. Each episode had a problem to be solved: it was completed with the help of manual activities and math-themed Learning Cubes.

In addition to the subjects of mathematics, drawing and technology, we strived to include geography, biology and physical education in the acquisition of knowledge. They were happy to come to the sessions, they were "just" painting, creating and playing. They did not even notice that they acquired new knowledge in the meantime.

Duration of the episodes: 90 minutes.

The main characters of the story were the 3rd grade students of the Practice School. They dreamed of an island for 16 episodes and then they planned and created the island during the school year.

Each episode began with a key question: our students had 90 minutes to find a solution to these questions. During the sessions, students were guided through these key questions. The questions were interesting and motivating for them: these questions significantly fostered their motivation towards the topic and the tool.

EFOP-3.3.7-17 Informális és nem formális tanulási lehetőségek kialakítása a köznevelési intézményekben

A kerettörténet: A sziget fővárosa, programok tervezése - Írásbeli műveletek végzése - Írásbeli összeadás, kivonás 1000-ig - Írásbeli szorzás egyjegyű szorzóval

Modulsablon:14.

A kerettörténet epizódcíme	A kulcskérdés	Tevékenységek	Szervezési feladatok, munkaforma	Szükséges eszközök	Létrehozott termék, eredmény, alkotás	Értékelés, feladatok	Pedagógiai cél, tananyag tartalom
1.A főváros élete - Programok a fővárosban	(10 perc) Milyen lehet a sziget fővárosa?	Hogyan képzelitek el a főváros életét? Milyen lehet itt élni? Milyen programokban lehet részük az itt élő embereknek?	irányított beszélgetés, frontális munka				programok gyűjtése, szókincsfejlesztés
	Melyik osztályba mennyi a tanulók testtömege illetve magassága? (30 perc)	Négy – öt csoportban dolgozva megtervezik a legjelentősebb programokat. Tervezés után rajzoljátok meg ezeket!	csoportmunka egyéni munka	ecset, tempera, csomagolópapír, vízfesték	A főváros programjainak megtervezése		ismeretek megosztása, együttműködés, csoportkohézió fejlesztése, vita-érvelés

Figure 15. Module Template

We ensured that the acquisition of knowledge should be included in each episode: it was made more effective by the use of ICT tools and the integration of practical activities. We tried to create back-to-back episodes for the children taking into account the age characteristics of our students.

During the episodes, our children were encouraged to find the answers themselves. To be able to reach the goal, we made them face with problem situations that they had to solve together with the help of their own knowledge and different sources of information.

Knowledge was acquired in a playful way and they applied their prior knowledge as well. In addition to non-stop interaction, they were able to participate in an active learning process.

Knowledge transfer took place in an integrated way using different forms of work. In the project, students acted autonomously focusing on different subjects in one topic.

During the acquisition of knowledge, new things were discovered and both students and teachers were having fun.

Main phases of the frame story method:
- formulating a question, raising the problem together,
- creating a story of episodes,
- selecting and creating locations and characters,
- discovering the relationships and background story of the characters,
- creating rules,
- problem raising,
- seeking solutions,
- systematisation of the knowledge gained during problem solving,
- self-assessment,
- evaluating each other's work,
- organizing and presenting products, closing ceremony.[37]

Introducing the topic – Creating a Learning Cube Island

To introduce the topic, we took our students to an imaginary uninhabited island. With their eyes closed, they told us what they could see. After sharing their experiences, the imaginary ISLAND was created on the cardboard placed right in front of them.

It was good to see they could see the island right in front of them; they put themselves in the role of the saviour, and then, with the help of their imagination, they continued the story, came up with ideas and had some thoughts.

The frame story around which we created the episodes

It is important to give an interesting, logically structured story that is easy for children to follow. The theme should be appropriate to their age. It should arouse their interest and their contribution should be a good experience for them. The characters and the plot should be presented separately and the topic should be clear to the children.

---

[37] Attiláné Mikó, "Focus on Storyline," (Eger: Sárospataki Pedagógiai Füzetek, 2018). 260.

By placing the curriculum into everyday practice, the framework story facilitates the process of learning and helps the understanding process.

Our frame story:
The inhabitants of Cubeland got into a big trouble because the continent where they live was constantly flooded.
We need to move the people living there to an uninhabited island!
We need to design this island so that the people living here can have a good time.

During the 16-episode course, we were planning the island, the number of people living here and the animals and plants as well. We were designing the topography of the island and installing cities and villages on the island.

We also designed the first school, the first means of transport and the main programs on the island. We created an exciting cycling race at two locations and some buildings at the site were also designed.

The fascination of working together

The plot of the story was elaborated together and in most cases the children's ideas and creativity helped to solve the problems. We tried to accept the ideas and pieces of advice of all participants. We managed to build a cohesive community relatively quickly. In this community, they could really have fun and their sense of responsibility also improved.

Each time the students felt usefulness and the feeling of success was never lost as they acted in a playful way through their own experience.

Forms of work during the sessions

During the school year, our students worked individually, in pairs and in groups. Group and pair work were the most popular forms among them.

Figure 16. Group work (courtesy of the authors)

At first, it was difficult to accept each other's ideas and advice, but this problem has finally been resolved.

To be able to know and accept each other in common activities, we tried to rotate the members of the given groups. Eventually, they enjoyed common experiences and the different topics. The students always completed their tasks happily and they enjoyed every minute of it.

Subject concentration in the sessions

During the sessions, we taught the inhabitants of the island to count and we also installed animals and plants on the island. We determined the location of the island, designed the topography and the first school of the inhabitants. By using several subjects, we ensured that the acquisition of knowledge took place in a complex way.

Manual - practical activities during the project

Manual activities included drawing, painting, plasticizing, patterning, printing and coloring. We were also cutting, glueing and we were all happy with the finished workpieces. These activities are also important tools for children's personality development. These also develop their imagination, strengthen their self-confidence, self-expression and aesthetic sense.

Figure 17 Manual activity (courtesy of the authors)

Teaching aid - Use of Learning Cubes in classes - Development of digital competence

Learning Cubes were also used during the project as it was fun to arrive on the Learning Cube Island with smart tools.

Figure 18. ICT-supported activity (courtesy of the authors)

The various forms of Learning Cubes made the processing of the curriculum more interesting.

By solving these, our students learned by playing and they did not even notice that they finally solved a mathematical problem. Learning Cubes helped to transfer and acquire knowledge and they developed digital competence by providing the experience of learning

together in a playful environment. During the processing of the story, we were using tihs platform to make the session more colorful and enjoyable for them: on the other hand, we could display texts, images, audio or video details within the series of Cubes and several sensory channels of the students were stimulated as well. The joint inclusion of theoretical and practical knowledge during the sessions increased student activity and motivation. The common experience, the introduction of the new method was crucial especially for children in need of special attention.

Before using digital devices, we drew the attention of children to a few important rules.

Rules of using digital devices:
- I respect and take care of digital devices!
- I put the device back to its box after use!
- I do not use it without permission and I don't install other applications on it!
- If I notice a technical problem, I tell it to my teacher!
- I am constantly checking the battery level: in case of a low battery, I tell this to the teacher!
- I clean the screen after use!
- When I have finished my work, I will shut down the digital device properly and put it back in its place!

Evaluation during the project:

During the sessions, we took some pictures of the working process which helped our work in teacher and student evaluation. These were extremely helpful giving us a great opportunity to provide feedback and assistance.

Student groups got constant feedback and common interaction which created a constructive and helpful evaluation and assistance. Our teachers were encouraging and they tried to provide a positive and supportive atmosphere during the sessions.

According to Balogh Brigitta: For students, the recognition and praise of a teacher is a huge motivating force especially if the teacher is committed to his/her work and enthusiastically performs his/her task. [38]

At the end of the project, the works of the sessions were exhibited and the year was evaluated and summarized together.

---

[38] Brigitta Balogh, "School Motivation," *A Guide to the Professional Psychology Practice of Students of Teaching Major* (Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Pedagógiai–Pszichológiai Tanszék, Debrecen, 1999)

III. Summary: Long-term goals

Learning Cubes

Results of the group:
The application and the Storyline frame story method had been unknown for our students. However, learning by playing in a digital environment immediately became attractive to our students requiring special attention. The introduction and use of new methods have increased student motivation and LearningApps was even used as a home practice. Their learning results have improved and our students have become active users.

Storyline – Framework

The children were happy to attend the classes. They improved a lot especially those children who need special attention. The relaxed, cheerful and balanced atmosphere had a positive impact on the students. As a result of the introduced method, their motivation increased and their study performance and attitudes towards learning also developed.

They were sad when they learnt that the project came to an end. During a closing ceremony, the products were organised and presented: we found a name for our island adn we had a brief celebration.

The methodological aids (topics, teacher's manual - lesson plans, student aids) were created by the teachers – these were tested during the school year.

Teachers and students were fortunate enough to get acquainted with this effective teaching method which was completed in a classroom environment during the project. This experiential, exploratory form of teaching has become a part of our lives and we are all looking forward to continuing. Our goal remains the same: to be able introduce similar innovative methods in education and to help children in need of special attention.

Results of the teachers:
One of the biggest challenges for the teachers in the 21st century is the development of new teaching methods, ICT tools, teaching models, dissemination of good practices and research on student performance.

The number of teaching aids, new methods and tools is continuously increasing and, at the same time, more and more teachers are learning to apply them in their daily work. However, several questions arise about the use of these tools. Our goal is to apply further innovative methods in education and also to expand the literature of the LearningApps

tool with the results of ongoing research. Long-term comparative studies with applications such as LearningApps.org are also planned in the future.

Experiences of digital education, the use of the application in online education:

On March 13, 2020, the digital education format was introduced in Hungary and it could be described in 3 words: online connection, ICT tools, new methods.

From 16 March 2020, a new educational format entered into force in schools. Teachers had to response quickly to the new situation. They had to continue teaching with digital tools. They shared their experiences, ideas, and digital curricula with each other. Within days, the transition to digital education has taken place nationwide.

Several studies in 2020 claimed that, in addition to the framework and video tools, teachers preferred platforms and tools used for assessment and practice. They mainly chose LearningApps, and Learning Cubes. During the digital education format, LearningApps has been one of the most popular applications among teachers, children and their parents.

From March 13, 2020, we have been constantly checking the LearningApps Facebook page.

We learnt that the number of users increased significantly and the platform became immediately overloaded. Accordingly, the developers provided only limited access to Hungarian users and expanded the server infrastructure of LearningApps.org.

The following functions have been deactivated: the search box and the statistics button. According to Dr. Michael Hielscher, President of the LearningApps Association, during the first 4 weeks, more than 100,000 users participated online at LearningApps.org in Hungary.

From March 16 to April 13, 2020, about 130,000 new people (40,000 teachers, 90,000 students) registered on the site. According to Dr. Michael Hielscher, these are only "registered" users since most students are not logged in with their own account.

According to the data of the LearningApps-Team (development team of Dr. Michael Hielscher) as of April 13, 2020: 500.000 registered users – 200.000 teachers and 300.000 students used the application in Hungary.

Based on the numbers, we were curious about how popular the application is among teachers and how often (and basically how) it is used by them.

A questionnaire titled "The use of Learning Cubes in Digital Education Format" measured the use of Learning Cubes between 5 May and 13 August 2020. It is available on the LearningApps platform as a hyperlink.

The aim of my research was to learn how Learning Cubes are used by teachers. The research was crucial to get relevant data about the use of Learning Cubes in digital education.

A limited number of studies on such an educational tool have been published In Hungary so far. Data evaluation is currently in progress and these will be included in my doctoral dissertation.

References

Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education

Aknai, Dóra Orsolya. " Journey into the Unknown - ICT Tools in Special Needs Education," *The Place of ICT Tools, the Posibilities of Their Use in Special Education* - Regional Professional Conference - Programme and Pro-ceedings. Szeged University of Szeged JGYPK Special Education Training Institute, (2019.)

Antal Péter, Tamás Babiczki, and László Borbás editors. "Digital switchover in public education - Introduction and use of mobile communication tools in education," *Adaptive teaching and education* ed. Mária M. Nádasi. Budapest: Genius Books Hungarian Talent Helpers Association, (2010.)

Balogh Brigitta. "School motivation." *A Guide to the Professional Psychology Practice of Students of Teaching Major* ed. Balogh., Tóth L. Debrecen: Lajos Kossuth University, Department of Pedagogy and Psychology (1999.)

Czeglédi, László "Library Support for Adaptive Learning Environments." in Digital transformation as a key to experience - based learning. ed. András Nádasi Agria Media. Eger: EKE Líceum Kiadó (2018.)

Csapó, Benő. "The Scientific Basis of Learning and Teaching," *Green Book for the Renewal of Hungarian Public Education*. Károly Fazekas, János Köllő and Júlia Varga. Budapest: Ecostat, 2008.

Estefánné Varga Magdolna and Dávid Mária. *Supporting SEN Learners with ICT Tools*. Eger: Károly Eszterházy University,2013. 123. 125.

Gov.decree. 5/2020. (I. 31.)

Gönczöl Enikő. *Research and Development Kaleidoscope*. Budapest: OFI, 2015.

Gyarmathy, Éva. *Dyslexia in the digital age.* Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2012.

Hülber, László. "Interactive Online Environments to Support Contact Classroom Activity." *Interactive educational informatics.* ed. Dóra Lévai- Adrienn Papp-Danka. Eger: ELTE Eötvös Press, (2015.) 92-112.

Interaktive und multimediale Lernbausteine. LearningApps. (n.d.). https://learningapps.org/.

Józsa, Krisztián. "Learner Motivation and Human Literacy.ó," *School literacy*, ed. Benő Csapó. Budapest: Osiris Press, 2002.

Józsa, Krisztián. *Acquisition Motivation: Teaching and Learning Series.* Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2007.

Ládiné Szabó,Tünde Julianna. "A Useful Partner in Education: Let's Cube Together" in *Digital Switch Makes Learning an Experience.* ed. András Nádasi, Tünde Lengyelné Molnár, Antal, Péter, László Czeglédi, Lajos Kis-Tóth, Katalin Göncziné Kapros, Csilla Kvaszingerné Prantner. Eger:Líceum Press, 2018.

Ládiné Szabó, Tünde Julianna. "Use of Learning cubes among children and students needing special attention," *Learning Cubes in Complex Basic Programme* ed. Tünde Julianna Ládiné Szabó, and Marianna Vizes. Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2018.

Lengyelné Molnár, Tünde. "Library Aspects of the Digital Switchover." *Scientific And Technical Information*, 66 no 11. (2019) 645-654.

Lengyelné, Molnár Tünde, "ICT as an Education Support System Quantitative Content Analysis Based on Articles Published In Emi," 2013 IEEE 63rd Annual Conference International Council for Educational Media (ICEM), ed. Daniel, TH Tan; Linda, ML Fang (Singapore: Nanyang Technological University, 2013),

Mikó Attiláné. *Focus on Storyline*, Eger: Sárospataki Pedagógiai Füzetek (2018)

Molnár, György. "Contributing to the Present and Future of Digital Pedagogy (Results and Perspecti-ves)." *MTA-BME Research Group Open Curriculum Development Publications.* IV (2018).

Nahalka, István. "Learning." *Didactics.* ed. Iván Falus. Budapest: Nemzeti Kiadó, 2003.

Nagy, József. *21st Century and Education*. Budapest: Osiris Press, 2000.

National Core Curriculum. 110/2012 (VI. 4.) Gov.decree. Magyar Közlöny, 66. (2012), 10651.

National Core Curriculum. 2020. Magyar Közlöny, 17. (2020.) 294.

Somogyiné Lakatos Andrea, Anikó Siteri, and Judit Szakál editors. *EU Stars, Introduction and Practice to the Storyline Method for Students with Special Educational Needs*. Tempus Közalapítvány, 2008. 7.

Szűts, Zoltán. *University 2.0*. Budapest: Kodolányi János College, 2014.

Top 6 benefits of using technology in the classroom. School Jotter. (2016, February 18). https://www.schooljotter.com/blog/2016/02/top-6-benefits-technology-classroom/.

Tóth László. "Motivational Charac-teristics of Students and School Performance," *Chapters from Pedagogical Psychology* ed. Balogh., Tóth L. Debrecen: I. Kossuth University Publishing House, University of Debrecen, (2000.) 247–255.

Virányi, Anita. "Knowledge and Opinion of Special Educators about the Relationship between ICT Tools and Special Education," *Educating Children with Learning Difficulties* ed. Zsuzsa Mesterházi. Budapest: BGGYTF, (1998.)

Virányi,Anita." Specific Aspects of the Learning Organisation and Learning Support for Students with Special Educational Needs in the Information Society," *Methods of Educational Informatics*. ed. János Ollé-Adrienn Papp-Danka-Dóra Lévai-Szilvia Tóth-Mózer-Anita Virányi. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Press, (2013.)

Sándor Rózsa

The examination of water regulation works with the help of a geoinformatical database in the 18th-century Kingdom of Hungary

Abstract

Due to the sporadicity of works and the limited number of resources, researching the period of water history from the end of the Turkish period to the great management works of the 19th century is a more challenging task compared to the study of later periods. Concentrating on the first military survey, this study aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the flood relief works of the 18th century on the basis of the maps of the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. During the study, water features (embankments, channels, etc.) that could be identified on the military survey sheets were recorded in a GIS database. The main objective was to be able to compare these works in terms of volume (built embankment and channel lengths) and spatial distribution with the water management works of later ages. Although undoubtedly a reliable source for the study, the first military survey only allows the creation of a "basic database" therefore this present study presents the results of the first phase of a larger project.

Keywords: history of water management, water management works, first military survey, GIS, database, 18th century

Introduction – framework of research

Due to the Carpathian Basin's distinctive hydro-geomorphological conditions, water management has always been an economic and governmental priority and remains so. It is no wonder that water management studies have a long tradition. As far back as the end of the 19th century - 50 years after their formation, water management associations completed their written history,[1] and in the second half of the 20th century, a separate archive was established for managing water management documents. In the early years, water management history dealt with institutional and technical approaches where the relevant studies were rather descriptive and less analytic. New historical auxiliary sciences emerging in the 20th century, such as historical geography and historical ecology (or environmental history) approach "water management" in a much more complex way since they focus on the relationship between landscape and society while water management organisation and

---

[1] Klára Dóka: The management of water works and their economic importance in Hungary. 1872-1918. Budapest, 1987. 6-7.

technology can be found as a single aspect here. Thanks to the economic importance of the agricultural sector and to the major socialist water management investments, the 20th century provided a favourable social sphere for research on water management history; these researchers maintained the momentum up until the turn of the millennium. Studies have been given a new boost from research and social interest in increasing environmental problems (e.g. climate change, decreasing water level, aridity changes) however, these investigations already formed part of the field of environmental history. Regrettably, the amount of water management research is declining before debate in the subject could have made a real difference by providing a sufficiently accurate picture of the past of water management. Despite the fact that the author's doctorate research primarily focuses on environmental history, the content and methodology of this study are closer to the traditional history of water management and historical geography although it also seeks to identify shortcomings in these fields which need to be addressed to evaluate the relationship between landscape and society thoroughly.

For the sake of clarity, some basic concepts require further clarification and what they mean in the framework of this study. Water management refers to society's water use for economic purposes where elements (cleaning of oxbows, establishment of fishponds) of oxbow lake management (in line with the relevant ecological conditions) are also included in the term. It also refers to 19th century water regulation works (e.g. building of dams) aiming to drain floodplains and are irrespective of the previous aspects. Water regulation refers to a procedure where farming communities transform the hydrographical system of their environment: all forms of anthropogenic interventions shall be included here.

After the Turkish wars in the 18th century, the Great Plain areas mostly affected by floods underwent economic reorganization which was accompanied by an increase in the number of anthropogenic interventions. This study is primarily an attempt to examine the extent of man-made landscaping for water regulation purposes in the century - in the first century of intensive landscaping period since 1700 – also, what regional differences can be found and how these differences can be compared to later works.

"Eras" of water regulation

Flood relief and river regulation works the Carpathian Basin can be divided into three main eras based on the concepts, organisation, financing and construction.

The first is the so-called "local water regulation era" which saw some minor works initiated and implemented by local owners. This era began in the first half of the 18th century and ended roughly in the middle of the 19th century. The procedure's starting

point was the post-Turkish economic reorganisation, while the endpoint can be found around the launch of corporate regulations.

The second is the so-called "regular" or "classic" river regulation era where the Tisza-Valley is usually associated with the name of Pál Vásárhelyi. The 1846 establishment of the Tiszavölgy Association or the ceremonial Tiszadob hoeing, initiated by István Széchenyi in 27th August 1846 marks the era's symbolic starting point. This period is characterized by river-wide works, where significant and vital interventions were made by the whole association. After 1846, 2,700 kilometres of embankments were built in the Tisza Valley alone leading to relieved flood pressure in 3 million cadastral acres.[2] Due to the radical economic, social and political changes, the WWI and WWII can be marked as the endpoint of this era.

The third is the so-called "modern water regulations era" which began in the middle of the 20th century and continues to this day. Compared to the previous two eras, this period saw the increasing significance of dewatering, irrigation and water storage while environmental aspects also came into the picture. The era's major works included the construction of Tiszalök and Kisköre Dams and their inland water drainage and irrigation channels.

Characteristics of the local water regulation era, challenges of the investigation

Due to the size of works, little scientific interest and the challenges of previous research, the era of "local water regulations" is underrepresented in the historical literature of water management history and economic history.

Studies for the period before 1850 can be divided into two main groups: One group includes water history research that essentially seeks the historical roots of modern water management, and the other includes those that wish to reconstruct [3] contemporary floodplain management. The long-term aim of the latter is to explore the complex system

---

[2] Imre Botár –Zsigmond Károlyi: Management of the Tisza 1846-1879. in: *Vízügyi Történeti Füzetek 3.* Budapest, 1971. 19.

[3] Floodplain management: A concept that includes oxbow lake management but is much broader. Floodplain management refers to the differentiated management of riverine communities, which includes "passive" land use systems, as opposed to "oxbow lake management", which adapt to the floodplain environment and make use of it, but do not include water diversion or treatment (this is also determined by the environmental conditions, because where there are no oxbow lakes, there can be no oxbow management). In a stricter sense, oxbow lake management was characteristic only of a narrower group of riverine communities, however, the conceptual scope of floodplain management included the management systems of most riverine communities before the comprehensive river regulations of the 19th century.

of relations between landscape and society, its changes and the reasons for the changes and to assess in the context of later events whether these processes had a positive or negative impact. Some of the anthropogenic hydrological interventions of the 18th century - dam construction and sewerage - cannot yet be clearly considered as an indicator,[4] of the changing approach of land use; there is no doubt, however, that in the century, especially in the last third, we will find many examples of water management works that ignore ecological aspects and can be seen as a precedent for later comprehensive work, which are compatible with the mercantilist and physiocratic approach of government. Another feature of the relevant professional literature is the lack of synthesis of the results of comprehensive research, which is mainly due to the fact that the momentum of the historical study of water management had decreased before the actual works were realized (it should be noted that this would require serious resources and research collaboration). Our knowledge on 18th century water management is therefore scattered and compared to other periods, little information can be found about the era of local flood relief. Studies about water management history introduce the given era with the help of a major construction or by analysing such factors as the emergence of engineer training or mapping works. This does not necessarily mean that comprehensive studies on water management are non-existent (see the accounts of Dénes Ihrig[5], Klára Dóka[6], Woldemár Lászlóffy [7], Csáth – Deák – Fejér – Kaján[8]): it simply means that these accounts paid little attention to 18th century works and their analysis was extremely limited due to the available resources. As far as historical science is concerned, there hasn't been a comprehensive qualitative assessment on the era; thus these works cannot be compared to the complex river regulations. Some aspects of the procedures are very uncertain: territorial distribution (e.g. should we investigate according to river sections or country regions?) and the size of the works (e.g. length of embankments, channels, etc.).

---

[4] An excellent example of this is one of the most significant early works in the Middle Tisza region, the so-called Construction of Mirho Dam. With a great historical interest in the 1980s, the work carried out mainly by the population of Nagykun settlements and even conference proceedings were published in connection with the memorial conference held in Kisújszállás in 1987 on the occasion of the two-hundred-year anniversary of the construction of the dam. Most of the researchers considered the construction to be the antecedent of the great Tisza regulation of the 19th century and believed that the construction introduced a new era of land use in the area. In contrast, however, there are some circumstances - e.g. the relatively lengthy period between the construction of the Mirhó Dam and the subsequent work – which suggest that farmers did not yet want to give up their primarily livestock-based farming system around the floodplains.

[5] Dénes Ihrig (ed.): A magyar vízszabályozás története. [The History of Hungarian Water Management] Budapest, 1973.

[6] Dóka Klára: The management of water works and their economic importance in Hungary. 1872-1918.

[7] Woldemár Lászlóffy: The Tisza. Budapest, 1982.

[8] Csath – Deák– Fejér – Kaján: Magyar vízügytörténet. [History of HungarianWater Management] Baja, 1998.

The challenges of investigating local water management are to be found in the source characteristics of the 18th century and in the organizational characteristics of the works. In the 18th century, the water directorate was still in its infancy and, although water management procedures received significant subsidies from royalty, the river engineering and architecture department of the Hungarian Chamber, founded in the 1770s, and the Shipping Directorate, established in 1776, had little efficiency and they achieved significant results in the field of mapping and in the Duna area only. [9] In the second half of the 18th century and in the first of the 19th century, several royal commissioners were appointed but it had also little effect. Károly Sigray in the Sárköz area and Lőrinc Orczy in the Upper-Tisza area met with the resistance of the counties and landlords were not really interested in the works either.[10] Orczy, also a royal guard and writer, was sceptical right after his appointment and his poem showed the situation:

"a man is to be found
who, defying suffering, can patrol the country up and around
let's send Orczy and give him a chance,
to do a great thing without finance"

Orczy's illustration proves that water management works could only be completed by the cost of local landlords or counties and the procedure itself was executed by public workers and its organisation was by no means an easy task. Since the recently established water management organisations and the appointed royal commissioners could offer limited financial support, and they often merely encouraged the procedure, the control of the procedure was also problematic. As a result of this, findings of the works (especially those ones which were executed on less commercially preferred water systems) cannot be found in any central statistics. Operating between 1773 and 1788, only the Shipping Directorate's index and register and the reports of 1785/1786 can be found in the archives of the board of governors. The latter is 984 pages long and includes not only water management procedures but also reports on road and bridge constructions[11] Documents on water management can also be found in the archives of the Hungarian Chamber but these mainly focus on the Duna area and the water constructions in the chamber lands.[12] The highest number

---

[9] Klára Dóka: The management of water works and their economic importance in Hungary, 8-28.

[10] Dénes Ihrig (ed.): A magyar vízszabályozás története. [The History of Hungarian Water Management], 64-68.

[11] Ibolya Felhő: A helytartótanácsi levéltár. A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai I. [Archives of the Board of Governors. Papers of the Hungarian National Archives] Levéltári Leltárak 3. Budapest, 1961. 503-505.

[12] István Nagy: A Magyar Kamara és egyéb kincstári szervek. [The Hungarian Chamber and other treasury divisions. Papers of the Hungarian National Archives] A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai I. Levéltári

of relevant documents can be found in the county of municipal archives. These records, letters and other documents provide a good basis only for research: complex quantitative assessments cannot be elaborated based on these accounts.

Sources of research, the basic database

Stored in archives, survey maps in a manuscript form are the most common sources of water management. In connection with water management works, plans were made in all cases and most of them can still be found in the archives of the board of governors, chambers or in local county map collections. Completed works are indicated on such major maps as military investigations or comprehensive mapping prior to regular managements.

Maps had already been used in water management research previously however, geoinformatics provides a more updated, more precise and quicker data-processing. This research primarily aims to create a geoinformatical database in which specific works can be recorded.

The primary source of analysing the 1700–1800 period was the first military investigation and I also consulted minor works including the map sheets of Tisza mapping created by János Litzner between 1783 and 1790[13]. The latter primarily functioned as a control source of the military investigation. Thus, in accordance with the first military survey, the database presented in this study contains water management projects before 1782–1785 and a significant number of them were created in the period after 1700.

Map sheets are based on the georeferenced version of the DVD '*First Military Investigation: Kingdom of Hungary'*, published by Arcanum. The projection is used with the Unified National Projection System (hereinafter: UNPS). For later publication, it would have been more obvious to take Mercator WGS84 base map which is commonly used on online platforms. However, we used EOV in all of our investigations in the Middle Tisza area identicality was our main goal here as well. Since the later transformation of the database's vector layers can be completed easily, it further strengthened our choice.

Those flood relief works which can be identified on the map sheets of the first military investigation, were recorded on a vectorial map: this functions as the basis of the database. According to the type of works, these were recorded on 3 different layers: embankments, channels and riverbed control works. Within the main type of works, there

---

leltárak 9. Budapest, 1995. 210-212.

13 Litzner and Sándor. Tisza folyó vízrajzi térképe. [Water Management Map of the Tisza] Hungarian National Archives (Hereinafter: HNA) Archives of Heves County. T 117.

are some attributes connected to lined items: relatable water flow or standing, the section in case of bigger water flows, type of channel or embankment, administrative unit. These will be detailed later on.

The territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was depicted in 965 sections in the military investigation. Given that most of the section sheets depict mountainous areas which are less relevant for water management investigations, we conducted a targeted research instead of processing all sheets. This research focuses on areas next to the potential rivers or standing waters. During the research, we strove to examine river and lakeside areas as widely as possible considering flood line identified on maps. By examining embankments carefully, the investigation was completed systematically by starting with the big rivers and ending with the tributaries. The list of the investigated rivers, standing waters and marshes are included in Table 1.

I. Danube	II. Tisza	III. Major standing waters, flood areas, wetlands
A) Right side	A) Right side	
1. Leitha	1. Bodrog	1. Balaton
2. Rábca	a) *Latorica*	2. Lake Velence
3. Rába	b) *Uzh*	3. Fertő
a) *Marca*l	- *Laborec*	4. Hanság
4. *Váli víz*	c) *Tapoly*	5. Szigetköz
5. Sió	2. Sajó	6. Csallóköz
6. Sárvíz	a) *Hornád*	7. Vág area
a) *Kapos*	b) *Bodva*	8. Small Balaton
7. *Karasica*	3. Eger	9. Nagyberek
8. Drava	4. Zagyva	10. Sárköz
9. Sava	a) *Tápió*	11. Dráva area
B) Left side	b) *Tarna*	12. Bácska
1. Váh	c) *Galga*	13. Ecsed marsh
a) *Nitra*	B) Left side	14. Szernye swamp
2. Hron	1. Tur	15. Szenna swamp
3. Ipel	2. Somes	16. Blatta swamp
4. *Rákos-stream*	3. Crasna	17. Bodrogköz
5. Timis	4. Körös	18. Nagy-Sárrét
6. Olt	a) *Black körös*	19. Kis-Sárrét
7. Jiu	b) *White körös*	20. Maros estuary
	c) *Rapid körös*	21. Bánát
	d) *Barcau*	
	- *Hortobágy*	
	5. Mures	

Table 1. Investigated areas

The first military investigation was conducted on a small scale compared to water maps, so there was a possibility that certain defences or other artefacts would not appear on it due to their size. This can be offset by the fact that, from a tactical point of view, the location of embankments and channels is significantly relevant thus their inclusion was a priority.

In the Middle-Tisza area which had been thoroughly examined previously, a mapping was conducted at the same time as the military investigation. This mapping was however independent from the military one and it focused on regulation for the first time. János Litzner, engineer of Heves and Outer-Szolnok counties, surveyed the section between Bábolna and Tiszasas and the surrounding areas between 1783 and 1790. He depicted the

results on 48 map sections. It was obvious for us to use this supposedly accurate map as the control source of the military investigation. On the Litzner map, traces of 44 works can be found and all of these (except two) are easily noticeable in the military investigation as well. Based on these, it seems that the less detailed military investigation is also a reliable source of water management history although one that did not primarily focus on water management.

Unfortunately, a unified system of signs was not used during the military investigation which made it difficult to separate embankments from roads or identify channels. The legend for this was compiled in 1932 by Andor Borbély and Júlia Nagy.[14] Dam as sign category is missing in this account; only road-related embankments appear in this as a "loaded road" and "dam-road".

Embankments in the first military investigation

---

[14] Annamária Jankó: Magyarország katonai felmérései [Military investigations in Hungary]. Arcanum Kézikönyvtár. https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Janko-janko-annamaria-magyarorszag-katonai-felmeresei-1/ (2019.06.14)

Traces of water management works are therefore unclear in some cases: that is why, one of the most important attributes of channels and embankments is that they can be identified precisely or unclearly. Having regard to the fact that the depiction of artificial channels is not different (or slightly different) from natural waters, then those are categorised as "hypothetical" more often. Due to the lack of such inscriptions as "canal", channels (to collect water or for the purpose of a given water management procedure), can only be separated according to a straight line. However, given that the survey of waterbeds extending in the middle of marshes and reeds was problematic for the workers, natural watercourses are depicted as more angular and more straight on wetlands.

Separate categories within channels: drainage and water collecting channels, digging of waterbeds, cleaned oxbow lake, bend cut-offs, a mill channels/ship channels/other channels. In order to find out the category of the given artificial watercourse, the categorisation considered the environment (especially hydro-geomorphological conditions) based on the following aspects:

Channels which start flowing from a deep point of marshes and wetlands and heading towards the closest natural watercourse shall belong to "drainage and water collecting channels". Short channels in the Great Plain area connecting waterbeds or its close surroundings with the edge of marshes/reeds: belong to the "cleaned oxbow lake category".[15] The strikingly straight waterbed section which can be observable in the line of watercourse beds and can clearly be separated from its environment (from the previous and from the next section) belong to the "digging of waterbeds" section.

The strikingly straight channels which shorten the length of waterbeds belonged to "bend cut-offs". Within embankments, we have the following categories: distributary closure (mainly along the upper section of the Danube), flood relief embankments, mill dams and road embankments. Flood relief embankments and road embankments overlap with each other and all embankments had separate attributes which indicated whether the embankment had a traffic function or not (road embankment: yes/no). Road embankments include those embankments which run through marshes or floodplains, their embankment nature is indicated with stripes however, certain facts suggest that these embankments do not (or only slightly) prevent water flow: as far as flood relief is concerned, their characteristics are illogical, are surrounded by water on both sides and their line may be interrupted by

---

[15] This procedure is associated with the broader definition of Zsigmond Károlyi's oxbow lake: ruptures on ridges or such holes which interrupt high banks: through these, flood water reaches the floodplain and during subsiding, they drain the surrounding marshes through the same ridges and holes. Károlyi – Nemes: Szolnok és a Közép-Tiszavidék vízügyi múltja. I. Az ősi ártéri gazdálkodás és a vízi munkálatok kezdetei (895-1846) [Water management history of the Middle Tisza area I. The beginnings of the traditional floodplain farming and water management works] Vízügyi Történeti Füzetek 8. Budapest, 1975. 16.

bridges. Flood relief embankments include those embankments which separate dry and wet lands and their characteristics are logical. If the map shows that a road runs on a given embankment (or on its section), then this belongs to the road and flood relief embankment category with mixed purposes. Here, its traffic function is also indicated.

Due to the simple, striped topography, maps do not make it possible to calculate the exact size (diameter, depth, canopy level, bending of banks, etc.), of flood barriers and channels: only their length can be indicated. This error can be corrected by using other relevant sources and maps (e.g. more precise blueprints) during the extensive research.

Findings of the first military investigation

374 embankments and channels could be identified on the maps of the first military investigation in the Kingdom of Hungary. From these, 254 were clearly identified. There were 374 works altogether in 34 counties: 42 works were being completed in Bratislava. From these, there were 22 drainage works and 20 embankment constructions. A significant number of works took place in Tolna, Somogy, Pest-Pilis-Solt, Szabolcs, Békés, Zala, Heves and Outer Szolnok counties. The works were completed in 165 settlements: from these, embankment flood relief works took place in 114 areas, while drainage works were being completed in 51 areas.

The number of comprehensive water management works can be calculated by collecting all works in a given settlement. The highest number of anthropogenic interventions took place in the Great Plain (51%); however, if we consider the number of newly constructed channels/embankments and their length, the Transdanubian region saw the most works (61%).

Territorial distribution of works based on the largest regions
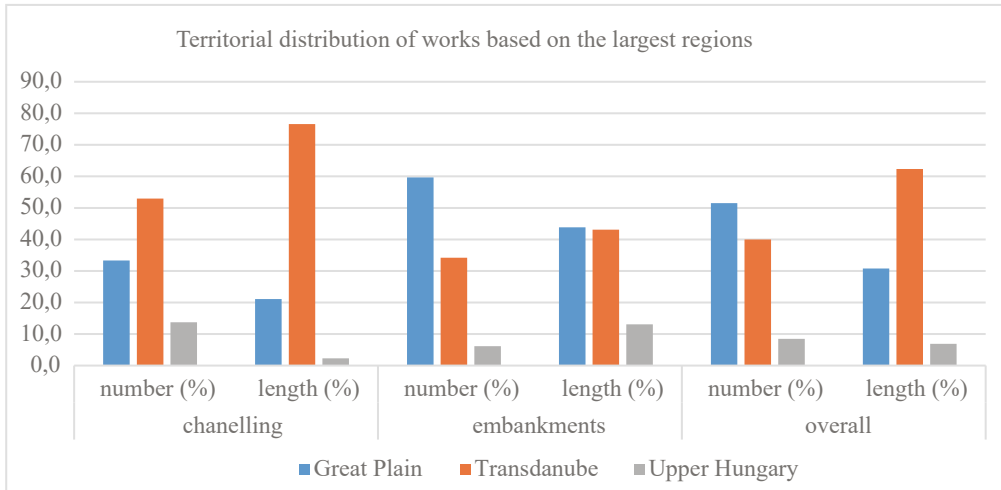
Graph 1. Territorial distribution of embankments and channels identified in the first military investigation based on the largest regions

Not surprisingly, the majority of 374 works related to the two biggest rivers: the Danube (103) and the Tisza. The highest number of works took place on such Danube tributaries as the Vág, Sárvíz and the Kapos, while Tisza tributaries like the Körös and the Berettyó also saw several works. If we consider the number of newly constructed channels/ embankments and their length, the following were prominent: Danube (405 km), Tisza (202 km), Sárvíz (138 km), Lake Balaton (78 km), Vág (70 km), White-Körös (44 km) and the Drava (29 km). It is therefore concluded that the economically more developed Transdanubian region and the southern region (which received more attention due to the large number of chamber lands) had more construction although there were major works in the Tisza area and along its tributaries.

In the professional literature, anthropogenic landscape shaping is mainly associated with population density (overpopulation) and economic growth (extensive agricultural growth).[16] The newly developing geoinformatical database is planned to be suitable for the statistical analysis of the relationships between landscape formation and growth on a national scale however, this will be detailed in a different study although the results of some simpler preliminary studies are worth mentioning here. The correlation between population density and the territorial distribution of works may indicate a relationship between population growth and the intensity of water management. Joseph II's population census

---

[16] Klára Dóka: Gazdálkodás a Tisza árterein a XIX. század első felében. [Farming on Tisza in the first half of the 19th century] Agrártörténeti Szemle, 24. évf. (1982) 3-4. sz. 292-293.

took place at almost the same time as the military investigation therefore, the combined use of data in the analysis is evident. Based on the census, population density of the counties was published by Dezső Danyi and Zoltán Dávid in 1960. [17]. I examined the correlation between the population of the 34 counties involved in the water management works and the intensity of landscape formation in terms of the total work/population density, the embankment/population density and the drainage/population density completed in each county in terms of number and size of works (embankment and channel lengths). The statistical correlation between population density and the number and size of works proved to be weak, with a correlation coefficient of -0.24 and 0.34 for lengths for embankment and drainage, and -0.110 and 0.009 for the number of works. A correlation coefficient above 0.2 indicates a "certain but weak" correlation. Based on these, it appears that embankment is associated with lower, while drainage is associated with higher population density. Given that the hydro-geomorphological conditions in Transdanubian regions (Sárvíz area, Lake Balaton, Fertő and Hanság, etc.), characterized by higher population density, more intensive and market-oriented farming, drainage seems to be more necessary while in the sparsely populated, lower-lying and weaker areas of the Tisza region, the embankment is the more obvious method of water management. Based on these, the results are not surprising at all.

Overall, during the period of local water management, it seems that the hydrological environment and the extensive population growth pressure were equally significant while higher population density and economic development do not necessarily go hand in hand with greater concentration of the works.

---

[17] Danyi – Dávid (eds.): The first Hungarian census (1784-1787). Budapest, 1960. 55.

	Population density (persons/km²)[18]	Embankments and channels		Embankments		Channels	
		Length (m)	number	Length (m)	Number of works	Length (m)	Number of works
Abaúj	39,9	7971	10			7971	10
Arad	25,5	13460	5	1602	2	11858	3
Bács	17,9	77737	6	6818	3	70918	3
Baranya	37,7	6753	2			6753	2
Bars	36,3	1028	1			1028	1
Békés, Csanád, Csongrád	17,3	131477	46	44790	24	86687	22
Bereg	18,1	9396	2	9396	2		
Bihar	28,7	2117	3	2117	3		
Borsod	37,6	2119	1	2119	1		
Esztergom, Komárom	32,5	57619	17	21730	3	35889	14
Fejér	23,8	96342	9			96342	9
Győr, Moson	34,4	66951	16	48147	8	18804	8
District 3	19,8	15231	17	15062	13	168	1
Heves	24,8	17749	19	12915	16	4834	3
Hont	30,1	1200	1			1200	1
Nyitra	50,3	48056	11	45638	8	2418	3
Pest	25,1	110456	23	47263	6	63193	17
Pozsony	42,7	102208	42	74777	20	27431	22
Sáros	35,7	1608	1			1608	1
Somogy	24,8	71955	27	20660	8	51295	19
Sopron	43,8	24419	5			24419	5
Szabolcs	23,4	38081	22	24208	19	13873	3
Szatmár	22,9	59800	12	50430	7	9370	5
Tolna	37,7	54800	28	4993	9	49807	19

[18] Danyi – Dávid (eds.): The first Hungarian census. 55.

	Population density (persons/km²)[18]	Embankments and channels		Embankments		Channels	
		Length (m)	number	Length (m)	Number of works	Length (m)	Number of works
Trencsén	46,9	1362	2			1362	2
Ugocsa	17,3	8639	7	3579	4	5059	3
Vas	40,1	15106	9			15106	9
Veszprém	36,2	30602	5	5725	3	24878	2
Zala	37,7	76860	20	16156	3	60704	17
Zemplén	33,3	1455	1	1455	1		
Correlation with population density:		-0,226	-0,163	0,240	-0,110	-0,348	-0,009

Table 2. Embankments and channels built until the end of 18th century in the Kingdom of Hungary

Building embankments

374 works were identified where 169 were embankments. From these, only 22 were uncertain. Up until the military investigation, the total length of embankments was 517 km of which 447 km were flood defence embankments, 57 km were road embankments and 11 km were road and flood defence embankments for mixed purposes. Built by 1785, the 447 km of flood defence embankment was 10% of the 4,000-kilometre-long embankment built during the period of systematic regulations that began around 1850. The volume of works was thus insignificant in comparison to later periods.

56% of the embankments are connected to the Danube and its tributaries, 26% to the Tisza and its tributaries while 18% to standing waters and marshes. Data are in line with preliminary expectations since many more embankments were built in the more agriculturally developed western Danube areas. However, it is important to note that only one of the two most extensive embankment systems, the Csalló and the Szigetköz, is connected to the Danube while the other can be observed in the Upper Tisza Region. In 1782, the longest continuous embankment line in the country was also built in the Upper Tisza Region, in Bereg-Satu Mare County, with a length of 57 kilometres. It is followed by the 33 km long embankment in Pest-Pilis-Solt county in the Baja area although this can only be identified with uncertainty.
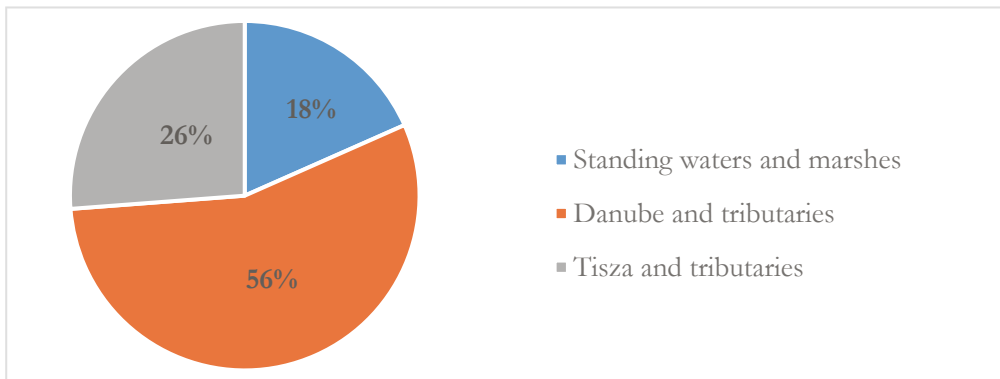
Graph 2. Embankments lengths in water systems

Due to the hydro-geomorphological features of the area, nearly 80% of road embankments and flood defence embankments (also functioning as road embankments) belong to the floodplain of the Tisza and its tributaries. On the high banks of the Danube, inland transport was possible without the formation of road embankments while in the wetlands of the Tisza it was essential to create such embankments and, in addition, the maintenance of salt roads was an important interest of the Chamber. That is why 43% of those embankments which function only as road embankments could be found in two administrative units, Csongrád and Heves-Outer Szolnok counties. The Debrecen-Szolnok-Pest salt road which is very important in the transport of Transylvanian salt runs on the latter in an east-west direction"[19]. It passes through the edge of the marshiest areas of the country (Nagy- and Kis-Sárrét).
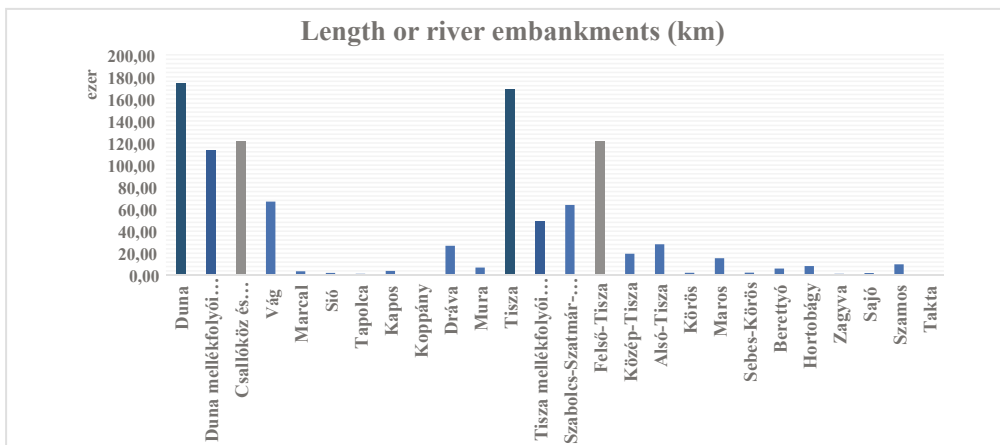

Graph 3. Length of river embankments and major embankment systems

---

[19] Mihály Szikszai: Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megye közlekedéstörténete. [The history of transport in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county] Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár Közleményei 7. Szolnok, 2005. 9-10.

Channelization

The total length of the 203 artificial channels depicted in the military investigation was 692 km of which 463 km were channels for draining marshes and other runoff areas while 95 km were riverbeds helping drain off floods. These were largely land reclamation interventions for the benefit of farming and water management works in larger manorial areas and appear in relatively large numbers in the water history literature.[20] Drainage works were mostly carried out on large estates where they were producing goods: an example is the Festetics manorial in Keszthely where the drainage channels of the manor also appeared in the sheets of the military investigation.
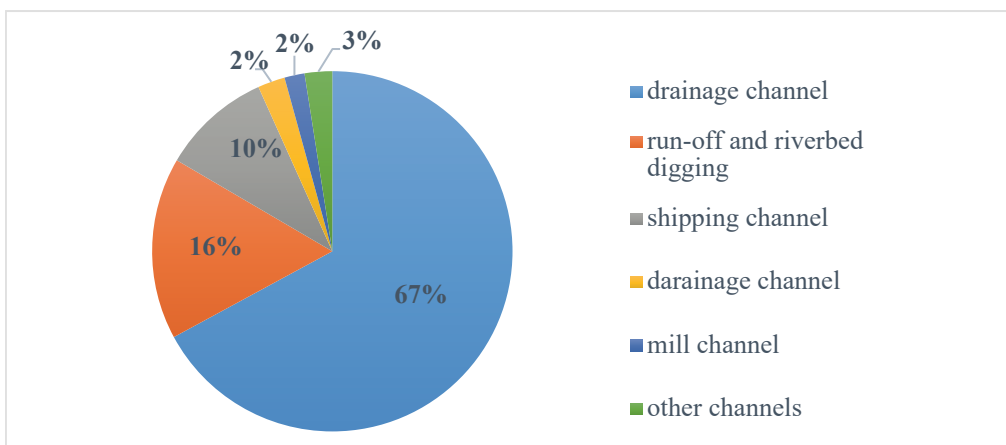
Graph 4. Ratio of channel types based on their lengths

The longest continuous shipping channel was the Ferenc Channel built in Bácska, the works of which began only in 1793, seven years after the military investigation. However, a significant section of the channel - presumably in view of the advanced state of planning - was indicated on the sheets of the military maps. The most extensive drainage channel system was established in Fejér County with the management of Sárvíz and its surroundings. The longest continuous channel was 55 km long and a total of 138 km of channels were built in the Sárvíz area until the military mappings.

---

[20] See.: Ihrig : The History of Hungarian Water Management. 62-64.
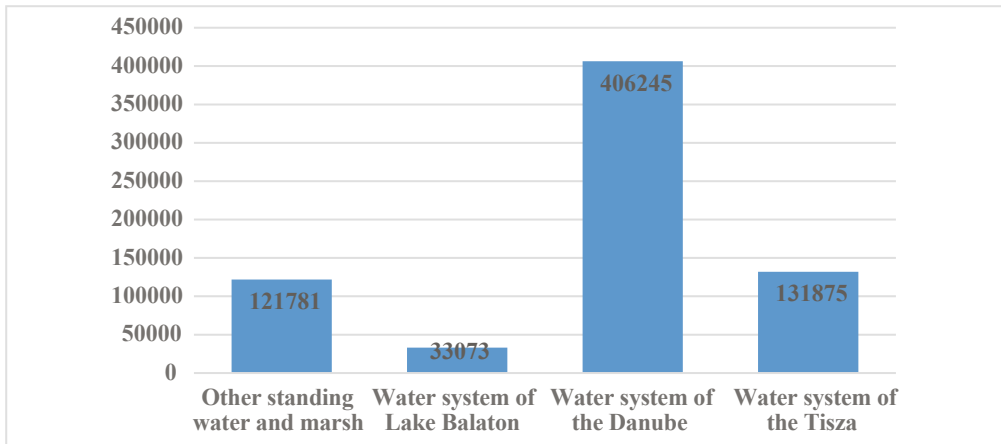
**Graph 5. Total length of channels in connection
with the different water systems (m)**
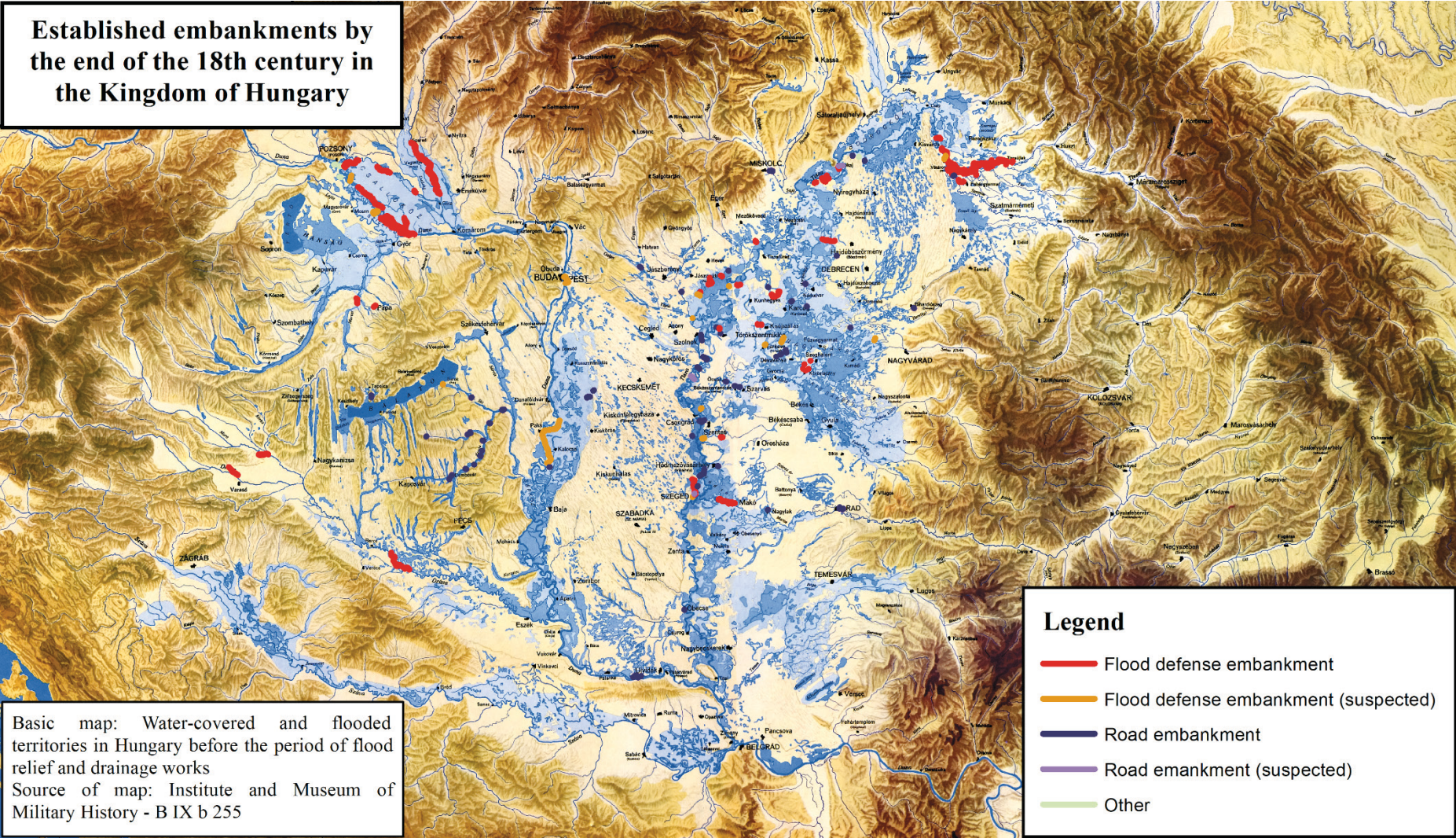
Final conclusions

In a comprehensive account '*The History of Hungarian Water Management*', edited by Dénes Ihrig 41 particular works are mentioned from the period before 1785. From these, 29 were accurately identified in the military investigation while 4 were not relevant as they took place in Banat and Transylvania. In contrast, 374 specific works were identified in the military investigation therefore we have a more accurate picture of the period of local flood relief than in the compilation of the history of water management. In her account '*The management of water works and their economic importance in Hungary*', Klára Dóka puts an emphasis on 14 counties which were overrepresented due to their hydrographic conditions. 31% of the channels recorded in the database and 52% of the flood defense embankments can be found in these counties it is true, therefore, that most of the works focus on these areas, but if we want to give a detailed account of the waterworks in the 18th century, our research area must be wider than that designated by Dóka.

It can finally be noted that the works carried out in in the Upper Tiszavidék, are as significant as the construction in Transdanubian regions, which were over-represented in the literature. Based on the final overview map, the locations of the necessary comprehensive works are thoroughly outlined.

In the future, works appearing on the current mappings need be added to our database since their scale is smaller and can be outlined in greater detail. The next step is to match the database with maps collected from the Archives of the Governor's Council. According to our preliminary survey, almost three hundred water management maps for the period before 1850 can be found in the map archive.

After processing these maps, we will have a much more detailed picture about the period of local water management.
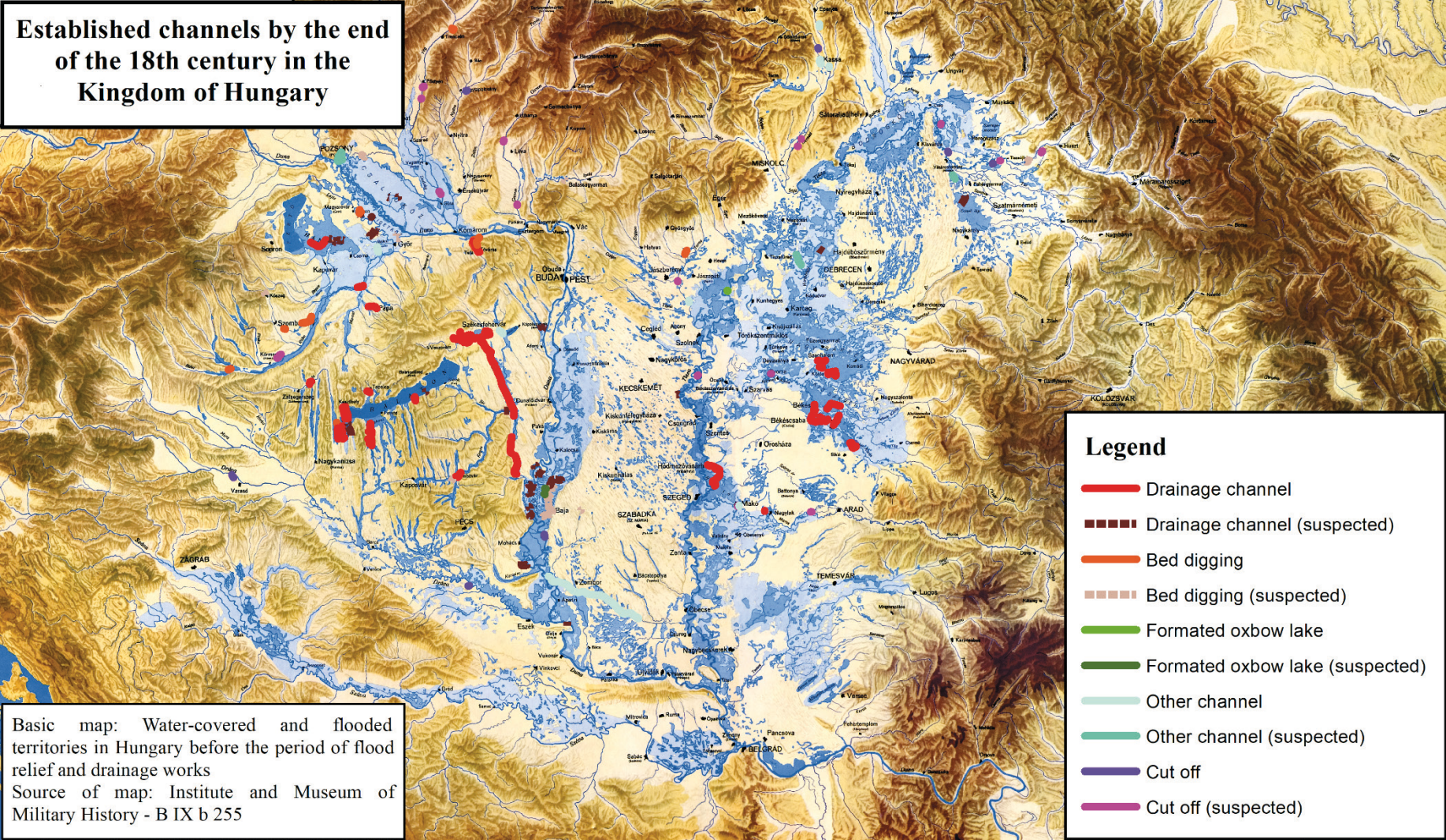
Established embankments by the end of the 18th century in the Kingdom of Hungary

Basic map: Water-covered and flooded territories in Hungary before the period of flood relief and drainage works
Source of map: Institute and Museum of Military History - B IX b 255

Legend

— Flood defense embankment

— Flood defense embankment (suspected)

— Road embankment

— Road emankment (suspected)

— Other

Established channels by the end of the 18th century in the Kingdom of Hungary

Basic map: Water-covered and flooded territories in Hungary before the period of flood relief and drainage works

Source of map: Institute and Museum of Military History - B IX b 255

Legend

— Drainage channel

╍╍╍ Drainage channel (suspected)

— Bed digging

╍╍╍ Bed digging (suspected)

— Formated oxbow lake

— Formated oxbow lake (suspected)

— Other channel

— Other channel (suspected)

— Cut off

— Cut off (suspected)

References

Andrásfalvy, Bertalan, *A Sárköz ősi ártéri gazdálkodása* [The ancient floodplain management of Sárköz] Budapest: Vízügyi Dokumentációs és Tájékoztató Iroda, 1973.

Botár, Imre and Károlyi, Zsigmond: *A Tisza szabályozása 1846-1879* [Regulation of the Tisza *1846-1879*] Budapest: Vízügyi Dokumentációs és Tájékoztató Iroda, 1971.

Csáth, Béla, Deák, Antal, Fejér, László, and Kaján, Imre: *Magyar vízügytörténet* [Hungarian history of water management] Baja: Eötvös József Főiskola Műszaki Fakultás, 1998.

Danyi, Dezső, and Dávid, Zoltán: *Az első magyarországi népszámlálás (1784-1787).* [The first census in Hungary (1784-1787)] Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó Vállalat, 1960.

Dóka Klára: "Gazdálkodás a Tisza árterein a XIX. század első felében" [Farming in the floodplains of the Tisza in the first half of the 19th century] *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 24, no. 3-4 (1982): 292–293.

Dóka, Klára: *A vízimunkálatok irányítása és jelentősége az ország gazdasági életében. [Management and significance of water works in the economic life of the country 1872-1918*.] Budapest: Mezőgazdasági Ügyvitelszervezési Iroda, 1987.

Felhő, Ibolya: *A helytartótanácsi levéltár.* [The Archives of the Council of Governors] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961.

Ihrig, Dénes ed.: *A magyar vízszabályozás története* [History of Hungarian water regulation] Budapest: Országos Vízügyi Hivatal, 1973.

Jankó, Annamária: *Magyarország katonai felmérései [Military surveys of Hungary]* Budapest: Arcanum Kézikönyvtár. https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Janko-janko-annamaria-magyarorszag-katonai-felmeresei-1/.

Károlyi, Zsigmond, and Nemes, Gerzson: *Szolnok és a Közép-Tiszavidék vízügyi múltja. I. Az ősi ártéri gazdálkodás és a vízi munkálatok kezdetei [The water management history of Szolnok and the Middle Tisza region. I. The beginnings of the ancient floodplain management and water works] (895-1846).* Budapest: Budapest: Vízügyi Dokumentációs és Tájékoztató Iroda, 1975.

Lászlóffy, Woldemár: *A Tisza. Vízi munkálatok és vízgazdálkodás a tiszai vízrendszerben.* [The Tisza. Water works and water management in the Tisza water system] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

Nagy, István: *A Magyar Kamara és egyéb kincstári szervek [The Hungarian Chamber and other treasury bodies]* Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltás, 1995.

Sugár István: *A Közép-Tiszavidék két kéziratos térképe [Two manuscript maps of the Middle Tisza region]* Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 1989.

Szikszai, Mihály: *Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megye közlekedéstörténete* [Transport history of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County] Szolnok: Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Levéltár, 2005.

Tóth, Albert ed.: *"Áldás és átok a víz" Tudományos emlékülés a Mirhó gát építésének 200. évfordulójára* [Water is a blessing and curse at the same time: Memorial meeting for the 200th anniversary of the completion of Mirhó dam] Kisújszállás: Kisújszállás Város Tanácsa, 1987.

Réka Kormos

Review on Christopher Bolton's *Interpreting Anime.* Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press. 2018. 336 pages. ISBN 978-1-5179-0403-6.

Japanese animation, more commonly known as anime, is a relatively new genre, having been discovered recently in the West and its popularity started to grow in the past 20 years. We can see the fame of Studio Ghibli and Hayao Miyazaki, who won an Oscar with *Spirited Away* in 2003, or we can also remember the 90's when most of the kids in the US and Europe watched *Pokémon* in the morning, and this started the phenomenon referred as the "anime boom" (p. 16). The book of Christopher Bolton starts with "A Note on the Text", which picks up the readers' interest: he has translated the quotes himself and he currently teaches Japanese literature; thus he is knowledgeable not only in the language but also in oriental culture. His analysis does not barely rely on history; he tries to show us the mentality, and even the national trauma that lies behind and that is why Bolton's study tends to emphasise the importance of war, overshadowing everything else. World War II was a major trauma for Japan: they had to disarm their forces, and they became vulnerable to the USA. This historical event broke the Japanese spirit and pride, and a more popular theme was born. Life during and after war is known for most of the nations and one can understand its weight and sympathise with the casualties and sacrifices. Choosing this subject has its merits, but there are some cases where the topic of war overshadows the aspects that made certain shows popular. The author took special care to use not only Japanese sources, but also Western ones; in addition to Takashi Murakami and Masai Miyoshi, for instance, Roland Barthes and Francois Lyotard, which makes the book enjoyable for a wider audience.

The book has seven chapters and dives into nine anime franchises with great detail. In his "Introduction", Bolton states that his main purpose is to read Japanese animation. The book starts with the analysis of *Read or Die* also known as *R.O.D*, the three-part anime series directed by Masunari Koji (p. 1). Every chapter begins with a short synopsis of the anime itself, this one is not an exception. Japanese animation has its terminology and Bolton successfully introduces different concepts, for instance, the difference between an anime episode, OVA and a full-length anime movie and manages to introduce the segments of the genre. An anime is usually of 21-25 minutes long, including an opening and an ending, and both segments are attention grabbers with catchy songs (p. 1). Most of the OVAs are longer than 25 minutes, but they keep the opening and the ending segments. In Masunari Koji's *R.O.D.*, the protagonist of the series is Yomiko Readman, a bibliomaniac who has surrounded herself with books and has a particular ability since she can manipulate paper as she wishes. Like other anime, it is based on a manga series that has the same title. The series thematises reading itself and Bolton's theoretical background is given by Roland Barthes' works. The action of reading is emphasised in the text and both Koji and Bolton have the same goal – to educate the viewers and readers. The writer does not fail to realize small details like how the sheets that Yomiko is using are blank but misses the opportunity

to discuss the desire of owning the book and the pleasure that can occur when it happens. It could lead to the differences between the book collector and the casual reader as Barthes in his *The Pleasure of the Text* highlights (touching upon libraries), owning the books is part of the pleasure that reading holds. For the collector, the happiness lies with the owning of the books, while the casual reader enjoys the text and its meaning. In Japan, collectors have their own space and social status similar to otaku (cf. "fan"). He describes otaku and the postmodern consumers using Azuma Hiroki as it is "characterised instead by animal needs that can be satisfied instantly, automatically, and solitarily. Otaku interest and arousal are so mechanical that they can be triggered by stock female characters remixed from a database of visual tropes to which otaku have become programmed to respond – huge eyes, maid uniforms, cat ears, neon hair" (p. 159). Someone also can be called otaku if they have an overwhelming obsession and passion towards something specific, like art or dolls and as in this case: anime. Bolton often brings in different terms and gives a brief definition, or he uses a concept and barely discusses it, then later he returns to them in a lengthy explanation; see for instance, Freud's uncanny concept. On the other hand, in most of his analysed anime (*Ghost in the Shell, Patlabor II*, etc.), we can separate the real-world and at least one created domain that can be virtual (the internet itself) or an artificial world. In the real world, the protagonist is disappointed and pushed over into a fake reality that they can fully control. Bolton presents the new media's possibilities using Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's argument and shows off the two side of the argument using Samuel Taylor Coleridge who wrote about the subject of poetic faith that can be linked to the otaku culture.

His analyses are full of clear and transparent political arguments as well as historical references making clear the privileged position of Japanese animations. They can be considered cartoons and have the same purpose: to stimulate. These stimulations can be as wild and bone wrecking as the writers and directors please, but we are sitting with a clouded mind, and the author attempts to help us interpret what we see. Bolton also warns us to be careful about theories because they are designed for other media, and they should challenge our ways to understand the art form (p. 19). This challenge is displayed in the second anime that he analyses, *Akira* in the chapter titled "From Origin to Oblivion: *Akira* as Anime and Manga". *Akira* is an epic film that would define an area (p. 32) and it is made in 1988 but it is still as popular as ever while the audience is still confused and lost due to its complexity. In the movie, the topics of cultural, historical, and textual reading are presented, which incites various interpretations. In this chapter, the author puts more emphasis on WW II and nuclear wars and their effects, and he provides the background of generations of Japanese artists and writers and how they were influenced by Japanese politics. Later on, *Akira* is being viewed as a postmodern work because of its constant relevance and ever-changing interpretations and Bolton makes a strong argument to sustain

his point using Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition*. We can see the "grand" narrative of the War as well as the inner political area, but in his analysis, he also shows the struggles of the individuals since Tetsuo's journey and his struggle are viewed separately. His personal illumination – through memory, self-realization, and enlightenment – that he takes into himself is presented as an example of Lyotard's "little narratives" (p. 47).

The next chapter is titled "The Mecha's Blind Spot, Cinematic and Electronic in *Patlabor 2*" and it is focused on Oshii Mamoru's *Patlabor II* movie. Bolton presents a well-loved anime genre called Mecha (cf. mechanical) and two movies that had a great impact on Western culture and inspired such cult movies as *Matrix*. Several of the presented anime focus on technology and its possible impact on humanity while most mecha feature humanoid robots or human and robot hybrids, where the humanoid robots are piloted by human operators (p. 60) and have great importance in wars. Director Oshii's two works and adventurous yet recognizable style is introduced by Bolton with detail; however, he seems to share too many details. In his analysis of *Patlabor II*, he touches on the phenomenon of "absorvation" – in this case, technology is the suit that can absorb its user (p. 65) – and he also highlights the individuals' new fear: the fear of the disappearance of their existence. He differentiates realities; there are the real world and the virtual world. Similar to *Akira*, WW II also gives the background, in addition to, Oshii was inspired by *Akira*, but in his movie, he flipped the power structure, therefore the warriors have power and firearm and the will to fight. In mecha, escapism should be pointed out. Reality is often cruel, that's why anime and an alternative reality can give the viewers/readers the power and possibility to change themselves and the world itself. In chapter three, titled "Puppet Voices, Cyborg Souls; *Ghost in the Shell* and Classical Japanese Theater," the author discusses Oshii's more well-known movie from 1995, namely, *Ghost in the Shell*. In addition to the analysis of *Patlabor II* where geopolitics is placed in the centre, here gender politics is in focus. *Ghost in the Shell* is set in the future when technology is much more advanced: there is no clear line between information technology and the human body (p. 95). The female protagonist Kusanagi Motoko is a cyborg hybrid, while her body is designed/produced by scientists, her mind remains human. Or at least she thinks that she is still human. The concept of the human body is transformed, even so, the physical body is lost as they developed the technology to identify the mind/ soul and transfer it without damage.

In the next chapter, "The Forgetful Phallus and the Otaku's Third Eye; *3×3 Eyes* and Anime's Audience" he discusses two anime, *3×3 Eyes* and *Vampire Princess Miyu,* both are OVAs with several episodes. In these franchises, the female protagonist forces to face a choice between the needs of her humanity and the needs of society, including the duties she expects to fulfil (p. 122). The works seem to highlight women's empowerment, however, Susan Napier states that in the end, this power is stripped from them and sees anxiety about

the change of women roles (p. 139). Bolton offers different feminist readings based on Sharalyn Orgabaugh who sees the posthuman potential meanwhile Carl Silvio and Susan Napier centre on sexuality as the focal point. It turns out that neither of the protagonists can get rid of their stereotypical woman role and they are still overly sexualized even if it is about cyborgs, vampires, or shapeshifters. Japanese women are heavily sexualized, especially in hentai (pornographic anime), where women figure even eat up men during sexual contact and both parties getting tremendous pleasure in this act. While the country has developed, sexual urges are deeply suppressed, which results in the rising of different disturbing fetishes. The author mentions the "magical girlfriend" genre where women are given the power of a goddess with a passive childlike appearance (p. 146). Moreover, there is the genre of shota (cf. "young boy") or loli (cf."young girl") where the Oedipus or Electra complex is alluded to as childlike characters are shown in a sexual way with an adult, who is often a blood relative or plays the role of one. In chapter five, "Anime in Drag, Stage Performance and Staged Performance in *Millenium Actress*", he analyses the anime titled *Millennium Actress*, discussing the process of the bending of reality. Relying on William Gardner's, Bolton points out that mirrors in Kon's films are intersubjective sites where an individual's self-image combines with the expectations of others (pp. 178-179). In addition, Bolton emphasizes the position of the audience and how the director plays with the viewers,

In chapter 6 entitled "The Quick and the Undead: *Blood: The Last Vampire* and Television Anime", he shows us a complex universe centred on Saya and her role in a never-ending war and how the series has spread to other media and can be consumed as a big narrative. He also gives a historical and technological summary of animation development in Japan focused on anime. In the seventh chapter "It's Art, but Is It Anime? *Howl's Moving Castle* and the Novel," Bolton gives a summary of one of the most famous directors', Miyazaki Hayao's work and compares the Western original book to the anime movie. Quoting Susan Napier, he describes how his (Miyazaki's) settings convey a sense of organic unity suggesting coherent (if quirky) history and culture (p. 238) and they also help the viewer find a strange familiarity within his art. Bolton contrasts the way how Howl's evolving castle is presented in the movie's narrative; constantly changing, yet still recognizable. In the last chapter, he offers a conclusion with the help of Mamoru Hosoda's *Summer Wars*, where another perspective of reality and fantasy is discussed. The director's goal was to make his work relevant and deep, while not difficult about intimate, global concerns like family (p. 254). He also points out how anime can shift between methods, themes but the consumer is likely to go on searching for a personal way to understand anime because the viewers are driven by curiosity. In the book, several possible paths of interpretation are proposed such as structuralism, postmodernism, queer theory or psychoanalysis but none

has a monopoly of truth (p. 258). In "Conclusion," Bolton sums up that "finally, the critical perspective of each individual director reveals something different and worthwhile: Otomo's apocalyptic politics, Hosoda's faith in communication, Kon's optimistically fragmented subjectivity, Oshii's dire political and technological critique, and even Miyazaki's stubborn Romanticism each have their role to play, and each sheds light on the others" (p. 258). Anime as a complex work of art has no boundaries and has an immense power to play on different theories at the same time. The reviewer is impressed by the bibliography that is even more useful to researchers, scholars, and students being accompanied with an index of frequently cited authors and concepts.

Anime is often considered a part of pop culture, but Christopher Bolton manages to show us that it can be handled and consumed as a piece of high art. Anime has "clear historical resonances and a transparent political argument" (p. 12) while the viewers seemingly are not dragged out from their comfort. To understand Japanese anime takes hard time and it is difficult to find sources that can serve as a guideline, or steppingstones. Christopher Bolton's *Interpreting Anime* certainly gives this help due to the author's immense amount of research work and dedicated enthusiasm.